

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Buku

- Buzan, B., Waever, O., & Wilde, J. d. (1998). *Security: A new framework for analysis*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2018). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (5th ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Keohane, R. O. (1984). *After hegemony: Cooperation and discord in the world political economy*. Princeton University Press.
- Keohane, R. O. (1977). *Power and interdependence: World politics in transition*. Little, Brown and Company.
- Lamont, C. (2015). *Research methods in international relations*. SAGE Publications.
- Morgenthau, H. J. (1985). *Politics among nations: The struggle for power and peace* (6th ed.). Alfred A. Knopf.
- Von Neumann, J., & Morgenstern, O. (1953). *Theory of games and economic behavior* (3rd ed.). Princeton University Press.

Jurnal Ilmiah

- A, L. J. K., N, Q. J., & K, B. (2021). Review of renewable energy potentials in Indonesia and their contribution to a 100% renewable electricity system. *Journal of Energy*, 14(21).
- Aditya, I. A., Wijayanto, T., & Hakam, D. F. (2025). Advancing renewable energy in Indonesia: A comprehensive analysis of challenges, opportunities, and strategic solutions. *Sustainability*, 17(5), Artikel 2216. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su17052216>
- Afidah, A. N., Noveria, A., & Subiakto. (2024). Comparing company valuation before and after IPO study case PT Pertamina Geothermal Energy Tbk. *International Journal of Current Science Research and Review*, 7(08), 6073–6086. <https://doi.org/10.47191/ijcsrr/V7-i8-21>
- Ahmed, T., Mekhilef, S., Shah, R., & Mithulananthan, N. (2017). Investigation into transmission options for cross-border power trading in the ASEAN power grid. *Energy Policy*, 108, 91–101. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2017.05.020>
- Aleluia, J., Tharakan, P., Chikkatur, A. P., Shrimali, G., & Chen, X. (2022). Accelerating a clean energy transition in Southeast Asia: Role of governments and public policy. *Renewable and Sustainable Energy Reviews*, 159, Article 112226. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rser.2022.112226>
- Anggraeni, S. D., & Musri, M. N. (2021). Hambatan kerja sama energi ASEAN Power Grid dari perspektif realisme politik. *Frequency of International Relations*, 2(2), 1–30.

- Anggraini, M. (2022). Renewable energy policy as Indonesia's energy security strategy. *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional*, 5(1).
- Aransyah, M. F. (2023). How effective is the green financing framework for renewable energy? A case study of PT Pertamina Geothermal Energy in Indonesia. *International Journal of Energy Economics and Policy*, 13(5), 165–170. <https://doi.org/10.32479/ijeep.14729>
- Arwadi, Y., Torku, A., Tetteh, M. O., & Bondinuba, F. K. (2025). Strategies to optimise project management implementation in the delivery of renewable energy projects in Indonesia. *Buildings*, 15(7), Artikel 1049. <https://doi.org/10.3390/buildings15071049>
- Awanda, D. W. P., & Bayangkara, I. B. K. (2025). Akuntansi keberlanjutan dan pengungkapan ESG pada PT Unilever Indonesia dan PT Pertamina sebagai perusahaan pemenang ASRRAT. *Journal of Business, Finance, and Economics (JBFE)*, 6(1), 15–25.
- Damayanti, L. (2025). Peluang diplomasi komersial pemerintah Indonesia dalam mendorong energi bersih. *Jurnal Kajian Ilmu Hubungan Internasional*, 7(1).
- Dimiyati, M., Basri, M., & Rismawati, S. D. (2019). Liberalization and electricity policy changes: Problems and challenges in the electricity sector in Indonesia. *International Journal of Energy Economics and Policy*, 9(6), 7–15.
- Hakam, D. F., Wiyono, S. K., & Hariyanto, N. (2020). Competition in power generation: Ex-ante analysis of Indonesia's electricity market. *Energies*, 13(24), 6741. <https://doi.org/10.3390/en13246741>
- Her, Y., Chang, Y., Chun, Y., & Li, Y. (2018). A cooperative game theoretic approach on the stability of the ASEAN power grid. *Energy Economics*, 75, 492–502. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.eneco.2018.09.008>
- Herindrasti, S., Angelina, B., & Putriwinata, P. (2024). Pengembangan kebijakan energi terbarukan di Indonesia, Vietnam, dan Laos. *Jurnal Sosial Politik*, 10(2), 161.
- Huang, Y. W., Kittner, N., & Kammen, D. M. (2019). ASEAN grid flexibility: Preparedness for grid integration of renewable energy. *Energy Policy*, 128, 711–726. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2019.01.025>
- Indeo, F. (2019). ASEAN-EU energy cooperation: Sharing best practices to implement renewable energy sources in regional energy grids. *Global Energy Interconnection*, 2(5), 393–401. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloi.2019.11.014>
- Indrayani, I., & Firdaus, N. (2024). Sekuritisasi dalam diplomasi energi Indonesia – Tiongkok terkait ekspor-impor batu bara. *Jurnal Sosial dan Humaniora*, 9(1).
- Istanto, W. S. D., & Rustiadi, S. (2024). Scenario planning of Pertamina Patra Niaga business strategy to address the growth of the Indonesian electric

- vehicle market. *European Journal of Business and Management Research*, 9(1), 22–28. <https://doi.org/10.24018/ejbmr.2024.9.1.2258>
- Langer, J., Quist, J., & Blok, K. (2021). Review of renewable energy potentials in Indonesia and their contribution to a 100% renewable electricity system. *Energies*, 14(21), Artikel 7033. <https://doi.org/10.3390/en14217033>
- Li, Y., Rakhmah, T. F., & Wada, J. (2020). Market design for multilateral trade of electricity in ASEAN: A survey of the key components and feasibility. *Asian Economic Papers*, 19(1), 43–60. https://doi.org/10.1162/asep_a_0076.
- Mendrofa, A. S., Sugandi, Y. S., Rusli, B., & Amalia, P. (2024). Policy diffusion on new and renewable energy in Indonesia. *Journal of Ecohumanism*, 3(8), 580–585. <https://doi.org/10.62754/joc.v3i8.4752>
- Mubarok, M. W. S., & Kartini, E. (2023). Analysis of renewable energy as an export commodity (case study Indonesia-ASEAN). *Journal of International Relations*, 4.
- Namujju, L. D., Acquah-Swanzy, H., & Ngoti, I. F. (2023). An IAD framework analysis of minigrid institutions for sustainable rural electrification in East Africa: A comparative study of Uganda and Tanzania. *Energy Policy*, 182, Article 113742. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2023.113742>
- Padantya, T. R. A., & Sudrajad, O. Y. (2024). Evaluating the impact of ESG integration on the financial performance of Pertamina Geothermal Energy: A sustainable growth perspective. *RETURN: Study of Management, Economic and Business*, 3(5), 487–508. <https://doi.org/10.57096/return.v3i5.234>
- Pahlawan, H. F. (2025). Diplomasi ekonomi Indonesia dalam kerangka kebijakan lingkungan ASEAN. *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional*, 7(1).
- Paluseri, A. H., Kaihatu, T. S., & Christian, T. F. (2025). The benefits and challenges of solar photovoltaic (PV) business in Pertamina's gasoline station: Focused on energy transition, sustainability & green investment. *MIX: Jurnal Ilmiah Manajemen*, 15(1), 174–188. http://dx.doi.org/10.22441/jurnal_mix.2025.v15i1.010
- Pangestu, R. A. (2023). Analysis of dynamics and restructuring of PT Pertamina (Persero). *JKMP (Jurnal Kebijakan dan Manajemen Publik)*, 11(2). <https://doi.org/10.21070/jkmp.v11i2.1740>
- Patra, C. A. F. (2022). Pengembangan energi terbarukan dalam upaya mewujudkan pembangunan berkelanjutan di PT Pertamina. *Jurnal Green Growth dan Manajemen Lingkungan*, 11(2), 113–125. <https://doi.org/10.21009/jgg.112.05>
- Pramono, B., Prakoso, L. Y., Alman, G. C., Rianto, Sutrasna, Y., Sulistyadi, E., Duha, J., Haetami, Uksan, A., Sundari, S., Juliana, & Ahmad. (2022). Energy security policy of PT. Pertamina faces the dynamics of foreign policy. *Jurnal Cakrawala Ilmiah*, 1(12), 3747–3758.

- Putri, A. S., Jasmine, P., Salma, R., Bagasta, G. S., & Faturrahman, M. P. (2021). Dampak prinsip-prinsip dasar ASEAN terhadap pola kerjasama ASEAN menghadapi krisis kudeta Myanmar. *Journal of International Studies*, 4(1).
- Ramadhan, I. (2023). The securitization of energy issues from the perspective of security studies. *Indonesian Journal of Energy*, 6(1), 1–13.
- Rum, M., & Wiryawan, B. A. (2019). Linking state-owned enterprises and energy diplomacy. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial*, 18(2), 164–179. <https://doi.org/10.14710/jis.18.2.2019.164-179>
- Safitri, M., Rizki, K., & Zulkarnain. (2021). Kebijakan keamanan energi Indonesia dalam pemenuhan energi listrik melalui kerja sama ASEAN Power Grid. *Indonesian Journal of Global Discourse*, 3(2), 15–30.
- Sarjiya, Putranto, L. M., Irnawan, R., & Budi, R. F. S. (2022). Assessing potential scenarios for achieving new and renewable energy targets in Java-Bali power system, Indonesia. *International Journal of Energy Economics and Policy*, 12(2), 502–515. <https://doi.org/10.32479/ijeep.12852>
- Soesanto, E., Raihan, A., & Angga, S. (2025). Pengaruh kebijakan pemerintah terhadap keberlanjutan industri migas di era transisi energi. *Konstruksi: Publikasi Ilmu Teknik, Perencanaan Tata Ruang dan Teknik Sipil*, 3(1), 15–24. <https://doi.org/10.61132/konstruksi.v3i1.680>
- Stephens, S., & Robinson, B. M. K. (2021). The social license to operate in the onshore wind energy industry: A comparative case study of Scotland and South Africa. *Energy Policy*, 148, 111981. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2020.111981>
- Syah, R. A., & Mahmud, Z. K. (2019). Realism in the Trans ASEAN Gas Pipeline project. *Indonesian Journal of Energy*, 2(2), 89–98.
- Tambunan, H. B., Hakam, D. F., Prahastono, I., Pharmatrisanti, A., Purnomoadi, A. P., Aisyah, S., Wicaksono, Y., & Sandy, I. G. R. (2020). The challenges and opportunities of renewable energy source (RES) penetration in Indonesia: Case study of Java-Bali power system. *Energies*, 13(22), Artikel 5903. <https://doi.org/10.3390/en13225903>
- Yudha, S. W., & Tjahjono, B. (2019). Stakeholder mapping and analysis of the renewable energy industry in Indonesia. *Energies*, 12(4), 602. <https://doi.org/10.3390/en12040602>

Laporan Institusi & Dokumen Kebijakan

- APAEC Drafting Committee. (2020, November 24). *ASEAN Plan of Action for Energy Cooperation (APAEC) Phase II: 2021–2025*. ASEAN Centre for Energy / ASEAN Climate Change and Energy Project (ACCEPT). <https://accept.aseanenergy.org/asean-plan-of-action-for-energy-cooperation-apaec-phase-ii-2021-2025/>

- ASEAN. (2024). *ASEAN energy in 2024 - ACCEPT reports*. ASEAN Climate Change and Energy Project (ACCEPT). <https://accept.aseanenergy.org/asean-energy-in-2024>
- ASEAN Centre for Energy. (1999). *ASEAN plan of action for energy cooperation 1999–2004*. ASEAN Secretariat.
- ASEAN Centre for Energy. (2020, November 24). *ASEAN Plan of Action for Energy Cooperation (APAEC) Phase II: 2021–2025*. <https://accept.aseanenergy.org/asean-plan-of-action-for-energy-cooperation-apaec-phase-ii-2021-2025/>
- ASEAN Centre for Energy. (2025, January 23). *A playbook for ASEAN Power Grid interconnector feasibility studies*. <https://aseanenergy.org/publications/a-playbook-for-asean-power-grid-interconnector-feasibility-studies/>
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations. (1997). *ASEAN Vision 2020*. <https://asean.org/asean-vision-2020/>
- Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia. (2020). *Forecast of Biomass Demand Potential in Indonesia*. ERIA.
- International Energy Agency. (2023). *Southeast Asia Energy Outlook 2023*. IEA.
- International Energy Agency. (2024). *Renewables 2024: Analysis and forecast to 2030*. <https://iea.blob.core.windows.net/assets/17033b62-07a5-4144-8dd0-651cdb6caa24/Renewables2024.pdf>
- International Energy Agency. (2024). *Renewable Energy Market Update 2024*. IEA.
- International Renewable Energy Agency. (2021). *Indonesia energy transition outlook*. IRENA.
- International Renewable Energy Agency. (2022). *Renewable Power Generation Costs in 2022*. IRENA.
- International Renewable Energy Agency. (2024). *Renewable Energy Statistics 2024*. IRENA.
- Institute for Essential Services Reform. (2024). *Indonesia Energy Transition Outlook 2024*. IESR.
- Kementerian Energi dan Sumber Daya Mineral. (2023). *Handbook of Energy & Economic Statistics of Indonesia 2023*. ESDM.
- Pertamina Power Indonesia. (2021). *Laporan tahunan 2021: Building collaboration towards energy transition*. PT Pertamina Power Indonesia.
- PT Perusahaan Listrik Negara (Persero). (2018). *Pedoman pengoperasian sistem tenaga listrik*. PLN.
- World Bank. (2023). *Detox Development: Repurposing Environmentally Harmful Subsidies*. World Bank.

Media Massa & Artikel Web

- Bisnis Indonesia Premium. (2025, July 7). *Misi besar Pertamina NRE masuk ASEAN Power Grid lewat Citicore Filipina*. <https://premium.bisnis.com/read/20250707/658/1891181/misi-besar-pertamina-nre-masuk-asean-power-grid-lewat-citicore-filipina>
- CNBC Indonesia. (2025, August 22). *Pertamina NRE ungkap peluang pasar listrik antar negara terbuka*. <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20250822113351-4-660504/pertamina-nre-ungkap-peluang-pasar-listrik-antar-negara-terbuka>
- ESDM. (2023, September 15). *Menteri Arifin: Negara ASEAN punya potensi EBT besar untuk dukung transisi energi*. <https://www.esdm.go.id/id/berita-unit/direktorat-jenderal-ketenagalistrikan/menteri-arifin-negara-asean-punya-potensi-ebt-besar-untuk-dukung-transisi-energi>
- ESDM. (n.d.). *Pemerintah optimistis EBT 23% tahun 2025 tercapai*. <https://www.esdm.go.id/id/berita-unit/direktorat-jenderal-ketenagalistrikan/pemerintah-optimistis-ebt-23-tahun-2025-tercapai>
- Ho, S. (2025, September 26). *Asean to prioritise common grid codes, transparent tariffs and dispute resolution mechanism for regional power grid*. Eco-Business. <https://www.eco-business.com/id/news/asean-to-prioritise-common-grid-codes-transparent-tariffs-and-dispute-resolution-mechanism-for-regional-power-grid/>
- IESR. (2025, May 22). *Mendorong ASEAN menuju transisi hijau*. <https://iesr.or.id/mendorong-asean-menusju-transisi-hijau/>
- Jowett, P. (2025, June 20). *Indonesia's Pertamina secures 20% stake in Citicore Renewables*. *pv magazine International*. <https://www.pv-magazine.com/2025/06/20/indonesias-pertamina-secures-20-stake-in-citicore-renewables/>
- Pertamina New & Renewable Energy. (2025, Juli 2). *Pertamina NRE gandeng perusahaan EBT Filipina untuk investasi di Indonesia melalui kepemilikan saham*. <https://www.pertaminanre.com/publication/news/pertamina-nre-gandeng-perusahaan-ebt-filipina-untuk-investasi-di-indonesia-melalui-kepemilikan-saham>
- Simanjuntak, U. (2025, February 20). *Peran strategis keketuaan Malaysia dalam memimpin transisi energi di ASEAN*. IESR. <https://iesr.or.id/peran-strategis-keketuaan-malaysia-dalam-memimpin-transisi-energi-di-asean/>
- Validnews. (2025, August 16). *Semester I/2025, Pertamina dongkrak kapasitas terpasang pembangkit EBT 14%*. <https://validnews.id/ekonomi/semester-i-pertamina-dongkrak-kapasitas-terpasang-pembangkit-ebt>
- Validnews. (2025, Juni 19). *Pertamina NRE lirik peluang jadi pemain utama di ASEAN Power Grid*. <https://validnews.id/ekonomi/pertamina-nre-lirik-peluang-jadi-pemain-utama-di-asean-power-grid>
- Yusgiantoro, F. C., & Swastika, M. B. (2023, Oktober 6). *ASEAN Power Grid dalam era energi terbarukan*.

<https://purnomoyusgiantorocenter.org/opinion/asean-power-grid-dalam-era-energi-terbarukan/>

Prosiding, Makalah Konferensi, & Presentasi

- Aris, H., & Jørgensen, B. N. (2020). Realising the ASEAN power grid through unbundling: Takeaways from the Philippines' and Singapore's experience. *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, 463, Article 012169. <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/463/1/012169>
- ASEAN Centre for Energy. (2023). *The development of the ASEAN Power Grid (APG)* [Presentasi]. 2nd GMS Energy Transition Task Force Committee Meeting, Siem Reap.
- Budiman, I., Swandaru, A., & Suryadi, B. (2021). *The potential contribution of projected ASEAN Power Grid to emission reduction*. Research Square. <https://doi.org/10.21203/rs.3.rs-1141749/v1>
- Harefa, A. O., & Badaruddin, M. (2016). Posisi Indonesia pada kerja sama energi regional dalam memasuki era Masyarakat Ekonomi ASEAN: Studi kasus ASEAN Power Grid. Dalam *Prosiding Seminar Nasional INDOCOMPAC* (hlm. 593–595). Universitas Bakrie.
- Marshall, C. G. (2005). The Marshall Plan [Speech at Harvard University, 1947]. Dalam L. I. Bland (Ed.), *The Marshall Plan*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Dokumen Hukum, Perjanjian Internasional, & Lain-lain

- Asian Development Bank. (2024). *ADB and the ASEAN Power Grid*. <https://www.adb.org/where-we-work/southeast-asia/asean-power-grid>
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations. (1976, Februari 24). *Treaty of amity and cooperation in Southeast Asia*. <https://asean.org/treaty-amity-and-cooperation-in-southeast-asia>
- Citicore Renewable Energy Corporation. (2024, April). *The prospectus (initial public offering)*. <https://crec.com.ph/investor-relations/>
- International Monetary Fund. (1944). *Articles of agreement of the International Monetary Fund*. IMF.
- Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries. (2017). *Statute of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries* (Revised ed.). OPEC Secretariat.
- Pusat Vulkanologi dan Mitigasi Bencana Geologi. (n.d.). *Daftar gunung api aktif Indonesia*. <https://magma.esdm.go.id/v1/volcano/list>
- Setyawati, D. (2025, May 15). *Wired for profit: Grid is the key to unlock ASEAN energy investment*. Ember. <https://ember-energy.org/app/uploads/2025/05/Report-Wired-for-profit-ASEAN-PDF.pdf>