

The Legal Framework of Advocacy Planning in Territorial Splitting: How is civil society involved in shaping local policies?

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ABSTRACT

In Indonesia, the process of territorial splitting, where regions are divided to form new autonomous areas, has been a significant aspect of local governance, particularly in the context of decentralization. The legal framework for territorial splitting is outlined in Law No. 23 of 2014 on regional government, which serves as the constitutional basis for decentralization principles in implementing territorial splitting. This study aims to explore in depth the legal framework and the opportunities and challenges in territorial splitting to improve governance, address regional disparities, and enhance public service accessibility at the local level in Pangandaran Regency, Indonesia. The case study of Pangandaran Regency illustrates a strong legal framework and the efforts of various actors, including civil society groups, political parties, and regional leaders, working together to influence decision-making and policy formation. This research adopts a mixed-methods approach, predominantly qualitative in nature, to analyze the content of regulations governing territorial splitting and explore the role of civil society in the advocacy planning process of territorial splitting in Indonesia. The study focuses on Pangandaran Regency, utilizing Social Network Analysis (SNA) to map and analyze the relationships between key actors, such as civil society groups, political parties, and local leaders, involved in advocating for regional autonomy to uncover the dynamics between these actors, revealing how they form coalitions to advocate for regional autonomy. These advocacy efforts are closely aligned with the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), particularly Goal 16, which promotes peace, justice, and strong institutions by fostering inclusive and participatory decision-making. Through strong and clear legal standing and coordinated advocacy, civil society and political actors successfully push for the establishment of new autonomous regions, such as Pangandaran. This not only enhances local governance but also fosters economic development and reduces regional disparities. By highlighting the role of civil society in policy-making, this study sheds light on how advocacy planning can drive sustainable development and better governance in Indonesia's evolving decentralization landscape.

Keywords: Legal, Advocacy Planning, Civil Society, Decentralization, Territorial Splitting, Pangandaran Regency.

ABSTRAK

Di Indonesia, proses pemekaran wilayah, di mana wilayah-wilayah dibagi untuk membentuk daerah otonom baru, telah menjadi aspek penting dalam tata kelola lokal, terutama dalam konteks desentralisasi. Kerangka hukum untuk pembagian wilayah diatur dalam Undang-Undang Nomor 23 Tahun 2014 tentang Pemerintahan Daerah, yang berfungsi sebagai landasan konstitusional bagi prinsip-prinsip desentralisasi dalam pelaksanaan pembagian wilayah. Studi ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji secara mendalam kerangka hukum serta peluang dan tantangan dalam pembagian wilayah guna meningkatkan tata kelola, mengatasi ketimpangan regional, dan meningkatkan aksesibilitas layanan publik di tingkat lokal di Kabupaten Pangandaran, Indonesia. Studi kasus Kabupaten Pangandaran menunjukkan kerangka hukum yang kuat dan upaya berbagai pemangku kepentingan, termasuk kelompok masyarakat sipil, partai politik, dan pemimpin daerah, yang bekerja sama untuk mempengaruhi pengambilan keputusan dan pembentukan kebijakan. Penelitian ini menggunakan

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pendekatan campuran, dengan fokus utama pada metode kualitatif, untuk menganalisis isi peraturan yang mengatur pembagian wilayah dan mengeksplorasi peran masyarakat sipil dalam proses perencanaan advokasi pembagian wilayah di Indonesia. Studi ini berfokus pada Kabupaten Pangandaran, menggunakan Analisis Jaringan Sosial (SNA) untuk memetakan dan menganalisis hubungan antara aktor kunci, seperti kelompok masyarakat sipil, partai politik, dan pemimpin lokal, yang terlibat dalam advokasi otonomi daerah, guna mengungkap dinamika antara aktor-aktor tersebut, serta bagaimana mereka membentuk koalisi untuk mengadvokasi otonomi daerah. Upaya advokasi ini sejalan dengan Tujuan Pembangunan Berkelanjutan PBB (SDGs), khususnya Tujuan 16, yang mempromosikan perdamaian, keadilan, dan institusi yang kuat melalui pengambilan keputusan yang inklusif dan partisipatif. Melalui landasan hukum yang kuat dan jelas serta advokasi yang terkoordinasi, masyarakat sipil dan aktor politik berhasil mendorong pembentukan wilayah otonom baru, seperti Pangandaran. Hal ini tidak hanya meningkatkan tata kelola lokal tetapi juga mendorong perkembangan ekonomi dan mengurangi ketimpangan regional. Dengan menyoroti peran masyarakat sipil dalam pembentukan kebijakan, studi ini menerangi bagaimana perencanaan advokasi dapat mendorong pembangunan berkelanjutan dan tata kelola yang lebih baik dalam lanskap desentralisasi yang terus berkembang di Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: Hukum, Perencanaan Advokasi, Masyarakat Sipil, Desentralisasi, Pemekaran Wilayah, Kabupaten Pangandaran.

INTRODUCTION

Territorial splitting, or the division of larger regions into smaller autonomous units, has had profound effects on governance across the world, both enhancing and challenging the systems in place. As part of broader decentralization efforts, territorial splitting aims to improve governance by bringing decision-making closer to local communities, addressing regional disparities, and enhancing public service delivery (Firman, 2013). However, the outcomes of such policies are complex, with both positive and negative implications for governance (Cutting dkk., 2011; Galaz & Duit, 2008; Ozarisoy & Altan, 2021). This policy is regulated in a legally binding regulation (Hayati & Tinambunan, 2020). legal basis for territorial splitting in Indonesia has undergone a long evolution, beginning with Law No. 22 of 1999 on Regional Government, followed by Law No. 32 of 2004, and culminating in the most recent regulation, Law No. 23 of 2014 on Regional Government. This latest regulation comprehensively regulates the mechanism for territorial splitting, including the administrative, technical, and substantive requirements that must be met. Additionally, this regulation establishes the Regional Preparation stage as a prerequisite for the formation of new autonomous regions. This legal framework is supported by various implementing regulations, including the Procedures for the Formation, Dissolution, and Merger of Regions at the time, which has now been updated to Law No. 9 of 2015 on Regional Government. The Government Regulation is still in the form of a Draft Government Regulation (DGR) on the Re-establishment of Regions and a Draft Government Regulation (DGR) on the Master Plan for the Re-establishment of Regions, demonstrating the government's commitment to continuously improve the legal aspects of territorial splitting.

Territorial splitting, or *pemekaran wilayah*, is a decentralization policy where new administrative regions are created to address local needs (Firman, 2013). This bottom-up policy-making approach relies on collaboration among local actors, who advocate for regional autonomy and resources from the national level (Eaton dkk., 2010; Hepburn, 2007). Territorial splitting, also known as the division of regions into smaller autonomous units, has attracted significant scholarly interest worldwide due to its role in decentralization policies (Donaghy, 2013; Goodfellow, 2013; Guerrero dkk., 2022). These policies aim to improve governance, address regional disparities, and enhance public service accessibility at the local level (Friis-Hansen & Kyed, 2009). Scholars have studied territorial splitting in various countries, focusing on its implications for local development, governance efficiency, and the empowerment of marginalized regions (Eaton dkk., 2010; Harrison, 2010). This process is integral to decentralization, which is viewed

globally as a tool for enhancing democratic governance and promoting local economic growth (Rodríguez-Pose & Gill, 2005).

In countries such as Nigeria, Brazil, and India, territorial splitting has been implemented as a mechanism to empower local governments, improve service delivery, and reduce economic inequalities (Crook & Svärrisson, 1999). For example, in Nigeria (Amusa & Mabugu, 2016), territorial fragmentation during the late 20th century was driven by the need to promote regional development and address deep-rooted ethnic and political divides (Personal & Archive, 2010; Ukiwo, 2006). Similarly, in Brazil, territorial splitting was part of a broader decentralization effort aimed at improving governance and economic conditions in underdeveloped regions (Rodríguez-Pose & Gill, 2005).

A key element in the success of territorial splitting has been the role of advocacy planning. Initially conceptualized by Paul Davidoff in 1965, advocacy planning challenges traditional top-down development models by emphasizing the involvement of civil society, grassroots movements, and local stakeholders in shaping policy. Advocacy planners act as representatives for marginalized groups, ensuring that their interests are reflected in policymaking processes. In the context of decentralization, advocacy planning has been instrumental in mobilizing local actors to advocate for regional autonomy and improved governance structure (Davidoff, 2017; Moonti, 2019; Personal & Archive, 2010). The advocacy planning approach is not only important from the perspective of democratization and good governance, but also has a fundamental legal dimension in strengthening the legal legitimacy of the formation of new autonomous regions. Effective community participation can strengthen the constitutional basis for territorial splitting in accordance with the principle of popular sovereignty mandated in Article 1 paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution, which states that "sovereignty is in the hands of the people and is exercised in accordance with the Constitution." Furthermore, this principle is in line with the concept of a democratic rule of law that requires every public policy, including territorial splitting, to have strong legitimacy from the people as the holders of sovereignty.

Therefore, future research needs to explore in depth a comprehensive legal framework as a formal basis for civil society to form large alliances in promoting territorial splitting. The presence of clear regulations that uphold the principle of public participation is crucial for civil society to act as a subject with legal legitimacy in influencing the direction of regional policies (Dewantara & Widjastuti, 2024). With a strong legal foundation, society can form strategic cross-sector alliances, whether with non-governmental organizations, academics, traditional leaders, or other community elements (Sentanu dkk., 2024), in advocating for the need to establish new autonomous regions based on local aspirations and interests.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Advocacy Planning

The Advocacy planning has been employed globally as a tool to empower marginalized communities, particularly in countries undergoing decentralization. Advocacy planning is a form of activist planning where in the preparation of the plan encourages the active involvement of civil society. Activist planning is work related to planning activities explicitly or implicitly towards policies or interventions towards public authorities and stakeholders, this activity is intended to intervene in planning through a clear attitude and follow up on participation demands outside the negotiating desk (Koppelman, 2018). In Uganda, for example, advocacy groups successfully lobbied for territorial splitting, resulting in the creation of new administrative districts. This effort aimed to reduce inequalities and promote local development

by improving governance and resource distribution (J. Anderson dkk., 2006). Between 1990 and 2010, Uganda experienced a dramatic increase in the number of districts, demonstrating how advocacy efforts can lead to significant administrative changes aimed at addressing regional disparities (Andama, 2020; Green, 2015).

Advocacy planning is a planning approach that actively involves marginalized communities in shaping the policies that affect them. Originally proposed by Paul Davidoff, advocacy planning emphasizes the representation of multiple voices within public planning, with planners acting as advocates who work to bridge social inequities often overlooked by conventional top-down planning (Davidoff, 2017). In countries undergoing decentralization, such as Indonesia, advocacy planning becomes particularly relevant. By enabling local communities to participate directly in decisions that shape their environments, this approach supports social equity, aligning well with decentralization goals to empower community-level governance (Andama, 2020; Official dkk., 2016). This aligns with the concept of Territorial Splitting, which divides regions based on specific social or cultural characteristics, granting communities greater control over local management (Laksana & Abduh, 2023). Through territorial splitting, advocacy planning ensures that planning outcomes reflect the unique characteristics and aspirations of communities, fostering more representative and equitable policies (Kaplan & Owings, 2022; Qureshi dkk., 2015).

In Europe, similar reforms have been implemented to balance regional inequalities. For instance, after the fall of communism in 1989, the Czech Republic saw a substantial increase in municipal units. This territorial restructuring aimed to improve governance, though many newly formed regions struggled with fiscal sustainability and governance effectiveness (Morris & Otte, 1929). Similarly, in China, territorial adjustments were employed to resolve governance issues at the local level, with the government aiming to strengthen local governance and promote regional development (Tan, 2019). However, challenges persisted in ensuring the effective governance of these newly formed regions (Anderies dkk., 2006; Lowndes, 2005).

Despite extensive global research on territorial splitting, one area that remains underexplored is the specific role of actor coalitions in influencing the outcomes of these processes (Koppenjan, 2016). While existing studies have examined the economic, political, and governance impacts of territorial splitting, there is limited research on how advocacy coalitions comprising civil society groups, political leaders, and local stakeholders form and operate to drive territorial reforms. The Multiple Streams Framework (MSF) by Kingdon (1984) and Actor Network Theory (ANT) by Latour (2005) offer valuable theoretical approaches for understanding these dynamics but have not been fully applied in the context of territorial splitting across different regions (W. F. A. Anderson & Maclean, 2015; Clarke et al., 2022; Fisher et al., 2019; Howlett et al., 2017).

Particularly in Indonesia, the role of advocacy planning in coordinating actor coalitions and ensuring the successful implementation of territorial splits has been inadequately addressed (Fleury dkk., 2014; Hersperger dkk., 2014; Thomson dkk., 2014). Studies from countries such as Uganda and Nigeria have highlighted the importance of these coalitions in driving territorial reforms, but the specific dynamics, how these coalitions form, operate, and influence policy remain underexamined (Green, 2015; Ukiwo, 2006). This research aims to address this gap by analyzing the actor networks involved in territorial splitting in Indonesia, with a particular focus on Pangandaran Regency.

The research problem centers on the lack of understanding regarding how advocacy coalitions form and influence territorial splitting outcomes. While territorial splitting is intended to improve governance and regional development, newly autonomous regions often face challenges such as fiscal dependence, governance inefficiencies, and uneven development. This study explores how advocacy coalitions,

including civil society, political leaders, and other local actors, collaborate to shape the territorial splitting process and influence policy outcomes (Barella & Vigo, 1977; Hoffman & Røttingen, 2014).

Global research indicates that the success of territorial splitting is often contingent on the strength and cohesion of advocacy coalitions. In Nigeria, the involvement of local leaders and political actors in advocating for regional autonomy has been a critical factor in the success of territorial reforms (Hepburn, 2007; Saarts, 2020). Similarly, in Brazil and Uganda, advocacy coalitions have played central roles in pushing for territorial splits, though concerns remain about the long-term sustainability of these reforms (Green, 2008; Rodríguez-Pose, 2013). These global examples provide a foundation for understanding the dynamics of advocacy coalitions in Indonesia's territorial splitting process.

In the Indonesian context, territorial splitting has become a significant aspect of decentralization since the enactment of Law No. 22/1999, later updated by Law No. 23/2014, on regional government. This policy aims to reduce regional disparities, improve governance, and enhance public service accessibility. However, the outcomes of territorial splitting have been varied, with some regions experiencing economic growth and improved governance, while others continue to face challenges related to fiscal sustainability and governance efficiency (Firman, 2013).

This study aims to examine in depth the legal framework and opportunities and challenges in territorial splitting to improve governance, address regional disparities, and increase accessibility to public services at the local level in Pangandaran Regency, Indonesia. The study focuses on the legal implications of decentralization, advocacy planning, governance efficiency, and local policies in territorial splitting in Pangandaran Regency, Indonesia. The Pangandaran Regency case study illustrates how various stakeholders, including civil society groups, political parties, and local leaders, work together to influence decision-making and policy formation in advocacy planning for regional separation in Pangandaran Regency through a clear and firm legal framework. This study contributes to a broader understanding of how a strong and clear legal framework enables decentralization advocates to operate through advocacy planning in regional separation, with Pangandaran Regency in West Java as the main focus. By analyzing the roles of civil society, political parties, and local leaders, this research will provide insights into the factors contributing to successful regional separation and offer recommendations to improve governance and development outcomes in new autonomous regions.

RESEARCH METHOD

Research Design

This study uses qualitative and quantitative approaches to explore the role of decentralists through advocacy planning in Indonesia for territorial splitting in the process of improving local level, with a focus on Pangandaran Regency – Indonesia. The research methodology includes in-depth interviews with key stakeholders, and legal document analysis that will be explored qualitatively in qualitative thematic and interactive analysis, while in applying the quantitative approach we conduct Social Network Analysis (SNA) to examine the relationships between actors involved in the advocacy process.

This research follows a case study approach, which allows for a detailed examination of the specific dynamics within a single instance of territorial splitting. The case study method is well-suited for understanding complex social and political phenomena such as advocacy coalitions and their influence on regional autonomy policies (Yin, 2003). Pangandaran Regency was chosen as it represents a successful example of territorial splitting in West Java, Indonesia, following extensive advocacy efforts by local actors.

Data Collection

Data collection in this study was carried out by conducting semi-structured interviews with a range of stakeholders, including civil society leaders, local government officials, members of political parties, and advocacy planners. Semi-structured interviews allow for flexibility in exploring participant experiences while ensuring that key themes are covered (Creswell, 2014). Interview questions were designed to elicit detailed information on the actors' roles, coalition-building strategies, and the challenges they encountered in advocating for territorial splitting. In addition, we also conducted a survey on legal documents, including laws, regulations, and government reports related to Indonesia's decentralization and territorial splitting policies, which were analyzed to provide context for the advocacy efforts. Archival materials, such as meeting minutes, campaign materials, and press releases, were used to track the historical development of advocacy coalitions (Borel-Saladin & Turok, 2013). Document analysis helps provide a richer understanding of the political and institutional landscape surrounding territorial splitting. To strengthen this study you also conducted Social Network Analysis (SNA) was used to map the relationships between key actors in the advocacy process Hajad et al., 2025). Data were collected from interviews and archival documents, focusing on connections between political leaders, civil society groups, and government officials. SNA is a powerful tool for analyzing the structure of relationships within networks, allowing for the identification of central actors and the flow of influence (Frey, 2022). The research data was collected based on Table 1.

Table 1. Data Sources, Data Collations and Information

Issues	Data Collations	Description	"Time is of the essence" and "Informant"
Existing conditions of the objectives of the Indonesian advocacy coalition in Pangandaran Regency.	Field Observations	Five visits to Pangandara n Regency	1 st : May 04, 2023 2 nd : May 16, 2023 3 rd : Juny 5, 2023 4 th : Agust 17, 2023 5 rd : November 2, 2023
Actors involved in advocacy for the splitting of the Pangandaran Regency area.	Semi- structure interviews	key Informant Interview data, the primary data of this research, was collected through face-to-face, telephone, and paper interviews	Chairman of Regional House of Representatives of Pangandaran Regency Regent of Pangandaran Regency Secretary of Regional Development Planning Agency of Pangandaran Regency Head of Governance Pangandaran Regency Chairman of Territorial Splitting Presidium Secretary of Territorial Splitting Presidium Regional Coordinator of Territorial Splitting Presidium Head of Local Community Organization Youth Leader of Pangandaran Regency Rember of Political Party of Pangandaran Regency

	with interviewee S.	10
Policy support Survey and issues being addressed.	How many legal documents are there and their types	Blue Print Document of New Autonomous Region of Pangandaran Regency Pangandaran Regency New Autonomous Region Feasibility Study Document Pangandaran Regency Government Center Study Document Pangandaran Spatial Plan and Map Album Document Pangandaran Tourism Sector Planning Document Physical Infrastructure Document of Pangandaran Regency
How does the SNA relationships between actors involved in the advocacy process?	The role of each actor involved, both government and community actors	Degree of Centrality Closeness of centrality Betweenness of centrality Modularity

Source: Processed from authors, 2024

Data Analysis

Data analysis in this study used thematic analysis to interview data that were coded and analyzed using thematic analysis to identify patterns and themes related to legal documents, advocacy strategies, coalition dynamics, and policy influence (Braun & Clarke, 2019). This method involves systematically identifying, organizing, and interpreting themes within qualitative data, allowing for a rich analysis of complex social processes. Next, we also conducted document analysis on the legal documents that were analyzed to trace the development of Indonesia's territorial splitting policies and to understand the legal frameworks that shaped the advocacy process (Sharam dkk, 2018). This helped to contextualize the actions of advocacy coalitions within the broader decentralization agenda of the Indonesian government. Lastly, we did social network analysis was used to map and measure the relationships between actors involved in the advocacy for territorial splitting. Metrics such as degree centrality (how many direct connections an actor has), betweenness centrality (how often an actor serves as a bridge between other actors), and closeness centrality (how quickly an actor can reach other actors in the network) were calculated. This analysis helped identify key influencers within the coalition and the overall structure of the advocacy network. We also use the qualitative data analysis tool of gephi software to substantially, the evaluation conducted to explore how deeper all the data owned to get the best findings.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

This section presents and discusses the findings on the impact of advocacy coalitions in the process of territorial splitting in Indonesia, specifically focusing on Pangandaran Regency. The study interprets these findings in the context of existing literature on territorial splitting, decentralization, and advocacy planning, exploring key themes such as coalition formation, strategies used by these groups, challenges faced, and their influence on policy outcomes. The advocacy efforts in Pangandaran align with key United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), including Goal 16 (peace, justice, and strong institutions) and Goal 10 (reducing inequalities). Through promoting civil society participation in decision-making, the advocacy planning approach supported more inclusive governance. Establishing Pangandaran as an autonomous region not only addressed longstanding regional inequalities but also improved local governance and enhanced public service delivery, benefiting sectors such as infrastructure, tourism, and small business development, this means that it is important to consider the political, legal, and institutional context of the country (Sabitov dkk, 2025).

This case underscores the potential of civil society-led advocacy to influence governance structures positively and drive meaningful regional reform. Pangandaran's success offers a model for other regions in Indonesia, highlighting how advocacy coalitions can strengthen local autonomy and support sustainable development. The following section examines the formation of these advocacy coalitions, collaboration among actors, and the strength of their networks in pushing for change, illustrating how strategic coalitions effectively contribute to decentralized governance and equitable development outcomes.

Legal Framework Supporting Coalition Formation

The formation of advocacy coalitions in the context of territorial splitting is fundamentally supported by Indonesia's constitutional and legal framework that guarantees freedom of association and expression. Article 28 of the 1945 Constitution provides the constitutional basis for citizens to form associations and express their opinions, which extends to advocacy activities in territorial autonomy processes. This constitutional guarantee is operationalized through Law No. 17 of 2013 on Community Organizations, which regulates the formation, activities, and legal status of civil society organizations that often serve as the backbone of advocacy coalitions.

Within the specific context of territorial splitting, UU No. 23 Tahun 2014 regarding Regional Government implicitly recognizes the role of advocacy coalitions through its provisions on community consultation and participation in the formation of new autonomous regions. This means that policymakers and stakeholders need to improve and clarify the law (Zulkifli & Noor, 2024), especially when it directly involves the community. so that existing legal regulations need to strengthen the role of civil society participation, so that existing legal regulations are not misused as a tool to silence the truth and as a political weapon (Septiadi, 2022). Article 35 of this law mandates that the formation of new regions must consider the aspirations of the majority of the population in the proposed area, creating a legal space for advocacy coalitions to mobilize and represent community interests. Furthermore, the law's requirement for comprehensive feasibility studies provides advocacy coalitions with formal channels to submit evidence, data, and arguments supporting their territorial autonomy claims.

Actor Collaboration and Network Influence

The coalition's formation was driven by robust local networks, with informal connections among local leaders, NGOs, and political party representatives playing a crucial role in fostering collaboration. These actors effectively mobilized broad support across the region, including from local businesses and community groups, creating a strong foundation for the decentralization effort. This aligns with Social Network Analysis (SNA), which highlights how relationships facilitate advocacy planning. Central figures, such as prominent NGO leaders, acted as bridges, connecting various coalition members and coordinating efforts effectively while maintaining communication with national political figures (Wasserman & Faust, 1994).

Centrality Metrics in Decentralization Efforts

Centrality metrics within the advocacy network were vital in identifying the influence and impact of individual actors on the coalition's success (Mondal, 2024). High centrality actors—those with many connections—played key roles by managing the flow of information and supporting coordinated actions. Three centrality measures—degree, closeness, and betweenness—revealed the structure and strategic influence within the coalition. Degree centrality showed each actor's level of engagement, closeness centrality assessed the speed of information dissemination, and betweenness centrality highlighted actors controlling information flow, giving them significant leverage in the decentralization advocacy.

Visual analysis through Gephi showed that nodes with high centrality appeared larger, illustrating their importance within the advocacy network. This visualization underscored the role of influential coalition members, supporting the effectiveness of their advocacy planning and collaboration in achieving Pangandaran's decentralization.

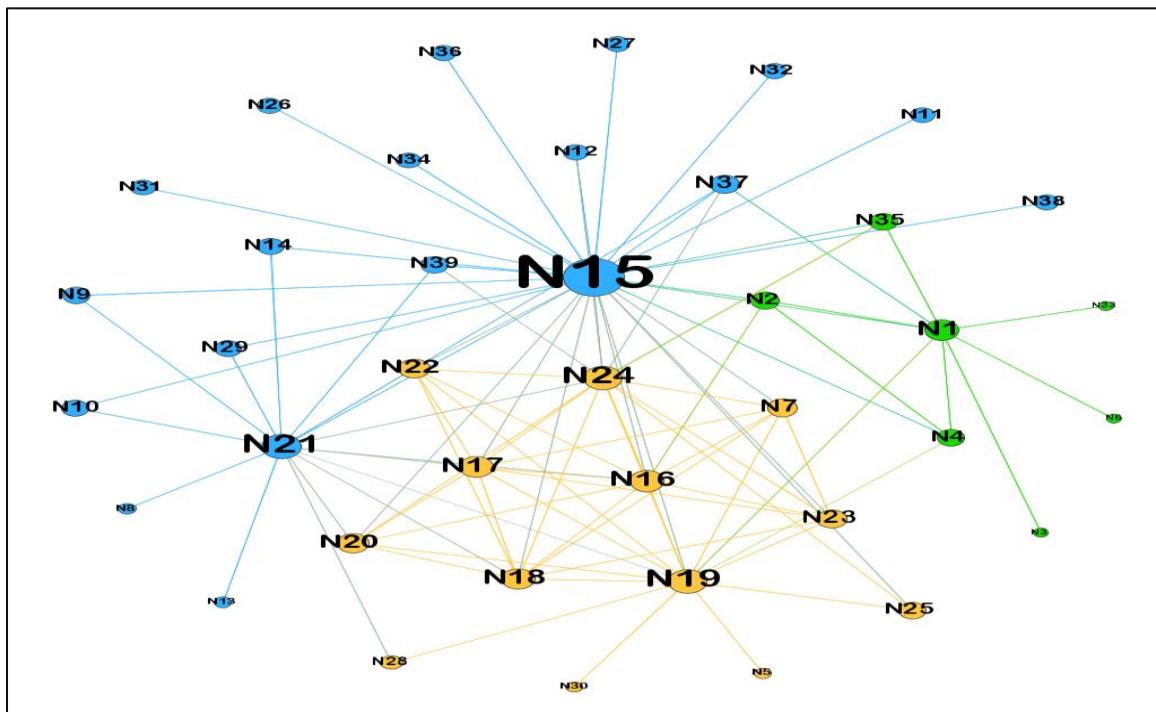


Figure 1. Social Network Analysis in Territorial Splitting of Pangandaran, Indonesia
Source: Processed by Researcher, 2024

Base on the figure 2. The network visualization of the Pangandaran Territorial Splits Presidium Forum highlights the central role of key actors in the advocacy planning process for decentralization in Pangandaran Regency. The most prominent actor, N15 (Chairman of the Pangandaran Territorial Splits Presidium Forum), appears at the center with the largest node, indicating its high centrality and significant influence in coordinating efforts among diverse actors within the network. This actor connects with various nodes, symbolizing connections to multiple political entities, community representatives, and government agencies.

Nodes like N21 (District Coordinator of the Pangandaran Territorial Splits Presidium Forum) and other Presidium members (e.g., N16, N17, N18, N19) are also strategically positioned, showing their roles in facilitating communication and acting as intermediaries between the central chairman and other peripheral actors. This structure reflects a well-coordinated coalition where key members bridge communication and support effective information flow within the advocacy network.

Political parties and government institutions, such as the Golkar and Democratic parties (indicated in blue) and local government bodies like the Regional People's Representative Council of Ciamis Regency (green nodes), are positioned on the periphery but still maintain links with the core actors. This setup suggests that while these parties and governmental bodies support the advocacy for territorial autonomy, they play more of a supportive rather than central role, contributing to the coalition's wider political legitimacy and reach.

The color-coded modularity suggests different clusters within the network, each representing actors with shared roles or common interests. For instance, political party representatives and national government actors form one cluster, while local leaders and coordinators in the Presidium Forum form another, indicating the coalition's ability to engage stakeholders across various levels of influence. Overall, this network analysis reveals that the decentralization movement in Pangandaran was highly organized, with a few central figures facilitating collaboration and communication across a broad and diverse advocacy network. The structure reflects a strategic approach to advocacy planning, where key influencers connected different interest groups and ensured cohesive efforts toward the goal of regional autonomy for Pangandaran.

Discussion

Comprehensive study

The study also found that the success of the advocacy coalition depended heavily on its ability to forge political alliances with key stakeholders at both the local and national levels. Local political figures, including members of parliament from the region, were instrumental in pushing the territorial splitting agenda through the legislative process. Their support legitimised the demands of the coalition and provided the political backing necessary for the initiative to succeed. This finding echoes research on the importance of political alliances in advocacy planning. Kingdon's Multiple Streams Framework (MSF) (1984) suggests that policy changes occur when problems, policies, and politics align. In the case of Pangandaran, the advocacy coalition successfully brought together the problem of regional disparities, a clear policy solution (territorial splitting), and political support to create a window of opportunity for change.

Pangandaran Regency, West Java Province, Indonesia is a region that has been formed as a result of the Territorial Splitting of Ciamis Regency. The formation of Pangandaran Regency was initiated in 2012, with the establishment of the region based on the provisions outlined in Law No. 21 of 2012 concerning

the Establishment of Pangandaran Regency in West Java Province (Satriawan dkk, 2024). In the Territorial Splitting of the Pangandaran Regency area, there are actors involved in it, these actors are connected to each other with a common goal of wanting better changes for the community, especially in the public service access sector (Bakti dkk, 2023). The actors were initiated by the community who then joined to form the Presidium for the Territorial Splitting of Pangandaran Regency. The Presidium for the Establishment of Pangandaran Regency consists of various elements of society from 10 sub-districts of the Candidate for New Autonomous Region (DOB) of Pangandaran Regency (Mutakaliman, 2014), and in each sub-district of the Candidate for New Autonomous Region (DOB) of Pangandaran Regency a Sub-district Coordinator is formed, and to facilitate coordination and facilitation of the activities of the Presidium for the Establishment of Pangandaran Regency with the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR-RI).

The Presidium, particularly its chairman, played a crucial role in lobbying communications for the splitting of Pangandaran Regency. Despite being hindered by a presidential moratorium on territorial splitting (Istania, 2021), the Presidium persisted through various strategies, including political lobbying through the House of Representatives, Ministry of Home Affairs, and direct communication with the President. Both executive and legislative branches of Ciamis Regency, as the parent region, were also involved in facilitating public participation and community aspirations. This splitting process was conducted in accordance with Law No. 32/2004 and Government Regulation No. 78/2007, which was later updated to Law No. 23/2014 on local government.

Based on the evidence, the Territorial Splitting presidium community and political parties have significant roles as advocate planners in the territorial splitting process. Local political parties and civil society groups act as advocate planners by aligning community interests with policymakers' decisions (Aspinal & Fealy, 2003). These two groups are crucial in coordinating the interests of various stakeholders and political parties, which serve as the main channel for promoting territorial splitting. The Territorial Splitting presidium community acts as a representative body for local people's aspirations in establishing a new autonomous region. They gather and express the interests of various social groups, including traditional and religious leader (Kimura, 2013). Their role includes developing strong arguments for territorial splitting and engaging in political lobbying to gain stakeholder support. This process demonstrates the importance of local political dynamics in Indonesia's decentralization and regional autonomy efforts(Bobrovnyk, 2024).

Political parties play a crucial role as intermediaries between people's aspirations (represented by the Territorial Splitting Presidium) and central policymakers. With their extensive networks and influence, they can elevate territorial splitting issues to the national political agenda and mobilize legislative support at both regional and central levels. Beyond their electoral function, political parties serve as important channels for advocating regional interests, including territorial splitting initiatives(Van Klinken & Schulte Nordholt, 2007). The collaboration between the Territorial Splitting presidium community and political parties as advocate planners gives rise to intriguing dynamics in the process of territorial Splitting. Both entities serve to complement each other in an effort to bridge the interests of a diverse array of actors, including local communities, local governments, and the central government. Political parties, with their status as formal institutions within the democratization system, occupy a pivotal role in this process.

It is important to acknowledge that this research offers significant insights into the dynamics of local politics in the context of decentralization and regional autonomy in Indonesia. Nevertheless, to guarantee the precision and applicability of these findings, additional research is required that encompasses diverse

geographical regions with varying characteristics. A crucial element of the coalition's success was their grassroots mobilization strategy. By engaging local communities and their leaders, they built broad support and created a sense of ownership in the movement for territorial autonomy. Below are several key findings from the research regarding the outcomes of grassroots mobilisation in this context:

Legitimisation of the Movement

By involving local leaders, grassroots mobilisation gave the territorial splitting movement a sense of legitimacy that it might have otherwise lacked. Local leaders, such as village heads and traditional community figures, played an instrumental role in championing the cause. Their involvement signaled to the broader community that the movement was not just politically motivated, but was instead grounded in local needs and aspirations. This sense of legitimacy also extended to civil society organisations, which facilitated meetings and workshops to discuss the socio-economic benefits of territorial autonomy. These organisations helped ensure that the movement was perceived as a collective effort of the people, not just the initiative of political elites seeking to gain power. Theory, as suggested by McCarthy & Zald (2017), underscores that social movements' success is heavily dependent on their resource acquisition and utilization

Building Social Capital

The mobilisation efforts were not only about advocacy; they also helped strengthen the social fabric of the community. By organising regular town hall meetings and community gatherings, the coalition fostered a sense of solidarity and collective purpose among the residents. This increase in social capital was instrumental in overcoming potential divisions or resistance from within the community. Grassroots mobilisation created new channels for communication and collaboration among various groups in Pangandaran, including local business owners, youth organisations, and women's groups. These alliances helped broaden the base of support for territorial autonomy, ensuring that the movement appealed to a wide range of stakeholders both local and provincial levels.

Increased Awareness of Local Governance Issues

One of the indirect but significant results of grassroots mobilisation was the increased public awareness of broader governance issues in Pangandaran. Through public meetings and discussions, residents became more informed about the limitations of provincial governance and how territorial autonomy could improve public service delivery. This increased public awareness also influenced other regions in Indonesia facing similar challenges. The success of grassroots mobilisation in Pangandaran served as a model for other regions seeking autonomy, demonstrating the power of community-based advocacy in driving local policy changes.

This finding supports previous research on the importance of grassroots efforts in advocacy planning. Korn (1965) highlights that advocacy planning is most effective when it engages the people directly affected by policy decisions. In Pangandaran, grassroots mobilisation ensured that the territorial splitting movement was not seen as a top-down initiative imposed by political elites but as a community-driven effort to improve governance and local development. And then when people's cultural and social identities are engaged in political movements, they are more likely to support and participate actively (Kuhn, 2008; Tan, 2019). In Pangandaran, this focus on local identity created a strong, emotionally resonant narrative that unified the population behind the cause of territorial splitting. This approach aligns with policy agenda-setting theory (Kvakkstad dkk, 2020; Vo dkk, 2019), which suggests that presenting issues with a sense of immediacy can help move them to the top of the policy agenda. The coalition's ability

to frame the territorial splitting as both a pressing issue and a solution to immediate problems ensured that it remained a priority in local political discussions.

Institutional Legal Support

The legal framework also provides institutional support for advocacy coalition activities through various government agencies and mechanisms. The Ministry of Home Affairs, as the primary institution overseeing territorial splitting processes, is legally mandated to consider community input and conduct public consultations before making recommendations on new region formation. Regional Representative Council (DPD) members and House of Representatives (DPR) members are constitutionally empowered to channel community aspirations, including those organized through advocacy coalitions, into the formal legislative process for territorial splitting approval.

History records that decentralization in Indonesia has experienced ups and downs along with changes in the political constellation that have occurred in its journey (Kuncoro, 1919). Besides that, in the process of discussing territorial splitting, it is carried out through two major stages, namely first through a technocratic process which contains technical and administrative feasibility studies, and secondly through a political process, because technocratic requirements have been regulated in Laws and Government Regulations, splitting proposals must be supported politically by the Council. People's Representative (DPR). As for its development, the laws and regulations regarding regional autonomy have changed. From these changes it is also in line with the number of regional divisions through the splitting of new autonomous regions in Indonesia each year producing new autonomous regions, as explained as follows table 2:

Table 2. Historical Regional Autonomy Legislation

Years	Product Rules
1945	Law no. 1 of 1945 which regulates the position of the Regional National Committee (KND).
1948	Law no. 22 of 1948 which regulates the main points of regional government for the parts of Java, Madura, Sumatra and Kalimantan.
1950	Law no. 44 of 1950 which regulates matters related to the Principles of regional government in the parts of Sulawesi, Maluku and Nusa Tenggara
1957	Law no. 1 of 1957 which regulates the Principles of Regional Government, namely DPRD as a legislative body and Regional Representative Council as an executive body
1965	Law no. 18 of 1965 which regulates the principles of district government, the district head as the executive body And Regional Representative Council as the legislative body. In addition, there is Law no. 19 of 1965 which regulates the village praja as a form of transition to speed up the formation of districts
1974	Law no. 5 of 1974 about the principles of government in the district. With the occurrence of the basis of decentralization
1979	Law no. 5 of 1979 which regulates village administration during the New Order government.

1999	Law no. 22 of 1999 which regulates about regional government. applies to provinces, districts and cities.
2004	Law no. 32 of 2004 concerning local government. Which regulates the principle of decentralization autonomy and co-administration.
2014	Law no. 23 of 2014 which regulates regional government. Confirmed through regional autonomous design.
2015	Law no. 9 of 2015 concerning local government. confirmation of the regional head's task assistant, namely the deputy regional head. also deputy governor, deputy regent, and deputy mayor.

Source: Researchers, 2024

The process of discussing territorial splitting plans is carried out through two major stages, namely *First* Through technocratic processes or technical and administrative feasibility studies, and *second*, through the political process through actors involved in government, namely the support of the the Regional Legislative Council (DPRD) and the Regent, the Provincial Regional Legislative Council (DPRD) and the Governor, and the DPR. Which is described as figure 1

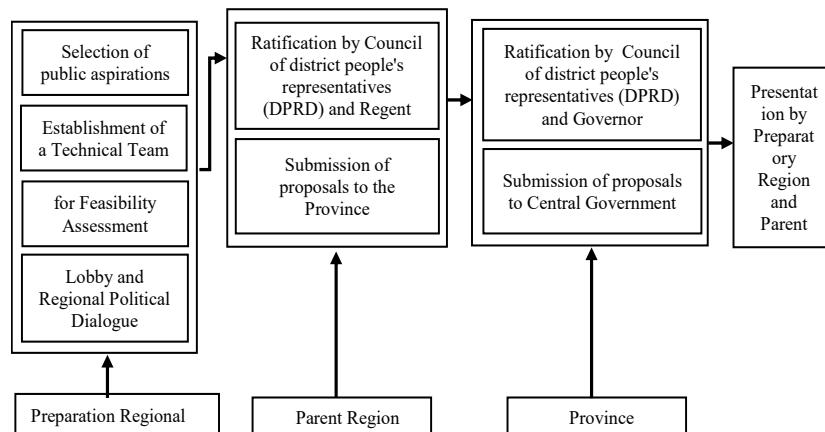


Figure 1. Proposal Process for Territorial splitting

Source : Analysis of Law No. 32 of 2004, and Government Regulation No. 78 of 2007

Based on Figure 1 above, it explains the stages and procedures for forming districts/cities according to Government Regulation No. 78/2007 concerning Requirements for Formation and Criteria for Splitting, Abolition and Merger of Regions, in Article 16 where there are several procedures that must be passed by the Regency/City area to be divided, namely:

The aspirations of the majority of local people in the form of The Village Consultative Body (BPD) decisions, *First* for Villages and Kelurahan Communication Forums or another name for Kelurahans in areas that are candidates for Regency/City area coverage to be expanded. *Second* Regency/Municipal the Regional Legislative Council (DPRD) can decide to approve or reject, the aspirations referred to in letter (a) in the form of the Regional Legislative Council (DPRD) decisions based on the aspirations of the majority of the local community represented by the BPD for the village or another name and the Kelurahan Communication Forum for the village or another name. *Third*, The Regent/Mayor decides to approve or

reject the aspirations. as referred to in letter (a) in the form of a Regent/Mayor decision based on the results of a regional study.*Fourth*, The Regent/Mayor proposes the formation of a Regency/City to the Governor for approval by attaching: Documents on the aspirations of the people in the Regency/City candidates; (i) Results of regional studies; (ii) Map of the area of the Regency/City candidate; and (iii) Decisions of the Regency/Municipal the Regional Legislative Council (DPRD)and decisions of the Regent/Mayor (iv) as referred to in Article 5 paragraph (2) letter (a) and letter (b).*Fifth*, the Governor decides to approve or reject the proposed formation. Regency/City based on the evaluation of regional studies as referred to in letter (c). *Sixth*,The Governor submits the proposal for the formation of Regency/Municipal candidates to the Provincial Regional Legislative Council (DPRD).*Seventh*, The Provincial Regional Legislative Council (DPRD) decides to approve or reject the proposal for the establishment of a Regency/City. And *Eighth*,In the event that the Governor approves the proposal to form a Regency/City, And the Governor proposes the formation of a Regency/City to the President through the Minister by attaching: (i) Documents on the aspirations of the people in the Regency/City candidates; (ii) Regional study results; (iii) Map of the district/city candidate areas; (iv) Decisions of the Regency/City the Regional Legislative Council (DPRD) and decisions of the Regent/Mayor d. as referred to in Article 5 paragraph (2) letter (a) and letter (b); (v) and the Decision of the Provincial Regional Legislative Council (DPRD) as referred to in Article 5 paragraph (e). (1) letter (c); and (vi) Governor's Decree as referred to in Article 5 paragraph (1) letter (d).

Moreover, at the local government level, the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) plays a pivotal role in promoting territorial splitting by establishing local legislation. This is achieved through the involvement of civil society and all relevant stakeholders, who articulate their perspectives and advocate directly to the local government. Following the results of the verification process conducted by the Special Committee of the Ciamis Regency Legislative Council on 12 May 2008, the Ciamis Regency Legislative Council formally endorsed the establishment of the Pangandaran Regency through a plenary session. Subsequently, the presidium undertook a further initiative by conducting a socialisation process with the leaders of the community in the ten districts of the prospective Pangandaran Regency. This process was undertaken until 9 August 2008 and was intended to communicate the decision of the Pangandaran Regency Development Agency (DPD) to the community leaders. The presidium, in conjunction with community representatives from 92 villages (represented by the BPD chairpersons and village heads from the 10 sub-districts of the prospective Pangandaran Regency), attended the Ciamis Regency DPRD plenary session on 5 February 2009, with the purpose of discussing the approval of the formation of the Pangandaran Regency. Subsequently, the Presidium undertook the task of socialising the Ciamis Regency Development House (DPRD) Approval Decree and the Ciamis Regent Approval Decree to community leaders in ten sub-districts of the prospective Pangandaran Regency. The decision to be followed up at the provincial level, to be followed up at the central level, is listed in Table 3.

Table 3. Legal Products at the Regency Level Regarding the Splitting of Pangandaran

Decision of the Ciamis Regional Representative Council	Decision of the Regent of Ciamis Regency
Decision of the Ciamis Regency Regional Representative Council Number: 3 of 2009 dated February 6, 2009 concerning Approval for the Establishment of the Pangandaran Regency as a Division of the Ciamis Regency;	Ciamis Regent Decree No. 135/Kpts.47-Huk/2009 dated February 13, 2009 concerning Approval for the Establishment of the Prospective Pangandaran Regency as a Division of Ciamis Regency;

Decision of the Ciamis Regency Regional People's Representative Council Number: 188.4/Kep.17/DPRD/2010 dated June 22, 2010 concerning the Approval of the Ciamis Regency Regional People's Representative Council for the Provision of Grants for the Administration of Government and the Provision of Financial Support for the First Regional Head Elections in the Proposed Pangandaran Regency;	Ciamis Regent Decree Number: 135/Kpts.338-Huk/2010 dated June 29, 2010 concerning the Amount of Grants for the Administration of Government and Financial Support for the First Regional Head Elections in the Prospective Pangandaran Regency;
Decision of the Ciamis Regency Regional Representative Council Number: 188.4/Kep.19/DPRD/2010 dated June 28, 2010 concerning the Approval of the Ciamis Regency Regional Representative Council for the Transfer of Assets to be Transferred to the New Autonomous Region (DOB) of Pangandaran Regency;	Keputusan Bupati Ciamis Nomor : 135/Kpts.339-Huk/2010 tanggal 29 Juni 2010 tentang Daftar Aset, Personil, Dokumen dan Hutang Piutang Kabupaten Ciamis Yang Akan Diserahkan ke Calon Daerah Otonomi Baru (DOB) Kabupaten Pangandaran;
	Ciamis Regent Decree Number: 135/Kpts.340-Huk/2010 dated June 29, 2010 concerning Details of the Coverage Area of the Proposed Pangandaran Regency.

Sumber : Peneliti, 2024

In order to generate support for the division at the local level, various advocacy efforts were carried out by the regional division presidium as a pioneering team, from various levels and various other actors, including the Ciamis Regional Representative Council, the Regent of Ciamis, other stakeholders, community leaders in several areas covered by Pangandaran, and even engaging in emotional appeals with some members and officials of political parties to promote the Pangandaran territorial splitting. This is imperative due to the pivotal function of political support at the local level. Individuals occupying legislative and executive positions at the local level are well-positioned to facilitate the articulation of these interests at higher levels, specifically with provincial and national governments. Conducting dialogue sessions to convey aspirations during every recess activity of the Members of the Regional People's Representative Council of West Java Province and the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR-RI) with each faction visiting the prospective Pangandaran Regency area. The undertaking of political lobbying and emotional appeals with multiple members and officials of political parties at the district, provincial, and national levels was undertaken.

Implications of Fulfilling the Right to Political Participation in Territorial Splitting Policies

Political participation is a fundamental element in the human security framework because it ensures that every individual has the space to influence decisions that impact their lives. In the context of territorial splitting, the right to participate is not only related to the election process, but also to community involvement in planning, public consultation, and local policy-making. The ability to participate is part of substantive freedom that determines the quality of life of the community, and also shows that the institutionalization of participatory mechanisms in regional policy is an important condition for ensuring

human security (Sen, 1999). Furthermore, political participation in the process of forming territorial splitting policy has strategic implications for the legitimacy of the policy. When civil society is given structured opportunities to voice opinions, criticize, and monitor political processes, administrative decisions regarding regional boundaries or new institutional designs will better reflect local needs. Arnstein (1969) through his "ladder of participation," shows that meaningful participation is not merely symbolic consultation; it builds a sense of ownership and increases government accountability. Therefore, this study emphasizes the importance of positioning citizens as partners in the policy process, not merely as recipients of policy impacts.

Further implications of this study's findings show that strengthening political participation rights also has a direct impact on efforts to minimize human security risks, particularly structural risks arising from unequal access to power. When communities are not involved in the process of territorial splitting, representation gaps can increase and potentially lead to horizontal conflicts. Political participation is a conflict prevention mechanism in the human security approach because it ensures that the voices of vulnerable groups are accommodated (Tadjbakhsh & Chenoy, 2007). Thus, inclusive territorial expansion policies can reduce the potential for social friction. In addition, this study sharpens the argument regarding the impact of territorial splitting policies on access to public services. Splitting is often justified on the grounds of bringing services closer to the community, but previous findings show that without data-based planning and community participation, expansion can actually create new inequalities (Firman, 2009). Access to health services, education, population administration, and basic infrastructure can be constrained by the limited fiscal capacity of new regions. Therefore, this study emphasizes the need for a comprehensive evaluation before implementing territorial splitting policies, and the importance of integrating participatory analysis in assessing regional needs and readiness.

This study provides a basis that policy advocacy planning for territorial splitting must be supported by a legal framework that provides space for civil society to be actively and sustainably involved. Through development planning deliberation mechanisms, public consultation forums, and capacity building for civil society organizations, territorial splitting policies can be directed towards improving the quality of public services and ensuring citizens' sense of security. Thus, the implications of this study show that the fulfillment of political participation rights and human security cannot be separated from transparent, inclusive, and responsive regional policy governance.

CONCLUSION

The legal framework for advocacy planning in territorial splitting has provided a solid foundation for civil society involvement in shaping local policy. Although there are still challenges in its implementation, the opportunities available in this legal framework can be optimally utilized through capacity building, regulatory reform, and institutional strengthening. Effective civil society involvement in this legal framework will not only improve the quality of territorial splitting policies, but also strengthen local democracy and good governance. The advocacy efforts in Pangandaran offer critical insights into the dynamics of territorial splitting and local governance. In conclusion, the success of the territorial splitting movement in Pangandaran offers valuable lessons for regions seeking autonomy in Indonesia's decentralization process. By demonstrating the power of civil society and coalition-building, this case illustrates how advocacy planning can foster more responsive and equitable governance, ultimately contributing to sustainable development at the local level. The following conclusion summarizes the key

takeaways, highlighting the role of advocacy coalitions, the involvement of political parties, and the broader implications for decentralization in Indonesia:

The findings of this research emphasize the pivotal role that advocacy coalitions play in shaping territorial splitting policies. In the case of Pangandaran Regency, the formation of broad-based coalitions involving civil society groups, political leaders, community organizations, and government officials was instrumental in achieving regional autonomy. These coalitions utilized strategic advocacy techniques, overcame significant challenges, and successfully advanced the territorial splitting agenda. However, the study also sheds light on the complexities of territorial splitting, particularly in terms of fiscal sustainability and potential political opposition, which are critical factors that regions seeking autonomy must navigate.

The research reveals that civil society played a central role in driving the advocacy planning that led to significant policy changes in Pangandaran. Through strong collaboration, issue framing, and strategic use of media, the coalition succeeded in influencing local governance, improving public service delivery, and stimulating economic development. And then the political served as essential conduits in the advocacy planning process, connecting the interests of local actors with central political elites. This role was crucial in facilitating the legislative process that ultimately ratified Pangandaran's transition to autonomous status. The author proposes that political parties, in this context, can be viewed as key players in advocacy planning, representing an important dimension that influences policy-making in the territorial splitting process. Moreover, this study makes a theoretical contribution to the understanding of advocacy planning by introducing the role of political parties and actors in coordinating efforts for territorial autonomy. While most research on territorial splitting has focused on its impact on economic welfare and public services, this study broadens the scope by exploring the advocacy process and the roles of key actors in shaping policy outcomes.

Limitations in this study include the use of purposive sampling, which may have resulted in sampling bias. Since participants were selected based on their involvement in advocacy efforts, the views of actors who were not directly involved may have been underrepresented (Creswell, 2014). In addition, since this study focuses on a single case, Pangandaran Regency, the findings may not be fully generalizable to other regions or contexts, particularly those with different political dynamics or socio-economic conditions (Yin, 2003). Access to some archival materials or detailed reports from government agencies was limited, potentially affecting the comprehensiveness of the analysis (Gorard, 2016). Informed consent was obtained from all participants, and their confidentiality was protected. Ethical approval was granted by the institutional review board, adhering to guidelines for research involving human subjects.

The recommendation for the future is the need to strengthen legal capacity through systematic efforts to improve civil society's understanding of available legal instruments and how to use them effectively in the advocacy process. In addition, regulatory reform through the existing legal framework needs to be continuously improved to provide broader and more meaningful space for civil society participation, including simplifying procedures and improving accessibility. Strengthening civil society institutions is necessary so that they can play an optimal role in utilizing the available legal framework for advocacy on territorial splitting policies.

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