



Daftar Pustaka

- Acharya, A. (2004). Organization : How Ideas Spread : Whose Norms Matter ? Norm Localization and Institutional Change in Asian Regionalism How Ideas Spread : Whose Norms Matter ? Norm Localization and Institutional Change in Asian Regionalism Amitav Acharya. *International Organization*, 58(May 2004), 239–275. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818304582024>
- Acharya, A. (2013). The R2P and norm diffusion: Towards a framework of norm circulation. *Global Responsibility to Protect*, 5(4), 466–479.
- Allen, J. (2016). *Topology of Power* (First). Oxon: Routledge.
- Alstine, J. Van. (2017). The Extractive Industries and Society Critical reflections on 15 years of the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI). *The Extractive Industries and Society*, 4(4), 766–770. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.exis.2017.10.010>
- Antara News. (2015). KPU Tetapkan Anna-Wawan Pasangan Terpilih dalam Pilkada Bojonegoro. Retrieved March 28, 2023 from <https://jatim.antaranews.com/berita/260149/kpu-tetapkan-anna-wawan-pasangan-terpilih-dalam-pilkada-bojonegoro>
- Arora-Jonsson, S., Westholm, L., Petitt, A., & Temu, B. J. (2016). Carbon and Cash in Climate Assemblages: The Making of a New Global Citizenship. *Antipode*, 48(1), 74–96. <https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12170>
- Arti, W. C. (2017). Publish What You Learn: Political Leadership and Policy Reform in Bojonegoro, East Java Province. In A. Savirani, H. Hanif, & P. Winanti (Eds.), *Extractive Industry , Policy Innovations and Civil Society Movement in Southeast Asia: An Introduction*. Yogyakarta: PolGov Publishing.
- Avrianty, A. (2019). Ada Cadangan Baru, Blok Cepu Jadi Ladang Raksasa Minyak RI. Retrieved November 19, 2019, from <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20190811154338-4-91179/ada-cadangan-baru-blok-cepu-jadi-ladang-raksasa-minyak-ri>
- Azca, M. N., Noor, A. M., Azhar, H., Islah, M., & Al-Akhlaq, M. M. (2004). *Ketika Moncong Senjata Ikut Berniaga, Laporan Penelitian Keterlibatan Militer Dalam Bisnis di Bojonegoro, Boven Digoel, dan Poso*. Jakarta.
- Bachriadi, D., & Suryana, E. (2016). Land grabbing and speculation for energy business: a case study of ExxonMobil in East Java, Indonesia. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, 37(4), 578–594. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02255189.2016.1197825>
- Bächtold, S. (2015). The rise of an anti-politics machinery: peace, civil society and the focus on results in Myanmar. *Third World Quarterly*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2015.1063406>
- Baker, T., & McGuirk, P. (2017). Assemblage thinking as methodology: commitments and practices for critical policy research. *Territory, Authority, Rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages*, 5(4), 425–442. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2016.1231631>



Barma, N., Kaiser, K., Le, T. M., & Viñuela, L. (Eds.). (2012). *Introduction: Beyond the Resource Curse. In Rents to Riches? The Political Economy of Natural Resource - Led Development* (First, pp. 1–37). Washington DC: The World Bank.
<https://doi.org/10.1596/978-0-8213-8480-0>

Barry, A. (2013). *Material politics disputes along the pipeline*. Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell.
Retrieved from <http://site.ebrary.com/id/10768947>

Bebbington, A., Arond, E., & Dammert, J. L. (2017). Explaining diverse national responses to the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative in the Andes: What sort of politics matters? *Extractive Industries and Society*, 4(4), 833–841.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.exis.2016.11.005>

Bebbington, A., & Bebbington, D. H. (2018). Mining, movements and sustainable development: Concepts for a framework. *Sustainable Development*, 26(5), 441–449.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/sd.1888>

Bebbington, A., Dharmawan, L., Fahmi, E., & Guggenheim, S. (2006). Local Capacity, Village Governance, and the Political Economy of Rural Development in Indonesia. *World Development*, 34(11), 1958–1976. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2005.11.025>

Bebbington, A., Humphreys Bebbington, D., Bury, J., Lingan, J., Muñoz, J. P., & Scurrah, M. (2008). Mining and Social Movements: Struggles Over Livelihood and Rural Territorial Development in the Andes. *World Development*, 36(12), 2888–2905.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2007.11.016>

Bebbington, A. J., & Batterbury, S. P. J. (2001). Transnational livelihoods and landscapes: Political ecologies of globalization. *Ecumene*, 8(4), 369–380.
<https://doi.org/10.1191/096746001701557084>

Behrends, A., Park, S.-J., & Rottenburg, R. (2014). Travelling Models, Introducing an analytical Concept to Globalisation Studies. In A. Behrends, S.-J. Park, & R. Rottenburg (Eds.), *Travelling Models in African Conflict Management* (pp. 1–40). Leiden: Brill.
<https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004274099>

Bennett, J. (2010). *Vibrant Matter: a political ecology of things*. Duke University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.3917/rac.025.0839>

Berita Antara. (2008). “Lifting Cost” Minyak Bojonegoro Diajukan Rp 1700/L. Retrieved from <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/109532/lifting-cost-minyak-bojonegoro-diajukan-rp1700-l>

Berita Antara. (2015). Jenderal Moeldoko di Bojonegoro. Retrieved from <https://jatim.antaranews.com/berita/231486/jenderal-moeldoko-di-bojonegoro>

Berita Bojonegoro. (2016). Proyek Banyu Urip Sedot Air Bengawan Solo Saat Musim Hujan. Retrieved July 31, 2020, from <https://beritabojonegoro.com/read/7614-proyek-banyuuript-sedot-air-bengawan-solo-saat-musim-hujan.html>

Bexell, M., Tallberg, J., & Uhlin, A. (2010). Democracy in global governance: The promises and pitfalls of transnational actors. *Global Governance*, 16(1), 81–101.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s00203-011-0770-1>



Birchall, C. (2011). Introduction to 'Secrecy and Transparency': The Politics of Opacity and

Openness. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 28(8), 7–25.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276411427744>

Bobbette, A., & Donovan, A. (Eds.). (2019). *Political Geology, Active Stratigraphies and the Making of Life*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Bojonegoro Institute. (2015). *ADD MIGAS: Aliran Dana Migas untuk Desa* (April 2015). Bojonegoro.

Bojonegorokab. (2022). Pemkab Bojonegoro Tingkatkan Kualitas Jalan Kabupaten di 10 Titik Wilayah Timur. Retrieved March 28, 2023 from <https://bojonegorokab.go.id/berita/6854/pemkab-bojonegoro-tingkatkan-kualitas-jalan-kabupaten-di-10-titik-wilayah-timur>

Bojonegorokab. (2023). Bupati Bojonegoro Instruksikan BPD Transparan dalam Perencanaan Pembangunan Desa. Retrieved March 29, 2023 from <https://bojonegorokab.go.id/berita/7119/bupati-bojonegoro-instruksikan-bpd-transparan-dalam-perencanaan-pembangunan-desa>

Boschini, A. D., Pettersson, J., & Roine, J. (2007). Resource curse or not: A question of appropriability. *Scandinavian Journal of Economics*, 109(3), 593–617. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9442.2007.00509.x>

BPS-Statistics Indonesia. (2019a). *Kecamatan Gayam Dalam Angka*. Bojonegoro.

BPS-Statistics Indonesia. (2019b). *Kecamatan Kedewan dalam Angka Tahun 2019*. Bojonegoro.

Bridge, G., & Le Billon, P. (2017). *Oil* (Second). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bunker, S. G. (2003). Matter, Space, Energy, and Political Economy: The Amazon in the World System. *Journal of World-Systems Research*, IX(2), 219–258. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.5195/jwsr.2003.241>

Bupati Bojonegoro. Peraturan Bupati No 30 tahun 2017 Tentang Pedoman Pembinaan Kelompok Penambang dan Penambang pada Sumur Minyak Tua di Kabupaten Bojonegoro (2017).

Callon, M. (1986). Some Elements of a Sociology of Translation: Domestication of the Scallops and the Fishermen of St Brieuc Bay'. In Law, John (ed.), Power, action, and belief : a new sociology of knowledge? In *The Sociological Review* (The Sociol, pp. 196–233). <https://doi.org/doi:10.1111/j.1467-954x.1984.tb00113.x>

Callon, M. (2017). Some elements of a sociology of translation: Domestication of the scallops and the fishermen of Saint-Brieuc Bay. *Logos (Russian Federation)*, 27(2), 49–94. <https://doi.org/10.22394/0869-5377-2017-2-49-90>

Capie, D. (2008). Localization as resistance: The contested diffusion of small arms norms in Southeast Asia. *SAGE Publication*, 39(6), 637–658.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010608098213>

Castree, N. (1995). the Nature of Produced Nature: Materiality and Knowledge Construction



Castree, N. (2003). Commodifying what nature? *Progress in Human Geography*, 27(3), 273–297. <https://doi.org/10.1191/0309132503ph428oa>

Checkel, J. T. (1999). Norms, institutions, and national identity in contemporary Europe. *International Studies Quarterly*, 43(1), 84–114. <https://doi.org/10.1111/0020-8833.00112>

Choat, S. (2018). Science, Agency and Ontology: A Historical-Materialist Response to New Materialism. *Political Studies*, 66(4), 1027–1042.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0032321717731926>

CNBC Indonesia. (2021). Masa Kejayaan Blok Cepu Sudah Lewat 2021 Produksi Turun. Retrieved on March 29, 2023 from <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20201222173552-4-210980/masa-kejayaan-blok-cepu-sudah-lewat-2021-produksi-turun>

Dant, T. (2005). *Materiality and society* (First). New York: Open University Press.

David-Barrett, E., & Okamura, K. (2016). Norm Diffusion and Reputation: The Rise of the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative. *Governance*, 29(2), 227–246. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gove.12163>

DeLanda, M. (2006). *A New Philosophy of Society. Assemblage Theory and Social Complexity*. London: Continuum.

Descombe, M. (2007). The good research guide 3rd Edition. Retrieved from <http://scholar.google.com/scholar?hl=en&btnG=Search&q=intitle:The+Good+Research+Guide#2>

Detik. (2005). Ribuan Warga Bojonegoro Demo Tolak PT SER Milik Paloh. Retrieved from <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-413792/ribuan-warga-bojonegoro-demo-tolak-pt-ser-milik-paloh>

Detik. (2008). Warga Blok Cepu Tuntut Pencairan Dana Ditunda. Retrieved September 7, 2020, from <https://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-timur/d-917322/warga-blok-cepu-tuntut-pencairan-dana-ditunda>

Detik. (2010). Warga Blok Cepu Demo Pengeboran ExxonMobil. Retrieved from <https://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-timur/d-1494539/warga-blok-cepu-demo-pengeboran-exxonmobil>

Detik. (2016). Amerika Punya Texas, Bojonegoro Punya Teksas Wonocolo. Retrieved from <https://travel.detik.com/domestic-destination/d-3205616/amerika-punya-texas-bojonegoro-punya-teksas-wonocolo>

Devellennes, C., & Dillet, B. (2018). Questioning New Materialisms: An Introduction. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 35(7–8), 5–20. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276418803432>

Dinas Kominfo Kabupaten Bojonegoro. (2016). *Menuju Gerbang Dunia, Pemerintahan Terbuka Rakyat Bahagia*. Bojonegoro. Retrieved from <https://batam.go.id/profil>



Dirjen Migas. (2015). Lifting Pertama Produksi Minyak Banyu Urip. Retrieved from
<https://migas.esdm.go.id/post/read/lifting-pertama-produksi-minyak-banyu-urip>

EI Watch. (2013). Endorsing The Sub-National EITI Principles to The Region. Retrieved January 7, 2021, from <http://www.eiwatch.org/2013/09/endorsing-the-sub-national-eiti-principles-to-the-region/>

EMCL. (2016). *The Partnership of Banyu Urip, Our Story from Discovery to Start Up.*

ExxonMobil. (2019). Cepu block. Retrieved June 30, 2020, from
<https://www.exxonmobil.co.id/en-ID/Company/Overview/Who-we-are/Cepu-block>

ExxonMobil Indonesia. (2016). *ExxonMobil Indonesia at a glance, Country fact sheet.*

Feldman, M. S., Sköldberg, K., & Horner, R. (1997). Making Narrative. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 14(2), 147–170.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/jopart/muh010>

Finnemore, M., & Sikkink, K. (1998). International Norm Dynamics and Political Change. *International Organization*, 52(4), 887–917.

Florini, A. (1998). The end of secrecy. *Foreign Policy*, 111, 50–63. Retrieved from
https://ink.library.smu.edu.sg/soss_research/2320%0AThis

Forum Radio Bojonegoro. (2017). EMCL galakkan sekolah Desa untuk transparansi. Retrieved January 19, 2021, from <https://forumradiobojonegoro.com/emcl-galakkan-sekolah-desa-untuk-transparansi/>

Fox, J. (2007). The uncertain relationship between transparency and accountability. *Development in Practice*, 17(4–5), 663–671.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09614520701469955>

Fraksi PKB. (2015). Profil Anggota: Anna Muawanah. Retrieved March 28, 2023 from
<https://www.fraksipkb.com/2015/04/22/anna-muawanah/>

Gie, K. K. (2011). Misteri Blok Cepu. In M. Batubara, E. Harfiana, H. I. Putro, Wahyutama, & S. Edwar (Eds.), *Tragedi & Ironi Blok Cepu “Nasionalisme yang Tergadai”* (pp. 265–268). Jakarta: IRESS.

Gilberthorpe, E., & Hilson, G. (2014). Natural resource extraction and indigenous livelihoods: Development challenges in an era of globalization. *Natural Resource Extraction and Indigenous Livelihoods: Development Challenges in an Era of Globalization*, (January), 1–283.

Gillies, A. (2010). Reputational concerns and the emergence of oil sector transparency as an international norm. *International Studies Quarterly*, 54(1), 103–126.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2009.00579.x>

Global Witness. (2003). *Global Witness Statement to IMF and World Bank Annual Meeting in Dubai*. Dubai. Retrieved from <https://www.globalwitness.org/en/archive/global-witness-statement-imf-and-world-bank-annual-meeting-dubai/>



Global Environmental, 8(2), 1–7. <https://doi.org/10.1162/glep.2008.8.2.1>

Hadiz, V. R., & Robison, R. (2005). Neo-liberal reforms and illiberal consolidations: The

Indonesian paradox. *Journal of Development Studies*, 41(2), 220–241.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/0022038042000309223>

Hariyadi, Kristanto, D., & Setiawan, J. (2016). The Structure of Kawengan Anticline as A Lowest Petroleum System in Indonesia. In *Regional Geoheritage Conference 2016, The 9Th Indonesia-Malaysia Conference* (pp. 63–74). Yogyakarta: UNIVERSITAS PEMBANGUNAN NASIONAL “VETERAN”.

Haryanto, Samadhi, W. P., Juru, I. J., Rahmawati, D. & Wardhani, I. S. (2023). Does Institutional Activism Strengthen Democracy? A Case Study of Agrarian and Anti-Corruption Movements in Indonesia. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 45(1), 82-110. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27211195>

Haufler, V. (2010). Disclosure as governance: The extractive industries transparency initiative and resource management in the developing world. *Global Environmental Politics*, 10(3), 53–73. https://doi.org/10.1162/LEP_a_00014

Heald, D. (2006). Varieties of Transparency. In C. Hood & D. Heald (Eds.), *Transparency The Key to Better Governance?* (pp. 25–43). Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.5871/bacard/9780197263839.003.0002>

Horowitz, L. S. (2012). Translation Alignment: Actor-Network Theory, Resistance, and the Power Dynamics of Alliance in New Caledonia. *Antipode*, 44(3), 806–827. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2011.00926.x>

Huda, M. M. (2019). Implementasi Open Government Partnership (OGP) di Kabupaten Bojonegoro. *Jurnal Ilmiah Manajemen Publik Dan Kebijakan Sosial*, 3(2). <https://doi.org/10.25139/jmnegara.v3i2.2138>

Huda, M. N. (2011). *Penetrasi Kapitalisme Dan Transformasi Sosial Di Bojonegoro : Studi Kasus Proyek Migas Blok Cepu*. Universitas Indonesia.

Husein, S. (2015). Petroleum and Regional Geology Northeast Java Basin, Indonesia. *The International Geology Course Programme, EXCURSION GUIDE BOOK*, (December). <https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.1.2408.3280>

IDFoS. (2012). Advokasi Kebijakan Perda TJSP Kabupaten Bojonegoro. Retrieved January 18, 2021, from <https://www.idfos.or.id/advokasi-kebijten-bojonegoro/>

IDFoS. (2014). Pemetaan CSR Kabupaten Bojonegoro tahun 2014. Retrieved January 19, 2021, from <https://www.idfos.or.id/pemetaan-csr-kabupaten-bojonegoro-tahun-2014/>

Jatim, B. Bupati Bojonegoro Sampaikan Fatwa Kejagung Soal Sumur Tua, Berita Jatim § (2016).

Kama, K., & Kuchler, M. (2019). Geo-Metrics and Geo-Politics: Controversies in Estimating European Shale Gas Resources. In A. Bobbette & A. Donovan (Eds.), *Political Geology, Active Stratigraphies and The Making of Life*. Palgrave Macmillan.



Kementerian ESDM. (2021). Siaran Pers: Terbesar di Indonesia, Produksi Minyak Lapangan Banyu Urip Capai 30% Produksi Nasional. Retrieved August 16, 2023, from: <https://www.esdm.go.id/id/media-center/arsip-berita/terbesar-di-indonesia-produksi-minyak-lapangan-banyu-urip-capai-30-produksi-nasional>.

Khagram, S., Riker, J. V., & Sikkink, K. (2002). From Santiago to Seattle: Transnational advocacy Groups Restructuring World Politics. In S. Khagram, J. V. Riker, & K. Sikkink (Eds.), *Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks, And Norms, Social Movements, Protests, and Contention* (p. 384). Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press. Retrieved from <http://www.amazon.com/Restructuring-World-Politics-Transnational-Contention/dp/0816639078>

Klintman, M., & Boström, M. (2008). Transparency through labelling? Layers of visibility in environmental risk management. In C. Garsten & M. L. de Montoya (Eds.), *Transparency in a new global order: Unveiling organizational visions*. (pp. 178–197). Cheltenham. <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781848441354.00018>

Koesoemadinata. (2011). Fakta Seputra Ladang Banyu Urip. In M. Batubara, E. Harfiana, H. I. Putro, Wahyutama, & S. Edwar (Eds.), *Tragedi & Ironi Blok Cepu “Nasionalisme yang Tergadai”* (Kedua, pp. 253–263). Jakarta: IRESS.

Koesoemadinata, & Pulunggono. (1974). Offshore Tertiary Sedimentary Basins in Indonesia. *Journal of Mathematical and Fundamental Sciences*, 8(3).

Kompas.com. (2016). Menguras Untung dari Sumur “Lantung.” Retrieved November 19, 2019, from <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2016/09/15/11450011/menguras.untung.dari.sumur.lantung.?page=all>

Kompas.com. (2020). Produksi Minyak Blok Cepu Diprediksi Terus Menurun, Ini Langkah yang Diambil SKK Migas. Retrieved March 20, 2023 from <https://money.kompas.com/read/2021/02/03/160425626/produksi-minyak-blok-cepu-diprediksi-terus-menurun-ini-langkah-yang-diambil>

Kumparan. (2021). Profil Anna Muawanah Bupati Bojonegoro yang Pernah Jadi Anggota DPR Tiga Periode. Retrieved March 28, 2023 from <https://kumparan.com/beritabojonegoro/profil-anna-muawanah-bupati-bojonegoro-yang-pernah-jadi-anggota-dpr-3-periode-1w5oJ99TFQx/full>

Kusman, A. P. (2018). *The Vortex of Power, Intellectuals and Politics in Indonesia’s Post-Authoritarian Era* (First). Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan.

Latour, B. (1984). The powers of association. *Sociological Review*, 32(S1), 264–280. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.1984.tb00115.x>

Latour, B. (1987). *Science in Action, How to follow scientists and engineers through society* (First). Harvard University Press.

Latour, B. (1996). On actor-network theory : A few clarifications Author. *Soziale Welt*, 47(4), 369–381. <https://doi.org/10.1113/jphysiol.2011.226266>



Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Latour, B. (2017). On actor-network theory. A few clarifications, plus more than a few complications. *Logos (Russian Federation)*, 27(1), 173–200.

<https://doi.org/10.22394/0869-5377-2017-1-173-197>

Lauranti, M., Afrina, E., & Mawesti, D. (Eds.). (2017). *Open Government: Mengkaji Penggunaan e-government Pemerintah Daerah di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Perkumpulan Prakarsa.

Law, J. (1992). Notes on the Theory of the Actor-Network: Ordering, Strategy, and Heterogeneity. *Systems Practice*, 5(4), 379–393. <https://doi.org/10.2307/750541>

Law, J. (1999). After Ant: Complexity, Naming and Topology. *The Sociological Review*, 47(1_suppl), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954x.1999.tb03479.x>

Law, J. (2009). Actor Network Theory and Material Semiotics. *The New Blackwell Companion to Social Theory*, 141–158. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444304992.ch7>

Law, J., & Callon, M. (1988). Engineering and Sociology in a Military Aircraft Project: A Network Analysis of Technological Change. *Social Problems*, 35(3), 284–297. <https://doi.org/10.2307/800623>

Liputan 6. (2005). Warga Bojonegoro Menuntut Transparansi Eksplorasi Minyak. Retrieved from <https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/106424/warga-bojonegoro-menuntut-transparansi-eksplorasi-minyak>

Liputan 6. (2008). Warga Demo Minta Kerja pada Exxon. Retrieved from <https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/192655/warga-demo-minta-kerja-pada-exxon>

Lujala, P. (2018). An analysis of the Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative implementation process. *World Development*, 107(June 2003), 358–381. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2018.02.030>

Lujala, P., Brunschweiler, C., & Edjekumhene, I. (2018). Transparent for whom? Dissemination of information on Ghana's petroleum and mining revenue management. *MPRA Paper 84788, University Library of Munich, Germany*, (84788). Retrieved from <https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/84788/>

Lujala, P., Brunschweiler, C., & Edjekumhene, I. (2020). Transparent for Whom? Dissemination of Information on Ghana's Petroleum and Mining Revenue Management. *Journal of Development Studies*, 56(12), 2135–2153. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220388.2020.1746276>

Lujala, P., & Epremian, L. (2017). Transparency and natural resource revenue management: empowering the public with information? In A. Williams & P. Le Billon (Eds.), *Corruption, Natural Resources, and Development: from resource curse to political ecology* (pp. 58–68). Edward Elgar Publishing Limited. Retrieved from https://books.google.co.id/books?id=16ffDQAAQBAJ&pg=PA68&lpg=PA68&dq=corruption+natural+resources+and+development+lujala&source=bl&ots=7q8wxqQV2k&sig=PsWJNz7UhWXuOq7htJ7jYaAPTfs&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwim2tWd3_XYAhWJtI8KHV CfAcMQ6AEIYjAI#v=twopage&q&f=false



<https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.cpt.9300291>

Macdonald, K., & Nem Singh, J. (2020). Resource governance and norm domestication in the developing world. *Environmental Policy and Governance*, 30(5), 223–226.

<https://doi.org/10.1002/eet.1909>

Mahmudi, J. (2015). *Dinamika Politik Pemekaran Kecamatan Gayam di Kabupaten Bojonegoro*. Universitas Airlangga. Retrieved from <http://repository.unair.ac.id/16657/>

Marwoto. (2012). *Analisis Masalah dan Strategi Pengelolaan Sumur Tua di Blok Cepu*. Institut Pertanian Bogor.

Moller, N. H. (1997). The World Bank: Human Rights, Democracy and Governance. *Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights*, 15(1), 21–45.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/092405199701500103>

Mubarok, E. A. (2018). Dibor 1894, Dilakukan Setahun setelah Cepu, 2018–2021. Retrieved from <https://radarbojonegoro.jawapos.com/read/2018/03/17/57827/dibor-1894-dilakukan-setahun-setelah-cepu>

Müller, M. (2015). Assemblages and actor-networks: Rethinking socio-material power, politics and space. *Geography Compass*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gec3.12192>

Müller, M., & Schurr, C. (2016). Assemblage thinking and actor-network theory: conjunctions, disjunctions, cross-fertilisations. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 41(3), 217–229. <https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12117>

Multazam, & Yasin, A. N. (2003). Soal Kontrak ExxonMobil, Pertamina Minta Pemerintah Segera Ambil Keputusan.

Noah, A. Z. (2014). Use Repeat Formation Tester for Determination of Some Reservoir Characteristics for Kareem Formation in Some Wells at Amal Field , Gulf of Suez Area , Egypt. *American Journal of Research Communication*, 2(4), 157–167. Retrieved from www.usa-journals.comwww.usa-journals.com,

Novenanto, A. (2017). *Independent Reporting Mechanism (IRM): Bojonegoro Final Report 2017*. Retrieved from https://www.opengovpartnership.org/sites/default/files/Bojonegoro_Final-Report_2017_for-public-commment.pdf

Nugroho, A. (2014). FGD Perda Nomor 6 Tahun 2012 Tentang Transparansi Migas di Kabupaten Bojonegoro. Retrieved January 10, 2021, from <https://pwypindonesia.org/id/fgd-perda-nomor-6-tahun-2012-tentang-transparansi-migas-di-kabupaten-bojonegoro/>

Ofori, J. J. Y., & Lujala, P. (2015). Illusionary Transparency? Oil Revenues, Information Disclosure, and Transparency. *Society and Natural Resources*, 28(11), 1187–1202.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/08941920.2015.1024806>

Öge, K. (2016). To disclose or not to disclose: How global competition for foreign direct investment influences transparency reforms in extractive industries. *Energy Policy*. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2016.08.019>



Oge, K. (2017). Transparent autocracies: The Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative

(EITI) and civil society in authoritarian states. *Extractive Industries and Society*, 4(4),

816–824. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.exis.2016.12.010>

OGP. (2016). Interview with the Regent of Bojonegoro, Suyoto Ngartep Mustajab. Retrieved

January 3, 2020, from <https://www.opengovpartnership.org/stories/interview-with-the-regent-of-bojonegoro-suyoto-ngartep-mustajab/>

Okezone. (2010). Pertamina EP-2 BUMD Kerja Sama Kelola Sumur Migas Tua. Retrieved

from <https://economy.okezone.com/read/2010/11/03/320/389238/pertamina-ep-2-bumd-kerja-sama-kelola-sumur-migas-tua>

Oppong, N. (2018). Negotiating transparency: NGOs and contentious politics of the

Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative in Ghana. *Contemporary Social Science*, 13(1), 58–71. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21582041.2017.1394483>

Park, S. (2005). Norm diffusion within international organizations: a case study of the World

Bank. *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 8(2).

Park, S. (2006). Theorizing norm diffusion within international organizations. *International*

Politics, 43(3).

Pemerintah Kabupaten Bojonegoro. Peraturan Daerah Kabupaten Bojonegoro Nomor 6

Tahun 2011 tentang Perubahan atas Peraturan Daerah Kabupaten Bojonegoro Nomor 5

Tahun 2006 tentang Pembentukan Badan Usaha Milik Daerah Pt. Bangkit Bangun

Sarana, Pub. L. No. Perda no 6 Tahun 2011 (2011).

Pemerintah Kabupaten Bojonegoro. Peraturan Daerah Kabupaten Bojonegoro Nomor 6

Tahun 2012 Tentang Transparansi Tata Kelola Pendapatan, Lingkungan, dan

Tanggungjawab Sosial Perusahaan pada Kegiatan Usaha Minyak dan Gas Bumi, Pub. L.

No. Nomor 6 Tahun 2012 (2012).

Pemerintah Kabupaten Bojonegoro. (2016). *Flash Back Kegiatan Keterbukaan Informasi*

Publik Pemerintah Kabupaten Bojonegoro Tahun 2016. Bojonegoro.

Pemkab Bojonegoro. (2017). Sosialisasikan Perup Sumur Tua kepada Penambang.

Retrieved May 8, 2021, from <https://bojonegorokab.go.id/berita/2610/sosialisasikan-perup-sumur-tua-kepada-penambang>

Pertamina EP Cepu. (2009). Produksi Minyak Perdana. Retrieved from

<http://pepc.pertamina.com/id/index.html>

PPSDM Migas. (1994). *100 Tahun Perminyakan di Cepu*. Cepu: Pusat Pengembangan Tenaga

Perminyakan dan Gas Bumi.

Prasetyawan, W. (2018). *Networked, Business and Politics in Decentralizing Indonesia, 1998-*

2004. Singapore: NUS Press in association with Kyoto University Press.

PRC. (2023). APBD Bojonegoro Tertinggi no 2 di Indonesia. Retrieved March 28, 2023 from

<https://prc-initiative.org/berita/apbd-kabupaten-bojonegoro-tertinggi-no-2-di-indonesia>

Prijosusilo, B. (2012). Fueling the Future: Indonesia Plans for Its New Oil Wealth. *Revenue*



Prince, Russel. (2017). Local or Global Policy? Thinking about Policy Mobility with Assemblage and Topology. *Area*, 43(3), 335–341. <https://doi.org/doi:10.1111/area.12319>

Prince, Russell. (2010). Policy transfer as policy assemblage: Making policy for the creative industries in New Zealand. *Environment and Planning A*, 42(1), 169–186. <https://doi.org/10.1068/a4224>

Pudyantoro, A. R. (2019). *Bisnis Hulu Migas, Mengurai Persoalan dan Memahami Masa Depan Bisnis Hulu Migas Indonesia*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama.

PWYP Indonesia. (2017). Siaran Pers: PWYP Dorong Daerah Kelola Participating Interest dengan Baik. Retrieved from <https://pwypindonesia.org/id/siaran-pers-pwyp-dorong-daerah-kelola-participating-interest-dengan-baik/>

PWYP Indonesia. (2010). Publikasi Modul: Memahami Aliran Pendapatan untuk Transparansi Migas. Accessed 27 Maret 2023. Retrieved from <https://pwypindonesia.org/id/memahami-aliran-pendapatan-untuk-transparansi-migas/>

Rahayu, R. I. (2007). *Aliansi untuk Kedaulatan Warga Negara yang Aktif. Journal of Chemical Information and Modeling* (Vol. 01). Jakarta: YAPPIKA.

Reuter. (2009). Indonesia's Texas? Rural Java braces for oil boom. Retrieved June 28, 2020, from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-indonesia-oil/indonesias-texas-rural-java-braces-for-oil-boom-idUSTRE57903420090810>

Ribot, J. C., Agrawal, A., & Larson, A. M. (2006). Recentralizing While Decentralizing: How National Governments Reappropriate Forest Resources. *World Development*, 34(11), 1864–1886. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2005.11.020>

Richmond, H. J. (2002). Learners' Lives: A Narrative Analysis. *The Qualitative Report*, 7(3), 1–14. Retrieved from <https://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol7/iss3/4>

Rogers, D. (2012). The materiality of the corporation: Oil, gas, and corporate social technologies in the remaking of a Russian region. *American Ethnologist*, 39(2), 284–296. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1425.2012.01364.x>

Rogers, D. (2015). Oil and Anthropology. *Ssrn*, (August), 365–380. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-anthro-102214-014136>

Rustad, S. A., Le Billon, P., & Lujala, P. (2017). Has the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative been a success? Identifying and evaluating EITI goals. *Resources Policy*, 51(December 2016), 151–162. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.resourpol.2016.12.004>

Sanders, A. J. P., Hyldmo, H. da S., Prasti H., R. D., Ford, R. M., Larson, A. M., & Keenan, R. J. (2017). Guinea pig or pioneer: Translating global environmental objectives through to local actions in Central Kalimantan, Indonesia's REDD+ pilot province. *Global Environmental Change*, 42, 68–81. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2016.12.003>



Society Elites: Human Rights and Anti-Corruption CSOs in Indonesia. In Norén-Nilsson, A., Amalinda, S., & Uhlin, A. (Eds). *Civil Society Elites : Field Studies from Cambodia and Indonesia*. Denmark: NIAS Press.

Sayer, A. (2000). *Realism and Social Science* (First). London: Sage Publication. Retrieved from <http://sk.sagepub.com/books/realism-and-social-science>

Sayer, A. (2010). *Method in Social Science: A Realist Approach*. (Revised se). Oxon: Routledge.

Schmidt, V. A. (2008). Discursive Institutionalism: The Explanatory Power of Ideas and Discourse. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 11(1), 303–326.
<https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.11.060606.135342>

Schmidt, V. A. (2010). Taking ideas and discourse seriously: Explaining change through discursive institutionalism as the fourth ‘new institutionalism.’ *European Political Science Review*, 2(1), 1–25. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S175577390999021X>

Seknas FITRA. (2008). *Local government budget management performance: a survey of 41 local governments in Indonesia*. Retrieved from http://internationalbudget.org/wp-content/uploads/Final-LBI-Report_English-Version_MM2.pdf

Simmel, G. (1950). *The Sociology of George Simmel*. (K. H. Wolff, Ed.). Illinois: The Free Press.

Simpson, A. (2017). The extractive industries transparency initiative: New openings for civil society in Myanmar. *The Business of Transition: Law Reform, Development and Economics in Myanmar*, (August), 55–80. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108236737.004>

Singh, J. N., & Bourgouin, F. (2013a). Introduction: Resource Governance at a Time of Plenty. In J. N. Singh & F. Bourgouin (Eds.), *Resource Governance and Developmental States in the Global South* (First, pp. 1–18). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Singh, J. N., & Bourgouin, F. (Eds.). (2013b). *Resource Governance and Developmental States in the Global South, Critical International Political Economy Perspectives*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

SKK Migas. (2018). Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Seiring Pertumbuhan Bisnis.

Solo Pos. (2015). Pertamina EP Janji Persuasif Kepada Perengkek Minyak. Retrieved from https://www.solopos.com/pertambangan-bojonegoro-pertamina-ep-janji-persuasif-kepada-perengkek-minyak-671808?doing_wp_cron=1598429395.0071620941162109375000

Sørensen, E. (2009). *The Materiality of Learning, Technology and Knowledge in Educational Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Suara Banyuurip. (2013a). Bojonegoro Dinilai Berhasil Terapkan Standar Transparansi. Retrieved from <http://suarabanyuurip.com/kabar/baca/bojonegoro-dinilai-berhasil-terapkan-standart-transparansi>

Suara Banyuurip. (2013b). Santoso Divonis 6 tahun, Bambang Santoso 2,5 Tahun, Korupsi Dana Pembebasan Lahan Blok Cepu. Retrieved September 9, 2020, from



Suara Banyuurip. (2014). Pertamina Layangkan Teguran Kepada KUD UJB, Paska Sumur Minyak Tua Terbakar. Retrieved from <https://suarabanyuurip.com/index.php?/kabar/baca/pertamina-layangkan-teguran-keda-kud-ujb>

Suara Banyuurip. (2015). Transparency Harus Jadi Prinsip Dasar SKPD. Retrieved July 6, 2020, from <https://www.suarabanyuurip.com/index.php?/kabar/baca/transparansi-harus-jadi-prinsip-dasar-skpd>

Suara Banyuurip. (2017). Tim Transparansi Migas Bojonegoro Mandul. Retrieved July 6, 2020, from <https://suarabanyuurip.com/index.php?/kabar/baca/tim-transparansi-migas-bojonegoro-mandul>

Suara Banyuurip. (2018). Bupati Anna Bicara Keterbukaan Bojonegoro di Forum IPS. Retrieved March 26, 2023, from <https://www.suarabanyuurip.com/sosial-politik/read/190192/bupati-anna-bicara-keterbukaan-bojonegoro-di-forum-ips>

Suara Banyuurip. (2021). Penyumbang Minyak Terbesar, Blok Cepu Bakal Mengalami Penurunan Produksi. Retrieved March 26, 2023, from <https://www.suarabanyuurip.com/migas/read/181362/penyumbang-minyak-terbesar-blok-cepu-bakal-mengalami-penurunan-produksi>

Tadioeddin, M. Z. (2007). *A future resource curse in Indonesia: The political economy of natural resources, conflict and development* (No. 35). CRISE Working Paper. Oxford.

Tempo.co. (2006). Warga Bojonegoro Demo Exxon. Retrieved from <https://nasional,tempo.co/read/75331/warga-bojonegoro-demo-menuntut-exxon>

Tempo. (1988). Raja Minyak Belum Kalah. *Tempo.Co*. Retrieved from <https://majalah,tempo.co/read/nasional/25929/raja-minyak-belum-kalah?read=true>

Tempo. (2008a). Bergelimang Berkah Tanah. Retrieved June 30, 2020, from <https://majalah,tempo.co/read/investigasi/126018>

Tempo. (2008b). Muslihat Cukong di Ladang Cepu. Retrieved June 30, 2020, from <https://majalah,tempo.co/read/investigasi/126018>

Tempo. (2018). Calon Usungan PKB dan PDIP Menangi Pilkada Bojonegoro. Retrieved March 28, 2023, from <https://pilkada,tempo.co/read/1104089/calon-usungan-pkb-dan-pdip-menangi-pilkada-bojonegoro>

The UK Government. (2005). *Securing the Future, delivering UK sustainable development strategy. Secretary of State*. Retrieved from http://www.sustainable-development.gov.uk/publications/pdf/strategy/SecFut_complete.pdf

The World Bank. (1992). *Governance and Development*. Washington DC.

The World Bank. (2009). *Extractive Industries Value Chain* (Extractive Industries for Development No. 3). Washington DC.

The World Bank. (2016). *Indonesia: Better Spending by Local Governments Leads to Better*



- Trentmann, F. (2009). Materiality in the Future of History: Things, Practices, and Politics. *Journal of British Studies*, 48(2), 283–307. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25483036>
- Tryono, Y. (2015). Lapangan Geologi sebagai Sarana Diklat Bidang Migas. *Jurnal Pusdiklat Migas*, 05(2), 1–10.
- United Nations. (2015). Freedom of Information. Retrieved December 16, 2019, from <https://www.un.orgeruleoflaw/thematic-areas/governance/freedom-of-information/>
- Van Alstine, J., & Barkemeyer, R. (2014). Business and development: Changing discourses in the extractive industries. *Resources Policy*, 40, 4–16. <https://doi.org/10.1016/J.RESOURPOL.2014.01.006>
- Van Alstine, J., Manyindo, J., Smith, L., Dixon, J., & AmanigaRuhanga, I. (2014). Resource governance dynamics: The challenge of “new oil” in Uganda. *Resources Policy*, 41(1), 48–58. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.resourpol.2014.01.002>
- Watts, M. (2004). *Resource curse? Governmentality, oil and power in the Niger Delta, Nigeria. Geopolitics* (Vol. 9). <https://doi.org/10.1080/14650040412331307832>
- Winanti, P. S., & Hanif, H. (2020). When global norms meet local politics : Localising transparency in extractive industries governance. *Environmental Policy and Government*, (April), 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.1002/eet.1907>
- Wood, A. (2005). *Demystifying ‘Good Governance’: an overview of World Bank Governance Reforms and Conditions By Angela Wood for Trócaire December 2005. Trócaire*. Retrieved from <https://www.trocaire.org/documents/demystifying-good-governance-an-overview-of-world-bank-governance-reforms-and-conditions/>
- Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case study research: design and methods. Fourth Edition*. London. SAGE Publications
- Yudhanto. (2011). Strategi Perlawanannya Tambang Tradisional dalam Menjaga Kelangsungan Hidup di Tengah Rendahnya Imbal Jasa. *Jurnal Fisip Umrah*, 1(January 2011), 75–91.
- Yurista, A. P., & Wicaksono, D. A. (2015). Politik Hukum Pertambangan Minyak Bumi Pada Sumur Tua Sebagai Strategi Menuju Ketahanan Energi di Indonesia. *Jurnal Rechtsvinding*, 4(2), 311–325. Retrieved from <http://rechtsvinding.bphn.go.id/artikel/ART 2 JRV 3 NO 2 PROTECT.pdf>
- Zaki, A. R., Hakim, A., & Nurani, F. (2013). Dampak Sosial Ekonomi Pertambangan Minyak dan Gas Banyu Urip Kabupaten Bojonegoro (Studi Pada Masyarakat Desa Gayam Kecamatan Gayam Kabupaten Bojonegoro). *Jurnal Administrasi Publik*, 1(2). Retrieved from <http://administrasipublik.studentjournal.ub.ac.id/index.php/jap/article/view/31>
- Zimmermann, L. (2016). Same same or different? Norm diffusion between resistance, compliance, and localization in post-conflict states. *International Studies Perspectives*, 17(1), 98–115. <https://doi.org/10.1111/insp.12080>



**â€œMenjaring Uang Minyakâ€•: Assemblage dan Translasi Norma Global tentang Transparansi
Sektor**

Indah Surya Wardhani, Dr. Abdul Gaffar Karim, S.I.P., M.A.; Dr. Nanang Indra Kurniawan S.I.P., M.P.A.

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2023 | Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>

Zimmermann, L., Deitelhoff, N., & Lesch, M. (2018). Unlocking the agency of the governed:

contestation and norm dynamics. *Third World Thematics: A TWQ Journal*, 2(5), 691–

708. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23802014.2017.1396912>