

## Daftar Pustaka

- Alegrett, R. (2003). Past and present land reform in Latin America. *Land Reform, Land Settlement and Cooperatives*, 54(2), 112–126.
- Alkhudri, A. T., Dharmawan, A. H., & Kinseng, R. A. (2018). The Metamorphosis of Social Movement in Banten: From Identity Romanticism to Environment Agrarian Issues. *Sodality: Jurnal Sosiologi Pedesaan*, 6(1), 24–31.
- Aprianto, T. C. (2008). Wajah Prakarsa Partisipatif: Dinamika Gagasan Reforma Agraria dan Gerakan Sosial di Indonesia Pasca 1998. *JSP: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, 12(1), 25–39. <https://jurnal.ugm.ac.id/jsp/article/view/10984>
- Bachriadi. (1999). *Pembaruan Agraria*. Citra Aditya Bakti.
- Binada, U. (2023). Dynamics of Contestment of Formal and Informal Institutions in The Public Space in Governance of the Introduction The implementation of. *Policy & Governance Review*, 7(September), 316–331. <https://doi.org/10.30589/pgr>.
- Boone, C., Dyzenhaus, A., Manji, A., Gateri, C. W., Ouma, S., Owino, J. K., Gargule, A., & Klopp, J. M. (2019). Land law reform in Kenya: Devolution, veto players, and the limits of an institutional fix. *African Affairs*, 118(471), 215–237. <https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/ady053>
- Borras, J. (2001). State-society relations in land reform implementation in the Philippines. *Development and Change*, 32(3), 545–575. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-7660.00216>
- Borras Jr, Cristóbal Kay, and H. A. (2005). Agrarian Reform and Rural Development: Historical Overview and Current Issues. In *Institute of Social Studies (ISS)* (Issue 8, pp. 1–25).
- Borras Jr, S., & Franco, J. (2010). Towards a Broader View of the Politics of Global Land Grabbing. *Transnational Institute*, 001, 1–39. [http://www.smu.ca/academic/arts/ids/icas\\_ldpi.html%0Ahttps://www.tni.org/en/paper/towards-broader-view-politics-global-land-grabbing%0Ahttp://files/488/towards-broader-view-politics-global-land-grabbing.html](http://www.smu.ca/academic/arts/ids/icas_ldpi.html%0Ahttps://www.tni.org/en/paper/towards-broader-view-politics-global-land-grabbing%0Ahttp://files/488/towards-broader-view-politics-global-land-grabbing.html)
- Borras, S. M. (2003). Inclusion-exclusion in public policies and policy analyses: The case of Philippine land reform, 1972–2002. *Journal of International Development*, 15(8), 1049–1065. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jid.1035>
- Borras, S. M. (2003). Questioning market-led agrarian reform: Experiences from Brazil, Colombia and South Africa. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 3(3), 367–394. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1471-0366.00059>
- Borras, S. M. (2005). Can redistributive reform be achieved via market-based voluntary land transfer schemes? Evidence and lessons from the Philippines. *Journal of Development Studies*, 41(1), 90–134. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0022038042000276581>
- Borras, S. M. (2006). Redistributive land reform in “public” (forest) lands? Lessons from the Philippines and their implications for land reform theory and practice. *Progress in Development Studies*, 6(2), 123–145. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1464993406ps132oa>
- Borras, S. M. (2006). The Philippine land reform in comparative perspective: Some conceptual and methodological implications. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 6(1), 69–101. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0366.2006.00115.x>
- Borras, S. M. (2007). *Pro-Poor Land Reform a Critique*. Ottawa Press.
- Borras, S. M. (2009). Agrarian change and peasant studies: Changes, continuities and challenges - an introduction. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 36(1), 5–31. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03066150902820297>
- Borras, S. M. (2010). The Politics of Transnational Agrarian Movements. *Development and Change*, 41(5), 771–803. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7660.2010.01661.x>

- Borras, S. M. (2020). Agrarian social movements: The absurdly difficult but not impossible agenda of defeating right-wing populism and exploring a socialist future. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 20(1), 3–36. <https://doi.org/10.1111/joac.12311>
- Borras, S. M., & Franco, J. C. (2005). Struggles for land and livelihood: Redistributive reform in agribusiness plantations in the Philippines. *Critical Asian Studies*, 37(3), 331–361. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14672710500200383>
- Chipenda, C. (2024). A Transformative Social Policy Perspective on Land and Agrarian Reform in Zimbabwe. *Africa Spectrum*, 59(1), 89–118. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00020397241234024>
- Cousins, B., Borras, S. M., Sauer, S., & Ye, J. (2018). BRICS, middle-income countries (MICs), and global agrarian transformations: internal dynamics, regional trends, and international implications. *Globalizations*, 15(1), 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2018.1429104>
- Creswell, J. W. (2016). *Research Design: Qualitative & Quantitative Methods - Pragmatic Approach*. Sage, Los Angeles.
- David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and H. K. (2004). The Blackwell Companion To Social Movement. In *The Blackwell Publishing*. The Blackwell Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470999103.ch18>
- De, L., Almeida<sup>1</sup>, A., Gomes<sup>2</sup>, R. C., Almeida, A., & Gomes, R. C. (2018). The process of public policy: literature review, theoretical reflections and suggestions for future research. *Cad. EBAPE.BR*, V, 16, 445–455. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/1679-395164108>
- Dee, E. T. C. (2017). Challenging social inequality: the landless rural workers movement and agrarian reform in Brazil. *Social Movement Studies*, 16(3), 376–377. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2017.1279966>
- Dee, E. T. C. (2017). Challenging social inequality: the landless rural workers movement and agrarian reform in Brazil. *Social Movement Studies*, 16(3), 376–377. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2017.1279966>
- Della Porta, D. (2009). Global justice movement organizations: The organizational population. *Democracy in Social Movements*, 16–43. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230240865>
- Deveaux, M. (2021). *Conclusion: Political Solidarity and Poor-Led Social Movements', Poverty, Solidarity, and Poor-Led Social Movements*. Oxford Academic. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190850289.003.0006>
- Deveaux, M. (2021). Conclusion: Political Solidarity and Poor-Led Social Movements. In M. Deveaux (Ed.), *Poverty, Solidarity, and Poor-Led Social Movements* (p. 0). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190850289.003.0006>
- Endriatmo Soetarto. (2012). *Filosofi, Asas, Ajaran, Teori Hukum Pertanahan, dan Agraria*. STPN Press.
- Gen, S., & Wright, A. C. (2013). Policy Advocacy Organizations: A Framework Linking Theory and Practice. *Journal of Policy Practice*, 12(3), 163–193. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15588742.2013.795477>
- Guba, E., & Lincoln, Y. (2005). Paradigmatic Controversies, Contradictions, and Emerging Confluences. In D. Norman K & L. Yvonna S (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp. 191–215). Thousand Oaks :SAGE.
- Gutierrez, E., & Borras, S. (2004). The Moro Conflict - Landlessness and Misdirected State Politics. In *Policy Studies* (Issue Policy Studies 8). <http://www.eastwestcenter.org/publications/moro-conflict-landlessness-and-misdirected-state-policies>
- Hull, S., Babalola, K., & Whittal, J. (2019). Theories of land reform and their impact on land reform success in Southern Africa. *Land*, 8(11). <https://doi.org/10.3390/land8110172>

- Illades, C. (2020). The Historiography of Social Movements. *Conflict, Domination, and Violence*, 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvw049rh.7>
- Ishkanian, A. (2022). Social Movements and Social Policy: New Research Horizons. *Journal of Social Policy*, 51(3), 582–595. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047279421001008>
- Jesse Heber Ambuwaru, Bintan R. Saragih, & Listyowati Sumanto. (2023). the Politics of Land Law and the Implementation of the Agrarian Reform Program in Indonesia. *International Journal of Educational Review, Law And Social Sciences (IJERLAS)*, 3(5), 1443–1450. <https://doi.org/10.54443/ijerlas.v3i5.1013>
- Jr., M. E. and S. M. B. (2016). *Political Dynamics of Transnational Agrarian Movements*.
- Jr, S. M. B., & Akram-lodhi, A. H. (2006). *Historical overview and current issues*.
- Kahane, D., Loptson, K., Herriman, J., & Hardy, M. (2013). Stakeholder and Citizen Roles in Public Deliberation. *Journal of Deliberative Democracy*, 9(2). <https://doi.org/10.16997/jdd.164>
- Koberidze, T. (2016). The Policy Advocacy Milieu and its Impact on Advocacy Results in Georgia. *Journal of Politics and Democratization*, 1(September), 1–22.
- Koppel. (2010). Administration without Sovereignty. *The Twilight of Constitutionalism?* <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199585007.003.0013>
- Lanzona, L. A. (2019). Agrarian Reform and Democracy: Lessons from the Philippine Experience. *Millennial Asia*, 10(3), 272–298. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0976399619879866>
- LEUNG, Y. K., LEUNG, Y. W., & YUEN, T. W. W. (2016). The Contribution of Advocacy NGOs in Governance through Cultivating of a Participatory Culture: Case Studies in Hong Kong. *Universal Journal of Educational Research*, 4(3), 490–500. <https://doi.org/10.13189/ujer.2016.040304>
- Libal, K., Harding, S., & Champagne, L. (2022). Solidarity Work as Political Action: Advocating for Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the USA. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 35(4), 1550–1567. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/feac024>
- Manji, A. (2021). Land Reform in Kenya: The History of an Idea. *Strathmore Law Journal*, 5(1), 267–278. <https://doi.org/10.52907/slj.v5i1.151>
- McAdam, D., & Richard Scott, W. (2005). Organizations and movements. *Social Movements and Organization Theory*, 4–40. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511791000.003>
- Merritt, C. C., Farnworth, M. D., & Kienapple, M. R. (2018). Developing organizational leaders to manage publicness: A conceptual framework. *Journal of Public Affairs Education*, 24(2), 216–233. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15236803.2018.1429816>
- Meyer, R. E., & Boch Waldorff, S. (2022). Organization Theory and Public Management. In *Elgar Encyclopedia of Public Management*. <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781800375499.organization.theory>
- Misran, Asriadi, Abhipraya, F. A., Isolana, J. B., Evendi, D., & Akbar, P. (2023). A Case Study on Wadas Community Social Movement: Community Resistance Movement Against Mining Development. *Humanus: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu-Ilmu Humaniora*, 22(1), 12–27. <https://doi.org/10.24036/humanus.v22i1.117031>
- Moreno, F., & Leones, S. E. (2012). Agrarian Reform and Philippine Political Development. *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1967844>
- Mutongi, D. C. (2016). Information Policy Advocacy and Lobbying. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 21(07), 42–47. <https://doi.org/10.9790/0837-02107034247>
- Nancharaiah, G. (2021). Land reform and agrarian change. *B.R. Ambedkar, Economic Development and Dalits in Post-Independence India*, 5(4), 75–94.

<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003147053-4>

- Novianti, L. (2015). Public Sector Governance Pada Pemerintah Daerah. *Public Sector Governance*, 112. [http://repository.uin-suska.ac.id/16746/1/Ringkasan buku Public sector gov LENY nOFIANTI.pdf](http://repository.uin-suska.ac.id/16746/1/Ringkasan%20buku%20Public%20sector%20gov%20LENY%20nOFIANTI.pdf)
- O'Connell, S. (2022). Policy Development and Policy Advocacy Course Materials. *Book, 1*(Policy Development and Advocacy). [https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/Policy Development and Advocacy Workbook\\_EN.pdf](https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/Policy%20Development%20and%20Advocacy%20Workbook_EN.pdf)
- Patton, M. Q. (2008). Advocacy Impact Evaluation. *Journal of MultiDisciplinary Evaluation*, 5(9), 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.56645/jmde.v5i9.159>
- Putri Mulia, A., Noor, I., & Said, A. (2019). Policy Advocacy on Public Services of Difability People in Balikpapan City. *Wacana*, 22(3), 149–155.
- Rahardian, R., & Zarkasi, I. F. (2019). Policy Advocacy in Resolving an Environmental Preservation Conflict: A Case of Policy Advocacy between the Government, Private Sector and Society in Kayen, Pati, Central Java. *JKAP (Jurnal Kebijakan Dan Administrasi Publik)*, 23(2), 154–170. <https://journal.ugm.ac.id/jkap>
- Ramli Ramadhan, & Risna Novianti Amalia. (2021). ANALISIS NARASI / DISKURSUS TERHADAP KEBIJAKAN PERHUTANAN SOSIAL Di WILAYAH KERJA PERHUTANI. *Wahana Forestra: Jurnal Kehutanan*, 16(1), 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.31849/forestra.v16i1.5416>
- Rosset, P., & Altieri, M. (2023). *Scholar-Activism and Land Struggles: Agrarian Change & Peasant Studies* (Issue July). Practical Action Publishing Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.3362/9781788532594>
- S. I. Cohen. (2012). Agrarian Structures and Agrarian Reform: Exercises in Development Theory and Policy. *Springer Science & Business Media*, (Vol. 8). <https://doi.org/doi:10.1007/978-1-4613-4086-7>
- Sadikin. (2005). Perlawanan Petani, Konflik Agraria, dan Gerakan Sosial. *Yayasan AKATIGA*, 19–42.
- Sheldon, M. R. (2016). Policy-making theory as an analytical framework in policy analysis: Implications for research design and professional advocacy. *Physical Therapy*, 96(1), 101–110. <https://doi.org/10.2522/ptj.20150032>
- Shrestha, R. P., & Pensuk Tibkaew, A. (2014). Effect of Agricultural Land Reform Development Project on Rural Livelihood: Experience from Thailand. *IJERD-International Journal of Environmental and Rural Development*, 5–6.
- Sukmana, O. (2013). Konvergensi Antara Resource Mobilization Theory Dalam Studi Gerakan. *Sosiologi Reflektif*, 8(1), 39–62.
- Syafri, W. (2014). *Manajemen Sumber Daya Manusia Dalam Organisasi Publik*. IPDN Press. [http://eprints.ipdn.ac.id/2491/1/Manajemen Sumber Daya Manusia.pdf](http://eprints.ipdn.ac.id/2491/1/Manajemen%20Sumber%20Daya%20Manusia.pdf)
- Tilly, C. (2004). *Socia Movements 1768-2004*. Paradigm Publishers Boulder. <https://voidnetwork.gr/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Social-Movements-1768-2004-by-Charles-Tilly.pdf>
- Unggul, A., Ukur, A., & Mamun, A. Al. (2012). *Machine Translated by Google Universitas Wollongong Penelitian Daring Fakultas Bisnis - Makalah ( Arsip ) A sebagai Unggul*.
- White, C. (2004). Strategic Management Colin White. *Strategic Management*, 43–77.
- Widodo, S. (2017). A critical review of indonesia's agrarian reform policy. *Journal of Regional and City Planning*, 28(3), 204–218. <https://doi.org/10.5614/jrcp.2017.28.3.4>
- Wiradi, G. (2009). *Reforma Agraria : Perjalanan Yang Belum Berakhir*. Akatiga, Sajogyo

Wise, C. R. (2010). Organizations of the Future : Greater Hybridization Coming Author. *ASPA - American Society for Public Administration*, 70(December 2010).

Yin, R. K. (2015). Case Study Research Design and Methods. *Canadian Journal of Program Evaluation*, 30(1), 108–110. <https://doi.org/10.3138/cjpe.30.1.108>