CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Rina Mardiana (Shohibuddin, 2018) states that complex agrarian problems can be seen through human relationships with agrarian sources or relationships with other humans. The issue of access and assets is a simplification of agrarian problems that broadly include other problems. The breadth of agrarian problems, such as competition for access and assets, land ownership, class formation, agrarian structure, and differentiation, are all included in the social transformation of agrarian ecology. Various perspectives and cooperation are needed to understand all these problems in order to produce the best solutions.

Rina Mardiana emphasized that land distribution cannot be called the agrarian reform needed, but structural improvement efforts are needed to overcome the inequality of the agrarian structure. Moreover, today, inequality in agrarian structures is still often encountered, which has implications for the spread of agrarian conflicts in almost most of Indonesia. Especially problems related to the control, ownership, and utilization of agrarian resources. It can also be said that the resolution of agrarian conflicts must be overcome by true agrarian reform.

Secretary General of the Agrarian Reform Consortium (KPA), Dewi Kartika, argued that the distribution of land certificates by President Jokowi cannot be said to be entirely an agrarian reform process. This is because the granting of certificates to land that has been controlled for a long time is a service to the people to provide legality for their rights. Meanwhile, agrarian reform is an obligation that

the state must carry out to serve the people who belong to the weak economic group with narrow or even landless land.

Then, according to Dewi Kartika (Shohibuddin, 2018), to implement agrarian reform, the government must carry out at least two agendas that are of urgent importance. The two agendas are to improve the agrarian reform process that is being carried out and integrate it in its entirety into the land redistribution system that is being carried out and will be carried out. Furthermore, three urgent steps must be taken in the implementation of agrarian reform. The three steps include:

1. In the political area, in this region, the president should directly lead the idea of agrarian reform, which has the goal of accelerating the resolution of agrarian disputes and reducing inequality in the agrarian structure.
2. In the policy area, the Presidential Regulation on Agrarian Reform must be immediately ratified by the government.
3. In the implementation area, the government involves community participation in registering locations and organizing beneficiaries, as well as developing sustainable development types in agrarian reform areas.

With the establishment of the Agrarian Reform Authority Agency or BORA, which is carrying out agrarian reform operations in the planning, implementation, and evaluation areas, these three things can be accommodated well.

The process of realizing the democratization of exploitative and unequal agrarian social relations requires a deep understanding of agrarian reform. Along

with this, there is also an actual partiality towards people with low incomes and a guarantee of intergenerational justice. From the subject's point of view, these relationships can occur between people, groups, or governments. These relationships are related to access and utilization of agrarian resources that are not limited to land but also water and minerals contained in it. In addition, the products of forest resources and plants on them, as well as the surplus generated by entrepreneurs (Shohibuddin, 2018).

Furthermore, Mohammad Shohibuddin stated that the first step that must be realized in the context of agrarian inequality is to guarantee people's access to agrarian resources. With this step, it must be ensured that the redistribution of agrarian resources and the various economic and political benefits produced can provide the broadest possible inclusiveness. Partiality in this process can also be ascertained to lead to the interests and needs of marginalized poor groups in rural areas or commonly known as *pro-poor land reform* (Shohibuddin, 2018).

Land is considered a reflection of social status in agrarian society, the high social status can be seen from the extent of the land owned, the larger the land owned, the higher the social status (Putri et al., 2022). Confusion over land ownership is the root of the problem, so conflicts arise, both vertical and horizontal conflicts (Yuliantika, 2022). Confusion of land ownership rights can also cause land disputes where two or more groups claim each other's ownership of the land, which are often referred to as land disputes (Aldi et al., 2023). In line with this, land disputes are often followed by other problems, such as loss of livelihoods and residences (Putri et al., 2022). Basically, the source of production and livelihood of

the community depends on the land, so land becomes the most critical asset in life (Adiansah et al., 2019).

The majority of land disputes that occur in Indonesia are vertical, or between the government and the people; KPA noted that there were 73 conflict eruptions from 2015 to 2023. Then, in its notes, the KPA also explained that throughout 2022, the disputed land area was 1.03 million hectares and had an impact on 346,000 families. The eruption of agrarian conflict is dominated by the State Strategic Project (PSN), which states that many actors who play a role in acts of violence come from the state (Suryani et al., 2021). In addition, there are also land disputes that occur horizontally, which are caused by the overlap of land laws in Indonesia, as happened in Dago today (CNN Indonesia, 2023).

Basically, agrarian conflicts reflect conflicts about who can own, use, and manage, as well as who can control access to agrarian resources and who benefits from them. The extent of the conflict on the surface is basically a reflection of how severe the structural conflict is (Koeswahyono & Maharani, 2022).

Furthermore, in a conflict that occurs, there is also a form of popular resistance often called a social movement. Social Movements are collective actions to achieve common goals outside the scope of established institutions (Giddens, 1993). Along with such collective action, social movements can also be said to be revolutionary movements that are sustainable and organized and outside institutions that seek to overthrow power, cultural practices, and authority (Jasper & Goodwin, 2014). Social movements are motivated by the presence of uncertainty and unrest

in a community group that has gone through several stages, such as the Stage of anxiety, annoyance, formalization, and institutionalization, so as to give birth to a common goal that must be fulfilled (Haris et al., 2019).

In the context of land disputes that often occur, collective movements are often carried out, especially if the escalation of the conflict has involved officials who are repressive towards the people. The Wadas Versus Movement is one of the social movements that aims to defend the Wadas Village area in Purworejo Regency from land acquisition for andesite rock mining. One of the movements that is organized and consistently against this land acquisition program is the Wadas Village Nature Care Community Movement (Gempa Dewa), which has consistently resisted since March 2018 (Hidajat, 2021)

In addition to the resistance movement that is carried out comprehensively involving various elements of society, there is also a resistance that is carried out more focused on one element of society. One example is Wadon Wadas, which is categorized as an ecofeminist movement in Wadas Village, Purworejo (Surida, 2022). Wadon Wadas is a women's organization in Wadas Village that also resists the andesite rock mining plan. The ecofeminism movement championed by Wadon Wadas is one of the methods of resistance in a social movement that prioritizes the relationship between the environment and women.

The next problem regarding land disputes often occurs in urban areas. State-owned and private land that could be more productive and then used generally by the urban poor raises new problems when land owners want to use land that has

been used by other parties for decades (Hastiyanto, 2019). The use of unproductive land in urban and residential areas occurred among Tanah Merah residents, who later caused conflicts with PT. Pertamina, because the area is close to high-risk vital objects or dangerous zones (Fakhirah et al., 2023).

Basically, land disputes are the impact of conflicts of interest. Conflicts of interest can occur in the form of individuals with individuals, individuals with institutions, and institutions with institutions. The conflict that occurred in Dago Elos village was a conflict between the people of Dago Elos village and the heirs of Netherlands descent or George Henrik Muller and PT. Dago Inti Graha. Three people represented George Henrik Muller as his heirs with PT. Dago Inti Graha sued residents in the Dago Elos area. The 6.3 hectares of land sued by the Muller Family and PT. Dago Inti Graha is based on *Property Pounding*, which is a legal product of the colonial era whose content states that a person's ownership of the land in which the legal product was filed in the year of the lawsuit is no longer valid (Fauzi, 2023).

The lawsuit was filed by the Muller Family and PT. Dago Inti Graha threatens the continuity of the residents of Dago Elo's residents. The Bandung District Court (PN) in 2017 granted a lawsuit filed by the Muller Family so that as many as 331 residents of Dago Elos were forced to leave the land and reimburse 238 million in case costs. At the 2020 cassation level, the Supreme Court rejected the land claim by the Muller Family together with PT. Dago Inti Graha based on *Property Pounding*. Soil *verponding* based on the Basic Agrarian Law (UUPA) can be converted into property rights until September 24, 1980, at the latest. However,

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the Muller Family and PT. Dago Inti Graha only sued the land in 2016 (Fauzi, 2023).

The Gerakan Dago Melawan exists as a form of collective resistance from the Dago people to defend the rights to land that they have owned for a long time. The further presence of the Dago Versus movement in the midst of the conflict that occurred to ensure the sustainability of housing and productive land for the people of Dago Elos village in particular. In addition, the presence of the Dago Versus movement is also a form of solidarity and financial mobilization to reimburse appeal and cassation costs worth hundreds of millions of rupiah. The resistance carried out by the Dago Versus movement is not limited to legal resistance but holds festivals, street actions, and discussions (Rahman, 2023).

Therefore, it is interesting to study how the Dago Versus movement struggles to defend land rights that have been occupied for decades. Gerakan Dago Melawan the collective solidarity resistance movement, through its resistance, can rally solidarity from other regions to participate in fighting for the rights of the people of Dago Elos village.

1.2 Problem Formulation

1. What is the Process of Hegemony to the Community in the Formation of the Gerakan Dago Melawan?
2. What Resistance Methods Are Carried Out by the Gerakan Dago Melawan?

1.3 Research Objectives

Knowing and identifying how the process of forming the Gerakan Dago Melawan and its methods of resistance in resisting the threat of land rights seizure was raised by the Muller Family and PT. Dago Inti Graha.

1.3 Research Benefits

1.3.1 Theoretical Benefits

The theoretical benefit of this research is to expand the scientific treasures. It can also be used as a reference to study more deeply the formation of social movements and methods of resistance of the people in defending their rights.

1.3.2 Practical Benefits

This research can contribute to civil society in forming a social movement and the function of the people's collective Movement, as well as its methods of resistance related to the threat of land grabbing in order to free the people from oppression by the higher classes.

1.4 Literature Review

Research conducted by (A. Darmawan, 2020) found that land disputes in North Sumatra create a new social arena in the community for the fulfillment of their daily lives that depend on agricultural land. This qualitative descriptive research explains that confusion over land status is the reason why conflicts occur in Tanjung Rejo Village, Percut Sei Tuan District, Deli Serdang Regency. The arrival of a new community who was previously a land clearing worker then became

a permanent resident in Paluh Merbau. The unproductive land is used by a new community collectively called Orang Paluh to become productive land for the fulfillment of their daily lives through farming activities and becoming fishermen. As the value of the land increases, the landowners return and reclaim the land, causing conflicts. The land disputes that arose gave birth to resistance carried out by the Paluh people in fulfilling their interests through social, economic, and symbolic capital.

Similar research was also conducted by (Mustopa et al., 2020) regarding how the conflict over land between farmers in Caringin, Sukabumi, and PT. SNN. The farmers who faced the company considered that there was an unfair dominance because the land being cultivated turned out to be a letter of use in the name of the company. With these conditions, a social resistance movement was born, carried out by organic intellectuals consisting of non-governmental organizations and students assisted by local farmer leaders. The resistance movement was carried out to build new awareness for farmers of a conflict that occurs due to a wrong and systematic system.

Priyatno Harsasto, in his research, found that collective action in a social movement in rejecting the construction of cement factories grew from residents' concerns about the loss of nature preservation. The conflict that occurred was between the people of Maitan village and PT. SMS, where community participation is not used as a reference in the formation of the AMDAL for the construction of cement factories. The research approach carried out by Harsasto is studied through the discourse of social capital, namely social capital *bonding¸* Social Capital

bridging, and social capital *Linking.* Where the three social capitals are the basis of social movements, then collectivism carried out by the community is accommodated in the Kendeng Mountains Care Community Network (JMPPK). Various methods of resistance are carried out by the affected communities, such as *a long march* along 122 KM from Pati Regency to the Semarang State Administrative Court. There was also a lamporan ritual where the lampor was the personification of the black power in this conflict; the black power was a cement factory that was a threat to people's lives (Harsasto, 2020).

The following research that discusses social movements and resistance in land dispute cases is from (Nursalim & Riyono, 2022), who researched how women in Wadas Village carried out resistance. The women in Wadas Village gathered and carried out collective actions as a form of resistance, such as remembrance together in front of the Semarang State Court, theatrical actions of weaving besek and distributing produce to residents around the State Administrative Court Building, and singing a resistance march. The resistance carried out by the women of Wadas Village was based on the belief that the dam construction policy was not in line with the values of the community. The purpose of this resistance is to maintain environmental sustainability.

Confusion over land use rights also occurs on the customary land of the people of Launch Village, Langkat Regency, causing conflicts between the community and companies. Research conducted by Simalingkar et al. found that the resistance of the indigenous people of Launch Village occurred due to land grabbing carried out by PTPN II. The VOC had long taken over the cultivated land

that the people of Launch Village had managed. However, when the colonial period was over, the land was taken over by the state, which should have returned to the ownership of the people of Launch Village. This confuses land use rights. The people of Launch Village resisted by forming groups to take actions that could attract the attention of the government (Simalingkar et al., 2017).

Another research study from Dewi Yuliantika found that a land dispute occurred in Pekayon – Jakasetia, Bekasi. The land dispute occurred due to a unilateral claim from the Ministry of PUPR through Perum Jasa Tirta II on land without a clear ownership status. Residents who have lived for more than thirty years and rely on their social networks in the area are then evicted only with a Warning Letter. This then gave birth to resistance from residents, one of which was a demonstration, and was carefully organized into the Bekasi Eviction Victims Forum (FKPB) (Yuliantika, 2022).

Then, research on land disputes and resistance carried out by the community occurred in the Jakabaring area of Palembang. Research conducted by Nurfitriyanti and Adytyas found that there was a land dispute between the ex-evicted community and UIN Raden Fatah. The study found that land disputes occurred because of the construction of Campus B of UIN Raden Fatah, so as many as 146 heads of families (KK) had to be displaced. This dispute triggered resistance from a community group named Panca Usaha. The resistance efforts carried out by the community group are carried out by means of public protests through mass media, demonstrations, and legal steps (Nurfitriyanti & Adytyas, 2022).

Other relevant research was conducted by (Fahira & Fedryansyah, 2021) regarding land disputes that occurred in Tamansari Village, Bandung City. This study explains the land dispute that occurs between the government and the Tamansari community. The cause of the conflict is the status of land ownership, rights, and power. Then, this conflict resulted in human rights violations, violations of the law, and acts of violence from law enforcement. This caused resistance from the Tamansari community to the government and attracted much solidarity from activists and students.

Land disputes do not only occur between the community and the government or the community and the private sector. However, they can also occur between the community and state officials, in this case, the Indonesian Army. Research conducted by Fadly and Agustang found that there was a land dispute between the people of Bara-Barayya, Makassar, and the TNI AD KODAM XIV Hasanuddin. The land dispute began with the occupation of the TNI AD dormitory land and continued with claims to residents' land outside the former dormitory area. This problem caused resistance from the people of Bara-Barayya, in addition to the social Movement of the Bara-Barayya community, which also took action through legal channels. The resistance actions carried out by the community are in the form directly or through social media, which aims to attract solidarity from other communities (Fadly & Agustang, 2022).

Izudin and Suyanto also found social movements to be a method of resistance in their research, which discussed the resistance carried out by the residents of Parangkusumo. The eviction carried out by the government is the

reason why residents resist. The main reason why the people of Parangkusumo resisted the government was because of the government's deprivation of people's livelihoods. The incorporation of the Parangkusumo community into the People's Alliance Against Evictions (ARMP) made social movements as a method of resistance well organized so that it attracted much solidarity (Ahmad & Suyanto, 2019)

Many of the previous studies above mainly highlight social movements as a method of resistance arising from land disputes. Although some researchers highlight social movements as a method of resistance, there still needs to be more research regarding social movements in the scientific community. The gap in knowledge based on the literature review above is in the area of the process of forming a social movement. In previous research, the process of forming a social movement should have been described in detail. Then, the majority of conflicts that occurred in previous research were structural conflicts between the community and the government through their business entities. In addition, there is also a need for more explanation about the role of each actor involved in social movements in previous studies. Meanwhile, this study focuses on the area of the process of forming social movements in this context, namely the Gerakan Dago Melawan. The process of forming a social movement in question is how the actors in it carry out their respective roles in building a social movement.

Therefore, this research will provide an in-depth understanding of three essential aspects in the process of forming a social movement, namely:

1) The hegemony aspect is essential because this research will show moral and intellectual leadership so as to form a consensus in society so that it can give birth to social movements.

2) Progressiveness, this aspect is interesting because the Gerakan Dago Melawan does not stop at structural resistance only; there are also other resistances carried out through other platforms that are routinely carried out.

3) Organization: This aspect becomes interesting because, in the process of forming social movements, it is necessary to organize the masses well carried out by intellectual actors to unite perspectives in society.

The three aspects above are put forward in this study, and they are also differentiators from previous studies.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

The difficulty of finding the source of the theory used led the researcher to add a second credible source in conducting this research. The second source used in this study was obtained from books and scientific journal articles that collected and summarized the ideas of Antonio Gramsci.

1.5.1 Hegemony

1.5.1.a Definition of Hegemony

Hegemony comes from the ancient Greek word commonly called 'eugemonia,' given to show the dominance of a state or city

(*Policy* or *city-state*) individually, as Sparta and Athens did with other parallel city-states (Gramsci, 1995). Referring to the understanding in this era, hegemony shows the leadership of a particular country that is not only one country to another country that is loosely or tightly connected and integrated into the "leader" state. This context is similar to what happened during the Cold War period between the Soviet Union and the United States in fighting for its influence on other countries. (Patria & Arief, 2003).

Gramsci provides a distinction between violent domination and moral and intellectual leadership. The concept of hegemony in Gramsci's view, as well as the Marxist concept of the power and relations of class and state production, becomes a means of understanding society with the aim of changing it. Hegemony is not a relationship of domination by using power but a relationship of agreement (consensus) by using political and ideological leadership (Roger, 2004a). Gramsci also stated that total or integral hegemony is a hegemony characterized by the total and comprehensive gathering of the masses. In this phase, the masses show a high degree of unity between solid morals and intellectuals (Gramsci, 1995).

1.5.1.b Intellectuals

In order to achieve hegemony, there are roles of intellectuals who are tasked with leading civil society towards a new

consciousness. Gramsci's definition of intellectuals is those who function as organizers at all levels of society. This is in contrast to the traditional understanding that intellectuals are only philosophers, artists, and literary experts. However, Gramsci is of the view that intellectuals are not characterized by their thinking activities but by the functions they carry out. Therefore, Gramsci argues that every individual is intellectual, but not every individual has an intellectual function (Gramsci, 1995).

Then, intellectuals do not form a class or group, but each class or group has its own intellectuals. The work of building a new hegemony can only be achieved by changing people's awareness, mindset, and understanding of the world, as well as their moral behavior (Roger, 2004b).

1.5.1.c Organic Intellectual

Organic intellectuals are directly related to the way of production, which has a strong influence on the community (Gramsci, 1995). People who are aware of the identity they represent and represent are part of the most organic and authentic front layer of a class, they are the ones who are said to be organic intellectuals in it (Roger, 2004c). Generally, organic intellectuals are those who are born from a group and are aware of their position and role in the group so that they can lead the group toward a new consciousness.

This is due to those who carry out their intellectual functions, so these people, according to Gramsci's definition, are organic intellectuals.

Thus, organic intellectuals are individuals who carry out their intellectual function, namely, hegemonizing community groups towards a new consciousness by means of political and moral leadership as the basis.

1.5.1.d Civil Society Consensus

Hegemony is also, in Gramsci's definition, a consensus organization in which subordination is obtained through the ideological mastery of the hegemonic class (Roger, 2004d). Consensus, in Gramsci's view, is a consensus created because of the existence of agreement. Durkheim (Wirawan, 2012) talks about consensus in collective consciousness, which means that there is a source of solidarity that encourages them to cooperate. Gramsci associates consensus with spontaneity that is psychological, encompassing the various acceptances of sociopolitical rules or other aspects of rules (Gramsci, 1995)

Factors that cause consensus, according to Gramsci (Siswati & Balitar, 2017):

1) Fear of consequences if do not adjust.
2) There is a habit of following goals in a certain way.

3) Approval or awareness of certain elements.

Through the consensus mechanism, various socio-political forces of hegemony can be won by the ruling class or group.

Hegemony theory is one of the variables in this study in seeing changes in mass consciousness. This Hegemony Theory is reduced to two variables, namely the Role of Organic Intellectuals and the Formation of Community Group Consensus. Then, from these two variables, they are derived back into indicators to limit the analysis in this study. So, from these two variables, it is reduced to six indicators: 1) Organizing civil society. 2) Leading Community groups. 3) Providing propaganda to community groups. 4) Carry out a series of discussions. 5) Issuing a Statement of the attitude of the Dago Elos community. 6) Voicing the jargon of resistance.

1.5.2 Social movements

1.5.2.a Definition of Social Movement

Social Movement is a collective action in achieving a common goal outside the scope of an established institution where it is motivated by the existence of individuals who move and take action together in space and time and can relate actions as well as contexts (Giddens, 1993). Along with such collective action, social movements can also be said to be revolutionary movements that are sustainable and organized and outside institutions that seek to overthrow power, cultural practices, and authority (Jasper &

Goodwin, 2014). Social movements are motivated by the presence of uncertainty and unrest in a community group that has gone through several stages, such as the Stage of anxiety, annoyance, formalization, and institutionalization, so as to give birth to a common goal that must be fulfilled (Haris et al., 2019).

1.5.2.b Types of Social Movements

Furthermore, social movements that grow in society to achieve specific goals carried out by groups in an organized manner have several types. Refer to opinions (Cohen, 1983) which classify social movements into several types, including:

1) **Expressive Movement**: This movement tends to develop in a modern and advanced society; the purpose of this Movement is to express its desires so that it receives attention and sympathy from the public.

2) **Regressive movements** are social Movements carried out by a group of people who aim to return the current state to the state of the past.

3) **Progressive Movement**: This type of progressive movement aims to improve the welfare and standard of living of the community.

4) **The reformist** Movement basically aims to create change and renewal in certain aspects of society.

5) **The** orientation of the **Revolutionary** Movement is to achieve a total, total, and fundamental change in the overall social order in all aspects of human life.

6) **Utopian** Movement is a type of social Movement that is carried out by a group and aims to create an excellent and ideal state.

7) **The Migration Movement,** a group of people who participated in this miracle, felt dissatisfaction with their current socio-economic conditions, so they decided to move to another region to achieve a better life.

1.5.2. c Stages of Formation of Social Movements

Then, in the process of forming a social movement, several stages must be passed first, according to (Haris et al., 2019). There are three stages in the process of forming a social movement, namely:

1) *Incipient Stage*: This first Stage arises because of anxiety among individuals, and slowly, those who experience anxiety then exchange information with each other through more effective communication. At this Stage, leaders who can accommodate and articulate public interests also emerge.

2) *Organizational Stage,* at this Stage the role of a leader is strengthened again by the existence of all activity plans

in which there are also action plans that have been prepared in a complex, systematic, and organized manner so that what is done in the field is part of a plan that has been prepared beforehand.

3) ***The Institutional Stage,*** the last Stage, is an accumulation of a series of social movements towards the institutionalization stage after reading the situation of the social movements that have been carried out and the massive support from the public. Therefore, the social Movement will be created as a formal institution, and its existence is expected to last for an extended period.

1.5.2.d Progressive Movement

The root of the progressive movement was that the class and status conflict in the 19th century became a driving force for society to become a reformist. Whether seen as workers, farmers, urban elitists, or entrepreneurs, progressives are motivated by their social position. The tension and insecurity felt by community groups put themselves at the forefront of progressivism. Pressure and threats from other groups are a driving force for the community to support reform. In each of these classes, conflicts can be found as the root of the progressive movement. (Thelen, 1969). Community groups involved in progressive movements basically have the goal of improving the standard of living and welfare of certain groups. For

example, as done by the labor union in the form of a demonstration demanding a wage increase (Cohen, 1983).

1.5.2.e Organization

The definition of an organization cannot be separated from its purpose, so there are many simple understandings about organizations. Essentially, this simple meaning is related to others, where an organization is a social entity that is consciously coordinated and has identifiable leadership. Moreover, organizations also have structures and business systems to achieve a goal and complex communication patterns between individuals. It is bound by cooperation between individuals in a hierarchical bond. Organizations must be seen as living beings that continue to evolve like humans, moving very dynamically because they have to adapt to the influence of their environment. The existence of an organization affects its policies and programs, and vice versa. Organizational policies and activities are generally made by taking into account the situation, conditions, expectations, and demands of the environment. The mindset of the community is increasingly critical, and the community's expectations for the fulfillment of their needs are very high. This is due to openness and modernization, which allows people to access all information more easily and quickly (Sari, 2006).

Then, the theory of social movement is one of the theories used in this study to see how grassroots community movements fight for their rights. The theory of Social Movement in this study is derived into two variables, namely the Institutionalization of Social Movements and Collective Action. The two variables were reduced again to five indicators, including: 1) Formation of the *Gerakan Dago Melawan.* 2) Formation of Structure in the *Gerakan Dago Melawan*. 3) Litigation Advocacy. 4) Series of Demonstration. 5) Agitation and Propaganda.

1.6 Conceptual Definitions

Conceptual Definition is a limitation that serves as a guideline to make it easier to search for research data. Therefore, in understanding the interpretation of the above theories, several conceptual definitions are determined, namely:

1.6.1 Hegemony

Hegemony is one way to change the consciousness of community groups through political and moral leadership carried out by organic intellectuals.

1.6.2 Social movements

Social movements are collective actions outside state institutions to achieve common goals and are carried out by individuals who can relate actions as well as contexts together.

1.7 Operational Definitions

The Operational Definition contains indicators to measure research variables that have been summarized from the theoretical framework. The

operational definition is also a guide for researchers in their research to find variables and indicators that will be tested empirically. (Sudaryono, 2017). Meanwhile, this study uses the following indicators:

Theory	Variable	Indicator
Hegemony	The Role of Organic Intellectuals	1. Organizing civil society 2. Leading community groups 3. Providing propaganda to community groups
	Formation of Community Group Consensus	1. Carry out a series of discussions 2. Issuing a Statement of the attitude of the Dago Elos community 3. Voicing the jargon of resistance
Social movements	Institutionalization of Social Movements	1. Formation of the Gerakan Dago Melawan 2. Formation of structures in the Dago Fighting Movement
	Collective Action	1. Advocacy (Litigation) 2. Series of demonstrations 3. Agitation and Propaganda

Table 1.1 Operational Definition

1.8 Research Methods

The research method is systematization in the process of data collection and data processing to obtain research results. The points that are the guidelines in

this study are explained using various methods at the time of data collection in the field.

1.8.1 Types of Research

The qualitative method aims to obtain in-depth and meaningful data. This means that it is accurate data and has a tangible value. Therefore, this type of research emphasizes meaning and value more. Qualitative research is fundamental and naturalistic and cannot be carried out in a laboratory but in the field. Therefore, this type of research is also often associated with naturalistic inquiry or field study (Abdussamad, 2022).

1.8.2 Unit of Analysis

It	Research Object	Data Type	Data Source
1.	Bandung City, West Java	Secondary	Scientific articles and online news
2.	Urban Land Dispute case	Secondary	Articles and online news
3.	The Gerakan Dago Melawan and the resistance actions carried out	Primary and Secondary	Interviews, documentation, scientific articles, and online news

Table 1.2 Unit Of Analysis

1.8.3 Data and Data Sources

1.8.3.a Primary Data

The primary data used in this study refers to the results of interviews with related parties, such as the Management of the Gerakan Dago Melawan, the Solidarity Network, and the affected Dago Elos Residents from their respective perspectives.

No.	Primary Data	Data Source	Data Collection Techniques
1.	The Process of Hegemony of Dago Elos Residents	Dago Fighting Movement	Interview
2.	The Process of Forming a Consensus of Dago Elos Residents	Gerakan Dago Melawanand Dago Elos Residents	Interview
3.	Collective Actions Taken by Dago Elos Residents in Carrying Out Resistance	Gerakan Dago Melawan, Dago Elos Solidarity Network, and Dago Elos Residents	Interview

Table 1. 3 Primary Data

1.8.3.b Secondary Data

Secondary data is the supporting data used in this study and is obtained from online information published through scientific articles, government websites, and online news.

No.	Data Seconds	Data Source	Data Collection Techniques
1.	Urban agrarian dispute case	Online information and scientific articles	Documentation
2.	Agrarian Dispute Cases in the City of Bandung	Online information	Documentation
3.	Collective Actions Taken by Dago Elos Residents in Carrying Out Resistance	Online information	Documentation

Table 1.4 Secondary Data

1.8.4 Data Collection Techniques

To obtain reliable data in field research, this study uses triangulation techniques that combine various data collection techniques and data sources; in this way, researchers can also test the credibility of the data (Abdussamad, 2022). Therefore, to obtain valid and credible data, the following techniques are used:

1.8.4.a Interview

The purpose of the interview is to obtain reliable and relevant data on the research topic. Those who understand and are involved in the Dago Versus movement are said to be informants.

| No.	Name	Role	Sum
1.	Kang Angga	Coordinator of the Gerakan Dago Melawan	1
2.	Teh Dea	Youth Coordinator of Dago Elos	1
3.	Kang Agus	Dago Elos Resident	1
4.	Kang Billy	Dago Elos Resident	1
5.	Kang Ipul	Solidarity Network for Dago Elos	1

Table 1.5 List of Sourceperson

1.8.4.b Documentation

Documentation is a way of collecting data, including photos, books, and works relevant to the research. This research will get documentation on the Dago Versus movement in its resistance to oppression.

1.8.5 Data Analysis Techniques

Data analysis techniques are inductive, namely an analysis obtained when entering the field and developed into a hypothesis supported by data so that the data can be readily accepted (Abdussamad, 2022). This research conducts data analysis through four stages, namely:

DATA ANALYSIS STRUCTURE
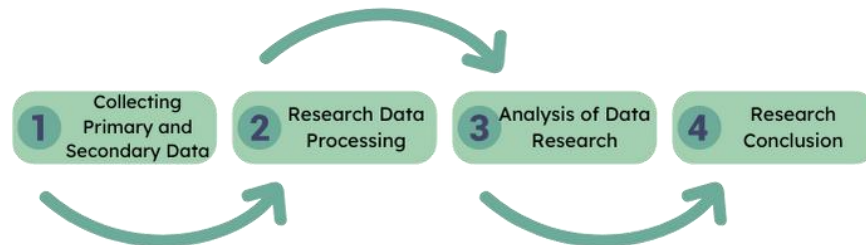
Picture 1.1 Data Analysis Structure

Source: Processed by the Author

1) Primary and Secondary Data Collection

This first Stage is the process of collecting both primary and secondary research data. In the primary data, the researcher conducted observations and direct interviews in the area of the research object. Meanwhile, in secondary data, the researcher documents data relevant to the research.

2) Research Data Processing

In the second Stage of this study, the researcher sorted the data obtained from the interview and documentation process, then turned it into a narrative that was in accordance with each category and subject.

3) Research Data Analysis

The information obtained is then compiled systematically to facilitate the delivery of information about the Dago Versus movement.

In this third Stage, the researcher also connects variables so that the information presented can be received quickly.

4) Drawing conclusions

The last stage of this research is the drawing of conclusions, where all research data and information obtained are able to provide answers to the formulation of existing problems.