

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Akhmad Nulhaqim, S., Fedryansyah, M., Nuriyah Hidayat, E., & Astuti Wahyu Nurhayati, D. (2020). Contemporary Social Problem: Agrarian Conflict. *Humanities & Social Sciences Reviews*, 8(3), 1189–1195. <https://doi.org/10.18510/hssr.2020.83121>
- Anderson, B. A. (2004). Unintended population consequences of policies. *Population and Environment*, 25(4), 377–390. <https://doi.org/10.1023/B:POEN.0000036486.71830.f8>
- Antonio Quizon, Marquez, N. D., & Nathaniel. (2018). *State of Land Rights and Land Governance in Eight Asian Countries*.
- Arfian, A. (2025). Masyarakat Adat Dayak Pitap Tolak Rencana Taman Nasional di Wilayah Adat Meratus, Pojok Banua. <https://pojokbanua.com/masyarakat-adat-dayak-pitap-tolak-rencana-taman-nasional-di-wilayah-adat-meratus/>
- Ayuningtyas, D., Haq, H. U., Utami, R. R. M., & Susilia, S. (2021). Requestioning the Indonesia Government's Public Policy Response to the COVID-19 Pandemic: Black Box Analysis for the Period of January–July 2020. *Frontiers in Public Health*, 9(May), 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpubh.2021.612994>
- Aziz SR, A. (2019). Transformasi Konflik Dan Peran Pemerintah Daerah. *Journal of Urban Sociology*, 2(1), 28. <https://doi.org/10.30742/jus.v2i1.609>
- Bailey, K. S., Yi, H., Heikkila, T., & Weible, C. M. (2023). Policy conflicts in shale development in China and the United States. *Review of Policy Research*, 40(4), 589–605. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ropr.12534>
- Barron, P., Smith, C. Q., & Woolcock, M. (2004). Understanding Local Level Conflict in Developing Countries Theory, Evidence and Implications from Indonesia. *Conflict Prevention & Reconstruction*, 19, 3–52.
- Bedner, A. (2018). 3. Indonesian land law: integration at last? And for whom? *Land and Development in Indonesia*, 63–88. <https://doi.org/10.1355/9789814762106-008>
- Binswanger, H. P., & Deininger, K. (1997). *Explaining Agricultural and Agrarian Policies in Developing Countries* (Issue May).
- Boston, J., Bradstock, A., & Eng, D. (2010). 1 . Ethics and public policy. *Public Policy: Why Ethnic Matters*, 0–18. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt24h2rv.5>
- BRWA (2025). Wilayah Adat Dayak Pitap, BRWA. <https://brwa.or.id/wa/view/Qmt3SGNqcXhmQ28>
- Brad, A., & Hein, J. (2023). Towards transnational agrarian conflicts? Global NGOs, transnational agrobusiness and local struggles for land on Sumatra. *New Political Economy*, 28(3), 452–467. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13563467.2022.2138300>
- Carpenter, S. L., & Kennedy, W. J. . (2001). *Managing Public Disputes: A Pratical Guide for Goverment, Business , and Citizens ' Groups*.

- Cahyono, D. K. (2024). Resistensi Dayak Pitap dan Pentingnya Negara Mengakui Masyarakat Adat, Kalimantanpost. <https://kalimantanpost.com/2024/04/resistensi-dayak-pitap-dan-pentingnya-negara-mengakui-masyarakat-adat/>
- Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design; Choosing Among Five Approaches* (H. Lauren (ed.); 3rd ed.). SAGE PublicationsSage CA: Los Angeles, CA.
- Diaz (2024). Perjuangan Masyarakat Adat Dayak Pitap Melawan Eksploitasi Hutan dan Wilayah Adat, Gudang Opini. <https://www.gudangopini.com/2024/12/perjuangan-masyarakat-adat-dayak-pitap.html>
- de Jong, L., De Bruin, S., Knoop, J., & van Vliet, J. (2021). Understanding land-use change conflict: a systematic review of case studies. *Journal of Land Use Science*, 16(3), 223–239. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1747423X.2021.1933226>
- Dhiaulhaq, A., & McCarthy, J. F. (2020). Indigenous Rights and Agrarian Justice Framings in Forest Land Conflicts in Indonesia. *Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, 21(1), 34–54. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14442213.2019.1670243>
- Dolfsma, W., & McMaster, R. (2011). Policy conflicts: Market-oriented reform in health care. *Journal of Economic Issues*, 45(2), 309–316. <https://doi.org/10.2753/JEI0021-3624450207>
- Dow, S. C. (1981). Weintraub and Wiles: The Methodological Basis of Policy Conflict. *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics*, 3(3), 325–339. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01603477.1981.11489226>
- Draft, W. (1999). *CONFLICT IN AFRICA : A REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON SELECTED TOPICS Prepared for United States Agency for International Development Bureau for Africa Crisis , Mitigation and Recovery Division*. 1–29.
- Edelman, M. (1988). *Constructing the Political Spectacle*. Chicago: Univesity of Chicago Press.
- Elfversson, E. (2019). The Political Conditions for Local Peacemaking: A Comparative Study of Communal Conflict Resolution in Kenya. *Comparative Political Studies*, 52(13–14), 2061–2096. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414019830734>
- Fontana, L. B. (2014). Indigenous peoples vs peasant unions: Land conflicts and rural movements in plurinational Bolivia. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 41(3), 297–319. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03066150.2014.906404>
- Grant, E., & Das, O. (2015). Land grabbing, sustainable development and human rights. *Transnational Environmental Law*, 4(2), 289–317. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S2047102515000023>
- Haliim, W. (2020). Kebijakan Pembangunan Dalam Konsep Kepemimpinan Partisipatif. *Jurnal Kebijakan Pembangunan*, 15(1), 91–104. <https://doi.org/10.47441/jkp.v15i1.108>
- Haridison, A. (2024). Why did the common objective be biased in the execution collaborative governance program? The case from Dayak Indonesia. *Land Use Policy*, 140(February), 107050. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2024.107050>

- Heidbreder, B., Grasse, N., Ihrke, D., & Cherry, B. D. (2011). Determinants of Policy Conflict in Michigan Municipalities. *State and Local Government Review*, 43(1), 32–45. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0160323x10397618>
- Heikkila, T., & Weible, C. M. (2017). Unpacking the intensity of policy conflict: a study of Colorado's oil and gas subsystem. *Policy Sciences*, 50(2), 179–193. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11077-017-9285-1>
- Hein, J. I. (2019). *POLITICAL ECOLOGY OF REDD+ IN INDONESIA*. Routledge.
- Hinterleitner, M., & Sager, F. (2022). Policy's role in democratic conflict management. *Policy Sciences*, 55(2), 239–254. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11077-022-09461-7>
- Hwang, J. (2025). *Sovereignty and non-state actors : The rise of transnational influence*. 09(March), 23–34.
- Jenkins-Smith, H.C., D. Nohrstedt, C.M. Weible, & P.A. Sabatier. (2014). "The advocacy Coalition Framework: Foundations, Evaluation, and Ongoing Research".
- John, D., & Roles, J. D. S. (2025). *Stakeholder Roles and Stakeholder Analysis Stakeholder Roles and Stakeholder Analysis in Project Planning : A review of approaches in three agencies - World Bank , ODA and NRI*.
- Joseph-Williams, N., Edwards, A., & Elwyn, G. (2014). Power imbalance prevents shared decision making. *BMJ (Online)*, 348(May), 0–4. <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.g3178>
- Kagan, J. A., Heikkila, T., Weible, C. M., Gilchrist, D., Berardo, R., & Yi, H. (2023). Advancing scholarship on policy conflict through perspectives from oil and gas policy actors. *Policy Sciences*, 56(3), 573–594. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11077-023-09502-9>
- Kabarsiar, (2025). APBD Kabupaten Balangan Berkurang Rp 400 miliar, Fokus Efisiensi dan Pemanfaatan Dana Bagi Hasil. <https://www.kabarsiar.id/apbd-kabupaten-balangan-berkurang-rp-400-miliar-fokus-efisiensi-dan-pemanfaatan-dana-bagi-hasil/>
- Karampini, E., & Karampini, E. (2023). *The Role of NGOs in Conflict Management*. 2(1), 0–19. <https://doi.org/10.12681/npse.34182>
- Kesarat, C., & Rinthaisong, I. (2019). Structural equation model of conflict management between the government and citizens regarding marine and coastal areas development projects in southernmost provinces of Thailand. *Kasetsart Journal of Social Sciences*, 40(3), 727–734. <https://doi.org/10.34044/j.kjss.2019.40.3.08>
- Khan, M. H. (2010). *Political Settlements and the Governance of Growth-Enhancing Institutions*. July.
- KOSSAY, M. (2022). Conceptual Study Of Central Government Policies In Resolving The Papua Conflict In Indonesia (Papua Special Autonomy Perspective). *International Journal of Environmental, Sustainability, and Social Science*, 3(3), 512–526. <https://doi.org/10.38142/ijess.v3i3.237>
- Kurniawan, K. F. B., Dharmawan, A. H., Sumarti, T., & Maksum, M. (2024). Territorialization of plantation concessions: customary land acquisition process, agrarian fragmentation and

- Lawler, E. J., Ford, R., & Large, M. D. (1999). Unilateral initiatives as a conflict resolution strategy. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 62(3), 240–256. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2695862>
- Lahay, S. (2025). Sulitnya Negara Akui dan Lindungi Masyarakat Adat, Mongabay. <https://mongabay.co.id/2025/03/17/sulitnya-negara-akui-dan-lindungi-masyarakat-adat/>
- Lestari, R. D. (2022). Analisis Konflik Kebijakan Undang-Undang Cipta Kerja – Policy Conflict Framework (PCF). *Jurnal Paradigma: Jurnal Multidisipliner Mahasiswa Pascasarjana Indonesia*, 3(2), 66–78.
- Lele, G (2023). Kebijakan Publik untuk Transformasi Sosial: Sebuah Pendekatan Kritis-Agonistik. Gadjah Mada Univesity Press.
- Long, Sebastian Galiani, Cheryl, Navajas, Camila, Torrens, G. (2016). *HORIZONTAL AND VERTICAL CONFLICT EXPERIMENTAL EVIDENCE*.
- MacIntyre, A. (2003). *The Power of Institutions: Political Architecture and Governance*. Ithaca: Cornell Univesity Press.
- MacArthur, J. D. (2011). Stakeholder Roles and Stakeholder Analysis in Project Planning: A review of approaches in three agencies-World Bank, ODA and NRI.
- Maunah, B. (2015). Pendidikan Islam dalam Perspektif Struktural. *Cendekia*, 9(1), 71–78.
- Munandar, A. I. (2019). Kebijakan Dana Desa dan Konflik Sosial: Studi Kasus di Sungai Tabuk, Kalimantan Selatan. *JAKPP (Jurnal Analisis Kebijakan & Pelayanan Publik)*, 6, 106–124. <https://doi.org/10.31947/jakpp.v1i2.6902>
- Narasi Newsroom (2024). Suku Dayak Pitap Jaga Tanah Adat, 26 Tahun Melawan Serbuan Tambang | People. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HqhosH_CZLo
- Nilakrisna, D., Taqwa, R., Purnama, D. H., & Susanto, R. H. (2016). Social Conflicts Between Oil-Palm Plantation Company and Indigenous People in Jambi Province. *Journal of Tropical Life Science*, 6(2), 113–117. <https://doi.org/10.11594/jtls.06.02.09>
- Nugraha, D. S., & Suteki, S. (2018). Politik Hukum Penanganan Konflik Perkebunan oleh Pemerintah yang Berkeadilan Sosial. *Kanun Jurnal Ilmu Hukum*, 20(1), 103–122. <https://doi.org/10.24815/kanun.v20i1.9827>
- Oosterwaal, A., & Torenvlied, R. (2012). Policy divergence in implementation: How conflict among decisive legislators reinforces the effect of agency preferences. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 22(2), 195–217. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jopart/mur037>
- Panggabean, S. R. (2017). Conflict Studies in Indonesia: A Preliminary Survey of Indonesian Publications. *PCD Journal*, 4(1–2), 147. <https://doi.org/10.22146/pcd.25772>
- Peters, B. G. (2020). Public Policy Studies : Academic Roots and. *Public Policy*, 3(2), 23–34. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.31430/almuntaqa.3.2.0023>

PERDA Provinsi Kalsel No. 2 Th 2023 Tentang Pengakuan dan Perlindungan MHA

- Rachmawan, D. (2015). Pola Eskalasi Konflik Pembangunan Infrastruktur: Studi Kasus Pembangunan Waduk Jatigede Kabupaten Sumedang. *Masyarakat Jurnal Sosiologi*, 20(2). <https://doi.org/10.7454/mjs.v20i2.1032>
- Rahman, R. (2017). Konflik Masyarakat Dengan Pemerintah (Studi Kasus Sengketa Tanah Adat). *Sosioireligius*, 2(1), 41–48.
- Rahmawati, E., Rahayu, E. W. P., & Sukirno. (2023). State Actors in Agrarian Conflicts: A Judicial Review in Rule of Law Perspective. *Journal of Southeast Asian Human Rights*, 7(2), 276–298. <https://doi.org/10.19184/jseahr.v7i2.43798>
- Rincón, V. R., Martínez-Alier, J., & Mingorria, S. (2019). Environmental conflicts related to urban expansion involving agrarian communities in Central Mexico. *Sustainability (Switzerland)*, 11(23). <https://doi.org/10.3390/su11236545>
- Rizki, D. R. (2024). Masyarakat Dayak Pitap, Perawat Rimba Meratus, Mongabay. <https://mongabay.co.id/2024/04/30/masyarakat-dayak-pitap-perawat-rimba-meratus/>
- Rizki, D. R. (2024) Jalan Panjang Perlindungan Masyarakat Adat Dayak Pitap, Mongabay. <https://mongabay.co.id/2024/02/23/jalan-panjang-perlindungan-masyarakat-adat-dayak-pitap/>
- Rohmah, N. F. (2024). Masyarakat Dayak Pitap: Ladang Padi & Perlawanan, *Tirto.id*. <https://tirto.id/masyarakat-dayak-pitap-ladang-padi-perlawanan-gW8M>
- Rosenbloom, D.H., Kravchuk, R.S., & Clerkin, R.M. (2022). Public Administration: Understanding Management, Politics, and Law in the Public Sector (9th ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003198116>
- Roche, W. K., & Teague, P. (2012). *The growing importance of workplace ADR*. 5192. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09585192.2012.641084>
- Safar (2024). Perlindungan Dayak Pitap Peroleh Pengakuan dan Perlindungan MHA, Klikkalimantan. <https://klikkalimantan.com/perjuangan-dayak-pitap-peroleh-pengakuan-dan-perlindungan-mha/>
- Saputra, Y. A. (2024). *Policy Conflict Framework: Conflict Analysis of Alaska Nature Tourism Development in Batu City*. 10(2), 147–155.
- Song, K. H., Sohn, J. W., & Kim, S. K. (2021). Decision making framework for the proactive policy conflict management: The case of new airport projects in South Korea. *Science Progress*, 104(2), 1–30. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00368504211020967>
- Starman, A. B. (2013). The case study as a type of qualitative research. *Journal of Christian Nursing*, 12(3), 6. <https://doi.org/10.1097/00005217-199512030-00003>
- Sugiswati, B. (2012). Perlindungan Hukum Terhadap Eksistensi Masyarakat Adat Di Indonesia. *Perspektif*, 17(1), 31. <https://doi.org/10.30742/perspektif.v17i1.92>

- Sugiyono. (2013). *Metodologi Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif dan R & D*.
- Sumarto, M. (2021). Welfare and conflict: Policy failure in the Indonesian cash transfer. *Journal of Social Policy*, 50(3), 533–551. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047279420000252>
- Suparlan, P. (2014). Konflik Sosial dan Alternatif Pemecahannya. *Antropologi Indonesia*, 30(2), 138–150. <https://doi.org/10.7454/ai.v30i2.3559>
- Syamsudin, S. (2008). Beban Masyarakat Adat Menghadapi Hukum Negara. *Jurnal Hukum Ius Quia Iustum*, 15(3), 338–351. <https://doi.org/10.20885/iustum.vol15.iss3.art9>
- Tanahkita (2024) *Dashboard Sebaran Konflik & Wilayah Kelola, Tanahkita*. https://tanahkita.id/dashboard_portal
- Turnbull, N. (2006). How Should We Theorise Public Policy? Problem Solving and Problematicity. *Policy and Society*, 25, 3–22.
- Verloo, N. (2018). Social-spatial narrative: A framework to analyze the democratic opportunity of conflict. *Political Geography*, 62, 137–148.
- Vesco, P., Baliki, G., Bru, T., Döring, S., Fjelde, H., Guha-sapir, D., Hall, J., Knutsen, H., Leis, M. R., & Mueller, H. (2024). *Households in Conflict Network The impacts of armed conflict on human development : a review of the literature HiCN Working Paper 414*.
- Vince, J., Fudge, M., Fullbrook, L., & Haward, M. (2024). Understanding policy integration through an integrative capacity framework. *Policy and Society*, 43(3), 381–395. <https://doi.org/10.1093/polsoc/puae027>
- Walinegoro, B. G., & Fitriyono, J. (2023). Policy Conflict: A Conflict Analysis of the Relocation Policy of Street Vendors in Simpang Lima, Pati Regency. *PCD Journal*, 10(2), 57–88. <https://doi.org/10.22146/pcd.v10i2.6312>
- WALHI (2022). Perjelas Tata Batas, Masyarakat Adat Dayak Pitap Rapat Dengar Pendapat Umum di DPRD Balangan, Walhi Kalimantan Selatan. <https://walhikalsel.or.id/perjelas-tata-batas-masyarakat-adat-dayak-pitap-rapat-dengar-pendapat-umum-di-dprd-balangan/>
- Weible, C. M., & Heikkila, T. (2017). Policy Conflict Framework. *Policy Sciences*, 50(1), 23–40. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11077-017-9280-6>
- Winengan, W. (2016). Kuasa Aktor dalam Perumusan Kebijakan Publik di Aras Lokal. *JRP (Jurnal Review Politik)*, 6(2), 367–387. <https://doi.org/10.15642/jrp.2016.6.2.367-387>
- Woolley, A. (2008). Legitimizing public policy. *University of Toronto Law Journal*, 58(2), 153–184. <https://doi.org/10.3138/utlj.58.2.153>
- Wu, Y., & Wu, Y. (2020). Dynamics of policy change in authoritarian countries: A multiple-case study on China. *Journal of Public Policy*, 40(2), 236–258. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0143814X18000351>
- Yang, B., & He, J. (2021). Global land grabbing: A critical review of case studies across the world. *Land*, 10(3), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.3390/land10030324>



UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA

Mengurai Benang Kusut Konflik Dayak Pitap: Analisis Konflik Kebijakan dan Peran Pemerintah Terhadap

Keberlanjutan Konflik Tanpa Titik Temu.

Naupaldi Saputra, Prof. Dr. Phil. Gabriel Lele, S.I.P., M.Si.

Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>

Yunita, F. T., Prasetyo, H., & Rosa, D. V. (2023). The Undeclared Defeat: Indigenous Identity Politics in the Indonesian Law on Advancement of Culture. *Journal of Southeast Asian Human Rights*, 7(1), 93–122. <https://doi.org/10.19184/jseahr.v7i1.39200>

You, J. (2023). Policy conflict around the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam. *World Water Policy*, 9(4), 960-972.

Zakie, M. (2017). Konflik Agraria Yang Tak Pernah Reda. *Jurnal Ilmiah Hukum LEGALITY*, 24(1), 40. <https://doi.org/10.22219/jihl.v24i1.4256>