

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Affan, Sultan Ibnu. 2023. "Luhut Bicara Peluang Kemampuan RI Simpan Karbon 400 Gigaton." *Bloomberg Technoz*, September.
- Apriliyanti, Indri Dwi, Diwangkara Bagus Nugraha, Stein Kristiansen, and Indra Overland. 2024. "To Reform or Not Reform? Competing Energy Transition Perspectives on Indonesia's Monopoly Electricity Supplier Perusahaan Listrik Negara (PLN)." *Energy Research & Social Science* 118 (December): 103797. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2024.103797>.
- Aspinall, Edward, and Ward Berenschot. 2019. *Democracy for Sale : Elections, Clientelism, and the State in Indonesia*. Cornell University Press.
- Avelino, Flor. 2017. "Power in Sustainability Transitions: Analysing Power and (Dis)Empowerment in Transformative Change towards Sustainability." *Environmental Policy and Governance* 27 (6): 505–20. <https://doi.org/10.1002/eet.1777>.
- Bailey, Ronald. 1993. *Eco-Scam: The False Prophets of Ecological Apocalypse*. St. Martin's Press.
- Böhm, Steffen, Maria Ceci Misoczky, and Sandra Moog. 2012. "Greening Capitalism? A Marxist Critique of Carbon Markets." *Organization Studies* 33 (11): 1617–38. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0170840612463326>.
- Bowen, Frances. 2011. "Carbon Capture and Storage as a Corporate Technology Strategy Challenge." *Energy Policy* 39 (5): 2256–64. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2011.01.016>.
- Brisbois, Marie Claire. 2019. "Powershifts: A Framework for Assessing the Growing Impact of Decentralized Ownership of Energy Transitions on Political Decision-Making." *Energy Research and Social Science* 50 (April): 151–61. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2018.12.003>.
- Bryant, Gareth. 2019. *Carbon Markets in a Climate-Changing Capitalism*. In *Carbon Markets in a Climate-Changing Capitalism*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108377591>.

Bumpus, Adam G., and Diana M. Liverman. 2008. "Accumulation by Decarbonization and the Governance of Carbon Offsets." *Economic Geography* 84 (2): 127–55. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1944-8287.2008.tb00401.x>.

Cao, Liu, Akira Toyohara, You Li, and Weisheng Zhou. 2024. "Willingness to Pay for Carbon Tax in Japan." *Sustainable Production and Consumption* 52 (December): 427–44. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.spc.2024.11.004>.

CELIOS. 2025. *Dengan Hormat, Pejabat Negara: Jangan Menarik Pajak Seperti Berburu Di Kebun Binatang*. Center of Economic and Law Studies (CELIOS). www.celios.co.id.

Cooper, Mark H. 2015. "Measure for Measure? Commensuration, Commodification, and Metrology in Emissions Markets and Beyond." *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 47 (9): 1787–804. <https://doi.org/10.1068/a130275p>.

Delarue, E., K. Voorspools, and W. D'haeseleer. 2008. "Fuel Switching in the Electricity Sector under the EU ETS: Review and Prospective." *Journal of Energy Engineering* 134 (2): 40–46.

Dutu, Richard. 2016. "Challenges and Policies in Indonesia's Energy Sector." *Energy Policy* 98 (November): 513–19. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2016.09.009>.

Eastin, Josh, Reiner Grundmann, and Aseem Prakash. 2011. "The Two Limits Debates: 'Limits to Growth' and Climate Change." *Futures* 43 (1): 16–26. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.futures.2010.03.001>.

Ellerman, A. D., F. J. Convery, and C. Perthuis. 2010. *Pricing Carbon: The European Union Emissions Trading Scheme*.

Felli, Romain. 2015. "Environment, Not Planning: The Neoliberal Depoliticisation of Environmental Policy by Means of Emissions Trading." *Environmental Politics* 24 (5): 641–60. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2015.1051323>.

Fine, Ben, and Zavareh Rustomjee. 1997. *The Political Economy of South Africa: From Minerals-Energy Complex to Industrialisation*. Vol. 6. <https://doi.org/10.1177/107049659700600413>.

Frontier Economics. 2016. *EU Emissions: Has the ETS Been a Success?*

- Geels, Frank W. 2002. "Technological Transitions as Evolutionary Reconfiguration Processes: A Multi-Level Perspective and a Case-Study." *Research Policy* 31 (8–9): 1257–74. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0048-7333\(02\)00062-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0048-7333(02)00062-8).
- Geels, Frank W. 2014. "Regime Resistance against Low-Carbon Transitions: Introducing Politics and Power into the Multi-Level Perspective." *Theory, Culture & Society* 31 (5): 21–40. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276414531627>.
- Greenpeace Indonesia. 2025. "Greenpeace Indonesia Desak Pemerintah Pajak Industri Perusak Lingkungan Dan Kelompok Super-Kaya." In *Greenpeace*. August.
- Grubb, Michael, Christiaan Vrolijk, and Duncan Brack. 1999. *Kyoto Protocol: A Guide and Assessment*. Routledge.
- H, Coase R. 1960. "The Problem of Social Cost." *Journal of Law and Economics* 56 (October): 1–44. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1086/674872>.
- Haan, J. Hans de, and Jan Rotmans. 2011. "Patterns in Transitions: Understanding Complex Chains of Change." *Technological Forecasting and Social Change* 78 (1): 90–102. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techfore.2010.10.008>.
- Hadiz, Vedi, and Richard Robison. 2004. *Reorganising Power in Indonesia: The Politics of Oligarchy in an Age of Markets*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203401453>.
- Huyen, Nguyen Thi Thanh, Nguyen Minh Chau, Do Thu Thao, and Dang Chau Anh. 2024. "The Case Study of Indonesia's Emission Trading System And Lessons Learned For Vietnam." *International Journal of Application on Economics and Business* 2 (4): 509–23. <https://doi.org/10.24912/ijaeb.v2i4.509-523>.
- IESR. 2024. *Indonesia Energy Transition Outlook 2025: Navigating Indonesia's Energy Transition at the Crossroads: A Pivotal Moment for Redefining the Future*. IESR.
- Inglehart, Ronald. 2007. "Postmaterialist Values and the Shift from Survival to Self-Expression Values." In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*. Oxford University Press.
- Jakob, Michael, Christian Flachsland, Jan Christoph Steckel, and Johannes Urpelainen. 2020. "Actors, Objectives, Context: A Framework of the Political Economy of Energy and

JATAM. 2024. *Jejaring Oligarki Tambang & Energi Pada Pemilu 2024*. Jaringan Advokasi Tambang (JATAM).

KementerianESDM. 2025. *Konferensi Pers - RUPTL PT PLN (Persero) Tahun 2025-2034*.

Lai, Olivia. 2022. “10 Young Climate Activists Leading the Way on Global Climate Action.” Earth.Org, August. <https://earth.org/young-climate-activists-leading-the-way-on-global-climate-action/>.

Lane, Richard. 2012. “The Promiscuous History of Market Efficiency: The Development of Early Emissions Trading Systems.” *Environmental Politics* 21 (4): 583–603. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2012.688355>.

Lövbrand, Eva, and Johannes Stripple. 2011. “Making Climate Change Governable: Accounting for Carbon as Sinks, Credits and Personal Budgets.” *Critical Policy Studies* 5 (2): 187–200. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19460171.2011.576531>.

Lovell, Heather. 2014. “Climate Change, Markets and Standards: The Case of Financial Accounting.” *Economy and Society* 43 (2): 260–84. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03085147.2013.812830>.

Lucarelli, Bart. 2010. “The History and Future of Indonesia’s Coal Industry: Impact of Politics and Regulatory Framework on Industry Structure and Performance.” Program on Energy and Sustainable Development (PESD).

Lukes, Steven. 2022. *Power : A Radical View*. Bloomsbury Academic.

Lykkesfeldt, Poul, and Laurits Louis Kjaergaard. 2022. “The Origin of ESG.” In *Investor Relations and ESG Reporting in a Regulatory Perspective*. Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-05800-4_30.

Macesar, Anna. 2025. “A Brief History of ESG.” April. <https://thesustainableagency.com/blog/the-history-of-esg/>.

- Mackenzie, Donald. 2009. "Making Things the Same: Gases, Emission Rights and the Politics of Carbon Markets." *Accounting, Organizations and Society* 34 (3–4): 440–55. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.aos.2008.02.004>.
- Maghiszha, Dinar Fitra. 2025. *Transaksi Bursa Karbon RI Sentuh Rp78,37 Miliar Hingga Agustus 2025*. August.
- Mann, Michael. 2013. *The Sources of Social Power. Vol. 4, Globalizations, 1945-2011*. Cambridge University Press.
- Meadowcroft, James. 2011. "Engaging with the Politics of Sustainability Transitions." *Environmental Innovation and Societal Transitions* 1 (1): 70–75. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.eist.2011.02.003>.
- Meadows, Donella, Jorgen Randers, Dennis Meadows, and William Behrens. 1972. *The Limits to Growth*.
- Meng, Kyle C., and Ashwin Rode. 2019. "The Social Cost of Lobbying over Climate Policy." *Nature Climate Change* 9 (6): 472–76. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41558-019-0489-6>.
- Newell, Peter, and Matthew Paterson. 2010. *Climate Capitalism: Global Warming and the Transformation of the Global Economy*. Cambridge University Press.
- Ordonez, Jose Antonio, Michael Jakob, Jan C. Steckel, and Anna Fünfgeld. 2022. "Coal, Power and Coal-Powered Politics in Indonesia." In *The Political Economy of Coal: Obstacles to Clean Energy Transitions*. Taylor and Francis. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003044543-19>.
- PLN. 2025. *Rencana Usaha Penyediaan Tenaga Listrik (RUPTL) 2025-2034*.
- Power, Marcus, Peter Newell, Lucy Baker, Harriet Bulkeley, Joshua Kirshner, and Adrian Smith. 2016. "The Political Economy of Energy Transitions in Mozambique and South Africa: The Role of the Rising Powers." *Energy Research & Social Science* 17 (July): 10–19. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2016.03.007>.
- Schriecks, Teun, Julia Swart, Fujin Zhou, and W. J. Wouter Botzen. 2023. "Lobbying, Time Preferences and Emission Tax Policy." *Economics of Disasters and Climate Change* 7 (1): 1–32. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41885-022-00123-9>.

Sekretariat Jenderal Dewan Energi Nasional. 2018. *Outlook Energi Indonesia 2018*. Sekretariat Jenderal Dewan Energi Nasional.

Sekretariat Jenderal Dewan Energi Nasional. 2019. *Indonesia Energy Outlook 2019*. Secretariat General National Energy Council.

Singgih, Viriya. 2022. “Profil & Peta Koneksi Bisnis Dan Politik 10 Oligark Batubara Terbesar Di Indonesia Di Bawah Pemerintahan Jokowi” *Profil & Peta Koneksi Bisnis Dan Politik 10 Oligark Batubara Terbesar Di Indonesia Di Bawah Pemerintahan Jokowi.* *Project Multatuli*, February.

Smith, Adrian, Andy Stirling, and Frans Berkhout. 2005. “The Governance of Sustainable Socio-Technical Transitions.” *Research Policy* 34 (10): 1491–510. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.respol.2005.07.005>.

Solikah, Anisa Ayu, and Bramastia Bramastia. 2024. “Systematic Literature Review : Kajian Potensi Dan Pemanfaatan Sumber Daya Energi Baru Dan Terbarukan Di Indonesia.” *Jurnal Energi Baru Dan Terbarukan* 5 (1): 27–43. <https://doi.org/10.14710/jebt.2024.21742>.

Solowiej, Lisa A., and Paul M. Collins. 2009. “Counteractive Lobbying in the U.S. Supreme Court.” *American Politics Research* 37 (4): 670–99. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1532673X08328674>.

Sovacool, Benjamin K., and Marie Claire Brisbois. 2019. “Elite Power in Low-Carbon Transitions: A Critical and Interdisciplinary Review.” In *Energy Research and Social Science*, vol. 57. Elsevier Ltd, November. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2019.101242>.

Wahlström, Mattias, Piotr Kocyba, Michiel De Vydt, and Joost Moor. 2019. *Protest for a Future: Composition, Mobilization and Motives of the Participants in Fridays For Future Climate Protests on 15 March, 2019 in 13 European Cities*.

WALHI. 2022. “Stop Solusi Iklim Palsu, Utamakan Keselamatan Rakyat Dari Dampak Krisis Iklim.” In *WALHI*. November.

World Bank, Ecofys, and Vivid Economics. 2017. *State and Trends of Carbon Pricing 2017*. Washington, DC: World Bank. <https://doi.org/10.1596/978-1-4648-1218-7>.



UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA

Menciptakan Ilusi Hijau: Pembajakan Rezim Fosil Terhadap Mekanisme Nilai Ekonomi Karbon di Subsektor Ketenagalistrikan

Satriya Nugroho, Arie Ruhyanto, S.IP., M.Sc., Ph.D.

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

World Bank Group. 2025. "State and Trends of Carbon Pricing Dashboard."