UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
PENGATURAN PEMERINTAHAN MULTI-LEVEL DALAM ESKALASI KONFLIK PENGEMBANGAN PROYEK STRATEGIS NASIONAL:
STUDI KASUS PLTP ULUMBU UNIT 5-6 DI POCO LEOK, KABUPATEN MANGGARAI
Turibius Sandi Giovani Djemani, Prof. Dr. Phil. Gabriel Lele, S.IP., M.Si.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Acemoglu, D., & Wolitzky, A. (2014). Cycles of conflict: An economic model. *American Economic Review*, 104(4), 1350–1367. https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.104.4.1350

Adam, I., & Hepburn, E. (2019). Intergovernmental relations on immigrant integration in multi-level states . A comparative assessment. *Regional and Federal Studies*, 29(5), 563–589. https://doi.org/10.1080/13597566.2018.1524376

Agranoff, R. (2004). Autonomy, devolution and intergovernmental relations. In *Regional and Federal Studies* (Vol. 14, Issue 1). https://doi.org/10.1080/1359756042000245160

Agung, N. (2018). Geothermal power generation in Indonesia , a country within the ring of fi re : Current status , future development and policy. *Renewable and Sustainable Energy Reviews*, 81(April 2016), 2893–2901. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rser.2017.06.096

Ahimsa, A. (2025). Chasing the Shadow of Green Energy Transition : Ineffective Policy Advocacy Towards Dieng 2 Geothermal Mining. *Transition: Ineffective Policy Advocacy*, 29(2), 211–227. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.22146/jsp.102134

Anggreta, D.K., Somantri, G.R., & Purwanto, S.A. (2022). International Journal of Sustainable Development and Planning Social Acceptance : Mapping the Perspectives of Stakeholder in the Development of Geothermal Power Plants in West Sumatra , Indonesia. *International Journal of Sustainable Development and Planning*, 17(4), 1053–1065. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.18280/ijsdp.170402

Anuar, A., & Dewayanti, A. (2021). Trust in the Process : Renewable Energy Governance in Malaysia and Indonesia. *Politics & Policy*, 1–31. https://doi.org/10.1111/polp.12409

Armitage, D. (2007). Governance and the Commons in a Multi-Level World. *International Journal of the Commons*, 2(1), 7. https://doi.org/10.18352/ijc.28

Becker, S., & Naumann, M. (2017). Energy democracy: Mapping the debate on energy alternatives. *Geography Compass*, 11(8), 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1111/gec3.12321

Bell, D., Gray, T., Haggett, C., & Swaffield, J. (2013). Re-visiting the “social gap”: Public opinion and relations of power in the local politics of wind energy. *Environmental Politics*, 22(1), 115–135. https://doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2013.755793

Benz, A. (2000). Two Types of Multi-level Governance : Intergovernmental Relations in German and EU Regional Policy. *Regional & Federal Studies*, 10(3), 20–44. https://doi.org/10.1080/13597560008421130

Berka, A., & Dreyfus, M. (2021). Decentralisation and inclusivity in the energy

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
**PENGATURAN PEMERINTAHAN MULTI-LEVEL DALAM ESKALASI KONFLIK PENGEMBANGAN PROYEK STRATEGIS NASIONAL:
STUDI KASUS PLTP ULUMBU UNIT 5-6 DI POCO LEOK, KABUPATEN MANGGARAI**
Turibius Sandi Giovani Djemani, Prof. Dr. Phil. Gabriel Lele, S.IP., M.Si.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

sector: Preconditions, impacts and avenues for further research. *Renewable and Sustainable Energy Reviews*, 138(December 2020), 110663. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rser.2020.110663

Bogdanov, D., Oyewo, A.S., Mensah, T.N.O., Nishida, Y., Saito, T., Aikawa, T., Kimura, S., Gagnebin, M., Pescia, D., Shimoyama, T., Sadovskaia, K., & Breyer, C. (2023). Energy transition for Japan: Pathways towards a 100% renewable energy system in 2050. *The Institution of Enginering and Technology*, 17(13), 3298–3324. https://doi.org/10.1049/rpg2.12844

Campomori, F., & Caponio, T. (2017). Immigrant integration policymaking in Italy : regional policies in a multi-level governance perspective. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 83(2), 303–321. https://doi.org/10.1177/0020852315611238

Careja, R. (2019). Making good citizens : local authorities ' integration measures navigate national policies and local realities. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45(8), 1327–1344. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1441613

Chou, C.-H., Ngo, S.L., & Tran, P.P. (2023). Renewable Energy Integration for Sustainable Economic Growth: Insights and Challenges via Bibliometric Analysis. *Sustainability*, 15(20), 15030. https://doi.org/10.3390/su152015030

Christos, J.P., & Leonardi, R. (2004). Introduction: Adaptational Pressures and Social Learning in European Regional Policy-Cohesion (Greece, Ireland and Portugal) vs. CEE (Hungary, Poland) Countries. *Regional and Federal Studies*, 14(3), 315–354. https://doi.org/10.1080/1359756042000261342

Ciasullo, M.V., Troisi, O., Grimaldi, M., & Leone, D. (2020). *Multi-level governance for sustainable innovation in smart communities : an ecosystems approach*. 1167–1195.

Cohen, N., & Arieli, T. (2011). Field research in conflict environments : Methodological challenges and snowball sampling. *Journal of Peace Research*, 48(4), 423–435. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343311405698

Corfee-morlot, J., Kamal-Chaoui, L., Donovan, M.G., Cochran, I., Robert, A., & Teasdale, P. (2009). Cities , Climate Change and Multilevel Governance. *OECD Environtment Working Papers*, 14(1), 1–123. https://doi.org/10.1787/220062444715

Coser, L. (1956). *The Functions Of Social Conflict*. The Free Press, a Corporation.

Creswell, J.W. (2013). Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design Choosing Among Five Approaches. In *Sage Publication, Inc* (Third, Vol. 1, Issue 1). SAGE Publications, Inc. Available from: http://www.biblioteca.pucminas.br/teses/Educacao_PereiraAS_1.pdf%0Ahttp://www.anpocs.org.br/portal/publicacoes/rbcs_00_11/rbcs11_01.htm%0Ahttp://repositorio.ipea.gov.br/bitstream/11058/7845/1/td_2306.pdf%0Ahttps://direitoufma2010.files.wordpress.com/2010/

Creswell, J.W., & Creswell, J.D. (2018). Research Design Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches. In *Sage Publication, Inc* (Fifth). SAGE

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
**PENGATURAN PEMERINTAHAN MULTI-LEVEL DALAM ESKALASI KONFLIK PENGEMBANGAN PROYEK STRATEGIS NASIONAL:
STUDI KASUS PLTP ULUMBU UNIT 5-6 DI POCO LEOK, KABUPATEN MANGGARAI**
Turibius Sandi Giovani Djemani, Prof. Dr. Phil. Gabriel Lele, S.IP., M.Si.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Publications, Inc. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003381006-9

Creswell, J.W., & Poth, C.N. (2018). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (Fourth Edi). SAGE Publications, Inc.

Dallaire, C.O., Jekanowski, R.W., & Roberts, J. (2025). Left behind: A critical assessment of gender equity in Project Nujio'qonik's environmental impact statement in the context of Newfoundland's wind-to-hydrogen industry. *Applied Energy*, 394, 125964. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.apenergy.2025.125964

Davoudi, S., & Madanipour, A. (2013). Localism and neo-liberal governmentality. *Town Planning Review*, 84(5). https://doi.org/10.3828/tpr.2013.29

De la Mora-De la Mora, G., Galicia, L., Sánchez-Nupan, L.O., & Castro-Torres, B. (2023). Conditions for Multilevel Governance, Co-Management and Sustainability in Two Forest Communities in Central Mexico. *Sustainability (Switzerland)*, 15(14), 1–21. https://doi.org/10.3390/su151411348

de Looze, A., & Cuppen, E. (2023). To wind up changed: Assessing the value of social conflict on onshore wind energy in transforming institutions in the Netherlands. *Energy Research and Social Science*, 102, 103195. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2023.103195

Decaro, D.A., Chaffin, B.C., Schlager, E., Garmestani, A.S., & Ruhl, J.B. (2017). Legal and institutional foundations of adaptive environmental governance. *Ecology and Society*, 22(1), 32–53. https://doi.org/10.5751/ES-09036-220132

Denzin, N.K. (2009). *The Research Act: A Theoritical Introduction to Sociological Methods* (1st ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315134543

Dirjen Perimbangan Keuangan. (2023). *Laporan Perkembangan Ekonomi dan Fiskal Daerah*. Available from: https://djpk.kemenkeu.go.id/wp-content/uploads/2023/05/LPEFD_XXXVI_2023.pdf-Maret.pdf

Ditjen EBTKE. (2023). *Laporan Kinerja Ditjen EBTK*. Available from: https://www.esdm.go.id/assets/media/content/content-laporan-kinerja-ditjen-ebtke-tahun-2023

Doucet, I. (1997). Conflict transformation. *Medicine, Conflict and Survival*, 13(3), 175–194. https://doi.org/10.1080/13623699708409338

Edomah, N. (2021). The governance of energy transition: lessons from the Nigerian electricity sector. *Energy, Sustainability and Society*, 11(1), 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1186/s13705-021-00317-1

Elliott, L., & Setyowati, A.B. (2020). Toward A Socially Just Transition To Low Carbon Development: The Case Of Indonesia. *Asian Affairs*, 51(4), 875–894. https://doi.org/10.1080/03068374.2020.1835000

Elmallah, S., & Rand, J. (2022). Energy Research & Social Science " After the leases are signed , it ' s a done deal ": Exploring procedural injustices for utility-scale wind energy planning in the United States. *Energy Research &*

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
PENGATURAN PEMERINTAHAN MULTI-LEVEL DALAM ESKALASI KONFLIK PENGEMBANGAN PROYEK STRATEGIS NASIONAL:
STUDI KASUS PLTP ULUMBU UNIT 5-6 DI POCO LEOK, KABUPATEN MANGGARAI
Turibius Sandi Giovani Djemani, Prof. Dr. Phil. Gabriel Lele, S.IP., M.Si.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Social Science, 89, 102549. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2022.102549

Enderlein, H., Walti, S., & Zurn, M. (2010). Social policy and multi-level governance. In *Handbook on Multi-level Governance*. Edward Elgar Publishing Limited. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-49515-0_3

Essletzbichler, J. (2012). Renewable Energy Technology and Path Creation : A Multi-scalar Approach to Energy Transition in the UK Renewable Energy Technology and Path Creation : A Multi-scalar Approach to Energy Transition in the UK. *European Planning Studies ISSN:*, 20(5), 791–816. https://doi.org/10.1080/09654313.2012.667926

Fahrner, M., & Klenk, C. (2018). Multilevel policy implementation: exploring organisational coordination–the case of the German Swimming Federation's national training framework implementation. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, 10(3), 549–566. https://doi.org/10.1080/19406940.2018.1447499

Fathoni, H.S., & Setyowati, A.B. (2022). Energy justice for whom? Territorial (re)production and everyday state-making in electrifying rural Indonesia. *Geoforum*, 135, 49–60. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2022.07.012

Floresa.co. (2025). *Warga Poco Leok yang Unjuk Rasa Tolak Geotermal Bubar Usai Bupati Manggarai Kerahkan Massa Tandingan*. Floresa.co. Available from: https://floresa.co/reportase/mendalam/76434/2025/06/05/warga-poco-leok-yang-unjuk-rasa-tolak-geotermal-bubar-usai-bupati-manggarai-kerahkan-massa-tandingan [Accsessed on February 10, 2026]

Foley, J., & Kerr, E. (2025). Organising Irresponsibility: Pandemic Management, State Transformation and the Diversion of Class Politics in Scotland's COVID-19 Response. *Critical Sociology*, 51(1), 193–211. https://doi.org/10.1177/08969205241258672

Gerli, P., Navio-Marco, J., & Whalley, J. (2023). The Multilevel Governance of State Aid for Broadband Diffusion: Evidence from Three European Countries. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 46(3), 185–194. https://doi.org/10.1080/01900692.2021.1993904

Gerring, J. (2007). *Case Study Research: Principles and Practices* (1st ed.). Cambridge University Press.

Goldstein, J.S. (1992). A Conflict-Cooperation Scale for WEIS Events Data. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 36(2), 369–385. https://doi.org/http://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.ugm.ac.id/stable/174480

Gollata, J.A.M., & Newig, J. (2017). Policy implementation through multi-level governance: analysing practical implementation of EU air quality directives in Germany. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 24(9), 1308–1327. https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2017.1314539

Green, A.E., & Orton, M. (2012). Policy Innovation in a Fragmented and Complex Multilevel Governance Context: Worklessness and the City Strategy in Great Britain. *Regional Studies*, 46(2), 153–164.

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
PENGATURAN PEMERINTAHAN MULTI-LEVEL DALAM ESKALASI KONFLIK PENGEMBANGAN PROYEK STRATEGIS NASIONAL: STUDI KASUS PLTP ULUMBU UNIT 5-6 DI POCO LEOK, KABUPATEN MANGGARAI
Turibius Sandi Giovani Djemani, Prof. Dr. Phil. Gabriel Lele, S.IP., M.Si.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ad.id/

https://doi.org/10.1080/00343404.2010.487059

Green, J.E., & Koebele, E.A. (2024). Coordinating school improvement : Understanding the impact of state implementation approach on coordination in multilevel governance systems. *Review Of Policy Research*, 42(2), 188–212. https://doi.org/10.1111/ropr.12612

Gregorio, M. Di, Fatorelli, L., Paavola, J., Locatelli, B., Pramova, E., Ridho, D., May, P.H., Brockhaus, M., Maya, I., & Dyah, S. (2019). Multi-level governance and power in climate change policy networks. *Global Environtmenal Change*, 54, 64–77. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2018.10.003

Grossmann, K. (2019). Using conflicts to uncover injustices in energy transitions: The case of social impacts of energy efficiency policies in the housing sector in Germany. *Global Transitions*, 1, 148–156. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.glt.2019.10.003

Gupta, J. (2008). *The multi-level governance challenge of climate change*. 3430(2007). https://doi.org/10.1080/15693430701742669

Haryanto, V. (2023). *Geothermal Poco Leok: Aksi Warga Gagalkan Aktivitas PT PLN dan Pemda yang Dikawal TNI dan Polisi*. sunspiritforjusticeandpeace.org. Available from: https://sunspiritforjusticeandpeace.org/2023/02/20/geothermal-poco-leok-aksi-warga-gagalkan-aktivitas-pt-pln-dan-pemda-yang-dikawal-tni-dan-polisi/2138/ [Accsessed on October 2, 2026]

Heinkelmann-Wild, T., & Zangl, B. (2020). Multilevel blame games : Blame-shifting in the European Union. *Governance*, 33(4), 953–969. https://doi.org/10.1111/gove.12459

Hooghe, L., & Marks, G. (2003). Unraveling the Central State, but How? Types of Multi-level Governance. *American Political Science Review*, 97(2), 233–243. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055403000649

Huang, G.C.L., & Chen, R.Y. (2021). Injustices in phasing out nuclear power?: Exploring limited public participation and transparency in Taiwan's transition away from nuclear energy. *Energy Research and Social Science*, 71, 101808. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2020.101808

IESR. (2024). *IETO 2025: Status dan Perkembangan Transisi Energi Indonesia*. Available from: https://iesr.or.id/ieto-2025-status-dan-perkembangan-transisi-energi-indonesia/ [Accsessed on August 29, 2025]

Irshaid, J., Mochizuki, J., & Schinko, T. (2021). Challenges to local innovation and implementation of low-carbon energy-transition measures : A tale of two Austrian regions. *Energy Policy*, 156, 112432. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2021.112432

Irsyan Hasyim. (2024). *Bentrok Lagi, Aparat dan Masyarakat adat Poco Leok yang Tolak Proyek Geothermal PLN*. Tempo. Available from: https://www.tempo.co/lingkungan/bentrok-lagi-aparat-dan-masyarakat-adat-

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
**PENGATURAN PEMERINTAHAN MULTI-LEVEL DALAM ESKALASI KONFLIK PENGEMBANGAN PROYEK STRATEGIS NASIONAL:
STUDI KASUS PLTP ULUMBU UNIT 5-6 DI POCO LEOK, KABUPATEN MANGGARAI**
Turibius Sandi Giovani Djemani, Prof. Dr. Phil. Gabriel Lele, S.IP., M.Si.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

poco-leok-yang-tolak-proyek-geothermal-pln-2923 [Accsessed on October 11, 2025]

Jacobs, E., & Baez Camargo, C. (2020). Local health governance in Tajikistan: Accountability and power relations at the district level. *International Journal for Equity in Health*, 19(1), 1–12. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12939-020-1143-7

Jayaraj, N., Klarin, A., & Ananthram, S. (2024). The transition towards solar energy storage: a multi-level perspective. *Energy Policy*, 192(October 2023), 114209. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2024.114209

Jenkins, K., Mccauley, D., Heffron, R., Stephan, H., & Rehner, R. (2016). *Energy Research & Social Science Energy justice : A conceptual review*. 11, 174–182.

Jeramun, P. (2024). *Sebanyak 216 Warga Pemilik Lahan Sekitar Pengembangan PLTP Ulumbu Unit 5-6 Poco Leok Hadiri Sosialisasi Tahap I*. Available from: https://www.manggaraikab.go.id/sebanyak-216-warga-pemilik-lahan-sekitar-pengembangan-pltp-ulumbu-unit-5-6-poco-leok-hadiri-sosialisasi-tahap-i/ [Accsessed on October 2, 2026]

Kim, B., Yang, S., & Kim, H. (2024). Voices of transitions: Korea's online news media and user comments on the energy transition. *Energy Policy*, 187, 114020. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2024.114020

Komisi Nasional HAM-RI. (2024). *Dampak proyek strategis nasional terhadap hak asasi manusia*.

Komutputipong, N., & Keerasuntonpong, P. (2019). Accountability perception of Thai Government: to whom and what counts. *Journal of Public Budgeting, Accounting and Financial Management*, 31(1), 45–65. https://doi.org/10.1108/JPBAFM-05-2018-0044

Koukouzas, N., Maraslidis, G.S., Stergiou, C.L., Zarogiannis, T., Manoukian, E., Haske, J., Möllerherm, S., & Rogosz, B. (2025). Energy Transition in Greece: A Regional and National Media Analysis. *Energies*, 18(17), 1–27. https://doi.org/10.3390/en18174595

Kriesberg, L. (1980). The State of the Art in Composition. *ADE Bulletin*, 44–46. https://doi.org/10.1632/ade.63.44

Lampredi, G. (2024). Solastalgia as Disruption of Biocultural Identity. The Mount Amiata Geothermal Conflict. *Society and Natural Resources*, 37(11), 1508–1527. https://doi.org/10.1080/08941920.2024.2381204

Langley, A. (1999). Strategies For Theorizing From Process Data. *Academy of Management Review*, 24(4), 691–710. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.2307/259349

Lederach, J.P. (1999). *Building Peace Sustainable: Reconciliation in Divided Societies-United States Institute of Peace*.

Lederach, J.P. (2014). *The Little Book Of Conflict Transformation*.

Lele, G. (2018). Compliance under fragmented governance: the case of ASEAN

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
PENGATURAN PEMERINTAHAN MULTI-LEVEL DALAM ESKALASI KONFLIK PENGEMBANGAN PROYEK STRATEGIS NASIONAL:
STUDI KASUS PLTP ULUMBU UNIT 5-6 DI POCO LEOK, KABUPATEN MANGGARAI
Turibius Sandi Giovani Djemani, Prof. Dr. Phil. Gabriel Lele, S.IP., M.Si.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

economic community implementation in four Indonesian city governments. *Policy Studies*, 39(6), 607–621. https://doi.org/10.1080/01442872.2018.1530414

Leonhardt, R., Noble, B., Poelzer, G., Fitzpatrick, P., Belcher, K., & Holdmann, G. (2022). Advancing local energy transitions: A global review of government instruments supporting community energy. *Energy Research and Social Science*, 83, 102350. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2021.102350

Li, J., Krishnamurthy, S., Pereira, A., & Wesemael, P. Van. (2020). *Informing or consulting ? Exploring community participation within urban heritage management in China*. 105(October). https://doi.org/10.1016/j.habitatint.2020.102268

Maliszewska-Nienartowicz, J., & Stefański, O. (2024). Decentralisation versus centralisation in Swedish energy policy: the main challenges and drivers for the energy transition at the regional and local levels. *Energy Policy*, 188(March). https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2024.114105

Markantoni, M. (2016). Low Carbon Governance: Mobilizing Community Energy through Top-Down Support? *Environmental Policy and Governance*, 26, 155–169. https://doi.org/10.1002/eet.1722

Marquardt, J. (2014). A Struggle of Multi-level Governance : Promoting Renewable Energy in Indonesia. *Energy Procedia*, 58, 87–94. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.egypro.2014.10.413

Marquardt, J. (2017). Central-local Relations and Renewable Energy Policy Implementation in a Developing Country. *Environmental Policy and Governance*, 27(3), 229–243. https://doi.org/10.1002/eet.1756

Martinez, N. (2020). Resisting renewables: The energy epistemics of social opposition in Mexico. *Energy Research and Social Science*, 70(June), 101632. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2020.101632

Marumahoko, S., Nhede, T.N., & Mapuva, J. (2025). Interrogating multi-level government power dynamics and cooperation in Zimbabwe: Evidence from Harare City Council. *Cities*, 164(May), 106038. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2025.106038

Mavrot, C., & Sager, F. (2023). Blame-Avoidance and Fragmented Crisis Management during the COVID-19 Pandemic in Switzerland. *European Policy Analysis*, 10(22 Fenruary 2024), 61–83. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1002/epa2.1194

McGreevy, D.M., MacDougall, C., Fisher, D.M., Henley, M., & Baum, F. (2021). Expediting a renewable energy transition in a privatised market via public policy: The case of south Australia 2004-18. *Energy Policy*, 148, 111940. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2020.111940

Mdee, A., & Mushi, A. (2021). Untangling blame and responsibility for service delivery and local governance performance: testing a grounded social accountability approach in Tanzania. *Local Government Studies*, 47(6), 993–

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
**PENGATURAN PEMERINTAHAN MULTI-LEVEL DALAM ESKALASI KONFLIK PENGEMBANGAN PROYEK STRATEGIS NASIONAL:
STUDI KASUS PLTP ULUMBU UNIT 5-6 DI POCO LEOK, KABUPATEN MANGGARAI**
Turibius Sandi Giovani Djemani, Prof. Dr. Phil. Gabriel Lele, S.IP., M.Si.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

1013. https://doi.org/10.1080/03003930.2020.1842735

Meadowcroft, J. (2009). What about the politics? Sustainable development, transition management, and long term energy transitions. *Policy Sciences*, 42(4), 323–340. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11077-009-9097-z

Miall, H. (2004). *Conflict Transformation : A Multi-Dimensional Task Conflict Transformation : A Multi-Dimensional Task*.

Miles, M.B., Huberman, A.M., & Saldana, J. (2014). Qualitative Data Analysis. In *Sage Publication, Inc* (3rd ed., Vol. 3). SAGE Publications, Inc.

Mohammadi, N., & Khabbazan, M.M. (2022). The Influential Mechanisms of Power Actor Groups on Policy Mix Adoption: Lessons Learned from Feed-In Tariffs in the Renewable Energy Transition in Iran and Germany. *Sustainability (Switzerland)*, 14(7), 3973. https://doi.org/10.3390/su14073973

Morris, J., Harrison, J., Genovese, A., & Goucher, L. (2017). Energy policy under austerity localism : what role for local authorities ? *Local Government Studies*, 43(6), 882–902. https://doi.org/10.1080/03003930.2017.1359164

Ndi, F.A. (2024). Justice concerns in large - scale renewable energy projects : a case study echoing the importance of procedural justice in wind energy development in Kenya. *Energy, Sustainability and Society*, 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1186/s13705-024-00482-z

Ndiung, S. (2019). Ritus Tiba Meka Orang Manggarai Dalam Kajian Etnopedagogi. *The 1st International Conference on Language, Literature and Teaching*, 811–829.

Nursey-Bray, M. (2017). Towards socially just adaptive climate governance: the transformative potential of conflict. *Local Environment*, 22(2), 156–171. https://doi.org/10.1080/13549839.2016.1181618

Okoliko, D.A., & de Wit, M.P. (2024). Exploring Transition Tensions in Public Opinion on the COP26 Coal Phase-out Deal for South Africa as Expressed on Facebook. *Environmental Communication*, 18(8), 1124–1146. https://doi.org/10.1080/17524032.2024.2353081

Ongaro, E. (2020). Multi-Level Governance and Public Administration. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics.* https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.1409

Ostrom, E. (2005). *Understanding Institutional Diversity* (1st ed.). Princeton University Press. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt7s7wm

Ostrom, E. (2010). Polycentric systems for coping with collective action and global environmental change. *Global Environmental Change*, 20(4), 550–557. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2010.07.004

Pablo-Romero, M.P., Sánchez-Braza, A., & Galyan, A. (2021). Renewable energy use for electricity generation in transition economies: Evolution, targets and promotion policies. *Renewable and Sustainable Energy Reviews*, 138, 110481. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rser.2020.110481

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
PENGATURAN PEMERINTAHAN MULTI-LEVEL DALAM ESKALASI KONFLIK PENGEMBANGAN PROYEK STRATEGIS NASIONAL: STUDI KASUS PLTP ULUMBU UNIT 5-6 DI POCO LEOK, KABUPATEN MANGGARAI
Turibius Sandi Giovani Djemani, Prof. Dr. Phil. Gabriel Lele, S.IP., M.Si.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Papadopoulos, Y. (2005). Taking stock of multi-level governance networks. *European Political Science*, 4(3), 316–327. https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.eps.2210032

Parsons, T. (1960). Structure and Process in Modern Societies. In *The Free Press, a Corporation* (Vol. 21, Issue 3). The Free Press, a Corporation. https://doi.org/10.2307/3708616

Piattoni, S. (2009). Multi-level governance: a historical and conceptual analysis. *Journal of European Integration*, 31(2), 163–180. https://doi.org/10.1080/07036330802642755

Pietrosemoli, L., & Rodríguez-Monroy, C. (2019). The Venezuelan energy crisis: Renewable energies in the transition towards sustainability. *Renewable and Sustainable Energy Reviews*, 105(November 2017), 415–426. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rser.2019.02.014

PLN. (2025). *Rencana Usaha Penyediaan Tenaga Listrik (RUPTL) 2025 - 2034*.

Pokharel, K., Karki, R., Ojha, H.R., Gentle, P., Acharya, D., Banjade, M., & Paudel, D. (2020). State-Community Relations and Deliberative Politics within Federal Forest Governance in Nepal. *International Forestry Review*, 22(3), 370–381. https://doi.org/10.1505/146554820830405609

Polanco, J.A., & Jiménez Inchima, I. (2024). Water Access and Peace Transition Through Governance Regimes: A Cross-Case Study from Colombian Hydropower Industry. *SAGE Open*, 14(4), 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1177/21582440241290590

Prabowo, H., Purnami, W., & Naingalis, R. (2023). Tipologi Natas : Ruang Publik Tradisional di Wilayah Manggarai. *Review of Urbanism and Architectural Studies*, 21(2), 111–119. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.21776/ub.ruas.2023.021.02.12

Qudrat-Ullah, H., Akrofi, M.M.C., & Kayal, A. (2020). Analyzing actors' engagement in sustainable energy planning at the local level in Ghana: An empirical study. *Energies*, 13(8). https://doi.org/10.3390/en13082028

Radtke, J. (2025). Understanding the Complexity of Governing Energy Transitions: Introducing an Integrated Approach of Policy and Transition Perspectives. *Environmental Policy and Governance*, 35(4), 595–614. https://doi.org/10.1002/eet.2158

Ram, M., Osorio-Aravena, J.C., Aghahosseini, A., Bogdanov, D., & Breyer, C. (2022). Job creation during a climate compliant global energy transition across the power, heat, transport, and desalination sectors by 2050. *Energy*, 238, 121690. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.energy.2021.121690

Ramirez, E.E., & Castillo, M.F. (2023). The Conflicts for the COVID-19 Pandemic Management in Mexico: An Analysis of Intergovernmental Relations. *Public Organization Review*, 23(3), 945–963. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11115-022-00677-y

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
**PENGATURAN PEMERINTAHAN MULTI-LEVEL DALAM ESKALASI KONFLIK PENGEMBANGAN PROYEK STRATEGIS NASIONAL:
STUDI KASUS PLTP ULUMBU UNIT 5-6 DI POCO LEOK, KABUPATEN MANGGARAI**
Turibius Sandi Giovani Djemani, Prof. Dr. Phil. Gabriel Lele, S.IP., M.Si.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Ramirez, J., Angelino, D., & Claudia, V. (2022). The potential role of peace , justice , and strong institutions in Colombia ' s areas of limited statehood for energy diversification towards governance in energy democracy. *Energy Policy*, 168(February). https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2022.113135

Ramirez, J., & Böhm, S. (2021). Transactional colonialism in wind energy investments: Energy injustices against vulnerable people in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. *Energy Research and Social Science*, 78, 102135. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2021.102135

Saad, R., Plazas-Niño, F., Cannone, C., Yeganyan, R., Howells, M., & Luscombe, H. (2024). Long-Term Energy System Modelling for a Clean Energy Transition and Improved Energy Security in Botswana's Energy Sector Using the Open-Source Energy Modelling System. *Climate*, 12(6). https://doi.org/10.3390/cli12060088

Satuan Gugus Tugas Penyelesaian Masalah PLTP Flores dan Lembata. (2025). *Laporan dan Rekomendasi Hasil Uji Petik/Verifikasi dan Validasi Faktual Satuan Tugas Penyelesaian Masalah Pengembangan Pembangkit Listrik Tenaga Panas Bumi di Pulai Flores dan Lembata*.

Scharpf, F.W. (1988). The Joint-Decision Trap: Lessons From German Federalism And European Integration. *Public Administration*, 66(1986), 239–279. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9299.1988.tb00694.x

Sekaringtias, A., Verrier, B., & Cronin, J. (2023). Untangling the socio-political knots: A systems view on Indonesia's inclusive energy transitions. *Energy Research and Social Science*, 95(September 2022), 102911. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2022.102911

Sekretariat Daerah Kabupaten Manggarai. (2025a). *Laporan Hasil Dialog Gubernur Nusat Tenggara Timur Dengan Masyarakat adat Poco Leok Yang Menolak Proyek Pengembangan PLTP Ulumbu*.

Sekretariat Daerah Kabupaten Manggarai. (2025b). *Pelaksanaan Program Pengembangan Pembangkit Listrik Tenaga Panas Bumi (PLTP) Ulumbu Unit 5-6 di Poco Leok*.

Selly, S. (2025). *Warga Poco Leok Gugat Bupati Manggarai di PTUN, Hadirkan 22 Bukti Surat*. Available from: https://www.detik.com/bali/hukum-dan-kriminal/d-8243000/warga-poco-leok-gugat-bupati-manggarai-di-ptun-hadirkan-22-bukti-surat [Accsessed on April 18, 2026]

Setiawan, H. (2014). Geothermal Energy Development in Indonesia : Progress , Challenges and Prospect. *Inernational Journal on Advanced Science Engineering Information Technology*, 4(4), 20–25. https://doi.org/DOI:10.18517/ijaseit.4.4.405

Setyawati, D. (2021). Injustice and Environmental Harm in Extractive Industries and Solar Energy Policies in Indonesia. *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy*, 11(1), 14–27. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.5204/ijcjsd.1975

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
**PENGATURAN PEMERINTAHAN MULTI-LEVEL DALAM ESKALASI KONFLIK PENGEMBANGAN PROYEK STRATEGIS NASIONAL:
STUDI KASUS PLTP ULUMBU UNIT 5-6 DI POCO LEOK, KABUPATEN MANGGARAI**
Turibius Sandi Giovani Djemani, Prof. Dr. Phil. Gabriel Lele, S.IP., M.Si.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Setyowati, A.B., & Quist, J. (2022). Contested transition? Exploring the politics and process of regional energy planning in Indonesia. *Energy Policy*, 165, 112980. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2022.112980

Shan, S., Li, Y., Yang, Y., Zhang, H., & Li, J. (2025). Quantifying Social Justice in Energy Transition: A Policy-Driven Assessment Framework for China. *Systems (Basel)*, 13(3), 201–237. https://doi.org/10.3390/systems13030201

Shen, C.L., & Tai, H.S. (2024). National goal, local resistance: How institutional gaps hinder local renewable energy development in Taiwan. *Energy for Sustainable Development*, 83(1), 101586. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.esd.2024.101586

Shyu, C.W., & Yang, T.I. (2025). Socio-technical tensions from community acceptance, energy transition, and energy justice: Lessons from solar photovoltaic projects in Taiwan. *Applied Energy*, 384(January), 125415. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.apenergy.2025.125415

Smeets Křístková, Z., Cui, H.D., Rokicki, B., M'Barek, R., van Meijl, H., & Boysen-Urban, K. (2025). European green bonds, carbon tax and crowding-out: The economic, social and environmental impacts of the EU's green investments under different financing scenarios. *Renewable and Sustainable Energy Reviews*, 211(November 2024). https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rser.2025.115330

Solar, C., & Smith, M. (2021). Decentralisation and central - local relations : the case of policing and mental health in England. *British Politics*, 16(3), 254–271. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41293-019-00132-5

Subesar, H., Hamid, A., Oka, I.K., Iriantoro, A., & Putri, D.W. (2025). Between Investment and Social Justice : Legal Challenges of Land Acquisition for National Strategic Projects in Indonesia. *Substantive Justice International Journal of Law*, 8(1), 1–12. https://doi.org/10.56087/substantivejustice.v8i1.372

Sucahyo, N. (2022). *Petani Dieng Gigih Menolak Proyek PLTP Geo Dipa Energi*. voaindonesia. Available from: https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/petani-dieng-gigih-menolak-proyek-pltp-geo-dipa-energi/6805886.html [Accsessed on October 11, 2025]

Sugandi, A.T. (2025). *Panas-Dingin Geotermal di Lereng Gede Pangrango*. detiknews. Available from: https://news.detik.com/x/detail/spotlight/20250203/Panas-Dingin-Geothermal-di-Lereng-Gede-Pangrango/ [Accsessed on October 11, 2025]

Sugiyono, & Lestari, P. (2021). *Metode Penelitian Komunikasi* (Sunarto (ed.); Kesatu). Alfabeta, CV.

Sumarno, T.B., Sihotang, P., & Prawiraatmadja, W. (2022). Exploring Indonesia's energy policy failures through the JUST framework. *Energy Policy*, 164, 112914. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2022.112914

Susabun, A. (2022). *Kalau Memang Merusak, Untuk Apa Kami Terima? Cerita*

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
**PENGATURAN PEMERINTAHAN MULTI-LEVEL DALAM ESKALASI KONFLIK PENGEMBANGAN PROYEK STRATEGIS NASIONAL:
STUDI KASUS PLTP ULUMBU UNIT 5-6 DI POCO LEOK, KABUPATEN MANGGARAI**
Turibius Sandi Giovani Djemani, Prof. Dr. Phil. Gabriel Lele, S.IP., M.Si.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Warga Poco Leok yang Tolak Perluasan PLTP Ulumbu. Floresa. Available from: https://floresa.co/reportase/mendalam/50633/2022/09/21/kalau-memang-merusak-untuk-apa-kami-terima-cerita-warga-poco-leok-yang-tolak-perluasan-pltp-ulumbu [Accsessed on April 16, 2026]

Swarnakar, P., & Singh, M.K. (2022). Local Governance in Just Energy Transition: Towards a Community-Centric Framework. *Sustainability (Switzerland)*, 14(11). https://doi.org/10.3390/su14116495

Talitha, T., Firman, T., & Hudalah, D. (2020). Welcoming two decades of decentralization in Indonesia: a regional development perspective. *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 8(5), 690–708. https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2019.1601595

Temper, L., Walter, M., Rodriguez, I., Kothari, A., & Turhan, E. (2018). A perspective on radical transformations to sustainability: resistances, movements and alternatives. *Sustainability Science*, 13(3), 747–764. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11625-018-0543-8

Teredi, E.L., Sukarno, A., & Jaya, M.J. (2022). *Derita Rakyat dan Lingkungan di Balik PLTP Ulumbu*.

van Dijk, J., Wieczorek, A.J., & Ligtvoet, A. (2022). Regional capacity to govern the energy transition: The case of two Dutch energy regions. *Environmental Innovation and Societal Transitions*, 44, 92–109. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.eist.2022.06.001

Vandenbruwaene, W. (2014). Multi-Level Governance through a Constitutional Prism. *Maastricht Journal of European and Comparative Law*, 21(2), 229–242. https://doi.org/10.1177/1023263X1402100202

voxntt, 2026. (2026). *WALHI NTT Serahkan Amicus Curiae dalam Gugatan Aksi Damai Poco Leok di PTUN Kupang*. Available from: https://voxntt.com/2026/01/29/walhi-ntt-serahkan-amicus-curiae-dalam-gugatan-aksi-damai-poco-leok-di-ptun-kupang/108263/ [Accsessed on February 10, 2026]

Wahyudi, H. (2024). *Penolakan Proyek Geothermal di Padarincang: Dilema Energi Terbarukan*. Tempo.co. Available from: https://lestari.kompas.com/read/2024/10/14/160439486/penolakan-proyek-geothermal-di-padarincang-dilema-energi-terbarukan?page=all [Accsessed on October 11, 2025]

Walker, R.M., & Andrews, R. (2015). Local Government Management and Performance : A Review of Evidence. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 25(1), 101–133. https://doi.org/10.1093/jopart/mut038

Wicakson, R.A. (2023). *Poco Leok Mencekam, Perluasan Geothermal Libatkan Aparat Keamanan*. betahita.id. Available from: https://betahita.id/news/lipsus/8501/poco-leok-mencekam-perluasan-libatkan-aparat-keamanan.html?v=1728462363 [Accsessed on February 10, 2026]

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
**PENGATURAN PEMERINTAHAN MULTI-LEVEL DALAM ESKALASI KONFLIK PENGEMBANGAN PROYEK STRATEGIS NASIONAL:
STUDI KASUS PLTP ULUMBU UNIT 5-6 DI POCO LEOK, KABUPATEN MANGGARAI**
Turibius Sandi Giovani Djemani, Prof. Dr. Phil. Gabriel Lele, S.IP., M.Si.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Wicaksono, R.A. (2025). *Cuma di Manggarai Bupati Bentrok dengan Massa Aksi Geothermal*. betahita.id. Available from: https://betahita.id/news/detail/11150/cuma-di-manggarai-bupati-bentrok-dengan-massa-aksi-geothermal.html?v=1749544747 [Accsessed on October 2, 2025]

Wood, E.J. (2006). The Ethical Challenges of Field Research in Conflict. *Qual Sociol*, 29, 373–386. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11133-006-9027-8

Wright, D.S. (1982). Intergovernmental Relations: an Analytical Overview. *Annals of the AMerican Academy o Political and Social Science*, 1–16.

Wu, J., Zuidema, C., Gugerell, K., & Roo, G. De. (2017). Mind the gap ! Barriers and implementation de fi ciencies of energy policies at the local scale in urban China. *Energy Policy*, 106(March), 201–211. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2017.03.057

Wu, J., Zuidema, C., & Roo, G. De. (2022). Climate policy integration on energy transition : An analysis on Chinese cases at the local scale. *Cities*, 120(August 2021), 103469. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2021.103469

Wüstenhagen, R., Wolsink, M., & Bürer, M.J. (2007). Social acceptance of renewable energy innovation: An introduction to the concept. *Energy Policy*, 35(5), 2683–2691. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2006.12.001

Yang, A.L., Rounsevell, M.D.A., & Haggett, C. (2015). *Multilevel Governance, Decentralization and Environmental Prioritization: How is it working in rural development policy in Scotland?* 411(June), 399–411. https://doi.org/10.1002/eet.1690

Yin. (2018). *Case study research: Design and methods* (Leah Fargotstein, Eliza Wells, C. Neve, K. DeRosa, & G. Dickens (eds.); Sixth Edit). SAGE Publications, Inc.

Zalengera, C., To, L.S., Sieff, R., Mohr, A., Eales, A., Cloke, J., Buckland, H., Brown, E., Blanchard, R., & Batchelor, S. (2020). Decentralization: the key to accelerating access to distributed energy services in sub-Saharan Africa? *Journal of Environmental Studies and Sciences*, 10(3), 270–289. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13412-020-00608-7

Zambrano-Monserrate, M.A., Soto, G.H., Ahakwa, I., & Manigandan, P. (2024). Dynamic effects on modern renewable energy generation: The role of patents in clean energy technology. *Energy*, 311(October). https://doi.org/10.1016/j.energy.2024.133340