

ISLAMIC INSTITUTIONAL ADVOCACY AGAINST LAND GRABBING: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF MUI, MUHAMMADIYAH, AND NU IN INDONESIA

¹Abdullah, ²Mohamad Zaidi bin Abdul Rahman, ³Osman Bin Md Rasip, ⁴Tate
Agape Bawana

^{1,2,3,4} Universiti Malaya, Malaysia

Email : abdullahghazali20@gmail.com¹, mzaidi@um.edu.my², osmanrasip@um.edu.my³,
agabawana@gmail.com⁴

Received 28-03-2025 | Revised 27-04-2025, 28-06-2025, 15-07-2025, 15-08-2025 | Accepted 23-08-2025

Abstrak: Penelitian ini membahas peran lembaga Islam dalam advokasi terhadap perampasan tanah di Indonesia, dengan fokus pada Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI), Muhammadiyah, dan Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). Tujuannya adalah menganalisis motif, strategi, dan efektivitas advokasi yang dijalankan tiga lembaga tersebut dalam merespons konflik agraria. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan studi kasus, didasarkan pada enam wawancara semi-terstruktur, enam belas fatwa dan rekomendasi resmi, artikel jurnal, serta dokumen kebijakan. Analisis dilakukan melalui kerangka Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) dan ditafsirkan menggunakan analisis tematik. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa keterlibatan kelembagaan didorong oleh tiga faktor utama: kepedulian terhadap keadilan lingkungan dan agraria, respons terhadap pelanggaran hak asasi manusia, dan keluhan masyarakat akar rumput. Strategi advokasi diwujudkan dalam pendidikan publik, penerbitan fatwa, pendampingan hukum pada kasus seperti Rempang dan PIK 2, serta koalisi dengan organisasi masyarakat sipil. Secara teoretis, penelitian ini memperluas ACF dengan memasukkan prinsip Islam masalah dan 'adl. Secara empiris, penelitian ini memberi bukti rinci keterlibatan MUI, Muhammadiyah, dan NU dalam isu agraria, sementara secara praktis menawarkan wawasan bagi pembuat kebijakan dan masyarakat sipil untuk memperkuat kolaborasi advokasi.

Kata Kunci: Lembaga Islam; Perampasan Tanah; Hak Asasi Manusia; Advokasi; Keadilan Agraria

Abstract: This study examines the role of Islamic institutions in advocating against land grabbing in Indonesia, focusing on the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), Muhammadiyah, and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). The objective is to analyze their motives, strategies, and effectiveness in responding to agrarian conflicts. The research adopts a qualitative case study approach, drawing on six semi-structured interviews, sixteen fatwas and official recommendations, journal articles, and policy documents. Data were analyzed through the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) and interpreted thematically. Findings reveal three main drivers of institutional engagement: concern for environmental and agrarian justice, responses to human rights violations, and grassroots grievances. Advocacy strategies include public education, fatwa issuance, legal assistance in cases such as Rempang and PIK 2, and coalition-building with civil society organizations. Theoretically, the study expands ACF by incorporating the Islamic principles of *maslahah* (public good) and *'adl* (justice). Empirically, it provides detailed evidence of how MUI, Muhammadiyah, and NU engage in agrarian justice. Practically, the study offers insights for policymakers and civil society to strengthen collaboration between Islamic institutions and advocacy networks in addressing land grabbing.

Key words: Islamic institution; Land Grabbing; Human Rights; Advocacy; Agrarian Justice



INTRODUCTION

Land grabbing refers to the large-scale acquisition of land, often by corporations, investors, or state actors, without the free, prior, and informed consent of affected communities. It is typically driven by factors such as infrastructure development, agribusiness expansion, mining, and tourism, all linked to capitalist market interests.¹ The consequences are severe: dispossession of indigenous peoples and peasants, environmental degradation, and social conflict. Globally, land grabbing has been reported across Africa, Asia, and Latin America, affecting millions and sparking transnational resistance. The issue intersects with various academic disciplines, including agrarian studies, political economy, development studies, human rights, and environmental justice. Scholars have increasingly turned their attention to how land governance reflects broader power relations among the state, market, and society.

In Indonesia, land grabbing remains a persistent and significant problem that has transcended several political regimes. In 2024, the Agrarian Reform Consortium (KPA) documented 295 cases of agrarian conflict, reflecting an escalation compared to previous years.² The Indonesian government continues to advocate an agrarian reform agenda aimed at mitigating conflict, fostering equitable land distribution, and enhancing social welfare; yet, conflicts persist, particularly in regions designated for National Strategic Projects or *Proyek Strategis Nasional* (PSN)³.

In this context, religious institutions, especially in predominantly Muslim countries such as Indonesia, have become essential actors in opposing social injustices, including land grabbing. In combination with enduring initiatives by civil society organisations (CSOs), Islamic institutions provide a distinctive form of legitimacy based on moral, religious, and social principles. Nevertheless, despite their increasing prominence, the involvement of religious institutions in land rights advocacy remains underexplored. Empirical research on their motivations and the techniques utilised in cases such as the Rempang⁴ and PIK 2⁵ land conflicts is limited. This gap in the literature leads to the primary research questions:

1. What motivates Islamic institutions to engage in advocacy against land grabbing and how do these align with Islamic principles?
2. What advocacy strategies do they employ to defend affected communities and how effective are these strategies perceived to be?

This research has two main aims. First, to elucidate the fundamental motives that drive Islamic institutions to engage in land rights advocacy and how it aligns with Islamic principles. Second, to identify the specific strategies they employ and to assess the effectiveness.

¹ Jan Sändig, "Contesting Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in the Global South," *World Development* 146 (October 2021): 105581, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2021.105581>.

² Aisyah Maharani, "Konflik Tanah Tahun 2024 Naik 21 Persen, Perkebunan Sawit Mendominasi," *News*, March 25, 2025, <https://www.kpa.or.id/2025/03/25/konflik-tanah-tahun-2024-naik-21-persen-perkebunan-sawit-mendominasi/>.

³ *Proyek Strategis Nasional* (National Strategic Project), government-prioritised development projects in Indonesia

⁴ An island in the Riau Archipelago, Indonesia, site of a recent land conflict involving government development projects and local communities.

⁵ Pantai Indah Kapuk 2, a large reclamation and real estate development project in North Jakarta and Tangerang, Indonesia, linked to land disputes.

To guide the analysis, this research employs the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF), created by Paul Sabatier in 1988. ACF provides a theoretical framework for comprehending how diverse entities, such as religious organisations, civil society organisations, and community leaders, collaborate to influence public policy. The framework highlights several essential components: members, policy beliefs, resources, strategies, and policy outcomes.⁶ These elements interact to shape advocacy initiatives. For example, participants may include academics, advocates, and religious leaders whose knowledge and networks enhance their impact. Policy beliefs reflect the values and ideological commitments informing activities, including Islamic principles, environmental ethics, and human rights standards. Resources encompass moral authority, communal trust, and institutional infrastructure.

The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) is selected because it provides a systematic way to analyse how Islamic institutions form coalitions, mobilise resources, and use belief systems in their advocacy against land grabbing. This aligns with the research's focus on the strategies and motivations of MUI, NU, and Muhammadiyah, while also allowing the integration of Islamic principles into a policy process framework.

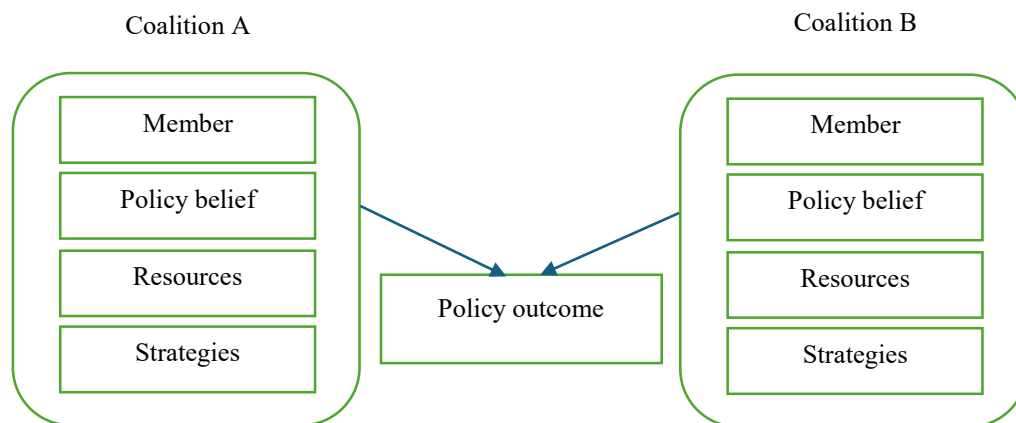


Figure 1 Advocacy Coalition Framework Theory

Figure 1 illustrates the fundamental concept of the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF), which posits that policy change occurs through interactions between competing advocacy coalitions within a policy subsystem. Each coalition comprises members who share common policy beliefs and coordinate their actions by employing various resources and strategies to influence policy outcomes. The arrows indicate that both coalitions actively engage in the policy process, often over extended periods, through negotiation, learning, or conflict. The framework highlights the pivotal role of belief systems and coalition dynamics in shaping enduring policy change.

To enhance the understanding of land grabbing discourses, the researcher reviews several pieces of literature that relate to Islamic institution advocacy and land grabbing discourses in Southeast Asia.

1. Land grabbing in Southeast Asia.

⁶ Paul A. Sabatier, "An Advocacy Coalition Framework of Policy Change and the Role of Policy-Oriented Learning Therein," *Policy Sciences* 21, nos. 2–3 (1988): 129–68, <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00136406>.

Land grabbing has been a recurring phenomenon in Southeast Asia, driven by a range of political, economic, and environmental factors. Kelley argues that large-scale industrial agriculture and forest concessions have transformed patterns of land use, land control, and labour relations across the region.⁷ Complementing this, Pichler identifies environmental conservation initiatives and corporate land deals as key drivers of territorialisation and subsequent enclosures.⁸ Together, these accounts demonstrate that the expansion of corporate activities, whether under the guise of conservation or agribusiness, constitutes a common pattern in land-grabbing dynamics in Southeast Asia

While transnational corporations have been widely implicated, Borras contends that the dominant drivers of land grabbing in Southeast Asia are rooted in domestic capital.⁹ This perspective highlights the role of internal political-economic structures, where domestic companies, often supported by regulatory authorities and state policies, play a decisive role in land appropriation.¹⁰ In the Indonesian context, this highlights the importance of examining not only foreign investment but also local capitalist expansion and state complicity in processes of dispossession.

2. Islamic institutions and social advocacy.

Fauzia claimed that modernisation and Islamisation encourage the practice of philanthropy, but that they do not necessarily contribute to the development of a philanthropy that focuses on social justice.¹¹ This claim shows a tension between charity as a moral duty and charity as an instrument of structural transformation. However, recently Islamic organisation in Indonesia frequently moved beyond traditional philanthropic roles and become active in social justice advocacy, including issues such as land grabbing. These organisations are not only engaged in welfare distribution but also participate in defending the rights of marginalised communities.

Koehrsen further demonstrates that Islamic advocacy on environmental issues may take diverse forms, such as public statements, fatwas, eco-pesantren initiatives, and reforestation programmes.¹² Such strategies illustrate the adaptability of Islamic institutions in addressing contemporary socio-environmental challenges. These forms of advocacy

⁷ Lisa C. Kelley et al., "Circular Labor Migration and Land-Livelihood Dynamics in Southeast Asia's Concession Landscapes," *Journal of Rural Studies* 73 (January 2020): 21–33, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2019.11.019>.

⁸ Melanie Pichler et al., "The Social and Ecological Costs of Reforestation. Territorialization and Industrialization of Land Use Accompany Forest Transitions in Southeast Asia," *Land Use Policy* 101 (February 2021): 105180, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2020.105180>.

⁹ Saturnino M Borras Jr and Jennifer C Franco, "Political Dynamics of Land-Grabbing in Southeast Asia," *Transnational Institute*, 2011.

¹⁰ Dianto Bachriadi and Edward Aspinall, "Land Mafias in Indonesia," *Critical Asian Studies* 55, no. 3 (2023): 331–53, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14672715.2023.2215261>.

¹¹ Amelia Fauzia, "Islamic Philanthropy in Indonesia: Modernization, Islamization, and Social Justice," *Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies* Vol 10 No 2 (December 2017): 223–236 Pages, 223–236 Pages, <https://doi.org/10.14764/10.ASEAS-2017.2-6>. Jauharatul Maknunia et al., "Peacebuilding and Humanitarian Crises: The Role of Islamic Humanitarianism in Indonesia's Conflict Resolution and Disaster Response," *ASEAN Journal of Islamic Studies and Civilization (AJISC)* 2, no. 1 (2025): 117–33, <https://doi.org/10.62976/ajisc.v2i1.1371>.

¹² Jens Koehrsen, "Muslims and Climate Change: How Islam, Muslim Organizations, and Religious Leaders Influence Climate Change Perceptions and Mitigation Activities," *WIREs Climate Change* 12, no. 3 (2021): e702, <https://doi.org/10.1002/wcc.702>.

have also been applied in the context of land grabbing, where Islamic organisations utilise religious authority and institutional legitimacy to mobilise support, frame ethical arguments, and influence policy debates.

3. Religious legitimacy in policy advocacy.

Busse argues that churches with high moral authority are able to exert considerable policy influence during times of upheaval and regime transition.¹³ This suggests that religious institutions possess a unique resource, moral authority, which can be mobilised for political leverage. A similar dynamic can be observed in Islamic organisations in Indonesia, which frame land grabbing not merely as a social or economic issue but as a moral concern. By doing so, they utilise religious legitimacy to strengthen their advocacy and to influence both public discourse and policy debates.

Ziegler further notes that in centralised religious organisations, leaders play a crucial role in reaffirming and articulating the political interests of their members. Followers, in turn, support organisations that demonstrate responsiveness to their concerns.¹⁴ This is reflected in the Indonesian context, where Islamic organisations actively respond to land-grabbing cases that affect their grassroots constituencies. Given that Muslims constitute the majority population, such organisations also face societal expectations to defend community rights and uphold moral justice in the face of dispossession.

Knutson highlights that religious advocacy groups are capable of forging long-term political coalitions, often among otherwise unlikely allies. These groups provide representation, bring attention to underrepresented issues, and generate social capital within state politics.¹⁵ This insight resonates with the Indonesian experience, where Islamic institutions not only participate in coalitions but also initiate and lead collaborations with civil society organisations to defend communities affected by land conflicts. Their legitimacy and broad societal trust enable them to act as conveners, bridging diverse actors in pursuit of social justice.

These articles argue that Islamic institutions proactively address land grabbing by integrating Islamic principles with universal human rights norms, therefore enhancing their advocacy legitimacy. Their involvement demonstrates that faith-based entities can significantly contribute to combating structural injustice and advocating for the rights of marginalised groups.

This research clarifies the motivations and strategies of Islamic institutions, offering fresh perspectives on the nexus between religion, property rights, and social resistance in Indonesia. It highlights how religious legitimacy can strengthen grassroots calls for justice. Furthermore, the research aligns with global commitments such as the

¹³ Anna GrzyMala-Busse, "Weapons of the Meek: How Churches Influence Public Policy," *World Politics* 68, no. 1 (2016): 1–36, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0043887115000301>.

¹⁴ Jeffrey Ziegler, "Political Responsiveness and Centralized Religious Leaders: Lessons from the Catholic Church," *Politics and Religion* 17, no. 2 (2024): 250–75, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755048324000105>.

¹⁵ Katherine E. Knutson, *Interfaith Advocacy* (Routledge, 2014), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203505540>. Muhammad Zakir Husain, "Religious Moderation and the Development of Multicultural Societies in Indonesia: A Normative-Islamic Legal Study," *ASEAN Journal of Islamic Studies and Civilization (AJISC)* 2, no. 1 (2025): 27–60, <https://doi.org/10.62976/ajisc.v2i1.1368>.

Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)¹⁶ and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR),¹⁷ which emphasise inclusive development, access to justice, and the protection of vulnerable people.

METHOD

1. Research Design

This research adopts a qualitative approach to examine the advocacy roles of Islamic institutions in addressing land grabbing in Indonesia. Qualitative research in comparative politics provides valuable insights through theory development, hypothesis testing, and the identification of intervening mechanisms.¹⁸ This method is well suited to understanding the motivations, strategies, and perspectives of actors involved in complex socio-political phenomena. A comparative case study design was employed, which is effective for drawing descriptive conclusions under controlled assumptions.¹⁹ In addition, the case study is an effective approach for addressing organisational motives and strategies in relation to social issues, as it directly explores the dynamic processes of organisations.

2. Case Selection

The research focuses on three key Islamic organisations actively engaged in land-related advocacy: the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI), Muhammadiyah, and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). These institutions were selected for their national influence, engagement in public discourse on land rights, and participation in prominent land conflict cases. Their involvement provides a suitable basis for analysing motivations, strategies, and advocacy practices.

3. Data Collection

Data collection was carried out from late 2024 to June 2025.

- a. Primary data were collected through semi-structured interviews with six informants, comprising two members of MUI, two members of Muhammadiyah, one member of Nahdlatul Ulama, and one agrarian expert. All were directly involved in advocacy work related to land conflicts. The interviews aimed to uncover internal motivations, theological reasoning, advocacy experiences, and institutional perspectives. Additional primary data were sourced from organisational documents, sixteen fatwas and recommendations, and official statements.
- b. Secondary data included academic literature, news articles, and reports from civil society organisations. These materials were used to triangulate findings and contextualise the narratives emerging from the interviews, then reducing potential bias regarding the role of Islamic institutions in land grabbing.

4. Ethical Consideration

The research followed strict ethical protocols. Formal ethics approval was granted by the University Research Ethics Committee. All participants were informed about the research's objectives and procedures and their right to withdraw without consequence. Written consent was obtained prior to interviews. To protect confidentiality, pseudonyms are used in reporting, and sensitive data were securely stored with restricted access.

¹⁶ Sustainable Development Goals, a UN global framework for achieving a better and more sustainable future.

¹⁷ Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a 1948 United Nations document setting out fundamental human rights to be universally protected.

¹⁸ James Mahoney, "Qualitative Methodology and Comparative Politics," *Comparative Political Studies* 40, no. 2 (2007): 122–44, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414006296345>.

¹⁹ John Gerring, "What Is a Case Study and What Is It Good For?," *The American Political Science Review*, 2004, 341–54.

5. Data analysis

The interview data were subsequently transcribed using Turbo software and analysed with Nvivo. Thematic analysis was applied, involving keyword selection, coding, theme development, conceptualisation, and theme construction.²⁰ Recurring patterns, discursive framings, and advocacy strategies were identified across interviews and documentary sources. To enhance validity and reliability, coding was reviewed multiple times and emerging themes were compared across interviews and documentary sources to ensure consistency and reduce subjective bias.

6. Limitations

This methodology enables a deeper understanding of how Islamic principles shape advocacy, how religious authority is mobilised in land struggles, and how these institutions respond to public expectations regarding their social role. However, the research has limitations in terms of data collection. First, it examines only three Islamic institutions, MUI, Muhammadiyah, and NU; thus, the findings cannot be generalised to all religious organisations in Indonesia. Second, the data primarily rely on interviews with selected institutional representatives, which may not fully capture the diversity of internal and external perspectives. To mitigate these limitations, the research employed triangulation by combining interview data with organisational documents such as fatwa, recommendations, and policy reports. A selection interview participant strategy ensured that participants had direct involvement in advocacy related to land conflicts. These steps enhance the credibility and reliability of the findings despite the research's inherent limitations

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

1. The Motivations of Islamic Institutions in Advocacy in Land Grabbing

In political science, understanding motivations is essential for analysing the advocacy undertaken by MUI, Muhammadiyah and NU, as it reveals the underlying reasons why individuals, groups, or institutions engage in political processes. Such understanding also assists researchers in examining the trajectory and functions of nonprofit organisations, their contributions to democratic processes, and the relationship between motivation and advocacy strategy.²¹ These motives, whether ideological, strategic, religious, or economic, shape the actions of various actors, including state institutions, civil society organisations, and religious bodies. Among these, civil society groups often advocate to address issues such as inequality, justice, and public welfare, positioning themselves based on their interpretations of justice or social order. Their involvement can also influence policy and promote outcomes that benefit marginalised communities.²² Importantly, these motives are not fixed; they may evolve over time in response to internal dynamics or external circumstances.

The researcher found that environmental and agrarian justice, human rights agendas, and community grievances are key motives driving Islamic organisations to advocate for marginalised groups affected by land grabbing. These motives become the

²⁰ Muhammad Naeem et al., "A Step-by-Step Process of Thematic Analysis to Develop a Conceptual Model in Qualitative Research," *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 22 (October 2023): 16094069231205789, <https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069231205789>.

²¹ Jennifer E. Mosley et al., "Conceptualizing Organizational Advocacy Across the Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector: Goals, Tactics, and Motivation," *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 52, no. 1_suppl (2023): 187S-211S, <https://doi.org/10.1177/08997640221103247>.

²² Andreas Sintost et al., "The Political Process in Nations: Civil Society Participation and Income Inequality," *Kyklos* 77, no. 3 (2024): 471–95, <https://doi.org/10.1111/kykl.12375>.

values that Islamic institutions try to promote, the values that represent policy belief in ACF theory.

a. Environmental and Agrarian Justice

Environmental justice seeks to protect impoverished, minority, and immigrant communities, as well as other vulnerable groups, who disproportionately suffer from environmental degradation.²³ This approach emphasise the importance of inclusive engagement in environmental decision-making and emphasises the interconnection between environmental and social justice. These discourses are especially relevant in the context of land grabbing, when environmental harm is often driven by extractive industries, large-scale land acquisitions, and exploitative development projects.

For Islamic organisations, environmental justice extends beyond a civil institution or policy-orientated concept; it is firmly rooted in Islamic teachings. Islam explicitly prohibits causing harm to the earth,²⁴ viewing the natural environment as an *amanah* (trust) granted by God. Within this ethical framework, the MUI has played a significant role in advocating for environmental protection.²⁵ Historically, MUI has issued fatwas condemning land exploitation practices that result in environmental degradation and the depletion of natural resources.

One such fatwa cites the Qur'anic verse: "And one of His signs is that you see the earth dry and barren, but when We send down water upon it, it stirs and swells. Indeed, He who gives it life is surely the Giver of life to the dead. Indeed, He is over all things competent." (Quran, 41: 39) As referenced in the fatwa, this verse articulates the sacred duty to protect the earth. MUI's interpretation draws upon the Qur'an, Hadith, and traditional Islamic scholarship to emphasise the religious obligation of Muslims to protect the environment. Environmental degradation is thus framed not merely as a socio-political concern but as a violation of religious norms.

MUI's institutional commitment to environmental sustainability is reflected in the establishment of the *Lembaga Pemuliaan Lingkungan Hidup dan Sumber Daya Alam* (LPLHSDA), a division dedicated to environmental issues. This organisation has initiated numerous programmes aimed at ecological conservation and raising public awareness about environmental protection line with Islamic principles.

However, despite its efforts, the LPLHSDA has not been fully mobilised to address the complexities of land grabbing. Its programmes primarily focus on environmental education and conservation, often overlooking the systemic and agrarian inequalities that accompany land dispossession. Addressing this gap remains a critical challenge for MUI's environmental advocacy, particularly in integrating agrarian justice with broader environmental concern and ensuring the consistent application of spiritual principles to counter exploitative land use.

²³ Juliana A. Maantay and Andrew R. Maroko, "Brownfields to Greenfields: Environmental Justice Versus Environmental Gentrification," *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 15, no. 10 (2018): 2233, <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph15102233>.

²⁴ Nita Triana and Farah Nuril Izza, "The Perspective of Islamic Law on the Application of the Polluter Pays Principle in Indonesian Environmental Law," *AL-ADALAH* 17, no. 2 (2021): 359–82, <https://doi.org/10.24042/adalah.v17i2.8223>.

²⁵ Moh. Mufid, "Reasoning Ecological Fatwas: The Progressive Response of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) to the Phenomenon of Climate Change in Indonesia," *Istinbath : Jurnal Hukum* 20, no. 02 (2024): 102–22, <https://doi.org/10.32332/istinbath.v20i02.4824>.

In Indonesia, agrarian justice is frequently discussed within the legal and political frameworks regulating access to land and natural resources.²⁶ Islamic perspectives enrich this discourse by emphasising environmental stewardship, a principle deeply rooted in the Qur'an and Hadith. In this context, a faithful Muslim is expected to maintain virtuous relationships with Allah, fellow human beings, and the natural environment.

The Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) has actively drawn upon Islamic teachings to reinforce Indonesia's responsibility as a nation endowed with abundant natural resources. Its fatwas emphasise that these resources must be managed and protected in accordance with the principles of sustainability and public benefit or *maslahah*. The following significant fatwas reflect MUI's growing concern for environmental conservation:

- i. Ijtima Ulama on Natural Resources in 2006
- ii. Fatwa on Environmentally Friendly Mining in 2011,
- iii. Fatwa on Waste Management to Prevent Environmental Damage in 2014,
- iv. Fatwa on Forest and Land Burning and its Control in 2016,
- v. Fatwa on the Control of Global Climate Change in 2023

These fatwas illustrate MUI's firm stance on ecological issues and climate change, using Islamic legal reasoning to promote governmental and societal accountability in environmental protection.²⁷ Although largely focused on promoting sustainable development, they also address land grabbing, particularly when environmental degradation results from large-scale land exploitation and ecological neglect. Collectively, these rulings advocate for policies that align with Islamic ethical principles, then strengthening the moral and legal foundation for opposing environmentally harmful land appropriation.

Similarly, Muhammadiyah has made substantial contributions to agrarian and environmental justice through religious scholarship and institutional advocacy.²⁸ It has published a guide on *Fiqh Agraria* (Agrarian Jurisprudence), offering religious guidance on land use and environmental stewardship. This manual integrates Islamic teachings, Qur'anic verses, and prophetic traditions into contemporary agrarian discourse, advocating for the protection of land and agricultural resources against exploitative practices. Muhammadiyah's position is built on six fundamental principles:

- i. *Tauhid* (monotheism)
- ii. *Akhlak karimah* (noble character)
- iii. *Maslahah* (public benefit)
- iv. *Adl* (justice)
- v. Humanity
- vi. Deliberation

These principles are the foundation of Muhammadiyah's agrarian ethics, guiding its stance on environmental and land-related issues.

Institutionally, Muhammadiyah combats land grabbing through the *Majelis Lingkungan Hidup* (MLH), a specialised body dedicated to environmental advocacy. Additionally, the youth wing has established *Kader Hijau Muhammadiyah* (Green Cadres of

²⁶ Laurens Bakker, "Agrarian Justice and Indonesian Law," *SHS Web of Conferences* 54 (2018): 03020, <https://doi.org/10.1051/shsconf/20185403020>.

²⁷ Tri Harnowo and Fachry Hasani Habib, "Islamic Law and Environment Issues: Indonesian Ulama Council's Fatwas on Climate Change," *AHKAM: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 24, no. 1 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.15408/ajis.v24i1.34161>.

²⁸ M Lutfi Mustofa et al., "Towards an Islamic Ecotheology: Indonesian Muslim Organizations in Climate Mitigation and Adaptation Efforts," *Problemy Ekorozwoju*, n.d.

Muhammadiyah), an initiative promoting environmental awareness and activism among young members. These programmes demonstrate Muhammadiyah's consistent commitment to environmental preservation and resistance to land grabbing, harmonising religious principles with contemporary ecological and agrarian challenges.

Another influential Islamic organisation, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), also significantly contributes to agrarian discourse and environmental conservation.²⁹ NU has a long history of defending peasants' rights through advocacy at multiple levels, from grassroots initiatives to state policy engagement. However, in the past decade, NU's influence on national policy appears to have become more passive, in contrast to its longstanding commitment to advancing agrarian justice.

Despite this shift, NU continues to uphold its principles through *bahtsul masail*,³⁰ a theological forum that frequently addresses environmental and agrarian issues. These deliberations have resulted in several fatwas and recommendations, including:

- i. Fatwa on Disproportionate Exploitation of Natural Resources in 2015
- ii. Fatwa on Land Conversion in 2015
- iii. Recommendations on Indonesian people's sovereignty over land in 2021
- iv. Recommendations on Environmental and Climate Conservation in 2021

These outputs highlight NU's sustained commitment to environmental and agrarian justice, framing these concerns as both ethical and theological issues.

At the grassroots level, NU members established Nahdliyin Front for Natural Resource Sovereignty (FNKSDA),³¹ a movement dedicated to environmental sustainability. FNKSDA's leadership identifies capitalism-driven extractivism as a primary cause of contemporary environmental challenges and stresses the importance of fostering ecological awareness across NU's educational and social institutions. He asserted:

"We feel that within the NU culture, even though it's not directly under the PBNU, there must be elements of students or Islamic boarding school groups who have social awareness of this issue. There must be social concern for agrarian and environmental issues. Because this is a very fundamental issue and a matter of life and death for the people."³²

The statement emphasises that for NU, environmental and agrarian justice are closely linked to wider social and spiritual issues. In addition, he claimed that NU members should engage in the advocacy of agrarian justice.

The pursuit of environmental justice in Indonesia reflects the convergence of legal, social, and religious obligations. Through their advocacy, MUI, Muhammadiyah, and NU affirm that environmental protection transcends state policy, constituting a core duty grounded in Islamic teachings. By referencing Qur'anic principles and prophetic traditions, these organisations position themselves as moral and spiritual guardians of ecological

²⁹ Bakhruddin Fannani and A. Samsul Ma'arif, "The Theological Imperative of Marine Ecosystem Conservation via Mangrove Forest Preservation: A Study of the Social Construction of Kyai Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah," *KARSA Journal of Social and Islamic Culture* 32, no. 1 (2024): 147–72, <https://doi.org/10.19105/karsa.v32i1.10537>.

³⁰ A traditional NU forum for discussing and issuing decisions on contemporary socio-religious issues based on Islamic law

³¹ *Front Nahdliyyin untuk Kedaulatan Sumber Daya Alam* (Nahdliyyin Front for Natural Resources Sovereignty), a grassroots NU-linked activist group fighting for environmental and agrarian justice.

³² Informant 5, "NU Representative 1," January 21, 2025.

integrity and agrarian justice, framing their advocacy as part of a broader mission to protect the earth and defend the rights of the marginalised.

Their role also aligns closely with Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), particularly those related to agrarian justice and environmental sustainability. Their advocacy aligns with SDG 13 on climate action, SDG 6 on clean water and sanitation, and SDG 7 on affordable and clean energy, as well as SDG 1 on no poverty, SDG 10 on reduced inequalities, and SDG 16 on peace, justice, and strong institutions. These objectives correspond closely with the core mission of Islamic organisations to uphold agrarian justice, protect the environment, and defend the rights communities of marginalised communities affected by land grabbing.

This commitment is firmly grounded in Islamic principles that emphasise environmental stewardship or *hifẓ al-bi'ah*, fair land distribution, poverty alleviation, and the pursuit of justice or *ʿadl*. The preservation of natural resources, equitable access to land for cultivation, and the prevention of exploitation are regarded as religious obligations. Consequently, Islamic organisations perceive their engagement in land and environmental advocacy not only as a moral and theological responsibility but also as a meaningful contribution to the global development agenda.

b. Human Rights Agenda

Human rights advocates have increasingly assumed a significant role in confronting societal injustices, including land grabbing. This global issue has mobilised many stakeholders who frame land conflicts as violations of fundamental human rights. Some critics argue that the discourse on 'human rights' often conceals underlying intentions, specifically an ideological opposition to capitalism, which is perceived as a structural driver of dispossession within liberal democracies.³³ Despite this critique, the human rights framework remains highly relevant in the context of land grabbing, as such actions infringe upon numerous rights, including the rights to employment, livelihood, food security, and housing. Wisborg contends that these violations necessitate stronger state enforcement of human rights to secure social and economic justice.³⁴

Experts argue that land grabbing constitutes an extraordinary violation of human rights. The issue goes beyond property ownership; it directly undermines interconnected rights, such as the right to life, the right to shelter, the right to education, and the right to live with dignity. Forced evictions displace entire populations, especially smallholder farmers, depriving them of their homes and agricultural land. This often traps victims in cycles of poverty and marginalisation. In some cases, land initially allocated for educational institutions and public services is repurposed for development projects, reducing access to education and exacerbating inequality.

As an agrarian expert explained:

“That is a violation of forced eviction. Force eviction. That is a serious violation of human rights. Why is it a serious violation of human rights? Earlier because of the position of people on the land. It is so important for them to be able to enjoy other rights. One. The second. The second. If removed by force. Then there

³³ “‘Human Rights’: The Hidden Agenda,” in *The National Interest on International Law & Order*, 1st ed., by Irving Kristol (Routledge, 2018), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351323642-27>.

³⁴ Poul Wisborg, “Human Rights Against Land Grabbing? A Reflection on Norms, Policies, and Power,” *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics* 26, no. 6 (2013): 1199–222, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10806-013-9449-8>.

are many things related to the rights above life. And so on and so forth. We call it the most basic right. That is lost. So that is the category of a serious violation of human rights.”³⁵

The statement highlights that land is not merely a physical asset; it forms the foundation for exercising other rights. Forcibly displacing individuals from their land strips them of access to education, employment, and housing, making it a fundamental human rights issue.

Experts further assert that civil society organisations, regardless of their ideological, political, or religious affiliations, must urgently and decisively confront land grabs. Protecting land rights is not solely a legal matter; it reflects a shared ethical responsibility rooted in the pursuit of justice, equity, and human dignity.³⁶

Note that Muhammadiyah has advanced the vision of progressive Islam through its establishment of educational institutions and promotion of human rights, gender equality, and environmental sustainability. This commitment is evident in Muhammadiyah’s active participation in land-grabbing cases, notably in Rempang and PIK 2, where it has become a leading advocate for marginalised communities.

In the Rempang case, the Chairman of Muhammadiyah stated that the issue involves not only land expropriation but also elements of racial genocide and threats to cultural extinction. The displacement threatens the survival of the indigenous Malay community, which has inhabited the area for generations. Muhammadiyah has undertaken multiple measures to protect the community. According to the Chairman:

“The communities we advocate for feel that there are political channels and channels for legal protection of human rights after being advocated by Muhammadiyah.”³⁷

This highlights how Muhammadiyah’s advocacy has enabled marginalised communities to identify legal and political avenues for defending their rights. The organisation expresses deep concern about human rights violations linked to land grabbing, particularly in Rempang and PIK 2.

Furthermore, Muhammadiyah has expanded its advocacy to the international stage, sending delegates to global human rights forums, including a convention in Iran. During this event, Muhammadiyah emphasised that its human rights perspective is grounded not only in universal principles but also in Islamic values promoting justice, equality, and compassion. This demonstrates Muhammadiyah’s ability to reconcile Islamic teachings with global human rights standards, creating a coherent and contextual Islamic human rights framework.

To institutionalise its human rights work, Muhammadiyah established the Legal and Human Rights Council (MHH), a specialised legal and human rights council. MHH performs a crucial role in addressing land rights violations by producing research-based evidence and providing legal assistance. It has been actively involved in defending the

³⁵ Informant 6, “Agrarian Expert,” February 4, 2025.

³⁶ Mamdukh Budiman et al., “Muhammadiyah’s Contribution to Shaping Progressive Islam in the Nusantara and Contemporary World,” *NuMAS: The Journal of Nusantara Malay Archipelago Scholars* 1, no. 1 (2025): 15–32, <https://doi.org/10.63088/numasv1i17>.

³⁷ Informant 3, “Muhammadiyah Representative 1,” January 23, 2025.

rights of communities affected by land conflicts in Wadas,³⁸ Rempang, and Banten (PIK 2). Through these initiatives, Muhammadiyah has shown consistent and systematic dedication to human rights protection, demonstrating how Islamic institutions can advance human rights while upholding Islamic ethical principles, particularly in cases of land grabbing that harm vulnerable and indigenous communities

The MUI has also engaged in human rights discourse while advocating for Muslim concerns. In 2000, MUI issued a fatwa on human rights affirming that these rights must align with Islamic teachings.³⁹ While recognising the importance of human rights, the fatwa critiques the UDHR for prioritising individual freedoms, in ways that may compromise societal obligations and moral responsibilities. MUI insists that human rights should be contextualised within local cultural, religious, and legal frameworks and balanced with the public interest.⁴⁰ Where human rights principles conflict with Islamic law, the fatwa instructs Muslims to follow Islamic teachings. MUI also calls for the government, religious authorities, and the public to promote a culturally relevant understanding of human rights and to widely disseminate the fatwa to raise awareness.⁴¹

Similarly, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) advocates for human rights in opposing land grabbing.⁴² Ahmad notes that NU grounds its human rights perspective in five core Islamic principles: *hifz al-nafs* (protection of life), *hifz al-din* (religion), *hifz al-nasl* (lineage), *hifz al-mal* (property), and *hifz al-aql* (reason).⁴³ NU sees human rights advocacy as a means of resisting tyranny and defending these fundamental values. This commitment is particularly evident in NU's grassroots advocacy, where members have persistently defended peasants' land rights, recognising that such land is essential to their livelihood and dignity. This signifies that NU acknowledges the significance of human rights rhetoric and converts it into practical programs to defend the disadvantaged.

This research finds that MUI and NU, among other Islamic organisations, demonstrate a deep commitment to human rights, using these values as both a moral and religious foundation for challenging land grabs. Their ability to align human rights principles with Islamic teachings enables them to engage more effectively in advocacy that is just, empathetic, and relevant to contemporary needs.⁴⁴ This compatibility enhances their legitimacy, allowing them to navigate political, legal, and religious landscapes without compromising their fundamental principles, therefore reducing resistance and strengthening their influence in defending for the marginalised communities.

Moreover, Islamic organisations' advocacy against land grabbing reflects their support for the UDHR, particularly its provisions in Article 17, which upholds the right to

³⁸ Wadas is a village located at the Bener district, Purworejo, Indonesia, where residents are in conflict with the government over its selection as a mining site for the Bener Dam project

³⁹ *Hak Asasi Manusia (HAM)*, Fatwa (MUI, 2000).

⁴⁰ Moch. Nur Ichwan, "'Ulamā', State and Politics: Majelis Ulama Indonesia After Suharto," *Islamic Law and Society* 12, no. 1 (2005): 45–72, <https://doi.org/10.1163/1568519053123867>.

⁴¹ *Hak Asasi Manusia (HAM)*.

⁴² Zainuddin Lubis, "Pendapat NU Pada Konflik Agraria Rakyat Dengan Pemerintah," September 16, 2023.

⁴³ Maghfur Ahmad, "Nahdlatul Ulama dan Penegakkan Hak Asasi Manusia di Indonesia," *RELIGIA* 13, no. 2 (2017), <https://doi.org/10.28918/religia.v13i2.181>.

⁴⁴ Bunyamin Bunyamin et al., "Reforming Indonesia's Correctional System: The Role of Maqāṣid Al-Syarī'ah in Ensuring Justice and Rehabilitation," *De Jure: Jurnal Hukum Dan Syar'iah* 17, no. 1 (2025): 52–71, <https://doi.org/10.18860/j-fsh.v17i1.29258>. Hjh Norhartijah binti Haji Puteh and Cecep Soleh Kurniawan, "Reforming Islamic Family Law in Southeast Asia: A Comparative Study of Indonesia, Malaysia, and Brunei Darussalam," *ASEAN Journal of Islamic Studies and Civilization (AJISC)* 2, no. 1 (2025): 1–25.

own property; Article 3, which guarantees the right to life, liberty, and security; Article 7, which ensures equality before the law; and Article 25, which affirms the right to an adequate standard of living. These articles are understood not in isolation but as interconnected principles that align closely with Islamic teachings, as reflected in the fatwa and recommendations issued by these organisations.

c. Community Grievances

The primary motivation for Islamic institutions' involvement in combating land grabbing stems from direct complaints and requests from affected communities. The Islamic principle of advocacy, particularly the obligation to protect the marginalised or *mustadh'afin*, is rooted from fundamental passages such as Surah al-Ma'un, which emphasises the importance of caring for the socially disadvantaged, especially the poor and oppressed. Surah an-Nisa (4:75) further reinforces this call to action by asking: "Why do you not fight in the way of Allah for those who are oppressed among men, women, and children who cry out: 'Our Lord, rescue us from this town whose people are oppressors?'" This verses provide a clear ethical and religious foundation for advocacy, obligating Muslims to defend individuals against systemic injustice. Institutions such as Legal Aid Institution (LBH) Muhammadiyah embody these principles in their engagement with land-related conflicts.

LBH Muhammadiyah has received numerous complaints from communities whose lands have been seized or threatened due to National Strategic Projects (PSN). These grievances act as the primary catalyst for both legal and ethical intervention. In the Wadas case, villagers formally requested Muhammadiyah's assistance in opposing a government backed extraction project that threatened their land and livelihood.⁴⁵ The organisation's response reflected its Islamic mission: to defend the legitimate rights of local communities and challenge the unequal power structures underpinning these projects.

Similar patterns are evident in other high-profile cases, such as Rempang and PIK 2, where affected communities sought the support of Islamic organisations to strengthen their advocacy. Muhammadiyah specifically criticised the state's approach for sidelining constructive dialogue and excluding communities from decision-making procedures. The grievances voiced by local residents thus evolved into both a legal and moral imperative for action.

The Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) has also actively responded to such complaints. In the Rempang case, MUI Kepulauan Riau (Kepri) received direct reports from residents facing forced eviction. Representatives of MUI Kepri stated:

"Yes, we went down to the field, we met with traditional leaders, community leaders there, the message was almost the same, they agreed, some even said that for seven generations we could not build the 170 trillion, for seven generations we lived, died, lived and died again, we could not build it, they said, but for us the problem is not the construction, we agree but the relocation system is the problem"⁴⁶

This statement illustrates MUI's attentiveness to grassroots perspectives. In response, MUI Kepri engaged directly with local authorities, law enforcement, and the relevant private

⁴⁵ Suara Muhammadiyah, "Ketua PP Muhammadiyah Terima Silaturahmi Warga Wadas Di Jakarta," News, May 21, 2022, <https://web.suaramuhammadiyah.id/2022/05/21/ketua-pp-muhammadiyah-terima-silaturahmi-warga-wadas-di-jakarta/>.

⁴⁶ Informant 2, "MUI Representative 2," January 28, 2025.

sector actors, taking an assertive role in addressing land conflict shaped by community concerns.

Nahdlatul Ulama similarly conducted a field visit to PIK 2 to verify reported grievances.⁴⁷ In this case, the Executive Board of Nahdlatul Ulama (PBNU) expressed full support for the Nahdlatul Ulama branch administrators (PCNU) Tangerang Regency in resolving the PIK 2 issue and defending the rights of the affected communities. This illustrates NU's commitment to addressing both institutional objectives and direct community needs.

Community complaints thus serve as a central driver for the advocacy work of MUI, Muhammadiyah, and NU. These Islamic organisations are not passive observers or detached institutions; rather, they are deeply responsive to the struggles of those facing land confiscation, forced eviction, and displacement caused by development projects. By actively listening to and addressing grassroots concerns, they position themselves as moral intermediaries grounded in Islamic values, particularly the duty to protect the *mustadh'afin*.

Moreover, their advocacy is not purely reactive; it is anchored in a religious and ethical commitment to *'adl* and *maslahah*. As one of the objectives of *maqasid al-shariah*⁴⁸, *maslahah* serves as a guiding principle for Islamic legal and moral decision-making.⁴⁹ By grounding their actions in the lived experiences and grievances of affected communities, these organisations elevate local voices, translate them into policy-oriented demands, and articulate them with religious authority. This approach ensures that land rights advocacy is both community-driven and faith-oriented, aligning with the Islamic imperative to defend those whose rights are under threat. This motivation contributed to ACF by integrating Islamic principles with an ACF element, policy belief. *Adl* and *maslahah* were Islamic principles that Islamic institutions often promote in its policy belief as important values.

2. The Strategies of Islamic Institution Advocacy

Civil society organisations often employ a range of advocacy strategies to defend their beliefs and promote social change. Understanding the specific advocacy approaches used by the Indonesia Ulama Council (MUI), Muhammadiyah, and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) in addressing land grabbing is essential. Such understanding enables the evaluation of their effectiveness, the identification of strategies that Islamic organisations can optimise, the recognition of challenges they encounter, and the assessment of their overall impact on the issue.

This research identifies four principal advocacy strategies adopted by these Islamic organisations: (1) issuing fatwas and policy recommendations, (2) conducting public education and raising social awareness, (3) pursuing legal advocacy initiatives and, (4) building coalitions and collaboration. Analysing these strategies demonstrates how Islamic principles are translated into practical action and indicates the capacity of religious institutions to influence socio-political and legal processes in Indonesia. Furthermore, examining these approaches provides valuable insights into how Islamic advocacy can contribute to broader movements for justice and environmental sustainability. In addition,

⁴⁷ Arfan Effendi, "Laporkan Investigasi Dampak PIK 2, PBNU Dukung Penuh Langkah PCNU Kab Tangerang," News, December 10, 2024, <https://banten.nu.or.id/banten-rama/laporkan-investigasi-dampak-pik-2-pbnu-dukung-penuh-langkah-pcnu-kab-tangerang-dSuip>.

⁴⁸ The higher objectives of Islamic law, aimed at preserving religion, life, intellect, lineage, and property.

⁴⁹ Aidul Fitriadi Absori et al., "Transformation of Maqasid Al-Syariah (an Overview of the Development of Islamic Law in Indonesia)," *Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 11, no. 1 (2016): 1, <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-ihkam.v11i1.854>.

these strategies demonstrated that analysing strategy as an element of ACF is really important. The researcher can comprehend the Islamic institution advocacy by applying such ACF theory.

a. Fatwa and Recommendation

Civil society performs a crucial role in shaping public policy by providing recommendations to the government through policy briefs, reports, advocacy campaigns, and direct interactions with legislators.⁵⁰ Its legitimacy derives from the communities it represents, advocating justice, defending rights, and promoting public welfare. Within this sphere, Islamic institutions occupy a significant position, particularly in defending the rights of marginalised populations affected by land appropriation.

In Indonesia, Islamic organisations wield considerable influence due to their moral authority, extensive public trust, and strong social and institutional networks, an influence further reinforced by the country's Muslim majority. Consequently, these institutions are strategically positioned to shape public discourse and promote policy changes grounded in religious and ethical principles.

The MUI, the nation's highest Islamic religious authority, has actively addressed land grabbing issues. Leveraging its authority, MUI has issued several fatwas on land issues, often accompanied by policy recommendations that integrate Islamic legal principles with socio-ethical considerations. As one MUI representative explained:

“So if we look at other communities, the MUI has long issued a fatwa. The MUI fatwa on land distribution for equity and welfare. Which was carried out in the 2021 Indonesian Fatwa Commission Ulama Ijtima. The point is that Islam recognises land ownership rights to be prospered and utilised for the benefit and preservation.”⁵¹

This statement reflects the Islamic perspective that land management is not merely a matter of ownership but a duty to serve the public benefit. The 2021 fatwa stresses that land should be allocated and used to promote equity, welfare, and sustainability, principles that align closely with broader advocacy efforts against land grabbing.

MUI highlighted that fatwas are not solely religious edicts but also tools of advocacy to influence governmental decision-making. Over the years, MUI has issued numerous fatwas and recommendations concerning agrarian justice and land governance, including:

- i. Fatwa on the revocation of land ownership for public interest in 2005
- ii. Fatwa on the function of land for national welfare in 2015
- iii. Fatwa on land distribution for equity and welfare in 2021
- iv. Recommendation on the Rempang conflict in 2023
- v. Recommendation on the PIK 2 case in 2024

These initiatives demonstrate the MUI's commitment to protecting community rights and welfare in line with its role as *khadimul ummah* or servant of the people, particularly in issues related to land.

In 2015, MUI issued a series of recommendations for agrarian legal reform grounded in Islamic principles while advocating practical measures. These encompassed:

⁵⁰ Andreas Sintot et al., “The Political Process in Nations: Civil Society Participation and Income Inequality,” *Kyklos* 77, no. 3 (2024): 471–95, <https://doi.org/10.1111/kykl.12375>.

⁵¹ Informant 1, “MUI Representative 1,” December 12, 2024.

- i. Enhancing waqf land governance and management.
- ii. Strengthening the role of Islamic organisations in managing waqf assets.
- iii. Utilising state and abandoned lands for Islamic institutions.
- iv. Promoting the use of *cash waqf* (*waqf uang*).
- v. Establishing a dedicated MUI team for implementation.
- vi. Calling for the return of waqf assets currently used by state institutions.⁵²

These recommendations reflect MUI's aim to align agrarian reform with the Islamic principle of *waqf*, then address land issues, including land grabbing, through faith-based frameworks.

During the 2021 *Ijtima' Ulama* forum, MUI again addressed land justice. While acknowledging government initiatives such as land distribution and the issuance of land certificates to the disadvantaged groups, it also urged:

- i. Reassessment of excessive private land ownership and its management rights to ensure equitable distribution.
- ii. Strengthening land governance to uphold social harmony and protect marginalised and indigenous communities.
- iii. Government regulation of land prices to prevent excessive market control and land concentration.⁵³

These recommendations highlight MUI's recognition that poor land regulation can cause land grabbing. The organisation not only engages actively with the issue but also demonstrates a nuanced understanding of its structural causes, enabling responses rooted in both legal and Islamic principles.

MUI has also addressed the socio-political and moral implications of large-scale land conversion in the Rempang Eco-City in 2023 and Pantai Indah Kapuk 2 (PIK 2) development in 2025. Its recommendations for these cases included:

- i. Uphold justice, welfare, and benefit for local communities.
- ii. Recognise and respect the rights of indigenous peoples and their ancestral lands, in accordance with both Islamic principles and the Indonesian Constitution.
- iii. Ensure legal protections and prevent exploitation by prioritising people's welfare.⁵⁴

Such targeted recommendations demonstrate that MUI addresses not only general policy issues but also specific land-grabbing cases. As one MUI secretary stated: "Referring to this fatwa. So there is already a fatwa, so that's what we continue to use."⁵⁵ This confirms that MUI consistently employs fatwas and recommendations as advocacy instruments to protect marginalised communities facing land injustice.

Muhammadiyah has also exercised its authority as a civil society organisation by issuing policy recommendations on land issues, notably addressing the Rempang conflict through the release of a policy brief in 2024. The brief highlighted urgent concerns and called on the government to take specific actions, including:

- i. Accelerating the passage of the Indigenous Peoples Bill
- ii. Providing psychosocial support for displaced residents, especially children.

⁵² MUI, "Fatwa Ijtima Ulama Tentang Pemanfaatan Tanah Untuk Kesejahteraan Umat Dan Bangsa," MUI, 2015.

⁵³ MUI, "Fatwa Ijtima Ulama Tentang Distribusi Lahan Untuk Pemerataan Dan Kemaslahatan (Fungsionalisme Tanah)," MUI, 2021.

⁵⁴ MUI, "Tausiyah/Rekomendasi Majelis Ulama Indonesia Tentang Penyelesaian Masalah Pulau Rempang, Kep-2973/DP-MUI/IX/2023," MUI, 2023.

⁵⁵ Deputy Secretary of MUI, January 7, 2025.

- iii. Strengthening legal advocacy to ensure protection of constitutional rights through civil society engagement.⁵⁶

These recommendations were grounded in data collected during direct field visits by Muhammadiyah members, thereby enhancing both their credibility and practical relevance.

Similarly, *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) issues fatwas through its *bahtsul masail* forum. Following these deliberative processes, NU has addressed land-grabbing issues with fatwas such as:

- i. Fatwa on Land Conversion in 2015
- ii. Indonesian people's sovereignty over land in 2021

These fatwas reflect NU's commitment to land justice and its use of fatwas to protect affected populations. Given NU's large grassroots membership, many of whom are directly impacted by land grabbing, it is compelled to advocate for their land rights. However, NU's fatwas are primarily directed toward its own community and *pesantren*⁵⁷ networks.

While Muhammadiyah and NU tend to issue fatwas and policy recommendations aimed at their respective constituencies, MUI's fatwas carry the greatest national recognition. As an umbrella body representing multiple Islamic organisations, MUI holds greater perceived legitimacy among both the state and the public. Nonetheless, the effectiveness of fatwas remains contested. Some argue that their societal impact is inherently limited because they are not legally binding. Others contend that fatwas possess binding force in a sociological sense, carrying considerable influence and authority within communities.⁵⁸ Research further suggests that the diversity of fatwas issued separately by MUI, Muhammadiyah, and NU can dilute their collective impact, as differing positions may create ambiguity and weaken overall authority.⁵⁹

In summary, MUI, Muhammadiyah, and NU demonstrate how Islamic institutions can leverage moral, religious, and institutional authority to influence policy and advance public welfare. These organisations transform community concerns into formal advocacy strategies through fatwas, policy briefs, and recommendations. Their collaborative efforts illustrate that justice can be rooted in Islamic principles while remaining inclusive and responsive to the socioeconomic realities of marginalised groups.

b. Public Education and Social Awareness

Public education is essential for enhancing community awareness, particularly regarding land grabbing. Lee and Rodgers argue that increasing public knowledge is a fundamental component of advocacy, as it shapes public opinion, influences policy

⁵⁶ David Efendi, "Risalah Kebijakan Kehampaan Hak Di Balik Proyek Rempang Eco City," LHKP Muhammadiyah, January 2025, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/387961230_Risalah_kebijakan_Kehampaan_Hak_di_Balik_Proyek_Rempang_Eco_City.

⁵⁷ Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia, usually under the guidance of a *kyai* (religious scholar).

⁵⁸ Ibnu Elmi Achmat Slamet Pelu and Jefry Tarantang, "Fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia sebagai Solusi Permasalahan Umat Islam di Indonesia," *Al-Manahij: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam* 14, no. 2 (2020): 307–16, <https://doi.org/10.24090/mnh.v14i2.3927>.

⁵⁹ Ansori Ansori, "Position of Fatwa in Islamic Law: The Effectiveness of MUI, NU, and Muhammadiyah Fatwas," *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan* 22, no. 1 (2022): 53–72, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v22i1.53-72>.

decisions, and facilitates legislative change.⁶⁰ Non-governmental organisations and academic institutions also play a vital role in education, often acting as catalysts for recovery and resilience during conflicts, natural disasters, and other crises.⁶¹ In this context, numerous Islamic organisations have employed education and awareness-raising as strategic tools to advocate for the rights of marginalised communities.

The MUI views social awareness of land issues as a preventive strategy against land grabbing. In 2023, in North Sumatra, MUI has organised *muzakarah* (deliberations) or seminars on the topic, including at least two public forums with legal experts to discuss state-driven land grabbing.⁶² Such discussions illustrate MUI's emphasis on academic dialogue as a means of educating the public about the importance of land issues and promoting sound land management practices to prevent dispossession. In addition to seminars, MUI uses fatwas as instruments of public education, explaining land grabbing from both Islamic legal and ethical perspectives. These fatwas draw upon *dalil* from the Qur'an, Sunnah, and *Ijma'* to clarify Islamic positions on land rights. Together, seminars and fatwas reflect MUI's commitment to public education and resistance to unjust land acquisition.

Muhammadiyah has also actively addressed land conflicts, including the Rempang and PIK 2 cases, by hosting public lectures highlighting the harmful effects of corporate land grabbing. Through its Council for Public Advocacy (LHKP), Muhammadiyah has organised numerous discussions on the impact of National Strategic Projects (PSN). Additionally, in 2025, Muhammadiyah's universities have held academic seminars to examine the legal complexities of the PIK 2 case.⁶³ These initiatives highlight Muhammadiyah's focus on institutional education in defending the rights of marginalised groups.

The organisation has also contributed to the preservation of indigenous communities by providing guidance on managing *ulayat* land⁶⁴ in accordance with the Islamic principle of *waqf*.⁶⁵ In relation to indigenous peoples, several customary dispute resolution mechanisms are also recognised and reinforced by Islamic law, particularly through the principle of *al-'urf* (custom).⁶⁶ This is significant, as indigenous communities are often among the most affected by land grabbing. Such approaches demonstrate that indigenous and Islamic frameworks can work in tandem to address land disputes and promote conflict resolution.

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), known for its traditional academic approach, has addressed land grabbing through its traditional forum of *bahitsul masail*, resulting in fatwas

⁶⁰ Courtland C. Lee and Roe A. Rodgers, "Counselor Advocacy: Affecting Systemic Change in the Public Arena," *Journal of Counseling & Development* 87, no. 3 (2009): 284–87, <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1556-6678.2009.tb00108.x>.

⁶¹ Sultan Barakat et al., "The Role of Basic Education in Post-Conflict Recovery," *Comparative Education* 49, no. 2 (2013): 124–42, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03050068.2012.686259>.

⁶² MUI, "MUI Sumut Gelar Muzakarah Tentang Konflik Agraria Dan Hak Rakyat," News, September 24, 2023, <https://muisumut.or.id/muisu-gelar-muzakarah-tentang-konflik-agraria-dan-hak-rakyat/>.

⁶³ Juliadi, "Seminar Hukum Dan Advokasi Bahas Dampak Negatif PSN PIK 2 Di Tangerang," News, January 8, 2025, <https://tangerangkota.pikiran-rakyat.com/metropolitan/pr-3478950791/seminar-hukum-dan-advokasi-bahas-dampak-negatif-psn-pik-2-di-tangerang>.

⁶⁴ Communal land rights belonging to an indigenous or customary law community.

⁶⁵ Iza Hanifuddin, "Muhammadiyah Dan Adat Tanah Ulayat Minangkabau," *JURIS (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)* 14.1, no. 2016 (2016): 12–20, <http://dx.doi.org/10.31958/juris.v14i1.293>.

⁶⁶ Darmawan et al., "Resolving Land Disputes Through Land Offices and Customary Institutions: Perspectives from National and Customary Law in Aceh," *El-Usrah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga* 8, no. 1 (2025), <https://doi.org/10.22373/tqcdmt70>.

that prohibit state-sanctioned land grabbing.⁶⁷ Numerous *pesantren* affiliated with NU have also held *bahtsul masail* discussions focusing on land-related issues. This form of advocacy can be described as mobilisation advocacy through education, where *pesantren* collectively deliberate on specific issues. It illustrates NU's strong commitment and active involvement in combating land grabbing using religious-legal discourse grounded in Islamic law.

The advocacy strategies of these Islamic organisations differ in structure and approach. NU relies on decentralised, community-based processes like *bahtsul masail*, typically organised at the grassroots level. Muhammadiyah employs a more systematic and institutionalised model through advocacy councils and educational institutions. MUI, in turn, combines fatwas with public seminars to broaden community understanding.

Islamic institutions in Indonesia perform a crucial role in educating the public and fostering social awareness to combat land grabbing and other socio-legal injustices. They possess substantial resources, distinct authority, and legitimacy among the Muslim population. These attributes strengthen their capacity to advocate for change. Committed to social justice and the protection of marginalised communities, these organisations employ seminars, religious discussions, fatwas, and intellectual forums as tools for promoting equitable and sustainable land governance.

c. Legal Advocacy

Civil society organisations (CSOs) perform a critical role in legal advocacy, particularly as land grabbing often arises from overlapping regulations and legal uncertainty, especially during the initial stages of legal drafting.⁶⁸ The Basic Agrarian Law (UUPA),⁶⁹ the foundation of Indonesia's land regulation, is frequently undermined,⁷⁰ particularly in areas such as criminal justice, land governance, and environmental protection. Despite active CSO involvement, the final stages of legal decision-making remain dominated by government bodies and legal professionals.⁷¹ The scope and effectiveness of CSO-led advocacy depend heavily on the structure, responsiveness, and transparency of the legal system in each country.

In Indonesia, a democratic state with constitutional guarantees for civic participation, civil society, including Islamic organisations, is provided with legal frameworks to engage in conflict resolution and law reform. These include institutional legal advocacy and grassroots participation, supported by instruments such as the 1945 Constitution, Law No. 7 of 2012 on Social Conflict Management, and Law No. 39 of 1999

⁶⁷ Nuril Indiraphasa, "NU Nyatakan Perampasan Tanah Rakyat Oleh Negara Hukumnya Haram," News, February 9, 2022, <https://www.nu.or.id/nasional/nu-nyatakan-perampasan-tanah-rakyat-oleh-negara-hukumnya-haram>

cQpbS#:~:text=Secara%20spesifik%2C%20NU%20menyoroti%20perampasan,baik%20tanpa%20ada%20unsur%20kekerasan.

⁶⁸ Muh. Afif Mahfud and Naufal Hasanuddin Djohan, "The Expansion of Investor Access to Cultivation Rights: A Socio-Legal Analysis on Agrarian Injustice in Indonesia," *Al-Risalah: Forum Kajian Hukum Dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan* 24, no. 2 (2024): 55–67, <https://doi.org/10.30631/alrisalah.v24i2.1500>.

⁶⁹ *Undang-Undang Pokok Agraria* (Basic Agrarian Law) of 1960, the foundation of Indonesia's land law system

⁷⁰ Ramiah Lubis and Hijriyana Safithri, "Legal Protection of Ulayat Rights," *Nurani: Jurnal Kajian Syari'ah Dan Masyarakat* 21, no. 1 (2021): 81–92, <https://doi.org/10.19109/nurani.v21i1.6627>.

⁷¹ Maija Helminen and Anne Alvesalo-Kuusi, *Advocating the 'Good' Criminal Justice System. The Involvement and Ideas of Civil Society Organisations in Formulating Finnish Criminal Policy*, 2017.

on Human Rights. Such frameworks grant Islamic institutions the legitimacy to participate in advocacy related to land grabbing and agrarian justice.

The Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) has consistently engaged in legal advocacy, drawing on legal professionals within its membership. Its approach is distinctive in combining Islamic legal principles with statutory legal analysis, enhancing its credibility among both religious and legal audiences. A notable example is MUI's 2015 fatwa, which combined religious rulings with recommendations for legal reform:

- i. MUI urged immediate creation of legislation to govern the distribution of state-owned and vacant land to citizens. It highlighted that extensive areas of land remain under corporate ownership yet have been unutilised for years, contradicting Islamic principles of utility and social benefit.
- ii. MUI recommended legislation to regulate new area development to protect public buildings, cultural heritage sites, and community traditions, particularly against uncontrolled infrastructure expansion.
- iii. MUI asked the government and the House of Representatives (DPR) to prioritise the formulation of new, equitable land legislation designed to enhance social justice and welfare.⁷²

These recommendations illustrate that MUI's legal advocacy is substantive and designed to influence legislative outcomes directly. It calls for harmonising Indonesia's legislative framework with Islamic principles and mandates of social justice, advocating concepts such as *ihya' mawat*⁷³ (reviving dead land),⁷⁴ productive *waqf* for land utilisation, and other Islamic principles that can be integrated into land management to prevent land grabbing. MUI's legal role is further strengthened by its in-house experts, who participate in public forums, craft legal arguments, and engage policymakers to ensure its positions are both ethically grounded and legally sound.

Alongside MUI, LBH Muhammadiyah (Muhammadiyah's Legal Aid Institute) is among the most active organisations in defending communities affected by land grabs. Its work includes providing legal counsel, conducting field investigations, supporting litigation, and advocating for policy reform.⁷⁵ Through affiliated bodies, the MHH and the Institute for Public Wisdom and Policy (LHKP), Muhammadiyah has addressed cases such as the Wadas conflict by conducting legal analyses, issuing public condemnations of human rights violations, and exposing procedural irregularities in land acquisition.⁷⁶

Their advocacy also involves pressing for accountability from state institutions, demanding investigations into police violence, and calling for greater transparency in administrative processes, particularly in land clearance and resettlement programmes. For example, in the PIK 2 development case, where communities in Banten faced displacement, LBH Muhammadiyah used legal actions, public demonstrations, and media outreach to defend community land rights. These actions received direct support from

⁷² MUI, "Fatwa Ijtima Ulama Tentang Pemanfaatan Tanah Untuk Kesejahteraan Umat Dan Bangsa."

⁷³ An Islamic legal principle allowing individuals to revive and claim unused or abandoned land for productive use.

⁷⁴ Ahmad Munif, "Iḥyā' al-Mawāt dalam Kerangka Hukum Pertanahan di Indonesia," *Al-Ahkam* 18, no. 1 (2018): 73, <https://doi.org/10.21580/ahkam.2018.18.1.2347>.

⁷⁵ Muhammad Wahdini et al., "Environmental Governance in Indonesia: Muhammadiyah's Role, State Intervention, and Legal Practice Dynamics," *Syariah: Jurnal Hukum Dan Pemikiran* 24, no. 1 (2024): 189–205, <https://doi.org/10.18592/sjhp.v24i1.12897>.

⁷⁶ Muhammadiyah, "Advokasi Muhammadiyah Untuk Warga Wadas Terus Berlanjut," News, April 26, 2022, <https://web.suaramuhammadiyah.id/2022/04/26/advokasi-muhammadiyah-untuk-warga-wadas-terus-berlanjut/>.

Muhammadiyah's senior leadership, reflecting strong alignment between grassroots advocacy and institutional policy.

As the Chief of LBH Muhammadiyah explained:

"We conduct media advocacy. Yes, so we use it, we issue releases, make notes, and conduct legal studies. First, we receive complaints. Some cases have come to the Muhammadiyah Central Office regarding land. LBHPP also exists in the regions. This is indeed collaborative advocacy work. So we form a coalition with LBH colleagues outside Muhammadiyah as well."⁷⁷

This evidence highlights that LBH Muhammadiyah has a structured, interconnected strategy for legal advocacy, facilitating collaboration among regional offices, central leadership, and external collaborators. Their legal efforts are not isolated; they are strengthened by alliances with wider civil society entities, enhancing their ability to confront land injustice.

Moreover, the central leadership of Muhammadiyah has explicitly recognised this continuous involvement. The leader of Muhammadiyah asserted:

"We frequently handle land eviction cases. And currently, we're focusing on land evictions at the PIK-2 National Strategic Project in North Tangerang. So, we've been assisting people who have been criminalised because they don't want their land sold cheaply, and then they're criminalised and imprisoned."⁷⁸

Such statements highlight Muhammadiyah's dual role in providing legal defence and protecting victims of criminalisation linked to land disputes. The Chief's direct visits to affected communities in Wadas and Banten reinforced solidarity, allowed for first-hand assessment of conditions, provided moral and institutional support and strengthened Muhammadiyah's role in protecting marginalised groups through legal advocacy.

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) also employs legal assistance as part of its strategy to address land-related issues. Through its legal aid institution, LBH NU Kaltim, NU educates communities on the legal aspects of land management and utilisation, aiming to prevent conflicts stemming from ignorance or misunderstanding of agrarian law.⁷⁹ By offering legal counselling and awareness programmes, NU empowers communities to defend their land rights and resist exploitation. This illustrates how NU has institutionalised legal education as a preventive tool within its broader advocacy framework.

The engagement of MUI, Muhammadiyah, and NU in legal advocacy reflects a growing synergy between religious authority and legal mechanisms. Their work represents an integration of Islamic ethical principles with constitutional and agrarian law, creating a comprehensive approach to justice. By merging religious values with formal legal frameworks, these organisations advance human rights, equitable land access, and inclusive development. Their advocacy is grounded not only in moral imperatives but also in empowering citizens through legal literacy and institutional support to challenge unlawful land acquisition.

⁷⁷ Informant 4, "Muhammadiyah Representative 2," January 14, 2025.

⁷⁸ Informant 3, "Muhammadiyah Representative 1," January 23, 2025.

⁷⁹ Guntur Pribadi, "Hindari Permasalahan Tanah LPBH NU Dan LBH Ansor Kaltim Gelar Penyuluhan," News, January 26, 2019, <https://www.nu.or.id/daerah/hindari-permasalahan-tanah-lpbh-nu-dan-lbh-ansor-kaltim-gelar-penyuluhan-0GECN>.

d. Building Coalition and Collaboration

The fourth strategy adopted by Islamic institutions in addressing land grabbing is coalition-building with other civil society organisations. Islamic institutions demonstrate considerable flexibility in collaborating with diverse groups, including human rights activists, environmental organisations, agrarian movements, and other societal actors. Collaboration in advocacy refers to the process by which individuals, organisations, or networks work together to achieve shared objectives.⁸⁰ It is crucial because it enhances the effectiveness of advocacy initiatives and strengthens collective influence over policy and social change.⁸¹

One model that the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) has drawn upon is the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF), a widely recognised approach to addressing complex social issues such as land grabbing. This framework explains how organisations form alliances based on shared beliefs and objectives, working collectively to promote policy reforms or resist harmful practices. For example, environmental organisations frequently join forces to contest legal frameworks that contribute to ecological degradation. Similarly, coalitions across sectors, such as human rights, environmental conservation, legal reform, and indigenous rights, have emerged to resist land dispossession. According to ACF, collaborative efforts exert greater influence than individual initiatives.

MUI has formally committed to collaborative advocacy, as reflected in its official advocacy guidelines, which state that:

- i. The Board of Directors is encouraged to collaborate with external organisations working on similar issues to improve the effectiveness of advocacy.
- ii. External partners may include a wide range of institutions, such as legal aid organisations, lawyers' associations, universities, law enforcement bodies, government agencies, and legislative institutions.
- iii. Collaboration must be pursued while upholding the independence of MUI.⁸²

The guideline demonstrates MUI's commitment to adopting a collaborative advocacy approach. MUI exhibits flexibility in engaging with diverse civil actors relevant to the case, with the purpose of strengthening advocacy efforts and incorporating various perspectives in problem analysis.

In 2021, MUI collaborated with Indonesian Land Mafia Victims Forum (FKMTI), identifying land grabbing as a critical national issue and encouraging participants to intensify their responses.⁸³ This marked an early stage in MUI's engagement with broader coalitions. In September 2023, MUI partnered with academics and legal experts to organise

⁸⁰ Jean M. Bartunek et al., "Using Collaborative Advocacy to Foster Intergroup Cooperation: A Joint Insider-Outsider Investigation," *Human Relations* 49, no. 6 (1996): 701–33, <https://doi.org/10.1177/001872679604900601>.

⁸¹ Amanda M. Stewart et al., "Enhancing Physician Advocacy Through Collaboration With Government Relations: Report From the Health Policy Scholars Program," *Academic Pediatrics* 24, no. 5 (2024): 820–25, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.acap.2023.11.005>.

⁸² MUI, "Organisational Guidelines of The Board Director of The Indonesian Ulama Council Number: 15/PO-MUI/II/2018 Concerning Guidelines for Providing Assistance and Advocacy by The Indonesian Ulama Council in Handling Legal Issues Cases Related to Muslims or Islamic Institutions," MUI, May 2018, <https://muijatim.or.id/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/Buku-Pedoman-Penyelenggaraan-Organisasi-MUI-edisi-revisi-2018.pdf>.

⁸³ Muhammad Fauzi, "MUI: Mafia Tanah Makin Meresahkan Masyarakat," News, Media Indonesia, March 5, 2021, https://mediaindonesia.com/politik-dan-hukum/388830/mui-mafia-tanah-makin-meresahkan-masyarakat#google_vignette.

a seminar on land ownership rights and the legal procedures for land acquisition in the public interest, signalling a shift towards knowledge-based advocacy.⁸⁴ A month later, in October 2023, MUI collaborated with National Commission of Human Rights (Komnas HAM) and representatives from the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning to address the Rempang conflict, highlighting MUI's ability to bring state and civil actors into dialogue. By 2025, MUI expanded its collaborative scope by working with LBH AP Muhammadiyah, Laskar Merah Putih, Indonesian Environmental Forum (WALHI), and People's Coalition for Fisheries Justice (KIARA).⁸⁵ These collaborations aimed at restoring community rights while challenging elite-driven urban development projects that privileged conglomerates over citizens. Collectively, these initiatives illustrate how MUI has moved from symbolic statements to a practical application of collaborative advocacy, engaging civil society organisations, academics, NGOs, and government actors.

Muhammadiyah similarly demonstrated a strong commitment to coalition-building. In 2025, it collaborated with WALHI Riau to defend the rights of the Rempang community.⁸⁶ By July 2025, Muhammadiyah had joined a coalition of civil society organisations, including YLBHI, WALHI, Mining Advocacy Network (JATAM), KIARA, and Pantau Gambut, to file lawsuits against several National Strategic Projects (PSN), including Rempang Eco City, PIK 2, the Capital of Nusantara (IKN), and the food estate in Papua.⁸⁷ These efforts reflected Muhammadiyah's strategy of strengthening its legal advocacy by embedding it within wider collective action. As one Muhammadiyah representative explained:

“If Muhammadiyah doesn't take a role in advocacy and education, it will be a collective effort. Not alone. It won't be systemic. Because Muhammadiyah isn't a system, it's part of it.”⁸⁸

This statement indicates Muhammadiyah's deliberate choice to act in solidarity with other civil actors, emphasising systemic change rather than isolated intervention.

Civil society organisations reported positive feedback from these collaborations, noting that support from Islamic institutions enhanced their advocacy capacity. Such cooperation was particularly visible in high-profile cases, including the Rempang conflict and PIK 2. In contrast, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) did not actively engage in coalition-building. NU's official involvement was largely limited to offering advice and moral guidance to government authorities, while its grassroots affiliates, such as FNKSDA, remained more proactive in defending marginalised communities.

These findings demonstrate that Islamic institutions play a pivotal role in advancing the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) within the Indonesian context. By

⁸⁴ MUI, “MUI Sumut Gelar Muzakarah Tentang Konflik Agraria Dan Hak Rakyat.”

⁸⁵ Ficky Ramadhan, “MUI Bersama Ormas Dan LSM Desak Pemerintah Cabut PSN PIK 2 Tangerang,” News, January 24, 2025, https://mediaindonesia.com/politik-dan-hukum/737600/mui-bersama-ormas-dan-lsm-desak-pemerintah-cabut-psn-pik-2-tangerang#google_vignette.

⁸⁶ LHKP Muhammadiyah, “Konsisten Dukung Masyarakat Tempatan, PP Muhammadiyah Dan WALHI Riau Desak Pemerintah Hentikan Proyek Rempang Eco City,” May 14, 2025, <https://www.kompasiana.com/lhkp1811/6824225b34777c73bc4f2653/konsistensi-dukung-masyarakat-tempatan-pp-muhammadiyah-dan-walhi-riau-desak-pemerintah-hentikan-proyek-rempang-eco-city>.

⁸⁷ YLBHI, “Koalisi Masyarakat Sipil Gugat Pasal-Pasal Proyek Strategis Nasional(PSN) Dalam UU Cipta Kerja Ke Mahkamah Konstitusi,” July 4, 2025, <https://ylbhi.or.id/informasi/siaran-pers/koalisi-masyarakat-sipil-gugat-pasal-pasal-proyek-strategis-nasionalpsn-dalam-uu-cipta-kerja-ke-mahkamah-konstitusi/>.

⁸⁸ Informant 3, “Muhammadiyah Representative 1,” January 23, 2025.

engaging in cross-sectoral collaboration, they link religious legitimacy with advocacy on issues of environment, human rights, law, and indigenous rights. Their strategies, ranging from issuing fatwas and recommendations to conducting public education, legal action, and coalition-building, exemplify key elements of ACF, where collective advocacy is more impactful than fragmented initiatives.

Advocacy Strategies Summary of MUI, Muhammadiyah and NU advocacy

Strategy Type	Institution	Actions Taken
Fatwa and Recommendations	MUI	Issued several fatwas and recommendations related to land issues
	Muhammadiyah	Issued recommendations through policy briefs
	Nahdlatul Ulama	Issued a fatwa after conducting <i>bahtsul masail</i>
Public Education	MUI	Conducted <i>muzakarah</i> and public discussions on land issues
	Muhammadiyah	Conducted public discussions on the Rempang and PIK 2 projects
	Nahdlatul Ulama	Conducted <i>bahtsul masail</i> on land debates
Legal Advocacy	MUI	Proposed legal reforms on land regulations
	Muhammadiyah	Provided institutional legal advocacy for communities through litigation processes
	Nahdlatul Ulama	Provided legal advocacy for local communities
Collaborative Advocacy	MUI	Collaborated with multiple stakeholders
	Muhammadiyah	Collaborated with civil society organisations
	Nahdlatul Ulama	FNKSDA, an NU-affiliated organisation, collaborated with multiple civil actors

Table 1 Advocacy Strategies Summary of MUI, Muhammadiyah and NU advocacy

The table summarises the advocacy strategies employed by MUI, Muhammadiyah, and Nahdlatul Ulama in addressing land-related issues via three primary strategies: fatwa and recommendations, public education, and legal advocacy. MUI, NU, and Muhammadiyah issue fatwas or policy briefs to direct responses to land conflicts. In public education, communities are engaged through discussions, MUI via *muzakarah*, Muhammadiyah through forums addressing specific issues such as Rempang and PIK 2, and NU through *bahtsul masail* debates. MUI advocates for regulatory reform in legal issues, whilst Muhammadiyah and NU assist impacted populations via legal institutions and litigation initiatives.

Map of Islamic Institutions' Advocacy on Land Grabbing

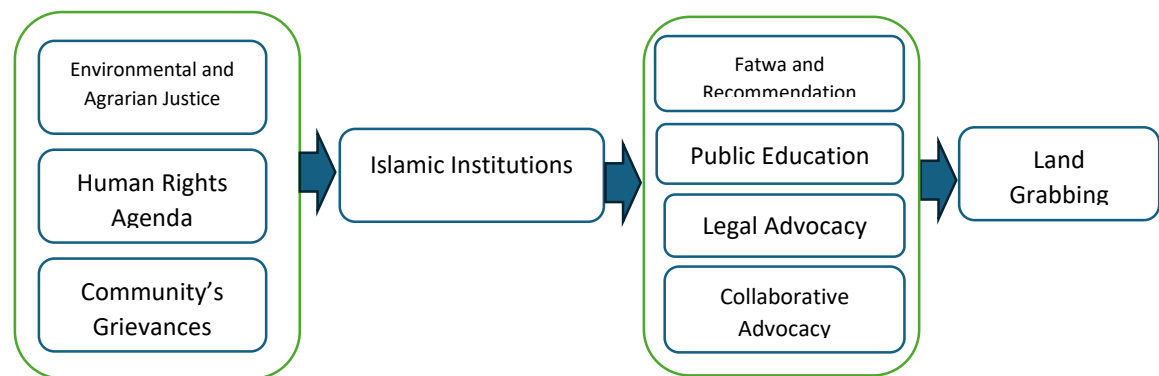


Figure 2. Map of Islamic Institution Advocacy on Land Grabbing

The figure titled “*Map of Islamic Institutions’ Advocacy on Land Grabbing*” illustrates the process through which Islamic institutions address land grabbing. Their engagement typically begins through three primary entry points: environmental and agrarian concerns, human rights violations, and direct complaints from affected communities. These triggers prompt Islamic institutions to respond through three strategic approaches: issuing *fatwas* or recommendations that characterise land grabbing as unjust and incompatible with Islamic principles such as *‘adl* (justice) and *maslahah* (public benefit); implementing public education initiatives to raise awareness of land rights and ethical environmental stewardship; engaging in legal advocacy through mediation, litigation, or policy intervention; and building collaborative advocacy.

These strategies are consistent with Islamic law insofar as they uphold justice and social harmony.⁸⁹ They also reflect historical precedents, such as Umar bin Khattab’s approach to land issues, which often prioritised *maslahah* when neither the Qur’an nor the Hadith provided explicit guidance.⁹⁰ The interconnected pathways in the figure highlight the institutions’ overarching objective: defending the rights of marginalised groups and restricting exploitative land practices, then positioning Islamic advocacy as both a moral and legal authority in advancing agrarian justice.

⁸⁹ Kamaruddin Kamaruddin et al., “Justice, Mediation, and Kalosara Custom of the Tolaki Community in Southeast Sulawesi from the Perspective of Islamic Law,” *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 7, no. 2 (2023): 1077, <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v7i2.13183>.

⁹⁰ Waheeda Waheeda et al., “The Dynamic Interplay: A Normative-Philosophical Study of Islam and Local Wisdom in Indonesia,” *ASEAN Journal of Islamic Studies and Civilization (AJISC)* 2, no. 1 (2025): 61–91, <https://doi.org/10.62976/ajisc.v2i1.1369>.

⁹¹ Abdul Kadir Jaelani et al., “Land Reform Policy in Determining Abandoned Land for Halal Tourism Destination Management Based on Fiqh Siyasah,” *El-Mashlahah* 14, no. 1 (2024): 211–36, <https://doi.org/10.23971/el-mashlahah.v14i1.8051>.

3. Systematic Comparative Analysis

In recent years, Muhammadiyah and the MUI have emerged as the most active Islamic institutions in advocacy for marginalised communities, particularly in land grabbing. They are frequently involved in land-grabbing cases such as those in Rempang and PIK 2. They frequently engage in direct communication with civil society actors in the field. This strengthens the validity of the information collected. They also implemented collaborative advocacy with civil society organisations. The head of Muhammadiyah stated that such advocacy constitutes a shared responsibility. In contrast with Nahdlatul Ulama, they tend to utilise the members, like FNKSDA, to advocate for the community without any direct guidance and advocacy from the institution itself.

Muhammadiyah is the most active institution in mobilising its resources to advocate for marginalised communities. Muhammadiyah demonstrates strong concern for legal issues related to land rights, which often disadvantage marginalised communities. In addition, with its numerous legal experts, Muhammadiyah frequently mobilises them to defend community rights. The MUI, recognising its religious legitimacy, uses this authority to advise the government and initiate collaboration with civil society organisations. As the sole authority on issuing recognised fatwas, the MUI has also leveraged this role to strengthen its advocacy. Patterns of advocacy among Islamic organisations vary depending on their resources, legitimacy, and authority.

Islamic Organisations	Wadas (2022)	Rempang (2023)	PIK 2 (2025)
MUI	Public Statement	Recommendations, Coalition Building, Facilitating discussions, Establishing a special team	Recommendations, Coalition Building, Facilitating discussions, Establishing a special team
Muhammadiyah	Public Statement, Legal Advocacy	Recommendations, Legal Advocacy, Seminars	Recommendations, Legal Advocacy, Seminars
Nahdlatul Ulama	Public Statement	Public Statement	Public Statement

Table 2 The cases advocated by Islamic institutions

Table 2 demonstrates a comparison of how Islamic institutions, including the MUI, Muhammadiyah, and NU, respond to land-grabbing cases. The researcher analysed three prominent cases from the last five years. The MUI demonstrates a clear transformation from symbolic to structural advocacy. From issuing only statements in 2022 (e.g., Wadas), it shifted to more active and institutionalised roles in 2023 and 2025, including coalition building and the establishment of special teams. This indicates a recognition of the crucial urgency of land conflicts and a willingness to act as a mediator and advisor at a national level.

Muhammadiyah has consistently engaged in advocacy beyond symbolic forms. Its involvement in legal advocacy across all three cases reflects its historical role as a civil society actor defending rights, particularly through its LBH. The inclusion of seminars indicates that Muhammadiyah not only reacts but also frames land-grabbing issues within broader educational and public discourse, thereby influencing both policy and community awareness.

NU's approach is the most conservative, relying exclusively on public statements. This indicates a cautious or symbolic role, perhaps due to its close ties with government or its prioritisation of maintaining broad religious authority without entering into direct confrontation. While NU provides moral legitimacy to the cause, it refrains from engaging in direct advocacy or legal action. However, it is important to note that NU's grassroots affiliates, such as FNKSDA, remain actively engaged in direct advocacy for marginalised communities, even when the central body refrains from stronger action. In conclusion, the MUI has adopted a more structural approach to advocacy, Muhammadiyah maintains consistent legal and educational engagement, and NU continues to play a symbolic and moral role. This diversity reflects how Islamic institutions collectively shape responses to land conflicts in Indonesia.

In Southeast Asia, civil society organisations, including NGOs, activists, and scholars, are actively engaged in addressing land grabbing, often fostering dynamic debates intended to provoke political action.⁹² Religious institutions also play significant roles in shaping these responses. In Malaysia, the State Islamic Religious Councils (MAIN) have implemented efficient administrative systems and modern technologies to manage and develop abandoned waqf land, thereby reducing its vulnerability to dispossession and demonstrating the potential of religious resources in sustainable land management.⁹³ In the Philippines, the Roman Catholic Church has consistently opposed large-scale mining on Samar, citing the environmental damage it poses and grounding its stance in a theological commitment to being a “church of the poor.” By rejecting neoliberal models, it has promoted sustainable development and reframed ecological care as the “flourishing of all.”^{94,95} Meanwhile, Buddhist temples in urban Thailand have protected religious land through ethical stewardship and pro-poor usage. Their practices represent a faith-based, non-Western alternative to the privatisation and financialisation of urban land, which frequently drive land grabbing.⁹⁶ These examples demonstrate that religious institutions, while grounded in distinct traditions, actively advocate for marginalised groups through

⁹² L Schoenberger et al., “What Happened When the Land Grab Came to Southeast Asia?,” *JOURNAL OF PEASANT STUDIES* 44, no. 4 (2017): 697–725, WOS:000406480900001, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03066150.2017.1331433>. Muhamad Riandi and Rusdiah Rusdiah, “The Interaction between Islam and Local Wisdom in Indonesia: A Normative-Philosophical Study,” *ASEAN Journal of Islamic Studies and Civilization (AJISC)* 2, no. 1 (2025): 93–115, <https://doi.org/10.62976/ajisc.v2i1.1370>.

⁹³ Shahrina Romli et al., “Actions and Strategies of State Islamic Religious Councils (MAIN) On the Development of Abandoned Waqf Land in Malaysia,” *International Journal of Research and Innovation in Social Science* IX, no. III (2025): 3549–56, <https://doi.org/10.47772/IJRISS.2025.90300280>. Fauz Moh’d Khamis et al., “Perceived Inclusion of Islamic Finance: The Effects of Attitudes, Experience, Literacy, Religiosity, and Social Influences,” *International Journal of Applied Economics, Finance and Accounting* 18, no. 2 (2024): 321–38, <https://doi.org/10.33094/ijaefa.v18i2.1398>.

⁹⁴ William Norman Holden, “Ecclesial Opposition to Large-Scale Mining on Samar: Neoliberalism Meets the Church of the Poor in a Wounded Land,” *Religions* 3, no. 3 (2012): 833–61, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel3030833>.

⁹⁵ Jeane C. Peracullo and Rosa Bella M. Quindoza, “The Environmental Activism of a Filipino Catholic Faith Community: Re-Imagining Ecological Care for the Flourishing of All,” *Religions* 13, no. 1 (2022): 56, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel13010056>.

⁹⁶ Chaitawat Boonjubun et al., “Religious Land as Commons: Buddhist Temples, Monastic Landlordism, and the Urban Poor in Thailand,” *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 80, no. 2 (2021): 585–636, <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajes.12382>.

context-specific solutions that draw on their spiritual legitimacy and visions of just land management.

Beyond Southeast Asia, religious institutions have also played crucial roles in land-related struggles. In Africa, the Church has taken a progressive stance in advocacy, facilitating bilateral agreements, promoting consensus, and mediating dialogue with communities to defend their rights.⁹⁷ Such initiatives reflect a broader pattern in which religious authorities claim prophetic legitimacy as a moral basis for defending the marginalised. A similar logic is evident in Indonesia, where the MUI has framed itself as an heir to the Prophet, thereby legitimising its role in contesting land grabbing. In China, minority Islamic organisations, despite operating under political and demographic constraints, have mobilised their limited resources to resist dispossession.⁹⁸ In Indonesia, however, the demographic dominance of Muslims, combined with substantial institutional resources, provides Islamic organisations with significant capacity to influence systemic change.

4. Effectiveness and impact assessment.

Understanding policy change is crucial, as the ACF is frequently used to explain the elements that drive such change.⁹⁹ The policy changes in PIK 2 and Rempang demonstrate the outcomes of collaborative actions between Islamic institutions and other civil society organisations. In addition, the occurrence of policy change can serve as an indicator of the effectiveness of the advocacy process.¹⁰⁰

Field evidence indicates that Islamic institutions are among the most active and influential civil society organisations defending community rights against land grabbing in Indonesia. They have initiated legal advocacy, coalition building, and public awareness campaigns. However, the effectiveness and impact of advocacy are crucial to measure. Measuring the effectiveness of advocacy in land grabbing is complex, as it involves multiple actors and stakeholders. Policy change and outcomes can be influenced by several variables. However, it can be argued that the advocacy of Islamic institutions influenced policy change, including the revocation of national strategic projects in Rempang and PIK 2. ACF theory highlights how advocacy coalitions can shape policy change and outcomes. The initiation of advocacy and collaborative efforts should not be underestimated, as they play a crucial role in achieving policy change.

On 29 April 2025, a coalition of civil society organisations, including Muhammadiyah, formally requested the House of Representatives (DPR) to reassess the implementation of national projects in Rempang that had often harmed indigenous communities.¹⁰¹ In response, the council and the government cancelled the Rempang Eco City project. At the same time, the central government revoked the national project status

⁹⁷ Kelebogile Thomas Resane, "The Role of the Church in the Land Debate," *Scriptura* 118, no. 1 (2019), <https://doi.org/10.7833/118-1-1526>.

⁹⁸ Qiangqiang Luo and Joel Andreas, "Using Religion to Resist Rural Dispossession: A Case Study of a Hui Muslim Community in North-West China," *The China Quarterly* 226 (June 2016): 477–98, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0305741016000321>.

⁹⁹ Jonathan J. Pierce et al., "Policy Change: An Advocacy Coalition Framework Perspective," *Policy Studies Journal* 48, no. 1 (2020): 64–86, <https://doi.org/10.1111/psj.12223>.

¹⁰⁰ David Devlin-Foltz et al., "Advocacy Evaluation: Challenges and Emerging Trends," *Health Promotion Practice* 13, no. 5 (2012): 581–86, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524839912446482>.

¹⁰¹ Yogi Eka Sahputra, "DPR Buktikan Proyek Rempang Eco City Tak Masuk Daftar 77 PSN Prabowo," *News*, April 29, 2025, https://www.tempo.co/ekonomi/dpr-buktikan-proyek-rempang-eco-city-tak-masuk-daftar-77-psn-prabowo-1284270#goog_rewarded.

of PIK 2.¹⁰² The revocation of these projects from the national list demonstrates that civil society organisations exerted significant pressure on the government, leading to policy change.

The combination of ACF elements, including members, policy beliefs, resources, and strategies, has generated specific policy outcomes. Members of the MUI, Muhammadiyah, and NU are significant actors in such advocacy. Their diverse ideologies shape policy beliefs, including perspectives on the issue. Most important are the resources they have mobilised in advocacy, including authority and legitimacy.

Future research could build on this research by examining how communities evaluate the effectiveness of Islamic institutions' advocacy and by comparing these evaluations with those of other civil society organisations. Methodologically, longitudinal and mixed-methods studies would enable researchers to trace changes in advocacy strategies and assess their measurable impacts over time. More broadly, this research underscores the need for a comparative programme on religious advocacy in agrarian justice, linking the Indonesian experience with similar movements across Southeast Asia and beyond.

CONCLUSION

Land grabbing has become a significant issue in Indonesia in recent years. Numerous civil society organisations have engaged in advocacy for affected communities, including Islamic institutions that actively support marginalised groups. The involvement of Islamic institutions in land-grabbing advocacy raises critical questions. What are the motivations of Islamic institutions to engage in advocacy against land grabbing, and what advocacy strategies do they employ to defend affected communities? Ultimately, their efforts demonstrate their essential role in confronting socio-environmental injustices in Indonesia.

This research finds that organisations such as the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI), Muhammadiyah, and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) participate in advocacy driven by three interconnected aims: pursuing environmental and agrarian justice, protecting human rights, and responding to community grievances. These motives consistently align with Islamic principles, particularly *adl* (justice) and *maslahah* (public benefit). These organisations realise their motives through a holistic strategy comprising the issuance of fatwas and policy recommendations on land issues, public education through community participation, legal advocacy initiatives, and coalition building and collaboration. The advocacy undertaken by Islamic institutions against land grabbing received positive responses from civil society organisations, as it strengthened their efforts. The advocacy therefore achieved successful outcomes, leading to policy change, including the revocation of Rempang Eco City and PIK 2 from the list of national projects.

This research finds that the MUI and Muhammadiyah have actively engaged in advocacy in recent years, while NU has tended to respond more passively. Religious roles in different countries also tend to be similar, as they primarily utilise their moral and religious authority to defend community rights. In several Southeast Asian countries, religious institutions, including Islamic, Catholic, and Buddhist, play important roles in progressively advocating for the marginalised. However, this research acknowledges a limitation in that it does not investigate the effectiveness of advocacy from the community

¹⁰² Yusuf Permana, "Dicabut, KEK Tanjung Lesung Dan PIK 2 Bukan Lagi PSN," News, March 10, 2025, <https://www.radarbanten.co.id/2025/03/10/dicabut-kek-tanjung-lesung-dan-pik-2-bukan-lagi-psn/>.

perspective or the broader role of religion in Indonesia and Southeast Asia. Future research should focus on examining the effectiveness of the advocacy strategies from community's perspective.

Theoretically, this research contributes to the ACF by examining how religious institutions utilise authority and legitimacy in advocacy. Empirically, this research provides new insights into the advocacy of Islamic institutions in addressing social issues and offers a detailed account of their involvement in land-grabbing cases. Methodologically, this research combined interviews with religious institution leaders and members with primary document analysis to capture advocacy perspectives often overlooked by scholars.

Academically, this research contributes to scholarship on religion and politics by highlighting how religious advocacy interacts with state policies and grassroots struggles. The research also strengthens global commitments to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). From a policy perspective, the research suggests that government actors should recognise Islamic institutions not only as religious authorities but also as civil society partners in protecting marginalised communities from land grabbing. From a policy perspective, the research suggests that government actors should recognise Islamic institutions not only as religious authorities but also as civil society partners in protecting marginalised communities from land grabbing.

Future studies could examine how affected communities evaluate the effectiveness of Islamic institutions' advocacy, offering a bottom-up perspective. Comparative studies with CSOs would help clarify whether religious legitimacy provides distinct advantages in advocacy outcomes. Methodologically, quantitative surveys and longitudinal case studies could assess the long-term impact of advocacy on land rights protection. More broadly, a cross-national research programme could link Islamic institutions in Indonesia with other faith-based advocacy movements in Southeast Asia, deepening our understanding of religion's role in agrarian justice.

REFERENCES

- Absori, Aidul Fitriciada, M. Mu'inudinillah Basri, Fatkhul Muin, and Aidul Fitriciada Azhari. "Transformation of Maqasidh Al-Syariah (an Overview of the Development of Islamic Law in Indonesia)." *Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 11, no. 1 (2016): 1. <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-ihkam.v11i1.854>.
- Ahmad, Maghfur. "Nahdlatul Ulama dan Penegakkan Hak Asasi Manusia di Indonesia." *RELIGIA* 13, no. 2 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.28918/religia.v13i2.181>.
- Ansori, Ansori. "Position of Fatwa in Islamic Law: The Effectiveness of MUI, NU, and Muhammadiyah Fatwas." *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan* 22, no. 1 (2022): 53–72. <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v22i1.53-72>.
- Bachriadi, Dianto, and Edward Aspinall. "Land Mafias in Indonesia." *Critical Asian Studies* 55, no. 3 (2023): 331–53. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14672715.2023.2215261>.
- Bakker, Laurens. "Agrarian Justice and Indonesian Law." *SHS Web of Conferences* 54 (2018): 03020. <https://doi.org/10.1051/shsconf/20185403020>.
- Barakat, Sultan, David Connolly, Frank Hardman, and Vanita Sundaram. "The Role of Basic Education in Post-Conflict Recovery." *Comparative Education* 49, no. 2 (2013): 124–42. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03050068.2012.686259>.
- Bartunek, Jean M., Pennie G. Foster-Fishman, and Christopher B. Keys. "Using Collaborative Advocacy to Foster Intergroup Cooperation: A Joint Insider-Outsider Investigation." *Human Relations* 49, no. 6 (1996): 701–33. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001872679604900601>.
- Boonjubun, Chaitawat, Anne Haila, and Jani Vuolteenaho. "Religious Land as Commons: Buddhist Temples, Monastic Landlordism, and the Urban Poor in Thailand." *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 80, no. 2 (2021): 585–636. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajes.12382>.
- Borras Jr, Saturnino M, and Jennifer C Franco. "Political Dynamics of Land-Grabbing in Southeast Asia." *Transnational Institute*, 2011.
- Budiman, Mamdukh, Sriyono, Salman Al Farisi, and Royan Utsany. "Muhammadiyah's Contribution to Shaping Progressive Islam in the Nusantara and Contemporary World." *NuMAS: The Journal of Nusantara Malay Archipelago Scholars* 1, no. 1 (2025): 15–32. <https://doi.org/10.63088/numasv1i17>.
- Bunjamin, Bunjamin, Firdaus Arifin, Ihsanul Maarif, Robi Assadul Bahri, and Mohd Kamarulnizam Abdullah. "Reforming Indonesia's Correctional System: The Role of Maqāṣid Al-Syarī'ah in Ensuring Justice and Rehabilitation." *De Jure: Jurnal Hukum Dan Syariah* 17, no. 1 (2025): 52–71. <https://doi.org/10.18860/j-fsh.v17i1.29258>.
- Darmawan, Iman Jauhari, and Suhaimi. "Resolving Land Disputes Through Land Offices and Customary Institutions: Perspectives from National and Customary Law in Aceh." *El-Usrah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga* 8, no. 1 (2025). <https://doi.org/10.22373/tqcdmt70>.
- Devlin-Foltz, David, Michael C. Fagen, Ehren Reed, Robert Medina, and Brad L. Neiger. "Advocacy Evaluation: Challenges and Emerging Trends." *Health Promotion Practice* 13, no. 5 (2012): 581–86. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524839912446482>.
- Efendi, David. "Risalah Kebijakan Kehampaan Hak Di Balik Proyek Rempang Eco City." LHKP Muhammadiyah, January 2025. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/387961230_Risalah_kebijakan_Kehampaan_Hak_di_Balik_Proyek_Rempang_Eco_City.
- Effendi, Arfan. "Laporkan Investigasi Dampak PIK 2, PBNU Dukung Penuh Langkah PCNU Kab Tangerang." News. December 10, 2024.

- <https://banten.nu.or.id/banten-raja/laporkan-investigasi-dampak-pik-2-pbnu-dukung-penuh-langkah-pcnu-kab-tangerang-dSuip>.
- Fannani, Bakhruddin, and A. Samsul Ma'arif. "The Theological Imperative of Marine Ecosystem Conservation via Mangrove Forest Preservation: A Study of the Social Construction of Kyai Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah." *KARSA Journal of Social and Islamic Culture* 32, no. 1 (2024): 147–72. <https://doi.org/10.19105/karsa.v32i1.10537>.
- Fauzi, Muhammad. "MUI: Mafia Tanah Makin Meresahkan Masyarakat." News. Media Indonesia, March 5, 2021. https://mediaindonesia.com/politik-dan-hukum/388830/mui-mafia-tanah-makin-meresahkan-masyarakat#google_vignette.
- Fauzia, Amelia. "Islamic Philanthropy in Indonesia: Modernization, Islamization, and Social Justice." *Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies* Vol 10 No 2 (December 2017): 223-236 Pages. 223-236 Pages. <https://doi.org/10.14764/10.ASEAS-2017.2-6>.
- Gerring, John. "What Is a Case Study and What Is It Good For?" *The American Political Science Review*, 2004, 341–54.
- GrzyMala-Busse, Anna. "Weapons of the Meek: How Churches Influence Public Policy." *World Politics* 68, no. 1 (2016): 1–36. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0043887115000301>.
- Hak Asasi Manusia (HAM)*. Fatwa. MUI, 2000.
- Hanifuddin, Iza. "Muhammadiyah Dan Adat Tanah Ulayat Minangkabau." *JURIS (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)* 14.1, no. 2016 (2016): 12–20. <http://dx.doi.org/10.31958/juris.v14i1.293>.
- Harnowo, Tri, and Fachry Hasani Habib. "Islamic Law and Environment Issues: Indonesian Ulama Council's Fatwas on Climate Change." *AHKAM: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 24, no. 1 (2024). <https://doi.org/10.15408/ajis.v24i1.34161>.
- Helminen, Maija, and Anne Alvesalo-Kuusi. *Advocating the 'Good' Criminal Justice System. The Involvement and Ideas of Civil Society Organisations in Formulating Finnish Criminal Policy*. 2017.
- Holden, William Norman. "Ecclesial Opposition to Large-Scale Mining on Samar: Neoliberalism Meets the Church of the Poor in a Wounded Land." *Religions* 3, no. 3 (2012): 833–61. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel3030833>.
- "Human Rights': The Hidden Agenda." In *The National Interest on International Law & Order*, 1st ed., by Irving Kristol. Routledge, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351323642-27>.
- Husain, Muhammad Zakir. "Religious Moderation and the Development of Multicultural Societies in Indonesia: A Normative-Islamic Legal Study." *ASEAN Journal of Islamic Studies and Civilization (AJISC)* 2, no. 1 (2025): 27–60. <https://doi.org/10.62976/ajisc.v2i1.1368>.
- Ichwan, Moch. Nur. "'Ulamā', State and Politics: Majelis Ulama Indonesia After Suharto." *Islamic Law and Society* 12, no. 1 (2005): 45–72. <https://doi.org/10.1163/1568519053123867>.
- Indiraphasa, Nuril. "NU Nyatakan Perampasan Tanah Rakyat Oleh Negara Hukumnya Haram." News. February 9, 2022. <https://www.nu.or.id/nasional/nu-nyatakan-perampasan-tanah-rakyat-oleh-negara-hukumnya-haram-cQpbS#:~:text=Secara%20spesifik%2C%20NU%20menyoroti%20perampasan,baik%20tanpa%20ada%20unsur%20kekerasan>.
- Jaelani, Abdul Kadir, Anila Rabbani, and Muhammad Jihadul Hayat. "Land Reform Policy in Determining Abandoned Land for Halal Tourism Destination Management

- Based on Fiqh Siyasah.” *El-Mashlahah* 14, no. 1 (2024): 211–36. <https://doi.org/10.23971/el-mashlahah.v14i1.8051>.
- Juliadi. “Seminar Hukum Dan Advokasi Bahas Dampak Negatif PSN PIK 2 Di Tangerang.” News. January 8, 2025. <https://tangerangkota.pikiran-rakyat.com/metropolitan/pr-3478950791/seminar-hukum-dan-advokasi-bahas-dampak-negatif-psn-pik-2-di-tangerang>.
- Kamaruddin, Kamaruddin, Iswandi Iswandi, Andi Yaqub, Layyin Mahfiana, and Muh. Akbar. “Justice, Mediation, and Kalosara Custom of the Tolaki Community in Southeast Sulawesi from the Perspective of Islamic Law.” *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 7, no. 2 (2023): 1077. <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v7i2.13183>.
- Kelley, Lisa C., Nancy Lee Peluso, Kimberly M. Carlson, and Suraya Afiff. “Circular Labor Migration and Land-Livelihood Dynamics in Southeast Asia’s Concession Landscapes.” *Journal of Rural Studies* 73 (January 2020): 21–33. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2019.11.019>.
- Khamis, Fauz Moh’d, Mohamad Yazid Bin Isa, and Noraini Binti Yusuff. “Perceived Inclusion of Islamic Finance: The Effects of Attitudes, Experience, Literacy, Religiosity, and Social Influences.” *International Journal of Applied Economics, Finance and Accounting* 18, no. 2 (2024): 321–38. <https://doi.org/10.33094/ijaefa.v18i2.1398>.
- Knutson, Katherine E. *Interfaith Advocacy*. Routledge, 2014. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203505540>.
- Koehrsen, Jens. “Muslims and Climate Change: How Islam, Muslim Organizations, and Religious Leaders Influence Climate Change Perceptions and Mitigation Activities.” *WIREs Climate Change* 12, no. 3 (2021): e702. <https://doi.org/10.1002/wcc.702>.
- Lee, Courtland C., and Roe A. Rodgers. “Counselor Advocacy: Affecting Systemic Change in the Public Arena.” *Journal of Counseling & Development* 87, no. 3 (2009): 284–87. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1556-6678.2009.tb00108.x>.
- Lubis, Ramiah, and Hijriyana Safithri. “Legal Protection of Ulayat Rights.” *Nurani: Jurnal Kajian Syari’ah Dan Masyarakat* 21, no. 1 (2021): 81–92. <https://doi.org/10.19109/nurani.v21i1.6627>.
- Lubis, Zainuddin. “Pandangan NU Pada Konflik Agraria Rakyat Dengan Pemerintah.” September 16, 2023.
- Luo, Qiangqiang, and Joel Andreas. “Using Religion to Resist Rural Dispossession: A Case Study of a Hui Muslim Community in North-West China.” *The China Quarterly* 226 (June 2016): 477–98. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0305741016000321>.
- Maantay, Juliana A., and Andrew R. Maroko. “Brownfields to Greenfields: Environmental Justice Versus Environmental Gentrification.” *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 15, no. 10 (2018): 2233. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph15102233>.
- Maharani, Aisyah. “Konflik Tanah Tahun 2024 Naik 21 Persen, Perkebunan Sawit Mendominasi.” News. March 25, 2025. <https://www.kpa.or.id/2025/03/25/konflik-tanah-tahun-2024-naik-21-persen-perkebunan-sawit-mendominasi/>.
- Mahfud, Muh.Afif, and Naufal Hasanuddin Djohan. “The Expansion of Investor Access to Cultivation Rights: A Socio-Legal Analysis on Agrarian Injustice in Indonesia.” *Al-Risalah: Forum Kajian Hukum Dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan* 24, no. 2 (2024): 55–67. <https://doi.org/10.30631/alrisalah.v24i2.1500>.

- Mahoney, James. "Qualitative Methodology and Comparative Politics." *Comparative Political Studies* 40, no. 2 (2007): 122–44. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414006296345>.
- Maknunia, Jauharatul, Sutrisno Sutrisno, and Teguh Arafah Julianto. "Peacebuilding and Humanitarian Crises: The Role of Islamic Humanitarianism in Indonesia's Conflict Resolution and Disaster Response." *ASEAN Journal of Islamic Studies and Civilization (AJISC)* 2, no. 1 (2025): 117–33. <https://doi.org/10.62976/ajisc.v2i1.1371>.
- Mosley, Jennifer E., David F. Suárez, and Hokyu Hwang. "Conceptualizing Organizational Advocacy Across the Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector: Goals, Tactics, and Motivation." *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 52, no. 1_suppl (2023): 187S–211S. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08997640221103247>.
- Mufid, Moh. "Reasoning Ecological Fatwas: The Progressive Response of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) to the Phenomenon of Climate Change in Indonesia." *Istinbath : Jurnal Hukum* 20, no. 02 (2024): 102–22. <https://doi.org/10.32332/istinbath.v20i02.4824>.
- Muhammadiyah. "Advokasi Muhammadiyah Untuk Warga Wadas Terus Berlanjut." News. April 26, 2022. <https://web.suaramuhammadiyah.id/2022/04/26/advokasi-muhammadiyah-untuk-warga-wadas-terus-berlanjut/>.
- Muhammadiyah, LHKP. "Konsisten Dukung Masyarakat Tempatan, PP Muhammadiyah Dan WALHI Riau Desak Pemerintah Hentikan Proyek Rempang Eco City." May 14, 2025. <https://www.kompasiana.com/lhkp1811/6824225b34777c73bc4f2653/konsisten-dukung-masyarakat-tempatan-pp-muhammadiyah-dan-walhi-riau-desak-pemerintah-hentikan-proyek-rempang-eco-city>.
- Muhammadiyah, Suara. "Ketua PP Muhammadiyah Terima Silaturahmi Warga Wadas Di Jakarta." News. May 21, 2022. <https://web.suaramuhammadiyah.id/2022/05/21/ketua-pp-muhammadiyah-terima-silaturahmi-warga-wadas-di-jakarta/>.
- MUI. "Fatwa Ijtima Ulama Tentang Distribusi Lahan Untuk Pemerataan Dan Kemaslahatan (Fungsionalisme Tanah)." MUI, 2021.
- MUI. "Fatwa Ijtima Ulama Tentang Pemanfaatan Tanah Untuk Kesejahteraan Umat Dan Bangsa." MUI, 2015.
- MUI. "MUI Sumut Gelar Muzakarah Tentang Konflik Agraria Dan Hak Rakyat." News. September 24, 2023. <https://muisumut.or.id/muisu-gelar-muzakarah-tentang-konflik-agraria-dan-hak-rakyat/>.
- MUI. "Organisational Guidelines of The Board Director of The Indonesian Ulama Council Number: 15/PO-MUI/II/2018 Concerning Guidelines for Providing Assistance and Advocacy by The Indonesian Ulama Council in Handling Legal Issues Cases Related to Muslims or Islamic Institutions." MUI, May 2018. <https://muijatim.or.id/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/Buku-Pedoman-Penyelenggaraan-Organisasi-MUI-edisi-revisi-2018.pdf>.
- MUI. "Tausiyah/Rekomendasi Majelis Ulama Indonesia Tentang Penyelesaian Masalah Pulau Rempang, Kep-2973/DP-MUI/IX/2023." MUI, 2023.
- Munif, Ahmad. "Iḥyā' al-Mawāt dalam Kerangka Hukum Pertanahan di Indonesia." *Al-Ahkam* 18, no. 1 (2018): 73. <https://doi.org/10.21580/ahkam.2018.18.1.2347>.
- Mustofa, M Lutfi, M Fauzan Zenrif, and Ahmad Barizi. "Towards an Islamic Ecotheology: Indonesian Muslim Organizations in Climate Mitigation and Adaptation Efforts." *Problemy Ekorozwoju*, n.d.
- Naeem, Muhammad, Wilson Ozuem, Kerry Howell, and Silvia Ranfagni. "A Step-by-Step Process of Thematic Analysis to Develop a Conceptual Model in Qualitative

- Research.” *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 22 (October 2023): 16094069231205789. <https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069231205789>.
- Pelu, Ibnu Elmi Achmat Slamet, and Jefry Tarantang. “Fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia sebagai Solusi Permasalahan Umat Islam di Indonesia.” *Al-Manahij: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam* 14, no. 2 (2020): 307–16. <https://doi.org/10.24090/mnh.v14i2.3927>.
- Peracullo, Jeane C., and Rosa Bella M. Quindoza. “The Environmental Activism of a Filipino Catholic Faith Community: Re-Imagining Ecological Care for the Flourishing of All.” *Religions* 13, no. 1 (2022): 56. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel13010056>.
- Permana, Yusuf. “Dicabut, KEK Tanjung Lesung Dan PIK 2 Bukan Lagi PSN.” News. March 10, 2025. <https://www.radarbanten.co.id/2025/03/10/dicabut-kek-tanjung-lesung-dan-pik-2-bukan-lagi-psn/>.
- Pichler, Melanie, Manan Bhan, and Simone Gingrich. “The Social and Ecological Costs of Reforestation. Territorialization and Industrialization of Land Use Accompany Forest Transitions in Southeast Asia.” *Land Use Policy* 101 (February 2021): 105180. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2020.105180>.
- Pierce, Jonathan J., Holly L. Peterson, and Katherine C. Hicks. “Policy Change: An Advocacy Coalition Framework Perspective.” *Policy Studies Journal* 48, no. 1 (2020): 64–86. <https://doi.org/10.1111/psj.12223>.
- Pribadi, Guntur. “Hindari Permasalahan Tanah LPBH NU Dan LBH Ansor Kaltim Gelar Penyuluhan.” News. January 26, 2019. <https://www.nu.or.id/daerah/hindari-permasalahan-tanah-lpbh-nu-dan-lbh-ansor-kaltim-gelar-penyuluhan-0GECN>.
- Puteh, HjH Norhartijah binti Haji, and Cecep Soleh Kurniawan. “Reforming Islamic Family Law in Southeast Asia: A Comparative Study of Indonesia, Malaysia, and Brunei Darussalam.” *ASEAN Journal of Islamic Studies and Civilization (AJISC)* 2, no. 1 (2025): 1–25.
- Ramadhan, Ficky. “MUI Bersama Ormas Dan LSM Desak Pemerintah Cabut PSN PIK 2 Tangerang.” News. January 24, 2025. https://mediaindonesia.com/politik-dan-hukum/737600/mui-bersama-ormas-dan-lsm-desak-pemerintah-cabut-psn-pik-2-tangerang#google_vignette.
- Resane, Kelebogile Thomas. “The Role of the Church in the Land Debate.” *Scriptura* 118, no. 1 (2019). <https://doi.org/10.7833/118-1-1526>.
- Riandi, Muhamad, and Rusdiah Rusdiah. “The Interaction between Islam and Local Wisdom in Indonesia: A Normative-Philosophical Study.” *ASEAN Journal of Islamic Studies and Civilization (AJISC)* 2, no. 1 (2025): 93–115. <https://doi.org/10.62976/ajisc.v2i1.1370>.
- Romli, Shahrina, Fathin Shahirah Abd Rahim, Mohd Sabree Nasri, et al. “Actions and Strategies of State Islamic Religious Councils (MAIN) On the Development of Abandoned Waqf Land in Malaysia.” *International Journal of Research and Innovation in Social Science* IX, no. III (2025): 3549–56. <https://doi.org/10.47772/IJRISS.2025.90300280>.
- Sabatier, Paul A. “An Advocacy Coalition Framework of Policy Change and the Role of Policy-Oriented Learning Therein.” *Policy Sciences* 21, nos. 2–3 (1988): 129–68. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00136406>.
- Sahputra, Yogi Eka. “DPR Buktikan Proyek Rempang Eco City Tak Masuk Daftar 77 PSN Prabowo.” News. April 29, 2025. https://www.tempo.co/ekonomi/dpr-buktikan-proyek-rempang-eco-city-tak-masuk-daftar-77-psn-prabowo-1284270#goog_rewarded.

- Sändig, Jan. "Contesting Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in the Global South." *World Development* 146 (October 2021): 105581. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2021.105581>.
- Schoenberger, L, D Hall, and P Vandergeest. "What Happened When the Land Grab Came to Southeast Asia?" *JOURNAL OF PEASANT STUDIES* 44, no. 4 (2017): 697–725. WOS:000406480900001. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03066150.2017.1331433>.
- Sintos, Andreas, Michael Chletsos, and Konstantinos Kontos. "The Political Process in Nations: Civil Society Participation and Income Inequality." *Kyklos* 77, no. 3 (2024): 471–95. <https://doi.org/10.1111/kykl.12375>.
- Sintos, Andreas, Michael Chletsos, and Konstantinos Kontos. "The Political Process in Nations: Civil Society Participation and Income Inequality." *Kyklos* 77, no. 3 (2024): 471–95. <https://doi.org/10.1111/kykl.12375>.
- Stewart, Amanda M., Lois K. Lee, Jessica L. Bettenhausen, et al. "Enhancing Physician Advocacy Through Collaboration With Government Relations: Report From the Health Policy Scholars Program." *Academic Pediatrics* 24, no. 5 (2024): 820–25. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.acap.2023.11.005>.
- Triana, Nita, and Farah Nuril Izza. "The Perspective of Islamic Law on the Application of the Polluter Pays Principle in Indonesian Environmental Law." *AL-'ADALAH* 17, no. 2 (2021): 359–82. <https://doi.org/10.24042/adalah.v17i2.8223>.
- Wahdini, Muhammad, Kamsi Kamsi, and Hasse Jubba. "Environmental Governance in Indonesia: Muhammadiyah's Role, State Intervention, and Legal Practice Dynamics." *Syariah: Jurnal Hukum Dan Pemikiran* 24, no. 1 (2024): 189–205. <https://doi.org/10.18592/sjhp.v24i1.12897>.
- Waheeda, Waheeda, Ali Mutakin, Isroiliyah Isroiliyah, Rahmad Lubis, and Iqbal Saujan. "The Dynamic Interplay: A Normative-Philosophical Study of Islam and Local Wisdom in Indonesia." *ASEAN Journal of Islamic Studies and Civilization (AJISC)* 2, no. 1 (2025): 61–91. <https://doi.org/10.62976/ajisc.v2i1.1369>.
- Wisborg, Poul. "Human Rights Against Land Grabbing? A Reflection on Norms, Policies, and Power." *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics* 26, no. 6 (2013): 1199–222. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10806-013-9449-8>.
- YLBHI. "Koalisi Masyarakat Sipil Gugat Pasal-Pasal Proyek Strategis Nasional (PSN) Dalam UU Cipta Kerja Ke Mahkamah Konstitusi." July 4, 2025. <https://ylbhi.or.id/informasi/siaran-pers/koalisi-masyarakat-sipil-gugat-pasal-pasal-proyek-strategis-nasionalpsn-dalam-uu-cipta-kerja-ke-mahkamah-konstitusi/>.
- Ziegler, Jeffrey. "Political Responsiveness and Centralized Religious Leaders: Lessons from the Catholic Church." *Politics and Religion* 17, no. 2 (2024): 250–75. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755048324000105>.