References

References cited

Abbott, K. W. (2012) The transnational regime complex for climate change. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy* 30: 571–590.

Acemoglu, D., P. Aghion, L. Bursztyn, and D. Hemous (2012) The environment and directed technical change. *American Economic Review* 102(1): 131–166.

Aden, N. (2016) *The Roads to Decoupling: 21 Countries Are Reducing Carbon Emissions while Growing GDP*. Washington, DC: World Resources Institute.

Aggarwal, V. (1998) Reconciling multiple institutions: Bargaining, linkages and nesting. In V. Aggarwal (ed.), *Institutional Designs for a Complex World: Bargaining, Linkages, and Nesting* (pp. 1–31). Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Aklin, M. and J. Urpelainen (2018) *Renewables: The Politics of a Global Energy Transition*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Alcaraz, A. P. (1982) 1982 Ramon Magsaysay Awardee for Government Service, speech delivered on 31 August. Manila: Magsaysay Laureate Library and Museum, Ramon Magsaysay Award Foundation.

Alfian (2010) All on waiting list will get power by March, says PLN. *Jakarta Post*, 29 November.

Alhusni, H., T. S. P. Perdana, E. H. Purwanto, and H. Styawan (2023) Geothermal Business Outlook in Indonesia. Proceedings of the 48th Workshop on Geothermal Reservoir Engineering. SGP-TR-224. Stanford University, Stanford, California, 6–8 February.

Allan, J. I. (2020) *The New Climate Activism: NGO Authority and Participation in Climate Change Governance*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Allan, J. I. and J. Hadden (2017) Exploring the framing power of NGOs in global climate politics. *Environmental Politics* 26(4): 600–620.

Alter, K. J. and S. Meunier (2009) The politics of international regime complexity. *Perspectives on Politics* 7(1): 13–24.

Alter, K. J. and K. Raustiala (2018) The rise of international regime complexity. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 14: 329–349.

AMALA Clean Energy Advisors (AMALA) (2024) *Geothermal Derisking Roadmap for the Philippines*. Washington, DC: AMALA.

Amindoni, A. (2016) Petral liquidation set to be complete in mid-2016. *Jakarta Post*, 4 April. www.thejakartapost.com/news/2016/04/04/petral-liquidation-set-to-be-complete-in-mid-2016.html.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 15 Nov 2026 at 06:58:40, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009352604.009

Anderson, P., A. Firdaus, and A. Mahaningtyas (2015) Big commitments, small results: Environmental governance and climate change mitigation under Yudhoyono. In E. Aspinall, M. Mietzner, and D. Tomsa (eds.), *The Yudhoyono Presidency: Indonesia's Decade of Stability and Stagnation* (pp. 258–278). Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Andonova, L. (2014) Boomerangs to partnerships? Explaining state participation in transnational partnerships for sustainability. *Comparative Political Studies* 47(3): 481–515.

Andonova, L. (2017) *Governance Entrepreneurs: International Organizations and the Rise of Global Public–Private Partnerships*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Andonova, L., M. M. Betsill, and H. Bulkeley (2009) Transnational climate governance. *Global Environmental Politics* 9(2): 52–73.

Andonova, L. and M. Elsig (2012) Informal international lawmaking: A conceptual view from international relations. In J. Pauwelyn, R. A. Wessel, and J. Wouters (eds.), *Informal International Lawmaking* (pp. 63–80). Croydon: Oxford University Press.

Andonova, L., T. Hale, and C. Roger (2017) National policies and transnational governance of climate change: Substitutes or complements? *International Studies Quarterly* 61(2): 253–268.

Andonova, L. and M. Levy (2003) *Franchising Global Governance: Making Sense of the Johannesburg Type II Partnerships*. Lysaker: Nansen Institute.

Andonova, L. and R. Mitchell (2010) The rescaling of global environmental politics. *Annual Review of Environment and Resources* 35: 255–282.

Andonova, L. and I. Tuta (2015) Transnational networks and paths to EU environmental compliance: Evidence from new member states. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 52(4): 775–793.

Arga, A. (2007) Indonesia world's No. 3 greenhouse gas emitter: Report. Reuters. 4 June. www.reuters.com/article/economy/indonesia-worlds-no3-greenhouse-gas-emitter-report-idUSJAK262062.

Armstrong, C. (2023) *A Blue New Deal: Why We Need a New Politics for the Ocean*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) (2013) Peer review on low carbon energy policies in Indonesia. Final report. Singapore: APEC.

Asian Development Bank (ADB) (2004) Program completion report on the power sector restructuring program. Loan 1662-PHI. Manila: ADB. www.adb.org/sites/default/files/project-documents//pcr-phi-31216.pdf.

Asian Development Bank (ADB) (2010) Asian Development Bank support for decentralization in Indonesia. Special evaluation study. SES: INO 2010–15. Manila: ADB.

Asian Development Bank (ADB) (2014a) Proposed administration of loan PT Supreme Energy Rantau Dedap (Phase 1). Manila: ADB.

Asian Development Bank (ADB) (2014b) Innovative ADB loan to help unlock Indonesia's clean energy potential. Manila: ADB.

Asian Development Bank (ADB) (2016) Project records. Manila: ADB.

Asian Development Bank (ADB) (2020a) Indonesia energy sector assessment, strategy, and roadmap. Manila: ADB.

Asian Development Bank (ADB) (2020b) Renewable energy tariffs and incentives in Indonesia: Review and recommendations. Manila: ADB.

Asian Development Bank (ADB) (2023a) Energy Transition Mechanism (ETM) Program for Southeast Asia: Overview and update. Manila: ADB.

Asian Development Bank (ADB) (2023b) New agreement aims to retire Indonesia 660-MW coal plant almost 7 years early. Press Release, 3 December. Manila: ADB.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 15 Nov 2026 at 06:58:40, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009352604.009

Asian Development Bank (ADB) (2024) Project list. Manila: ADB.
Asian Development Bank (ADB) and World Bank (2015) *Unlocking Indonesia's Geothermal Potential*. Manila: ADB, and Washington, DC: World Bank.
Asian Development Bank (ADB), World Bank, and International Finance Corporation (IFC) (2013) Joint mission of the ADB/World Bank/IFC Clean Technology Fund (CTF) Investment plan update for Indonesia, 28 January to 1 February. Aide-Memoire.
Asmarini, W. (2015) UPDATE 1-Indonesia's audit of Petral trading units reveals fraud – Pertamina CEO. Reuters, 9 November.
Augustine, C., S. Fisher, J. Ho, I. Warren, and E. Witter (2023) Enhanced geothermal shot analysis for the Geothermal Technologies Office. NREL/TP-5700–84822. Golden, CO: National Renewable Energy Laboratory.
Azward, Amahl S. (2013) Protests freeze out Lampung geothermal power plant. *Jakarta Post*, 20 June.
Bacon, R. (2019) Learning from the power sector reform: The case of the Philippines. World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 8853. Washington, DC: World Bank.
Baker McKenzie (2014) *Indonesian Geothermal Tariffs Revised . . . Again: Client Alert, Juen*. Jakarta: Baker McKenzie.
BBC (2014) The MINT countries: Next economic giants? BBC.co.uk, 6 January.
Beaton, C. and L. Lontoh (2010) *Lessons Learned from Indonesia's Attempts to Reform Fossil-Fuel Subsidies*. Manitoba: International Institute for Sustainable Development.
Bernstein, S. (2013) Rio+20: Sustainable development in a time of multilateral decline. *Global Environmental Politics* 13(4): 12–21.
Bernstein, S. and B. Cashore (2012) Complex global governance and domestic policies: Four pathways of influence. *International Affairs* 88(3): 585–604. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2346.2012.01090.x.
Biermann, F. and R. E. Kim (2020) *Architectures of Earth System Governance*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
Biermann, F., P. Pattberg, H. van Asselt, and F. Zelli (2009) The fragmentation of global governance architectures: A framework for analysis. *Global Environmental Politics* 9(4): 14–40.
Birol, F. (2023) Foreword. In *IEA 2023 World Energy Outlook*. Paris: International Energy Agency.
Black, R. (2007) EU 'snub' threat at climate talks. BBC News, 13 December. https://www.iea.org/reports/world-energy-outlook-2023.
Blanchard, C. (2017) Fragmentation in high seas fisheries: Preliminary reflections on a global oceans governance approach. *Marine Policy* 84: 327–332.
Bland, B. and J. Noble (2014) Indonesia no longer fragile, says minister. *Financial Times*, 13 March.
Bloomberg New Energy Finance (BNEF) (2013) Development banks: Breaking the $100bn-a-year barrier. Clean Energy White Paper. New York: BNEF.
Borger, J., D. Adam, and S. Goldenberg (2007) Bush kills off hope for G8 climate change plan. *Guardian*, 1 June.
Bourguignon, F. and J.-P. Platteau (2015) The hard challenge of aid coordination. *World Development* 69: 86–97.
Breitmeier, H., O. R. Young, and M. Zürn (2006) Analyzing international Rregimes: From case study to database. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Budiman, A., K. Das, A. Mohammad, K. Tee Tan, and O. Tonby (2014) *Ten Ideas to Reshape Indonesia's Energy Sector*. Jakarta: McKinsey and Company.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 15 Nov 2026 at 06:58:40, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009352604.009

Buehler, M. (2020) Try to be more like Norway on a sunny day! Regulatory capitalism and the challenges of combatting corruption in Indonesia's upstreamoil and gas sector supply chains. *Oil, Gas & Energy Law Intelligence* 4. www.ogel.org/article.asp?key=3904.

Bulkeley, H., L. Andonova, M. Betsill, D. Compagnon, T. Hale, M. Hoffmann, P. Newell, M. Paterson, C. Roger, and S. VanDeveer (2014) *Transnational Climate Change Governance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Buntaine, M. and W. Pizer (2015) Encouraging clean energy investment in EMDEs: What role for aid? *Climate Policy* 15(5): 543–564.

Business World (2015) Big power users opened up for competitive supply by yearend. 25 February.

Cahyafitri, R. (2014) Legal barrier to geothermal development removed. *Jakarta Post*, 27 August.

Cahyafitri, R. (2015) Govt to boost spending on renewable energy development. *Jakarta Post*, 19 May.

Carbonnier, G., F. Brugger, and J. Krause (2011) Global and local policy responses to the resource trap. *Global Governance* 17: 247–264.

Carlson, K., L. Curran, G. Asner, A. M. Pittman, S. Trigg, and J. M. Adeney (2012) Carbon emissions from forest conversion by Kalimantan oil palm plantations. *Nature Climate Change* 3: 283–287.

Castlerock Consulting (2010) *Phase 1 Report: Review & Analysis of Prevailing Geothermal Policies, Regulations and Costs*. Jakarta: Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources.

Castro, P. (2014) *Climate Change Mitigation in EMDEs: A Critical Assessment of the Clean Development Mechanism*. Cheltenham: Edgar Elgar.

Cerezo, M. (2012) Geothermal development in the Philippines. Renewable Energy Management Bureau, Philippines Department of Energy, Presentation.

Cham, M. R. W. (2007) The Philippine power sector: Issues and solutions. *Philippine Review of Economics* 44(1): 33–63.

Chan, G. (2015) Financing wind energy deployment in China through the clean development mechanism. In *Essays on Energy Technology Innovation Policy*. Doctoral book. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, Graduate School of Arts & Sciences.

Chandak, P. (2024) Philippines DOE announces third round of green energy auction for non-FIT RE technologies. *Solar Quarter*, 13 February.

Chayes, A. and A. H. Chayes (1993) On compliance. *International Organization* 47(2): 175–205.

Chelminski, K. (2018) Fossil fuel subsidy reform in Indonesia: The struggle for successful reform. In J. Skovgaard and H. Van Asselt (eds.), *The Politics of Fossil Fuel Subsidies and Their Reform*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chelminski, K. (2022) Climate finance effectiveness: A comparative analysis of geothermal development in Indonesia and the Philippines. *Journal of Environment & Development* 31(2): 139–167.

Chelminski, K. (2024) Contesting the just transition in the Global South: Comparing lithium extraction and geothermal development on ancestral land. Paper presented at ISA 2024 Convention, San Francisco, 6 April.

Chelminski, K., L. Andonova, and Y. Sun (2022) Emergence and structuring of the regime complex for clean energy. *Global Governance* 28(4): 1–30.

Cherp, A., J. Jewell, and A. Goldthau (2011) Governing global energy: Systems, transitions, complexity. *Global Policy* 2(1): 75–88.

Chorev, N. (2020) *Give and Take: Developmental Foreign Aid and the Pharmaceutical Industry in East Africa*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 15 Nov 2026 at 06:58:40, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009352604.009

Clark, W. C., J. Jager, and J. van Eijndhoven (2001) Managing global environmental change: An introduction to the volume. In *Learning to Manage Global Environmental Risks, Volume 1*, edited by Social Learning Group (pp. 1–20). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Clean Air Task Force (CATF) (2022) Superhot rock energy: A vision for firm, global zero-carbon energy. Boston, MA: CATF.

Climate Investment Fund (CIF) (2016) *Projects Data*. Washington, DC: CIF and World Bank.

Climate Policy Initiative (CPI) (2022) *Global Landscape of Climate Finance: A Decade of Data*. San Francisco, CA: CPI.

Climate Policy Initiative (CPI) and Indonesian Ministry of Finance (MoF) (2014) *The Landscape of Public Climate Finance in Indonesia*. Jakarta: CPI and MoF.

Climate Transparency (2023) *Climate Policy Implementation Check 2023*. Berlin: Climate Transparency.

Colgan, J., J. Green, and T. Hale (2012) Asset revaluation and the existential politics of climate change. *International Organization* 75(2): 586–610.

Colgan, J., R. O. Keohane, and T. Van de Graaf (2012) Punctuated equilibrium in the energy regime complex. *Review of International Organizations* 7: 117–143.

Collier, D. (2011) Understanding process tracing. *PS: Political Science and Politics* 44(4): 823–830.

Congressional Research Service (CRS) Foreign Aid: International Donor Coordination of Development Assistance. Report R41185. Washington, DC: CRS.

Constantino, R. R. (2023) How the ants moved the elephants in Paris. In R. Solnit and T. Y. Lutunatabua (eds.), *Not Too Late* (pp. 73–81). Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books.

Conway, E. M. and N. Oreskes (2011) *Merchants of Doubt: How a Handful of Scientists Obscured the Truth on Issues from Tobacco Smoke to Global Warming*. New York: Bloomsbury Press.

Critchfield, R. (1981) Kenya paradox: Western technology, African tradition. *Christian Science Monitor*, 7 August. www.csmonitor.com/1981/0807/080747.html.

Cronin, T. and L. Santoso (2010) REDD+ politics in the media: A case study from Indonesia. Working Paper 49. Bogor: Center for International Forestry Research, p. 7.

Culhane, T., G. Hall, and J. T. Roberts (2021) Who delays climate action? Interest groups and coalitions in state legislative struggles in the United States. *Energy Research and Social Science* 79:102114. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2021.102114.

Damuri, Y. and R. Atje (2012) *Investment Incentives for Renewable Energy: The Case of Indonesia*. Jakarta: International Institute of Sustainable Development.

Davis, C. (2009). Overlapping institutions in trade policy. *Perspectives on Politics*, 7(1): 25–31. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592709090045.

Dechezleprêtre, A., M. Glachant, and Y. Ménière (2012) What drives the international transfer of climate change mitigation technologies? Empirical evidence from patent data. *Environment & Resource Economics* 54: 161–178. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10640-012-9592-0.

Deloitte (2016) *35,000 MW: A Light for the Nation. Infrastructure and Capital Projects.* Jakarta: PT Deloitte Konsultant Indonesia.

Department of Energy, Philippines (DOE) (2009) *Guidelines Governing a Transparent and Competitive System of Awarding Renewable Energy Service/Operating Contracts and Providing for the Registration Process of Renewable Energy Developers*. Department Circular No. DC2009-07-0011. Metro Manila: DOE.

Department of Energy, Philippines (DOE) (2019) *2019 Power Statistics*. Manila: DOE.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 15 Nov 2026 at 06:58:40, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009352604.009

Department of Energy, Philippines (DOE) (2020) DOE statement on allowing foreign investors 100% ownership of large-scale geothermal projects. Press release, 30 October. Manila: DOE.
Department of Energy, Philippines (DOE) (2021) *2003–2020 Power Statistics*. Manila: DOE.
Department of Energy, Philippines (DOE) (2023a) *Providing Specific Auction Policy and Guidelines for Non-FIT-Eligible Renewable Energy Technologies in the Green Energy Auction Program*. Department Circular No. DC2023-10-0029. Manila: DOE.
Department of Energy, Philippines (DOE) (2023b) Energy Statistics: 2023. Manila: DOE.
Department of Energy, Philippines (DOE) (2024) *Awarded Geothermal Projects as of February 29, 2024*. Manila: DOE. https://doe.gov.ph/sites/default/files/pdf/renewable_energy/Awarded_Geothermal_Power_Projects_as_of_Feb_2024.pdf.
Derthik, M. and P. J. Quirk (1985) *The Politics of Deregulation*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institute.
DIFFER (2012) *The Indonesian Electricity System: A Brief Overview.* Jakarta: DIFFER Group.
Dobbins, F., B. Simmons, and G. Garrett (2007) The global diffusion of public policies: Social construction, coercion, competition or learning? *Annual Review of Sociology* 33: 449–472.
Dobson, P., Pratama, A.R. and B. Hamilton (2025) Technical Geothermal Roadmap for Indonesia. Berkeley: Net Zero World/LBNL. https://doi.org/10.71468/P1159N.
Dolor, F. M. (2006) Phases of geothermal development in the Philippines. Presented at Workshop for Decision Makers on Geothermal Projects in Central America, organized by UNU-GTP and LaGeo in San Salvador, El Salvador, 26 November to 2 December.
Dolšak, N. and A. Prakash (2022) Three faces of climate justice. *Annual Review of Political Science* 25: 283–301.
Downing, L. (2011) KfW provides grant for geothermal project in Indonesia. Bloomberg, 18 January.
Downs, A. (1972). Up and down with ecology: The issue attention cycle. *Public Interest* 28: 38–50.
Downs, G. W., D. M. Rocke, and P. N. Barsoom (1996) Is the good news about compliance good news about cooperation? *International Organization* 50(3): 379–406.
Drezner, D. W. (2009) The power and peril of international regime complexity. *Perspectives on Politics* 7(1): 65–70.
Dubash N. K. and A. Florini (2011) Mapping global energy governance. *Global Policy*, 2 (SI): 6–18.
Elkins, Z. and B. Simmons (2005) On waves, clusters, and diffusion: A conceptual framework. *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science* 598: 33–51.
Elmallah, S., T. G. Reames, and C. A. Spurlock (2022) Frontlining energy justice: Visioning principles for energy transitions from community-based organizations in the United States. *Energy Research & Social Science* 94: 102855.
Enerdata (2014) *Slow Progress on Indonesia's 10 GW Fast-Track Program*. Grenoble: Enerdata.
Enerdata (2015) *Indonesia Releases Its 35 GW Power Capacity Addition Plan*. Grenoble: Enerdata.
Energy Information Agency (EIA) (2014) *Indonesia Analysis: Overview.* Washington, DC: EIA.
Energy Information Agency (EIA) (2015a) *Indonesia Rejoining OPEC Despite Being Net Oil Importer.* Washington, DC: EIA.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 15 Nov 2026 at 06:58:40, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009352604.009

Energy Information Agency (EIA) (2015b) *Indonesia Analysis: Overview.* Washington, DC: EIA.
Energy Information Agency (EIA) (2016) *Total Petroleum and Other Liquids Production 2015: International Energy Statistics*. Washington, DC: EIA.
Energy Information Agency (EIA) (2021) *Indonesia Overview/Data Analysis*. Washington, DC: EIA.
Energy Sector Management Assistance Program (ESMAP) (1989) *Information and Status Report: April 1989*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
Energy Sector Management Assistance Program (ESMAP) (2012) *Geothermal Handbook: Planning and Financing Power Generation*. Technical Report 002/12. Washington, DC: World Bank.
Energy Sector Management Assistance Program (ESMAP) (2015) *Global Geothermal Development Plan*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) (2023) *Summary of Inflation Reduction Act Provisions Related to Renewable Energy.* Washington, DC: EPA. www.epa.gov/green-power-markets/summary-inflation-reduction-act-provisions-related-renewable-energy.
Erviani, N. K. (2013) Bali still rejects geothermal plant. *Bali Daily*, 18 June.
Evans, P., H. K. Jacobson, and R. D. Putnam (1993) *Double-Edged Diplomacy: International Bargaining and Domestic Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Evers, M. (2006) Java's mud volcano: Eruptions displace thousands in Indonesia. *SPIEGEL*, 9 October.
Fankhauser, S., S. M. Smith, M. Allen, K. Axelsson, T. Hale, C. Hepburn, M. Kendall, R. Khosla, J. Lezaun, E. Mitchell-Larson, M. Obersteiner, L. Rajamani, R. Rickaby, N. Seddon, and T. Wetzer (2022) The meaning of net zero and how to get it right. *Nature Climate Change Perspective* 12: 15–21. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41558-021-01245-w.
Fanning, L. and R. Mahon (2020) Governance of the global ocean commons: Hopelessly fragmented or fixable? *Coastal Management* 48: 527–533.
Fauzi, A., S. Bahri, and H. Akuanbatin. 2000. Geothermal development in Indonesia: An overview of industry status and future growth. Proceedings World Geothermal Congress 2000.
Federal Communications Commission (FCC) (2014) *Final Report: Protection of Submarine Cables through Spatial Separation. The Communications Security, Reliability and Interoperability – Council IV – Working Group*. Washington, DC: FCC.
Fergus, C. A. (2022) Power across the global health landscape: A network analysis of development assistance 1990–2015. *Health Policy and Planning* 37(6): 779–790. https://doi.org/10.1093/heapol/czac025.
Fletcher, R. and C. Rammelt (2017) Decoupling: A key fantasy of the post-2015 sustainable development agenda. *Globalization* 14(3): 450–467.
Florini, A. and N. K. Dubash (2013) Introduction to the special issue: Governing energy in a fragmented world. *Global Policy* 2(SI): 1–5.
Fogarty, D. (2009) Indonesia CO2 pledge to help climate talks-greens. Reuters, 29 September.
Forum for Energy Ministers in Africa (FEMA) (2006) *Energy and the Millennium Development Goals in Africa*. Kampala: FEMA.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 15 Nov 2026 at 06:58:40, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009352604.009

Fox, J. J., D. S. Adhuri, and I. A. Pradnja (2006) Unfinished edifice or Pandora's box? Decentralization and resource management in Indonesia. In B. P. Resosudarmo (ed.), *The Politics and Economics of Indonesia's Natural Resources*. Singapore: ISEAS.

Frankel, T. C. and P. Whoriskey (2016) Tossed aside in the "white gold" rush. *Washington Post*, 19 December.

Friedrich, J., M. Ge, A. Pickens, and L. Vigna (2023) This interactive chart shows changes in the world's top 10 emitters. World Resources Institute, 2 March. www.wri.org/insights/interactive-chart-shows-changes-worlds-top-10-emitters.

Fronda, A. D., V. S. Lazaro, R. M. Halcon, and R. G. Reyes (2021) Geothermal energy development: The Philippines country update. Proceedings of the World Geothermal Congress 2020+1. Reykjavik, Iceland, April–October.

Fronda, A. D., M. C. Marasigan, and V. S. Lazaro (2015) Geothermal development in the Philippines: The country update. Proceedings of the World Geothermal Congress 2015. Melbourne, Australia, 19–25 April.

G8 (2005) Gleneagles Plan of Action: Climate Change, Clean Energy and Sustainable Development.

Gabbatt, A. (2009) Swiss geothermal power plant abandoned after quakes hit Basel. *Guardian*, 15 December.

Gallagher, K. S. (2014) *The Globalization of Clean Energy Technology: Lessons from China*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Geddie, J. (2021) Indonesia could phase out coal by 2040 with financial help, finmin says. Reuters, 3 November. www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/indonesia-could-phase-out-coal-by-2040-with-financial-help-minister-2021-11-02.

Gehring, T. and B. Faude (2013) The dynamics of regime complexes: Microfoundations and systemic effects. *Global Governance* 19: 119–130.

George, A. L. and A. Bennett (2005) *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Geothermal Technology Office (GTO) (n.d.) *Electricity Generation*. Washington, DC: United States Department of Energy.

Goldstein, J. and R. O. Keohane, eds. (1993) *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Gomez-Mera, Morin, J.-F., and T. Van de Graaf (2020) Regime complexes. In F. Biermann and R. E. Kim (eds.), *Architectures of Earth System Governance* (pp. 137–157). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gore, Al. (2007) Nobel Peace Prize Lecture, Norway, Oslo, 10 December. Oslo: Nobel Prize Foundation. www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/2007/gore/lecture.

Gourevitch, P. (1978) The second image reversed: The international sources of domestic politics. *International Organization* 32(4): 881–912.

Government of Indonesia (GoI) (2014) *Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 79 of 2014 on National Energy Policy*. Jakarta: GoI.

Government of Indonesia (GoI) (2022) *Acceleration of the Development of Renewable Energy for the Supply of Electrical Power: Presidential Regulation No. 112 of 2022*. Jakarta: GoI.

Government of the Philippines (GoP) (1987) The 1987 Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines. www.gppb.gov.ph/wp-content/uploads/2023/06/Republic-Act-No.-6957.pdf.

Government of the Philippines (GoP) (1990) *An Act Authorizing the Financing, Construction, Operation and Maintenance of Infrastructure Projects by the Private Sector, and for the Other Purposes: Republic Act 6957, July 9, Eighth Session, Republic of the Philippines*. Metro Manila: Congress of the Philippines.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 15 Nov 2026 at 06:58:40, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009352604.009

Government of the Philippines (GoP) (1992) *An Act Providing for the Establishment and Management of National Integrated Protected Areas System, Defining Its Scope and Coverage and Other Purposes. Republic Act No. 7586, H. No. 34696/S. No. 1914, Fifth Regular Session, Republic of the Philippines*. Metro Manila: Congress of the Philippines.

Government of the Philippines (GoP) (2001) *Electric Power Industry Reform Act (EPIRA): Republic Act No. 9136*. Manila: GoP.

Government of the Philippines (GoP) (2008) *An Act Promoting the Development, Utilization, and Commercialization of Renewable Energy Resources and for Other Purposes: Republic Act No. 9513, December 16*. Manila: GoP.

Government of the Philippines (GoP) (2018) *Expanded National Integrated Protected Areas System Act of 2018: Republic Act No. 11038*. Manila: GoP.

Government of the Philippines (GoP) (2023) *Providing Specific Auction Policy and Guidelines for Non-FIT Eligible Renewable Energy Technologies in the Green Energy Auction Program: Department Circular No. DC2023-10-0029*. Manila: GoP.

Green, J. (2014) *Rethinking Private Authority: Agents and Entrepreneurs in Global Environmental Governance*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Green, J. (2022) Hierarchy in regime complexes: Understanding authority in Antarctic governance. *International Studies Quarterly* 66(1): sqab084.

Green, J. and G. Auld (2017) Unbundling the regime complex: The effects of private authority. *Transnational Environmental Law* 6(2): 259–284.

Green, J. and J. Colgan (2013) Protecting sovereignty, protecting the planet: State delegation to international organizations and private actors in environmental politics. *Governance* 26(3): 473–497.

Green Climate Fund (GCF) (2023) Plugging the finance gap in the Caribbean. www.greenclimate.fund/news/plugging-finance-gap-caribbean.

Greenpeace (2015) *Indonesia's Forests: Under Fire*. Amsterdam: Greenpeace.

Gross, S. (2020) *Renewables, land use, and local opposition in the United States*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institute.

Guterres, A. (2023). United Nations General Assembly, New York. 19 September. www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/speeches/2023-09-19/secretary-generals-address-the-general-assembly.

Haas, P. M. (1989) Do regimes matter? Epistemic communities and Mediterranean pollution control. *International Organization* 43(3): 377–403.

Haas, P. M. and D. McCabe (2001) Institutions and social learning in the management of global environmental risks. In *Learning to Manage Global Environmental Risks, Volume 1*, edited by Social Learning Group. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Haas, P., R. Keohane, and M. Levy (1993) Effectiveness of international environmental institutions. In P. Haas, R. Keohane, and M. Levy (eds.), *Institutions for the Earth: Sources of Effective International Environmental Protection* (pp. 558–575). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Hadden, J. (2015) *Networks in Contention: The Divisive Politics of Climate Change*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hale, D. and T. Hale (2017) *Beyond Gridlock*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hale, T., D. Held, and K. Young (2013) *Gridlock: Why Global Cooperation Is Failing When We Need It Most*. London: Polity Press.

Hale, T. and C. Roger (2014) Orchestration and transnational climate governance. *Review of International Organizations* 9(1): 59–82.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 15 Nov 2026 at 06:58:40, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009352604.009

Halstead, M., T. Mikunda, and L. Cameron (2014) *Policy Brief Indonesian Feed-In Tariffs: Challenges & Options*. Amsterdam: Climate & Development Knowledge Network/ Energy Research Centre of the Netherlands.

Harmon, K. (2009) How does geothermal drilling trigger earthquakes? *Scientific American*, 29 June.

Harrison, N. E. (2006) Thinking about the world we make. In N. E. Harrison (ed.), *Complexity in World Politics: Concepts and Methods of a New Paradigm* (pp. 1–24). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Harsono, N. (2020) Indonesia loses up to 15,000 barrels of oil daily from illegal drilling. *Jakarta Post*, 23 July. www.thejakartapost.com/news/2020/07/22/indonesia-loses-up-to-15000-barrels-of-oil-daily-from-illegal-drilling.html.

Harvard Girius Laboratory (2024) *MGR Mechanism Considerations*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. https://bbnj-mgr.fas.harvard.edu/mechanism-considerations.

Heclo, H. (1974) *Modern Social Politics in Britain and Sweden*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Held, D. and K. Young (2013). Global governance in crisis? Fragmentation, risk and world order. *International Politics* 50(3): 309–322.

Helfer, L. R. (2009) Regime shifting in the international intellectual property system. *Perspectives on Politics* 7(1): 39–44.

Henning, C. R. and T. Pratt (2023) Hierarchy and differentiation in international regime complexes: A theoretical framework for comparative research. *Review of International Political Economy* 30(6): 2178–2205.

Hey, E. and S. Paulini (2021) Common but differentiated responsibilities. *Max Planck Encyclopedia of International Law.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://opil.ouplaw.com/display/10.1093/law:epil/9780199231690/law-9780199231690-e1568.

Hochstein, M. P. (1988) A short history of the geothermal institute and the New Zealand Geothermal Workshops 1979–1988. Proceedings of the 10th New Zealand Geothermal Workshop 1988.

Hochstein, M. P. (2005) 25 Years Geothermal Institute (University of Auckland, 1979–2003). Proceedings World Geothermal Congress 2005. Antalya, Turkey, 24–29 April.

Hochstetler, K. (2012) The G-77, BASIC, and global climate governance: A new era in multilateral environmental negotiations. *Revista Brasileira de Politica Internacional* 55 (spe.). https://doi.org/10.1590/S0034-73292012000300004.

Hochstetler, K. (2020) *Political Economies of Energy Transition: Wind and Solar Power in Brazil and South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hoffmann, M. J. (2006) Beyond regime theory: Complex adaptation and the ozone depletion regime. In N. E. Harrison (ed.), *Complexity in World Politics: Concepts and Methods of a New Paradigm* (pp. 95–120). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Hoffmann, M. J. (2011) *Climate Governance at the Crossroads: Experimenting with a Global Response after Kyoto*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hollway, J. (2021) What makes a "regime complex" complex? It depends. *Complexity, Governance & Networks* 6(1): 68–81.

Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) (2023) *Climate Change 2023: Synthesis Report. Contribution of Working Groups I, II and III to the Sixth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change* [Core Writing Team, H. Lee and J. Romero (eds.)]. Geneva: IPCC.

International Energy Agency (IEA) (2008) *Energy Policy Review of Indonesia*. Paris: IEA.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 15 Nov 2026 at 06:58:40, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009352604.009

International Energy Agency (IEA) (2011) *Technology Roadmap: Geothermal Heat and Power*. Paris: IEA.
International Energy Agency (IEA) (2017) *National Master Plan for Energy Conservation*. Paris: IEA. www.iea.org/policies/156-national-master-plan-for-energy-conservation.
International Energy Agency (IEA) (2020) *Coal 2020: Analysis and Forecast to 2025*. Paris: IEA.
International Energy Agency (IEA) (2021a) *Coal Information: Overview*. Paris: IEA. www.iea.org/reports/coal-information-overview.
International Energy Agency (IEA) (2021b) *Indonesia Overview*. Paris: IEA.
International Energy Agency (IEA) (2023a) *World Energy Outlook 2023*. Paris: IEA.
International Energy Agency (IEA) (2023b) *Scaling Up Private Finance for Clean Energy in Emerging and Developing Economies*. Paris: IEA.
International Energy Agency (IEA) (2023c) *International Collaborations: International Renewable Energy Agency*. Paris: IEA. www.iea.org/about/international-collaborations/irena#.
International Energy Agency (IEA) and International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA) (2015) *Blueprint of National Energy Management (2005–2025): Joint Policy and Measures Database*. Paris: IEA. www.iea.org/policies/4660-blueprint-of-national-energy-management-2005-2025.
International Energy Agency (IEA), International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA), United Nations Statistics Division (UNSD), World Bank, and World Health Organization (WHO) (2022) *Tracking the SDG7: The Energy Progress Report 2022*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
International Institute of Sustainable Development (IISD) (2022) *What Can Indonesia Learn from South Africa's Experience of the Just Energy Transition Process?* Geneva: IISD.
International Labour Organization (ILO) (1989) *Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention: ILO 169*. Geneva: ILO. www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:55:0::NO::P55_TYPE,P55_LANG,P55_DOCUMENT,P55_NODE:REV,en,C169,/Document.
International Monetary Fund (IMF) (2013) *Energy Subsidy Reform: Lessons and Implications*. Washington, DC: IMF.
International Monetary Fund (IMF) (2023) Emerging economies need much more private financing for climate transition. *IMF Blog*, 2 October. www.imf.org/en/Blogs/Articles/2023/10/02/emerging-economies-need-much-more-private-financing-for-climate-transition.
International Partners Group (2022) Six-month update on progress in advancing the Just Energy Transition Partnership (JEPT). IPG and Presidential Climate Finance Task Team, 21 June. https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/ukgwa/20230311221000/https:/ukcop26.org/six-month-update-on-progress-in-advancing-the-just-energy-transition-partnership-jetp.
International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA) (n.d.) *Geothermal Summary*. Abu Dhabi: IRENA. www.irena.org/Energy-Transition/Technology/Geothermal-energy#:~:text=There%20are%20different%20geothermal%20technologies,and%20can%20be%20considered%20mature.
International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA) (2012) New IRENA–IEA partnership will heighten technology and innovation co-operation. Press release, 16 January.
International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA) (2022) *Geothermal Energy*. Abu Dhabi: IRENA. www.irena.org/Energy-Transition/Technology/Geothermal-energy.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 15 Nov 2026 at 06:58:40, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009352604.009

International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA) and the International Geothermal Association (IGA) (2023) *Global Geothermal Market and Technology Assessment*. Abu Dhabi: IRENA and The Hague: IGA.
International Trade Administration (ITA) (2010) *Renewable Energy Market Assessment Report: Indonesia*. Washington, DC: ITA/United States Department of Commerce.
International Trade Administration (ITA) (2024) *Indonesia. Country Commercial Guide: Energy*. Washington, DC: ITA. www.trade.gov/country-commercial-guides/indonesia-energy#:~:text=Of%20this%2C%2048.04%20GW%20(60.7,0.01%25)%20by%20the%20government.
Jakarta Post (2001) House set to draft geothermal bill, 21 December.
Jakarta Post (2011) Geothermal power would not devastate forests: Official, 31 March.
Jakarta Post (2015) Pertamina records Rp 260b in oil procurement efficiency, 29 March.
Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) (2004) *Lahendong Geothermal Power Plant Project: JICA Major Projects*. Tokyo: JICA.
Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) (2008) *Japan's ODA Projects in Indonesia under Different Assistance Schemes*. Tokyo: JICA.
Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) (2009) *Study on Fiscal and Non-fiscal Incentives to Accelerate Private Sector Geothermal Energy Development in the Republic of Indonesia*. Tokyo: JICA.
Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) (2016) *List of Japanese Loans to the Geothermal Sector in the Philippines: Internal Documents*. Tokyo: JICA.
Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) (2024) *JICA Project Data: Indonesia*. Tokyo: JICA.
Jepson, P., F. Momberg, and H. van Noord (2002) A review of the efficacy of the protected area system of East Kalimantan, Indonesia. *Natural Areas Journal* 22(1): 28–42.
Jesus, A. C. de (2000) Resettlement of affected communities in the Leyte Geothermal Project and strategies for co-existence between the community and project developer. Proceedings World Geothermal Congress 2000, Kyushu–Tohoku, Japan, 28 May–10 June. www.geothermal-energy.org/pdf/IGAstandard/WGC/2000/R0475.PDF.
Jinnah, S. (2014) *Post-Treaty Politics: Secretariat Influence in Global Environmental Governance*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Johnson, T. and J. Urpelainen (2012) A strategic theory of regime integration and separation. *International Organization* 66(4): 645–677.
Just Energy Transition Partnership (JETP) (2023) *Comprehensive Investment and Policy Plan 2023*. Jakarta: JETP Indonesia.
Kagel, A., D. Bates, and K. Gawell (2007) *A Guide to Geothermal Energy and the Environment*. Washington, DC: GEA.
Kahler, M. (2016) Complex governance and the new interdependence approach (NIA). *Review of International Political Economy* 23(5): 825–839. https://doi.org/10.1080/09692290.2016.1251481.
Kalfagianni, A. and P. Pattberg (2011) *The Effectiveness of Transnational Rule-Setting Organisations in Global Sustainability Politics: An Analytical Framework. Global Governance Working Paper, No. 43*. Amsterdam: Global Governance Project.
Kantor, M., M. D. Nolan, and K. P. Sauvant (2011) *Reports of Overseas Private Investment Corporation, Volume 1*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Kapa, D. (2014) Indonesian police arrest four for involvement in fuel smuggling. Reuters, 9 September.
Karapin, R. (2016) *Political Opportunities for Climate Policy: California, New York, and the Federal Government*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 15 Nov 2026 at 06:58:40, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009352604.009

Keck, M. and K. Sikkink. (1998) *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
Keller, W. (2004) International technology diffusion. *Journal of Economic Literature* 42(3): 752–782.
Keohane, R. O. (1982) The demand for international regimes. *International Organization* 36(2): 325–355.
Keohane, R. O. (1984) *After Hegemony*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Keohane R. O. and J. S. Nye (1989) *Power and Interdependence*. New York: Harper Collins.
Keohane, R. O. and D. G. Victor (2011) The regime complex for climate change. *Perspectives on Politics* 9(1): 7–23.
Keohane, R. O., P. Haas, and M. A. Levy (1993) The effectiveness of international environmental institutions. In P. Haas, R. Keohane, and M. A. Levy (eds.), *Institutions for the Earth: Sources of Effective International Environmental Protection*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Kim, J. (2024a) Enhanced geothermal systems: 10 breakthrough technologies 2024. *MIT Technology Review*, 8 January.
Kim, R. E. (2024b) The likely impact of the BBNJ Agreement on the architecture of ocean governance. *Marine Policy* 165:106190.
Kingdon, J. W. (1984) *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*. Boston, MA: Little.
Kingston, Reynolds, Thom and Allardice (KRTA) (1979) *The Tongonan Geothermal Field Leyte Philippines*. Auckland: KRTA.
KPMG (2014) *The Energy Report Philippines: Growth and Opportunities in the Philippine Electric Power Sector*. Manila: KPMG.
Kramarz, T., S. Park, and C. Johnson (2021) Governing the dark side of renewable energy: A typology of global displacements. *Energy Research & Social Science* 74:101902.
Krasner, S. (1983) Structural causes and regime consequences. In S. Krasner (ed.), *International Regimes*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (KfW), World Bank, Asian Development Bank (ADB), and Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) (2015) *Donor Activities in Indonesia: Energy and Electricity. Internal Documents*. Jakarta: KfW.
Kuncoro, A. H. (2011) Renewable energy for power generation in Indonesia. Presented at the 12th Indonesia–Japan Energy Roundtable, Tokyo, Japan, 17 October. EBTKE/MEMR.
Lambsdorff, J. G. (2002) Corruption and rent-seeking. *Public Choice* 113(1/2): 97–125.
Langlet, A. and A. B. M. Vadrot (2023) Not "undermining" who? Unpacking the emerging BBNJ regime complex. *Marine Policy* 147: 105372.
Lawson, M. L. (2013) *Foreign Aid: International Donor Coordination of Development Assistance*. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service.
Leon, J. K. (2015) *The Rise of Global Health*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
Lesage, D. and T. Van de Graaf (2009) The International Energy Agency after 35 years: Reform needs and institutional adaptability. *Review of International Organizations* 4(3): 293–317.
Lesage, D. and T. Van de Graaf (2013). Thriving in complexity? The OECD system's role in energy and taxation. *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 19(1): 83–92. https://doi.org/10.1163/19426720-01901007.
Lesage, D. and T. Van de Graaf (2016) *Global Energy Governance in a Multipolar World*. New York: Routledge.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 15 Nov 2026 at 06:58:40, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009352604.009

Lesage, D., T. Van de Graaf, and K. Westphal (2010) *Global Energy Governance in a Multipolar World*. Surrey: Ashgate.
Levy, M., O. R. Young, and M. Zurn (1995) The study of international regimes. *European Journal of International Relations* 1(3): 267–330.
Lewis, J. (2015) *Green Innovation in China*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Malixi, P. V. (1982) *The Anatomy of Growth of Philippine Geothermal Development*. Manila: Philippine National Oil Company.
Manila Times (2014) EDC switches on 49.4-MW Nasulo geothermal plant, 26 September.
Mann, M. (2021) *The New Climate War*. New York: Public Affairs.
Marcos, Ferdinand E. (1973) Letter of Instruction No. 148, s. 1973. Malacanang, Manila.
Marcos, Ferdinand E. (1979) Message of His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos, President of the Philippines to Congress on the State of the Union. Delivered at the Batasang Pambansa, Quezon City, on 23 July.
Marquardt, J. (2014) A struggle of multilevel governance: Promoting renewable energy in Indonesia. *Energy Procedia* 58: 87–94.
Martin, L. (1982) The rational state choice of multilateralism. In J. G. Ruggie (ed.), *Multilateralism Matters: The Theory and Praxis of an Institutional Form*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Mason, J. and T. Krumenacker (2007) G8 leaders agree to "substantial" greenhouse gas cuts. Reuters, 7 June.
McCarthy, J. F. (2002) Turning in circles: District governance, illegal logging, and environmental decline in Sumatra, Indonesia. *Society and Natural Resources* 15: 867–886.
McCurry, J. (2009) Japan's new prime minister promises ambitious greenhouse gas cuts. *Guardian*, 7 September.
McKinsey (2022) *The Net Zero Transition*. McKinsey Global Institute.
McKinsey (2023) *Solving the Climate Finance Equation for EMDEs*. McKinsey Sustainability.
Mediatama, G. (2021) For the sake of zero emissions, PLN has a moratorium on the construction of coal plants. kontan.co.id, 7 May.
Mercurio, R. (2023) Philippines aims to reclaim spot as 2nd biggest geothermal producer. *Philippines Star*, 29 September. www.philstar.com/business/2023/09/29/2299750/philippines-aims-reclaim-spot-2nd-biggest-geothermal-producer.
Michaelowa, A. and F. Jotzo (2005) Transaction costs, institutional rigidities and the size of the clean development mechanism. *Energy Policy* 33(4): 511–523.
Mildenberger, M. (2020) *Carbon Captured: How Business and Labor Control Climate Politics*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Milner, K. (1997) *Interests, Institutions, and Information*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (MEMR) (n.d.) *Geothermal in Indonesia Low Carbon Development: Profile, Status and Role of Market Mechanism*. Jakarta: Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (MEMR) and Indonesian National Council on Climate Change (NCCC).
Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (MEMR) (2015a) *Geothermal Development in Indonesia*. July. Jakarta: Director of Geothermal/EBTKE.
Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (MEMR) (2015b) *Regulation of the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources No. 14 Year 2015 on Procedures for Imposition, Collection and Remittance of Non-tax Revenues Originating Geothermal Activity at the Directorate General of New Renewable Energy and Energy Conservation. MEMR 14/2015*. Jakarta: MEMR. http://jdih.esdm.go.id/peraturan/Permen%20ESDM%2014%20Thn%202015.pdf

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 15 Nov 2026 at 06:58:40, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009352604.009

Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (MEMR) (2019a) *Growing 3% per Year, Electrification Rate in 3rd Quarter Reaches 98.8%*. Jakarta: MEMR.
Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (MEMR) (2019b) *National Electricity Master Plan (RUKN) for 2019–2038: ESDM Decree No. 143K/21/MEM/2019*. Jakarta: MEMR.
Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (MEMR) (2020). *Handbook of Energy & Economic Statistics of Indonesia 2020*. Jakarta: MEMR.
Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (MEMR) (2021) *Handbook of Energy & Economic Statistics of Indonesia 2021*. Jakarta: MEMR.
Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (MEMR) (2022) *Handbook of Energy & Economic Statistics of Indonesia 2022*. Jakarta: MEMR.
Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (MEMR) (2023) *Handbook of Energy & Economic Statistics of Indonesia 2023*. Jakarta: MEMR.
Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (MEMR) (2024) *Geothermal Concession Bidding Cisolok-Cisukarame*. 19 March. Jakarta: MEMR.
Mitchell, R. B. (1994) Regime design matters: Intentional oil pollution and treaty compliance. *International Organization* 48(3): 425–458.
Mitchell, R. B. (2003) Oran Young and international institutions. *International Environmental Agreements* 13(1): 1–14.
Moe, T. M. (2015) Vested interests and political institutions. *Political Science Quarterly* 130(2): 277–318.
Mohlakoana, N., M. Lokhat, N. Dolšak, and A. Prakash (2023) Varieties of just transition: Public support in South Africa's Mpumalanga coal community for different policy options. *PLOS Climate* 2(5): e0000205.
Morgan, P. J., M. C. Huang, M. Voyer, D. Benzaken, and A. Watanabe (eds.) (2022) *Blue Economy and Blue Finance: Toward Sustainable Development and Ocean Governance*. Tokyo: ADB Institute.
Moss, C. (2011) On eve of major forestry conference, Indonesia's president issues decree to cut GHG emissions. Center for International Forestry Research, 26 September. https://forestsnews.cifor.org/4243/on-eve-of-major-forestry-conference-indonesias-president-issues-decree-to-cut-ghg-emissions?fnl=en.
Mydans, S. (1998) The fall of Suharto: The overview. Suharto, besieged, steps down after 32-year rule in Indonesia. *New York Times*, 21 May.
Najam, A. (2005) Developing countries and global environmental governance: From contestation to participation to engagement. *Global Environmental Agreements* 5: 303321.
Naqvi, I. (2022) *Access to Power: Electricity and the Infrastructural State in Pakistan*. New York: Oxford University Press.
National Geothermal Association of the Philippines (NGAP) (2021) *Stimulating Development and Production of Geothermal Energy in the Philippines*. Taguig City: NGAP.
Nature Energy Editorial Board (2023) The politics of energy security. *Nature Energy* 8: 1047. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41560-023-01398-2.
Neville, K. (2021) *Fueling Resistance: The Contentious Political Economy of Biofuels and Fracking*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Newcomb, T. (2022) This company wants to drill the world's deepest holes to tap into Earth's boundless energy. *Popular Mechanics*, 7 December.
Nordhaus, W. (2015) Climate clubs: Overcoming free-riding in international climate policy. *American Economic Review* 105(4): 1339–1370.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 15 Nov 2026 at 06:58:40, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009352604.009

North, D. (1990) *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Nuwar, R. (2015) Indonesia's "mud volcano" and nine years of debate about its muck. *New York Times*, 21 September.
Nye, J. S. (1990) Soft power. *Foreign Policy* 80: 153–171.
NZ Listener (1981) Hot, wet and dangerous. March.
Office of Assistant to Deputy Cabinet Secretary for State Documents & Translation (2021) COP26: President Jokowi says Indonesia is committed to tackling climate change, 2 November. https://setkab.go.id/en/cop26-president-jokowi-says-indonesia-is-committed-to-tackling-climate-change (English). https://setkab.go.id/presiden-jokowi-sampaikan-komitmen-indonesia-dalam-penanganan-perubahan-iklim-di-cop26 (Bahasa).
Office of Assistant to Deputy Cabinet Secretary for State Documents & Translation (2023) President Jokowi attends AZEC Summit in Tokyo, 18 December. https://setkab.go.id/en/president-jokowi-attends-azec-summit-in-tokyo (English). https://setkab.go.id/presiden-jokowi-paparkan-panduan-azec-hadapi-perubahan-iklim (Bahasa).
Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2014) Database for Rio markers and environment markers/Aid activities targeting global env. objectives.
Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2022a) *Data Platform on Development Finance for the Sustainable Ocean Economy.* Paris: OECD.
Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2022b) Triangular co-operation repository of projects. OECD: Paris.
Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2024) *CRS Database for Rio Markers and Environment Markers: Aid Activities Targeting Global Environmental Objectives*. Paris: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development – Development Assistance Committee.
Orsini, A. (2013) Multi-forum non-state actors: Navigating the regime complexes for forestry and genetic resources. *Global Environmental Politics* 13(3): 34–55.
Orsini, A., J.-F. Morin, and O. Young (2013) Regime complexes: A buzz, a boom, or a boost for global governance? *Global Governance* 19: 27–39.
Overland, I. and G. Reischl (2018) A place in the sun? IRENA's position in the global energy governance landscape. *International Environmental Agreements* 18: 335–350.
Oxford Business Group (OBG) (2012) *The Report: Indonesia 2012*. London: OBG.
Park, S. (2006) Theorizing norm diffusion within international organizations. *International Politics* 43: 342–361.
Pattberg, P., K. Szulecki, M.-S. Chan, and A. Mert (2009) Assessing the role and relevance of the Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency Partnership (REEEP) in global sustainability governance. In D. Vollmer (ed.), *Enhancing the Effectiveness of Sustainability Partnerships* (pp. 81–108). Washington, DC: National Academies Press.
Pauwelyn, J., R. A. Wessel, and J. Wouters (eds.). (2012a) *Informal International Lawmaking*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Pauwelyn, J., R. A. Wessel, and J. Wouters (2012b). The stagnation of international law. Working Paper No. 97, October. Leuven: Leuven Centre for Global Governance Studies.
Perusahaan Listrik Negara (PLN) (2015) *Pembangunan Tenaga Listrik (Construction of Electric Power) – 35 GW – 2015-2019*. Jakarta: PLN.
Philippine Geothermal (PGI) (2013) Tiwi Exploration and Development. Manila: PGI.
Pisani, E. (2014a) Indonesia in pieces: The downside of decentralization. *Foreign Affairs*, July.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 15 Nov 2026 at 06:58:40, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009352604.009

Pisani, E. (2014b) *Indonesia, Etc*. New York: W. W. Norton.
Polycarp, C., L. Brown, and X. Fu-Bertaux (2013) *Geothermal Power in Indonesia: Annex 4 in Mobilizing Climate Investment*. Washington, DC: World Resources Institute.
PR Newswire (1998) CalEnergy announces the issuance of the Government of Indonesia's Presidential Decree No. 5., 12 January.
Prakoso, R. (2017) Java–Sumatra undersea power transmission project revived for 2021. *Jakarta Globe*, 10 April. https://jakartaglobe.id/business/java-sumatra-undersea-power-transmission-project-revived-2021.
Pratt, T. (2018) Deference and hierarchy in international regime complexes. *International Organization* 72(3): 561–590. https://doi.org.10.1017/S0020818318000164.
Price Waterhouse Coopers (PwC) (2013) *Power in Indonesia: Investment and Taxation Guide*. 2nd edition. Jakarta: PWC.
Price Waterhouse Coopers (PwC) (2014) *Oil and Gas in Indonesia Investment and Taxation Guide 2014*. Jakarta: PWC.
Price Waterhouse Coopers (PwC) (2023) *Boosting Indonesia's Renewables through Presidential Regulation No. 112 of 2022*. Jakarta: PWC.
Purnomo, A., A. Kantili-Niode, E. Melisa, F. Helmy, D. Sukadri, and S. Sitorius (2013) *Evolution of Indonesia's Climate Change Policy: From Bali to Durban*. Jakarta: National Council on Climate Change.
Putnam, R. D. (1988) Diplomacy and diplomatic politics: The logic of two level games. *International Organization* 42(3): 427–460.
Raustiala, K. and D. Victor (2004) The regime complex for plant genetic resources. *International Organization* 58(2): 277–309.
Resosudarmo, B. P. (ed.) (2006) *The Politics and Economics of Indonesia's Natural Resources*. Singapore: ISEAS.
Richter, A. (2019) Governor of Bali asks Indonesian government to stop planned geothermal project. ThinkGeoEnergy, 20 September.
Riofrancos, T. (2017) Scaling democracy: Participation and resource extraction in Latin America. *Perspectives on Politics*, 15(3): 678–696.
Riofrancos, T. (2020) *Resource Radicals: From Petro-nationalism to Post-extractivism in Ecuador*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Rittel, H. W. J. and M. M. Webber (1973) Dilemmas in a general theory of planning. *Policy Sciences* 4: 155–169.
Rivera, D. (2016) ERC clears final rules for retail competition, open access. *PhilStar*, 20 May.
Roberts, J. T. and B. C. Parks (2006) *A Climate of Injustice: Global Inequality, North–South Politics, and Climate Policy*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Röhrkasten, S. (2015) *Global Governance on Renewable Energy: Contrasting the Ideas of the German and the Brazilian Governments*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.
Röhrkasten, S. and K. Westphal (2013) IRENA and Germany's foreign renewable energy policy: Aiming at multilevel governance and an internationalization of the *Energiewende*? Working Paper Division Global Issues. Berlin: SWP.
Romero, P. (2018) E-NIPAS law to protect 94 more critical habitats. *The Philippine Star*, 9 July.
Rosenau, J. (1992) Governance, order, and change in world politics. In J. N. Rosenau and E.-O. Czempiel (eds.), *Governance without Government: Order and Change in World Politics* (pp. 1–29). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Ruggie, J. G. (1993) Territoriality and beyond: Problematizing modernity in international relations. *International Organization*, 47(1) (Winter): 139–174.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 15 Nov 2026 at 06:58:40, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009352604.009

Ruggie, J. G. (2004) Reconstituting the global public domain: Issues, actors and practices. *European Journal of International Relations* 10(4): 499–531.
Sabatier, P. A. (1988) An advocacy coalition framework of policy change and the role of policy-oriented learning therein. *Policy Sciences* 21: 129–168.
Sabatier, P. A. and H. C. Jenkins-Smith (1993) *Policy Change and Learning: An Advocacy Coalition Approach*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
Sadmoko, D., B. Leonal, and R. Rahadiana (2014) Fuel smugglers line up every day to drain Indonesia economy. *Bloomberg Business*, 12 October.
Sato, I., B. Elliott, and C. Schumer (2021) *What Is Carbon Lock-In and How Can We Avoid It?* Washington, DC: World Resources Institute. www.wri.org/insights/carbon-lock-in-definition.
Schimmelfennig, F. and U. Sedelmeier (2005) *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
Scientific American (2012) Stop burning rain forests for palm oil, 13 November.
Sdralevich, C., R. Sab, Y. Zouhar, and G. Albertin (2014) *Subsidy Reform in the Middle East and North Africa: Recent Progress and Challenges Ahead*. Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund.
Senoaji, A. (2009) Recent advances in utility based financial mechanism that support on-grid renewable energy. APEC EGNRET-32 Workshop, 30 March–3 April, Honolulu, Hawaii.
Simmons, B., F. Dobbins, and G. Garrett (2008) *The Global Diffusion of Markets and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
Sipahutar, T. (2014) Oil, gas governance in spotlight. *Jakarta Post*, 17 November.
Shanghai Daily (2014) ADB provides USD 350 million loan for Indonesian geothermal plant, 31 March.
Slaughter, A. M. (2004) *A New World Order*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University.
Solnit, R. (2023) Looking forward from the past. In R. Solnit and T. Y. Lutunatabua (eds.), *Not Too Late* (pp. 158–163). Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books.
Sovacool, B. K. (ed.) (2011) *The Routledge Handbook of Energy Security*. New York: Routledge.
Sovacool, B. K. and M. A. Brown (2010) Competing dimensions of energy security: An international perspective. *Annual Review of Environment and Resources* 35: 77–108. https://doi-org.revproxy.brown.edu/10.1146/annurev-environ-042509-143035.
Sovacool, B. and M. Dworkin (2015) Energy justice: Conceptual insights and practical implications. *Applied Energy* 142: 435–444.
Sowers, J. L., S. D. VanDeveer, and E. Weinthal (2023) *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Environmental Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
SSEK Law Firm (2016) Indonesia legal review: Geothermal. *SSEK Legal Consultants Blog*, 14 July. https://ssek.com/blog/indonesian-legal-review-geothermal.
SSEK Law Firm (2023) *Renewable Energy Consumption, Policy and General Regulation: Indonesia*. Jakarta: SSEK.
Steinberg P. F. and S. D. VanDeveer (eds.) (2012). *Comparative Environmental Politics: Theory, Practice, and Prospects*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Stokes, L. (2020) *Short Circuiting Policy: Interest Groups and the Battle over Clean Energy and Climate Policy in the American States*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Stoneman, P. and P. Diederen. (1994) Technology diffusion and public policy. *Economic Journal* 104: 918–930.
Sukoyo, Y. (2014) For Jokowi, oil mafia is a slick target to catch. *Jakarta Globe*, 23 September.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 15 Nov 2026 at 06:58:40, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009352604.009

Suryantoro, S., S. Dwipa, R. Ariati, and S. Darma (2005) Geothermal deregulation and energy policy in Indonesia. Proceedings World Geothermal Congress, 24–29 April, Anatalya, Turkey.

Svobodova, K. (2023) Navigating community transitions away from mining. *Nature Energy* 8, 1054–1057. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41560-023-01359-9.

Tempo (2015) The Petral purge, May 26.

Tharakan, P. (2015) *Summary of Indonesia's Energy Sector Assessment: ADB Papers on Indonesia*. Manila: Asian Development Bank.

ThinkGeoEnergy Research (2017) New report highlights the urgent need for the Philippines to streamline the permitting process for power projects in the country and allow for a faster process to obtain permits to build much needed power plants, 1 May. www.thinkgeoenergy.com/industry-seeking-faster-permitting-process-for-power-projects-in-the-philippines.

ThinkGeoEnergy Research (2023) ThinkGeoEnergy's top 10 geothermal countries 2022: Power generation capacity (MW), 10 June. www.thinkgeoenergy.com/thinkgeoenergys-top-10-geothermal-countries-2022-power-generation-capacity-mw.

Thomas, Jr., L. (2014) 'Fragile Five' is the latest club of emerging nations in turmoil. *New York Times*, 28 January.

Tong, D., Q. Zhang, Y. Zheng, K. Caldeira, C. Shearer, C. Hong, Y. Qin, and S. J. Davis (2019) Committed emissions from existing energy infrastructure jeopardize 1.5 °C climate target. *Nature* 572: 373–377. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41586-019-1364-3.

Transparency International (TI) (2013) *Corruption Perceptions Index*. Berlin: Transparency International. www.transparency.org/en/cpi/2013.

United Nations (UN) (1994) *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change*. New York: UN.

United Nations (UN) (2007) *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: 61/295*. New York: UN. https://social.desa.un.org/sites/default/files/migrated/19/2018/11/UNDRIP_E_web.pdf.

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) (2023a) *World Investment Report 2023*. Geneva: UNCTAD.

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) (2023b) *Trends in the Investment Treaty Regime and a Reform Toolbox for the Energy Transition. IIA Issues Note, August, Issue 2*. Geneva: UNCTAD.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (2015) *The State of Indonesia's Renewable Energy*. Jakarta: UNDP.

United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) (2010) *Status and Barriers of Clean Development Mechanism Projects in Southeast Asian Countries*. Nairobi: UNEP.

United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) (2011) *Decoupling Natural Resource Use and Environmental Impacts from Economic Growth*. Nairobi: UNEP.

United Nations Environment Program–Technical University of Denmark (UNEP–DTU) (2016) UNEP DTU CDM/JI Pipeline Analysis and Database. UNEP DTU: Copenhagen. http://cdmpipeline.org.

United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) (2004) *Project 0590: 20 MW Nasulo Geothermal Project. Clean Development Mechanism Project Design Document Form*. Bonn: UNFCCC.

United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) (2008) Bali Action Plan. Report of the Conference of Parties on its thirteenth session, held in Bali from 3 to 15 December 2007. Part Two: Action taken by the Conference of the Parties at its thirteenth session. FCCC/CP/2007/6/Add.1.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 15 Nov 2026 at 06:58:40, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009352604.009

United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) (2012) Rantau Dedap Geothermal Power Plant. CDM-PDD.
United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) (2013) Project 2876: Lahendong II-20 MW Geothermal Project. Project design document form for Clean Development Mechanism Project activities. F-Clean Development Mechanism-PDD. UNFCCC/CCNUCC.
United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) (2015) *Adoption of the Paris Agreement*. Bonn: UNFCCC.
United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) (2016) *CDM Project Search Registry*. Bonn: UNFCCC. https://CDM.unfccc.int/Projects/projsearch.html.
United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) (2021) *NDC Synthesis Report*. Bonn: UNFCCC.
United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) (2024) *CDM Project Search Registry*. Bonn: UNFCCC. https://CDM.unfccc.int/Projects/projsearch.html.
United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) (2000) United Nations Millennium Declaration. General Assembly resolution 55/2. New York, NY: UNGA.
United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) (2023) *Agreement under the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea on the Conservation and Sustainable Use of Marine Biological Diversity of Areas beyond National Jurisdiction: A/CONF.232./2023/4*. New York: UNGA.
United Press International (UPI) (1972) Mass arrests and curfew announced in Philippines. *New York Times*, 23 September.
United States Agency for International Development (USAID), NREL, and DOE (2020) *Ready for Renewables: Grid Planning and Competitive Renewable Energy Zones (CREZ) in the Philippines*. Washington, DC: USAID.
United States Congress (1997) A resolution expressing the sense of the Senate regarding the conditions for the United States becoming a signatory to any international agreement on greenhouse gas emissions under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. Senate Resolution 98.
United States Department of State (2017a) Indonesia. Map image. https://2009-2017.state.gov/p/eap/ci/id.
United States Department of State (2017b) Philippines. Map image. https://2009-2017.state.gov/p/eap/ci/rp.
United States Geological Survey (USGS) (2023) *The Geysers Geothermal Field*. Washington, DC: USGS/United States Department of the Interior. www.usgs.gov/volcanoes/clear-lake-volcanic-field/science/geysers-geothermal-field#:~:text=The%20Geysers%20cover%2045%20square,power%20plants%20in%20the%20world.
United States Trade and Development Agency (USTDA) (2010) Geothermal projects expand clean energy and address low-carbon growth in Indonesia. Press release, 29 March.
United States White House (USWH) (2022) Indonesia and international partners secure groundbreaking climate targets and associated financing. Press release, 15 November.
Unruh, G. C. (2000) Understanding carbon lock-in. *Energy Policy* 28(12): 817–830. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0301-4215(00)00070-7.
Unruh, G. C. (2002) Escaping carbon lock-in. *Energy Policy* 30(4): 317–325. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0301-4215(01)00098-2.
Urpelainen, J. (2022) *Global Environmental Politics: The Transformative Role of Emerging Economies*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 15 Nov 2026 at 06:58:40, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009352604.009

Urpelainen, J. (2023) *Energy and Environment in India*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Urpelainen, J. and T. Van de Graaf (2015). The International Renewable Energy Agency: A success story in institutional innovation? *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics* 15(2): 159–177.
Vagliasindi, M. and J. Besant-Jones (2013) *Power Market Structure: Revisiting Policy Options*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
Van Campen, B. (2015) Comparison of geothermal regulation between Chile, Philippines and New Zealand. Proceedings of World Geothermal Congress 2015, 19–25 April, Melbourne, Australia.
Van de Graaf, T. (2013a) *The Politics and Institutions of Global Energy Governance*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
Van de Graaf, T. (2013b) Fragmentation in global energy governance: Explaining the creation of IRENA. *Global Environmental Politics* 13(3): 14–33.
Van de Graaf, T. and J. Colgan (2016) Global energy governance: A review and research agenda. *Palgrave Communication* 2:15047. https://doi.org/10.1057/palcomms.2015.47.
Van de Graaf, T. and B. K. Sovacool (2020) *Global Energy Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Vanhala, L. and C. Hestbaek (2016) Framing climate change loss and damage in UNFCCC negotiations. *Global Environmental Politics* 16(4): 111–129. https://doi.org/10.1162/GLEP_a_00379.
Velasco, G. Z. (2006) *Trailblazing: The Quest for Energy Self-Reliance*. Pasig City: Anvil.
Victor, D. (2011) *Global Warming Gridlock: Creating More Effective Strategies for Protecting the Planet*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Victor, D. G., K. Raustiala, and E. B. Skolnikoff (eds.) (1998) *The Implementation and Effectiveness of International Environmental Commitments: Theory and Practice*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Weissman, R. (1994). Polluting the sacred. *Multilateral Monitor* 15(4): 1–15.
Winters, M. S. and M. Cawvey (2015) Governance obstacles to geothermal energy development in Indonesia. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 34(1): 27–56.
Wollenberg, E., B. Campbell, E. Dounias, P. Gunarso, M. Moeliono, and D. Sheil (2009) Interactive land-use planning in Indonesian rain-forest landscapes: Reconnecting plans to practice. *Ecology & Society* 14(1): 35–49.
Wood MacKenzie (2023) *2023 Energy Transition Outlook*. Edinburgh: Wood MacKenzie.
World Bank (1994) *Philippines Power Sector Study: Report No. 13313-PH*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
World Bank (1997) *Philippines: Energy Sector Project. Brief, Report No 140111. Project ID P004534.* Washington, DC: World Bank.
World Bank (2000) *Implementation Completion Report on a Loan in the Amount of US$227 Million to the National Power Corporation and the Philippine National Oil Company for the Leyte-Luzon Geothermal Project: Project No. 20951*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
World Bank (2001) *Operation Manual. OP 4.12: Involuntary Resettlement. Revised April 2013*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
World Bank (2005) *Operation Manual. OP 4.10: Indigenous Peoples. Revised April 2013*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
World Bank (2008) *Project Appraisal Document on a Proposed GEF Grant of USD 4 Million to the Republic of Indonesia for a Geothermal Power Generation Development Project. Report No. 41420-ID*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 15 Nov 2026 at 06:58:40, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009352604.009

World Bank (2009a) Imagine a new Indonesia: Spending to improve development. East Asia & Pacific on the Rise, *World Bank Blog*, 4 June. https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/605371468038950629/txt/414200PAD0P099108100111l0Box327374B.txt.
World Bank (2009b) *Geothermal Clean Energy Investment Project, Indonesia: Project Information Document. Report No. AB4685*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
World Bank (2010) *Status of Projects in Execution in FY10, East Asian and Pacific Region: Indonesia*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
World Bank (2012a) *Health Impacts of Indoor Air Pollution At-a-Glance: Indonesia*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
World Bank (2012b) *Note on Cancelled Operation on Carbon Finance to the Philippines Energy Development Corporation for the Nasulo Geothermal Project–Carbon Finance Operation. Report No. 70327-PH*. Manila: World Bank.
World Bank (2012c) *Indonesia – Geothermal Power Generation Development: P099757: Implementation Status Results Report: Sequence 05*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
World Bank (2014) *Indonesia Overview*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
World Bank (2015) World Bank acknowledges shortcomings in resettlement projects, announces action plan to fix problems. Press release, 4 March. www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2015/03/04/world-bank-shortcomings-resettlement-projects-plan-fix-problems
World Bank (2016a) *Projects and Operations Data*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
World Bank (2016b) *Philippines Data*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
World Bank (2017a) Geothermal results brief, 1 December.
World Bank. (2017b). World Bank approves USD 55.25 million grant to help develop geothermal power in Indonesia. Press release, 9 February.
World Bank (2018) *Indonesia Geothermal Resource Risk Mitigation Project (GREM) (P166071) Project Information Document: Report No. PIDISDSC23756*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
World Bank (2019) *Indonesia Geothermal Resource Risk Mitigation Project (GREM). Project Appraisal Document: Report No. PAD2932*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
World Bank (2020a) Scaling up geothermal energy investments in Indonesia: Geothermal resource risk mitigation (GREM) project. October.
World Bank (2020b) *PROBLUE Annual Report 2020*. Washington, DC: World Bank. https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/564401603456030829/pdf/PROBLUE-2020-Annual-Report.pdf.
World Bank (2024a) *Open Data. DataBank*. Washington, DC: World Bank. https://data.worldbank.org, accessed 2024.
World Bank (2024b) *Project List*. Washington, DC: World Bank. https://projects.worldbank.org/en/projects-operations/projects-list?os=0.
World Bank (2024c) World Bank's PROBLUE Ocean Trust Fund extended to 2030. www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2024/06/06/world-bank-s-problue-ocean-trust-fund-extended-to-2030#:~:text=Every%20dollar%20of%20PROBLUE%20grant,sustainable%20future%20for%20our%20ocean.
World Bank (2025) Open Data. DataBank. Washington, DC: World Bank. https://data.worldbank.org; accessed 2025.
Worrell, E., R. van Berkel, Z. Fengqi, C. Menke, R. Schaeffer, and R. O. Williams (2001) Technology transfer of energy efficient technologies in industry: A review of trends and policy issues. *Energy Policy* 29: 29–43.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 15 Nov 2026 at 06:58:40, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009352604.009

World Health Organization (WHO) (2021) *Proportion of Population with Primary Reliance on Clean Fuels and Technologies for Cooking: Household Air Population Data*. Geneva: WHO.
World Integrated Trade Solution (WITS) (2021) *Indonesia: Top 5 Products Exports Imports at HS 6-Digit Level 2021*. Washington, DC: World Bank. https://wits.worldbank.org/CountrySnapshot/en/IDN/textview.
World Resources Institute (WRI) (2014) 6 Graphs Explain the World's Top 10 Emitters. Washington, DC: WRI.
World Wildlife Foundation (WWF) (2012a) *Igniting the Ring of Fire: A Vision for Developing Indonesia's Geothermal Power: Executive Summary*. Jakarta: WWF.
World Wildlife Foundation (WWF) (2012b) *Ring of Fire: Unleashing Power from Geothermal in Southeast Asia: WWF-Philippines/WWF Indonesia/WWF Global Climate and Energy Initiative. South-South Cooperation Case Study*. Jakarta: WWF.
World Wildlife Foundation (WWF) (2013) *Sustainability Guidelines for Geothermal Development*. Jakarta: WWF Indonesia.
Yasukawa, K. and V. Anbumozhi (eds.) (2018). Assessment of necessary innovation for sustainable use of conventional and new-type geothermal resources and their benefits in East Asia. ERIA Research Project Report 2017:07.
Yergin, D. (2011) *The Quest: Energy, Security, and the Remaking of the Modern World*. New York: Penguin.
Yergin, D. (2022) *Bumps in the Energy Transition: IMF Finance & Development Magazine*. Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund.
Young, O. (1989) International Cooperation: Building Regimes for Natural Resources and the Environment. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
Young, O. (1992) The effectiveness of international institutions: Hard cases and critical variables. In J. N. Rosenau and E.-O. Czempiel (eds.), *Governance without Government: Order and Change in World Politics* (pp. 160–194). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Young, O. (1996) The effectiveness of international governance systems. In O. R. Young, G. J. Demko, and K. Ramakrishna (eds.), *Global Environmental Change and International Governance*. Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England.
Young, O. (2010) Institutional dynamics: Emergent patterns in international environmental governance. In F. Biermann and O. R. Young (eds.), *Earth System Governance: A Core Research Project of the International Human Dimensions Programme on Global Environmental Change* (pp. 1–22). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Young, O. (2011) Effectiveness of international environmental regimes: Existing knowledge, cutting-edge themes, and research strategies. *PNAS* 108(50): 19853–19860.
Young, O. and M. Levy (1999). *The Effectiveness of International Environmental Regimes: Causal Connections and Behavioral Mechanisms*. Boston, MA: MIT Press.
Yunis, Y. (2015) Geothermal development in RUPTL 2015–2024. PLN Persero Presentation at IEEJ Indonesia Geothermal Workshop, 2 March, Tokyo.

Author Interviews

Aboitiz interview (2016) Manila. 8 March.
Asian Development Bank (ADB) interview (2014) Jakarta. 30 July.
Asian Development Bank (ADB) interview (2015) Phone interview. 21 August.
Asian Development Bank (ADB) interview (2016a) Manila. 1 March.
Asian Development Bank (ADB) interview (2016b) Manila. 10 March.
Asian Development Bank (ADB) interview (2016c) Manila. 10 March.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 15 Nov 2026 at 06:58:40, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009352604.009

Association of Southeast Asian Nations Centre for Energy (ASEAN ACE) interview (2014) Jakarta. 20 August.
Association of Southeast Asian Nations Centre for Energy (ASEAN ACE) interview (2015) Jakarta. 12 August.
Australia Indonesia Partnership for Economic Governance (AIPEG) interview (2015) Jakarta. 30 July.
Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional (BAPPENAS) interview (2014) Jakarta. 22 August.
Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional (BAPPENAS) interview (2015) Jakarta. 10 August.
Chevron Indonesia interview (2015a) Jakarta. 28 July.
Chevron Indonesia interview (2015b) Jakarta. 28 July.
Chevron Philippines interview (2016a) Manila. 10 March.
Chevron Philippines interview (2016b) Virtual interview. 11 March.
Climate Policy Initiative (CPI) interview (2014) Jakarta. 5 August.
Committee for Acceleration of Priority Infrastructure Delivery (KPPIP) interview (2015) Jakarta. 29 July.
Directorate of Bioenergy, Energi Baru Terbarukan dan Konservasi Energi (EBTKE)/ Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (MEMR) Bioenergy interview (2014) Jakarta. 12 August.
Directorate of Electricity interview (2015) Jakarta. 12 August.
Directorate of Geothermal, Energi Baru Terbarukan dan Konservasi Energi (EBTKE)/ Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (MEMR) interview (2015a) Jakarta. 12 August.
Directorate of Geothermal, Energi Baru Terbarukan dan Konservasi Energi (EBTKE)/ Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (MEMR) interview (2015b) Jakarta. 12 August.
Economic Research Institute (ERIA) of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) interview (2014a) Jakarta. 29 July.
Economic Research Institute (ERIA) of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) interview (2014b) Jakarta. 29 July.
Economic Research Institute (ERIA) of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) interview (2014c) Jakarta. 29 July.
Embassy of Switzerland interview (2015a) Jakarta. 5 August.
Embassy of Switzerland interview (2015b) Jakarta. 5 August.
Energy Development Corporation (EDC) interview (2016a) Manila. 3 March.
Energy Development Corporation (EDC) interview (2016b) Manila. 3 March.
Energy Development Corporation (EDC) interview (2016c) Manila. 3 March.
Energy Development Corporation (EDC) interview (2016d) Manila. 10 March.
Energy Development Corporation (EDC) interview (2016e) Virtual interview. 12 October.
Energy Development Corporation (EDC) interview (2024a) Virtual interview. 24 June.
Energy Development Corporation (EDC) interview (2024b) Virtual interview. 24 June.
Energy Charter Secretariat interview (2014a) Phone interview. 26 May.
Energy Charter Secretariat interview (2014b) Phone interview. 28 May.
Energy Policy and Development Program of the United States Agency for International Development (EPDP USAID) interview (2016a) Manila. 11 March.
European Union Energy Initiative Partnership Dialogue Facility (EUEI PDF) interview (2024) Brussels. 20 May.
European Commission interview (2014a) Brussels. 20 May.
European Commission interview (2014b) Phone interview. 26 May.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 15 Nov 2026 at 06:58:40, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009352604.009

European Commission interview (2014c) Brussels. 21 May.
European Commission interview (2014d) Brussels. 21 May
Forest Carbon interview (2015) Jakarta. 30 July.
Friends of the Earth interview (2014) Phone interview. 16 July.
Gasifikasi Prima Energi (GPE) interview (2014) Biomass project developer. Munduk Village, Bali. 19 August.
Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) interview (2014) Munduk Village, Bali. 19 August.
Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) interview (2015) Jakarta. 6 August.
Green Works Asia interview (2015) Jakarta. 27 July.
Independent consultant interview (2015) Mattes & Associates/Pertamina. Jakarta. 4 August.
Indonesia Ministry of Finance/HKS interview (2016) Cambridge, MA. 24 September.
Indonesian Institute for Clean Energy and Climate Change (IICECC) interview (2015) Jakarta. 11 August.
Indonesian Institute for Energy Economics (IIEE) interview (2014a) Jakarta. 5 August.
Indonesian Institute for Energy Economics (IIEE) interview (2014b) Munduk Village, Bali. 19 August.
Indonesian Institute for Energy Economics (IIEE) interview (2015) Jakarta. 5 August.
Institute for Essential Services Reform (IESR) interview (2015) Jakarta. 10 August.
International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development (ICTSD) interview (2014) Geneva. 15 May.
International Energy Agency (IEA) interview (2014a) Paris. 3 April.
International Energy Agency (IEA) interview (2014b) Paris. 6 May.
International Energy Agency (IEA) interview (2014c) IEA Phone interview. 16 May.
International Finance Corporation (IFC) interview (2016) Manila. 8 March.
International Institute of Sustainable Development (IISD) interview (2014a) Geneva. 16 July.
International Institute of Sustainable Development (IISD) interview (2014b) Skype. 31 July.
International Institute of Sustainable Development (IISD) interview (2014c) Jakarta. 31 July.
International Partnership for Energy Efficiency Cooperation (IPEEC) interview (2014a) Paris. 5 May.
International Partnership for Energy Efficiency Cooperation (IPEEC) interview (2014b) Paris. 9 June.
International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA) interview (2014a) Phone interview. 26 March.
International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA) interview (2014b) Phone interview. 19 May.
Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC) interview (2016) Manila. 11 March.
Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) interview (2016a) Manila. 11 March.
Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) interview (2016b) Manila. 11 March.
Kalahari GeoEnergy interview (2016) Phone interview. 2 February.
Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (KfW) interview (2014a) Jakarta. 22 August.
Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (KfW) interview (2014b) Jakarta. 22 August.
Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (KfW) interview (2015) Jakarta. 3 August.
Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (KfW) interview (2016) Manila. 7 March.
Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) interview (2015a) Jakarta. 10 August.
Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) interview (2015b) Jakarta. 10 August.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 15 Nov 2026 at 06:58:40, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009352604.009

Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (MEMR) interview (2014a) Jakarta. 6 August.
Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (MEMR) interview (2014b) Jakarta. 15 August.
Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (MEMR) interview (2015a) Jakarta. 6 August.
Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (MEMR) interview (2015b) Jakarta. 7 August.
Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (MEMR) interview (2015c) Jakarta. 6 August.
Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (MEMR) interview (2020) Virtual interview. 20 November.
Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (MEMR) interview (2024) Virtual interview. 12 May.
National Energy Council interview (2014a) Jakarta. 20 August.
National Energy Council interview (2014b) Jakarta. 21 August.
National Program for Community Empowerment (PNPM) Support Facility interview (2014) Jakarta. 15 August.
New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs interview (2015) New Zealand Embassy, Jakarta. 31 July.
New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs interview (2016) New Zealand Embassy, Phone interview. 1 March.
National Renewable Energy Laboratory (NREL) interview (2024) Virtual interview. 12 June.
Ofgen interview (2016). Cambridge, UK. 9 September.
Ormat interview (2015) Jakarta. 30 July.
Pertamina Geothermal interview (2015a) Jakarta. 6 August.
Pertamina Geothermal interview (2015b) Jakarta. 2 August.
Pertamina Geothermal interview (2015c) Jakarta. 3 August.
Perusahaan Listrik Negara (PLN) interview (2014) Jakarta. 7 August.
Perusahaan Listrik Negara (PLN) interview (2015) Jakarta. 13 August.
Philippines Department of Energy (DOE) interview (2016a) Manila. 29 February.
Philippines Department of Energy (DOE) interview (2016b) Manila. 4 March.
Philippines Department of Energy (DOE) interview (2016c) Manila. 8 March.
Philippines Department of Energy (DOE) interview (2016d) Manila. 7 March.
Philippines Department of Energy (DOE) interview (2024) Virtual interview. 13 June.
Philippines Department of Energy (DOE) Environmental Management Bureau interview (2016) Manila. 7 March.
Philippines Department of Energy Renewable Energy Management Bureau (DOE REMB) interview (2020) Virtual interview. 13 November.
Philippines Department of Energy Renewable Energy Management Bureau (DOE REMB) interview (2024) Geothermal Division. Virtual interview. 26 June.
REN21 interview (2014) Paris. 2 May.
Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency Partnership (REEEP) interview (2014) Skype. 25 April.
SE4All interview (2014) Phone interview. 16 July.
South Pole Carbon interview (2014) Paris. 30 August.
Star Energy/ Indonesian Geothermal Association (API) interview (2015) Jakarta. 5 August.
Supreme Energy interview (2014) Jakarta. 21 August.
Supreme Energy interview (2015a) Jakarta. 5 August.
Supreme Energy interview (2015b) Jakarta. 5 August.
Supreme Energy interview (2015c) Jakarta. 5 August.
Sustainable Trade Initiative (IDH) interview (2014) Jakarta. 27 July.
Tetratech Indonesia interview (2014) Jakarta. 12 August.
Tetratech Indonesia interview (2015) Jakarta. 31 July.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 15 Nov 2026 at 06:58:40, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009352604.009

Tusk Advisory interview (2015) Phone interview. 26 August.
UKP4 interview (2014) Office of the President. Jakarta. 14 August.
United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) interview (2014) Jakarta. 5 August.
United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) interview (2014) Paris. 7 May.
United Nations Environmental Programme, Division of Technology, Industry and Economics (UNEP DTIE) interview (2014a) Paris. 2 May.
United Nations Environmental Programme, Division of Technology, Industry and Economics (UNEP DTIE) interview (2014b) Paris. 2 May.
United Nations Environmental Programme, Division of Technology, Industry and Economics (UNEP DTIE) interview (2014c) Paris. 2 May.
United Nations ORCID interview (2014) Jakarta. 30 July.
United States Agency for International Development (USAID) interview (2016) Phone interview. 3 March.
United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Indonesia Clean Energy Development (ICED) interview (2014a) Jakarta. 12 August.
United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Indonesia Clean Energy Development (ICED) interview (2014b) Jakarta. 12 August.
United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Indonesia Clean Energy Development (ICED) interview (2014c) Jakarta. 12 August.
United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Indonesia Clean Energy Development (ICED) interview (2015) Jakarta. 4 August.
United States Department of Energy (US DOE) interview (2014) Skype. 12 June.
United States Embassy interview (2015a) Jakarta. 11 August.
United States Embassy interview (2015b) Jakarta. 11 August.
United States Embassy interview (2016a) Manila. 2 March.
United States Embassy interview (2016b) Manila. 2 March.
United States Mission to the International Energy Agency (IEA)/Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) interview (2014) Phone interview. 26 June.
United States Trade and Development Agency (USTDA) interview (2015) Jakarta. 6 August.
Winrock International interview (2014a) Jakarta. 6 August.
Winrock International interview (2014b) Jakarta. 6 August.
Winrock International interview (2014c) Jakarta. 6 August.
World Bank interview (2015a) Jakarta. 3 August.
World Bank interview (2015b) Jakarta. 7 August.
World Bank interview (2015c) Jakarta. 7 August.
World Bank interview (2016) Phone interview. 18 February.
World Bank interview (2020) Virtual interview. 13 October.
World Bank interview (2023) Virtual interview. 23 August.
World Bank interview (2024) Virtual interview. 29 May.
World Energy Council interview (2014) London. 7 March.
World Resources Institute (WRI) interview (2014) Jakarta. 8 September.
World Trade Organization (WTO) interview (2014) Geneva. 22 March.
World Wildlife Foundation (WWF) Coral Triangle Global Initiative program interview (2014) Jakarta. 18 August.
World Wildlife Foundation (WWF) Indonesia interview (2015) Jakarta. 28 July.
World Wildlife Foundation (WWF) Indonesia Ring of Fire Program interview (2014) Jakarta. 5 August.
World Wildlife Foundation (WWF) Philippines interview (2016) Manila. 8 March.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 15 Nov 2026 at 06:58:40, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009352604.009