



REFERENSI

- Altaghlibi, M. (2024). *Carbon Markets Strategist - Developments and outlook for European carbon markets.* Diakses pada 22 Maret 2024. <https://www.abnamro.com/research/en/our-research/carbon-markets-strategist-developments-and-outlook-for-european-carbon>.
- Anger, N., Asane-otoo, E., Böhringer, C., & Oberndorfer, U. (2016). Public interest versus interest groups: a political economy analysis of allowance allocation under the EU emissions trading scheme. *International Environmental Agreements : Politics, Law and Economics*, 16 (5), pp. 621-638. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10784-015-9285-6>.
- Aspers, P., & Corte, U. (2021). What is Qualitative Research. *Qualitative Sociology*, 44, pp. 599-608. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11133-021-09497-w>.
- Bajomi, A. (2023). *EU ETS extension could have devastating impact on low-income households.* Diakses pada 21 Maret 2024. <https://www.euractiv.com/section/emissions-trading-scheme/opinion/eu-ets-extension-could-have-devastating-impact-on-low-income-households/>.
- Bennett, A., & Elman, C. (2007). Case Study Methods in the International Relations Subfield. *Comparative Political Studies*, 40 (2), pp. 170-195.
- Böhm, S., & Dabhi, S. (2009). Upsetting the Offset: The Political Economy of Carbon Markets. *Mayfly*.
- Brunnée, J. (2008). Europe, the United States, and the Global Climate Change Regime: All Together Now? *Journal of Land Use & Environmental Law*, 24 (1), pp. 1-43.
- Bryant, G. (2019). *Carbon Markets in A Climate-Changing Capitalism*. Cambridge University Press.
- Carton, W. (2016). Dancing to the Rhythms of the Fossil Fuel Landscape: Landscape Inertia and the Temporal Limits to MarketBased Climate Policy. *Antipode*, 0 (0), pp. 1-12. DOI: 10.1111/anti.12262.
- Castree, N. (2003). Commodifying what nature? *Progress in Human Geography*, 27 (3), pp. 273–297.
- Cerny, P. G., (2003). The Uneven Pluralization of World Politics. In A. Hulsemeyer (Ed.), *Globalization in the Twenty-First Century: Convergence or Divergence?* Palgrave Macmillan.



Chasek, P. et al. (1998), ‘European Union Views on International Greenhouse Gas Emissions Trading’, Working Paper 3. (New York, NY: Columbia University, School of International and Public Affairs: Environmental Policy Studies).

Cullet, P. (2009). Rethinking the Legal Regime for Climate Change: The Human Rights and Equity Imperative. In S. Böhm & S. Dabhi (Eds.), *Upsetting the Offset: The Political Economy of Carbon Markets*. Mayfly.

Damro, C., & Méndez, P. (2001). The Kyoto Protocol’s Emissions Trading System: An EU-US Environmental Flip-Flop. <https://aei.pitt.edu/874/1/Kyoto.pdf>.

Damro, C., & Méndez, P. (2003). Emissions trading at Kyoto: from EU resistance to Union innovation. *Environmental Politics*, 12 (2), pp. 71-94. DOI: 10.1080/09644010412331308194.

Dechezleprêtre, A., Nachtigall, D., Venmans, F. (2023). The joint impact of the European Union emissions trading system on carbon emissions and economic performance. *Journal of Environmental Economics and Management*, 118. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jeem.2022.102758>.

Dunne, T. (2014). Liberalism. In J. Baylis, S. Smith, & P. Owens. (Eds.), *The Globalization of World Politics* (pp. 113-125). Oxford University Press.

Dugis, V. (2016). Liberalisme. In Vinsensio, D. (Ed.), *Teori Hubungan Internasional Perspektif-Perspektif Klasik*. Cakra Studi Global Strategis.

Dwyer, J. (2010). *Moral Status and Human Life*. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511779602.002>. Cambridge University Press.

European Commission. (2000). *Green Paper on greenhouse gas emissions trading within the European Union*.

European Commission. (2023). Eurostat Statistics Explained. Diakses pada 22 Maret 2024. https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Energy_statistics_-_an_overview.

European Commission. (n.d.). *EU Emissions Trading System (EU ETS)*. Diakses pada 22 Februari 2024. https://climate.ec.europa.eu/eu-action/eu-emissions-trading-system-eu-ets_en#the-eu-ets-framework.

European Union. (2015). *EU ETS Handbook*.

Golub, J. (1998). *New Instruments for Environmental Policy in the EU*. Routledge.

Grubb, M. (2007). The European Emissions Trading Scheme: An Overview of Operations and Lessons. *CESifo DICE Report*, 5 (4), pp. 17-25.



Hassoun, N. (2011). The Anthropocentric Advantage? Environmental Ethics and Climate Change Policy. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 14 (2), pp. 235-257, DOI: 10.1080/13698230.2011.529710.

Hiller, A. (2016). Consequentialism in Environmental Ethics. In M. Gardiner & A. Thompson. (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Environmental Ethics* (pp. 199-210). Oxford Academic.

Hovi, J., Skodvin, T., Andresen, S. (2003) The Persistence of the Kyoto Protocol: Why Other Annex I Countries Move on Without the United States. *Global Environmental Politics*, 3 (4), pp. 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.1162/152638003322757907>.

Jordan, A., Wurzel, R., Zito, A., and Brückner, L. (2003). Policy Innovation or “Muddling Through”? “New” Environmental Policy Instruments in the United Kingdom. *Environmental Politics*, 12 (1), pp. 179–198.

Kaup, B. (2015). Markets, Nature, and Society: Embedding Economic & Environmental Sociology. *Sociological Theory*, 33 (3), pp. 280-296.

Keraf, A. (2010). *Etika Lingkungan Hidup*. Kompas.

Lagouvardou, S., & Psaraftis, H. (2022). Implications of the EU Emissions Trading System (ETS) on European container routes: A carbon leakage case study. *Maritime Transport Research*, 3, pp. 1-18.

Laing, T., Sato, M., Grubb, M., & Comberti, C. (2013). *Assessing the effectiveness of the EU Emissions Trading System*. Centre for Climate Change Economics and Policy Working Paper No. 126.

LIFE ETX. (2021). *EU ETS 101 – A beginner’s guide to the EU’s Emissions Trading System*.

Lohmann, L. (2011). The Endless Algebra of Climate Markets. *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 22 (4), pp. 93-116. DOI: 10.1080/10455752.2011.617507.

Lucia, V. (2009). Hegemony and Climate Justice: A Critical Analysis. In S. Böhm & S. Dabhi (Eds.), *Upsetting the Offset: The Political Economy of Carbon Markets*. Mayfly.

MacKenzie, D. (2009). Making things the same: Gases, emission rights and the politics of carbon markets. *Accounting, Organizations and Society*, 34, pp. 440–455. DOI:10.1016/j.aos.2008.02.004.

Majone, G. (1996). *Regulating Europe*. Routledge.

Meckling, J. (2011). *Carbon Coalitions: Business, Climate Politics, and The Rise of Emissions Trading*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Narain, S. (2009). The Business of Carbon is Different. In S. Böhm & S. Dabhi (Eds.), *Upsetting the Offset: The Political Economy of Carbon Markets*. Mayfly.



O'Neill, J. (2017). Markets, Ethics, and Environment. In S. M. Gardiner & A. Thompson.

(Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Environmental Ethics*, pp. 1-15. DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199941339.013.4.

Palmer, C. (2017). Contested Frameworks in Environmental Ethics. In L. P. Pojman., P. Pojman., & K. McShane. (Eds.), *Environmental Ethics: Readings in Theory and Application*. Cengage Learning.

Perthuis, C., & Trotignon, R. (2014). Governance of CO₂ markets: Lessons from the EU ETS. *Energy Policy*, 75, pp. 100-106.

Polanyi, K. (1944). *The Great Transformation*. Farrar & Rinehart.

Rafaty, R., Calel, R., Grubb, M. (2022). Allocation, allocation, allocation! The political economy of the development of the European Union Emissions Trading System. *WIREs Climate Change*, 13 (5), pp. 1-19. <https://doi.org/10.1002/wcc.796>.

Rogge, K., & Hoffmann, V. (2010). The impact of the EU ETS on the sectoral innovation system for power generation technologies – Findings for Germany. *Energy Policy*, 38 (12), pp. 7639-7652. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2010.07.047>.

Sacchi, S., Riva, P., Brambilla, M., Grasso, M. (2014). Moral reasoning and climate change mitigation: The deontological reaction toward the market-based approach. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 38, pp. 252-261. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2014.03.001>.

Sbragia, A., & Damro, C. (1998). The changing role of the European Union in international environmental politics: institution building and the politics of climate change. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, 17(1), 53-68. <https://doi.org/10.1068/c170053>.

Schjølseth, S. (1999). Explaining EU Climate Unity: Actors, Interests and Institutions. *FNI Report 7/99*.

Skjærseth, J. B., & Wettstad, J. (2008). *EU Emissions Trading: Initiation, Decision-making, and Implementation*. Routledge.

Stavins, R. (2003). Experience with Market-Based Environmental Policy Instruments. In K. Mäler & J. Vincent (Eds.), *Handbook of Environmental Economics* (pp. 355-435). Elsevier Science.

Stuart, D., Gunderson, R., & Petersen, B. (2019). Climate Change and the Polanyian Counter-movement: Carbon Markets or Degrowth? *New Political Economy*, 24 (1), pp. 89-102, DOI: 10.1080/13563467.2017.1417364.



Instruments in France. *Environmental Politics* 12 (1), pp. 93–115.

Tisseo, I. (2022a, August 31). *Average spot prices of European Emission Allowances (EUA) 2010-2021*. Statista. Diakses pada 22 Maret 2024.

<https://www.statista.com/statistics/1329581/spot-prices-european-union-emissiontrading-system-allowances/>.

Verbruggen, A. (2021). *Pricing Carbon Emissions: Economic Reality and Utopia*. Routledge.

<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003173816>.

Vlachou, A., & Pantelias, G. (2020). The EU Emissions Trading System in Crisis-Ridden Greece: Climate under Neoliberalism. *Review of Radical Political Economics*, 00 (0), pp. 1-22. DOI: 10.1177/0486613420910546.

Wettestad, J. (2001). The Ambiguous Prospects for EU Climate Policy—A Summary of Options. *Energy and Environment*, 12 (2&3), pp. 139–167.

Wettestad, J. (2005). The Making of the 2003 EU Emissions Trading Directive: An Ultra-Quick Process due to Entrepreneurial Proficiency. *Global Environmental Politics*, 5 (1), pp. 1-23.

Zapfel, P., & Vainio, M. (2002). Pathways to European Greenhouse Gas Emissions Trading History and Misconceptions. *FEEM Working Paper No. 85*.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.342924>.

Ziółkowski, M., Baranowski, M., & Drozdowski, R. (2020). On the Multiple Varieties, Consequences and Paradoxes of the Commodification of Nature. *Polish Sociological Review*, 211, pp. 281-300.

Ziółkowski, M., Baranowski, M., & Drozdowski, R. (2020). On the Multiple Varieties, Consequences and Paradoxes of the Commodification of Nature. *Polish Sociological Review*, 211, pp. 281-300. DOI:10.26412/psr211.02.

Zito, A., Brückner, L., Jordan, A., & Wurzel, R. (2003) Instrument Innovation in an Environmental Lead State: 'New' Environmental Policy Instruments in the Netherlands. *Environmental Politics*, 12 (1), pp. 157-178.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09644010412331308234>.