

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- A. Mario Farrasda As dan Nur Isdah Idris (2024), "Energy Protectionism: Tren Meningkatnya Kebijakan Proteksionisme Energi di Uni Eropa," *WISSEN: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora*, Vol. 2, No. 3, hal. 260–270.
- Adnan Vatansever and Andreas C. Goldthau, "The Political Economy of Breaking European Dependence on Russian Gas," *Resources Policy* 109 (2025): 105696, Accessed August 9, 2025. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.resourpol.2025.105696>
- Alifah, Nazza Nur. *Strategi Keamanan Energi Uni Eropa dalam Mengurangi Ketergantungan Energi terhadap Rusia*. Skripsi Sarjana, Universitas Bakrie, 2025.
- Andaru Satnyoto, "Perspektif Teori Institusionalisme Dan Teori Kritis Terhadap Rezim Internasional Lingkungan," n.d., 98
- Andoura, Sami, Leigh Hancher, and Marc Van Der Woude. *Towards a European Energy Community: A Policy Proposal*. Brussels: Notre Europe, 2010.
- Arinaldo, Adma, and Margaretha Hanita. "Geopolitics Tension, Wars and Its Impact on Energy/Oil Crisis: Russia–Ukraine War Case Study." *Injury: Interdisciplinary Journal and Humanity* 4, no. 5 (May 2025): 187–205.
- Benson, E., J. Majkut, W. A. Reinsch, and F. Steinberg. "Analyzing the European Union's Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism." 2023.
- Benson, Emily, Joseph Majkut, William A. Reinsch, and F. Steinberg. "Analyzing the European Union's Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism." *Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)*, 2023.
- Betsill, Michele, and Harriet Bulkeley. "Transnational Networks and Global Environmental Governance: The Cities for Climate Protection Program." *International Studies Quarterly* 48, no. 2 (2006): 471–493.
- Betsill, Michele, and Harriet Bulkeley. "Transnational Networks and Global Environmental Governance: The Cities for Climate Protection Program." *International Studies Quarterly* 48, no. 2 (2006): 471–493.
- Borghesi, S., Vergalli, S. The European Green Deal, Energy Transition and Decarbonization. *Environ Resource Econ* 83, 1–3 (2022). Accessed October 19, 2025. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10640-022-00726-6>

- Bruegel. "The EU Can Manage without Russian Liquefied Natural Gas." *Bruegel Policy Brief*, no. 16/23, June 1, 2023.
- Buchan, David, and Malcolm Keay. *Europe's Long Energy Journey: Towards an Energy Union*. Oxford: Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, 2015.
- Cammalleri, C., G. Naumann, L. Mentaschi, et al. "Global Warming and Drought Impacts in the EU, JRC PESETA IV: Task 7." *Publications Office of the European Union*, 2020. <https://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2760/597045>
- Cherp, Aleh, Jessica Jewell, and Andreas Goldthau. "Governing Global Energy: Systems, Transitions, and the Role of the State." *Global Policy* 2, no. 2 (2011): 75–88.
- Ciot, Melania-Gabriela, no. 21 (2021). <https://www.mdpi.com/2071-1050/13/21/12233/html>
- Ciot, Melania-Gabriela. "On European Green Deal and Sustainable Development Policy (the Case of Romania)." *Sustainability* 13, no. 21 (2021). <https://www.mdpi.com/2071-1050/13/21/12233/html>
- Collins, Gabriel. "Russia's Use of the 'Energy Weapon' in Europe." *Rice University's Baker Institute for Public Policy*, Issue Brief 07.18.17 (2017).
- Collins, Gabriel. "Russia's Use of the 'Energy Weapon' in Europe." *Rice University's Baker Institute for Public Policy*, Issue Brief 07.18.17 (2017).
- Corbeau, Anne-Sophie, Andrés Farfan, and Juan Pablo Orozco. "Gas Market Dynamics in Europe during the 2022 Energy Crisis." *Oxford Institute for Energy Studies Discussion Paper*, 2023.
- Cramton, Peter. "Electricity Market Design." *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* 33, no. 4 (2017): 589–612.
- Cramton, Peter. "Electricity Market Design." *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* 33, no. 4 (2017): 589–612. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxrep/grx041>
- Creswell, John W., and J. David Creswell. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. 5th ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2018.
- Dahal, U., Orru, K., Orru, H., & Dijst, M. (2024). Green dreams, local realities: Complexities of the European Union's energy transition to ensure local health and well-being in a fossil fuel-based industrial region. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 106, 107520.

- Dahal, Usha, Kati Orru, Hans Orru, and Martin Dijst. “Green Dreams, Local Realities: Complexities of the European Union’s Energy Transition to Ensure Local Health.” *Energy Policy* (2023).
- De Baere, Geert. “A Geopolitical War in Europe: Russia’s Invasion of Ukraine and Its Implications.” *Journal of International Economic Law* 26, no. 4 (2023): 756–769. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jiel/jgad043>
- Dupont, Claire, and Sebastian Oberthür. “The European Green Deal: A Global Perspective.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 61, no. 2 (2023): 408–424. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jcms/jwac033>
- Dupont, Claire, Brendan Moore, Elin Lerum Boasson, et al. “Three Decades of EU Climate Policy: Racing Toward Climate Neutrality.” *WIREs Climate Change* 15, no. 1 (2023): e863.
- Dutta, P. K., S. Granados, and M. Ovaska. “Russian Gas Threat in Europe.” *Reuters*, February 16, 2022.
- Eckersley, Robyn. *The Green State: Rethinking Democracy and Sovereignty*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004.
- Ernst Mohr, “Environmental Norms, Society, and Economics,” 1994, 229.
- European Commission, ‘G7 Agrees Oil Price Cap: Reducing Russia’s Revenues, while Keeping Global Energy Markets Stable’ (3 December 2022).
- European Commission, “*Two years of REPowerEU: Strengthening Europe’s energy resilience*” (17 Mei 2024).
- European Commission. (2019). The European Green Deal. EUR-Lex. Accessed October 20, 2025. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52019DC0640>
- European Commission. *A Framework Strategy for a Resilient Energy Union with a Forward-Looking Climate Change Policy*. COM(2015) 80 Final. Brussels: European Union, 2015.
- European Commission. *Clean Energy for All Europeans Package*. Brussels: European Commission, 2019.
- European Commission. *Energy Statistics – an Overview: Energy Consumption per Capita, 2023*. Eurostat, 2023. Accessed August 10, 2025. [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statisticsexplained/index.php?title=Energy statistics an overview#Primary energy production](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statisticsexplained/index.php?title=Energy_statistics_an_overview#Primary_energy_production)

- European Commission. *Regulation (EU) 2017/1938 Concerning Measures to Safeguard the Security of Gas Supply*. Official Journal of the European Union, 2017.
- European Commission. *REPowerEU Plan*. Brussels: European Commission, 2022.
- European Commission. *REPowerEU: Joint European Action for More Affordable, Secure and Sustainable Energy*. Brussels: European Commission, 2022.
- European Council. *Council Regulation (EU) 2022/1369 on Coordinated Demand-Reduction Measures for Gas*. Official Journal of the European Union, 2022.
- European Council. *Council Regulation (EU) 2022/1369 on Coordinated Demand-Reduction Measures for Gas*. Official Journal of the European Union, 2022.
- European Council. *Council Regulation (EU) 2022/2576 Enhancing Solidarity through Better Coordination of Gas Purchases, Reliable Price Benchmarks and Exchanges of Gas across Borders*. Official Journal of the European Union, 2022.
- European Council. *Council Regulation (EU) 2022/2576 Enhancing Solidarity through Better Coordination of Gas Purchases, Reliable Price Benchmarks and Exchanges of Gas across Borders*. Official Journal of the European Union, 2022.
- European Council. *EU Response to the Energy Crisis: Energy Security and Market Reform*. Brussels: European Union, 2023.
- European Union. *Regulation (EU) 2021/1056 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 24 June 2021 Establishing the Just Transition Fund*. Brussels: European Commission, 2021.
- European Union. *The European Green Deal (COM/2019/640 final)*. Brussels: European Commission, 2019.
- Eurostat. *Energy Production and Imports*. Last modified 2022. [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Energy\\_production\\_and\\_imports](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Energy_production_and_imports)
- Gavin Bridge and Tom Perrault, "Environmental Governance," *A Companion to Environmental Geography*, 2009, 475–497.
- Geert De Baere, "A Geopolitical War in Europe: Russia's Invasion of Ukraine and Its Implications," *Journal of International Economic Law* 26, no. 4 (2023): 756–769, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jiel/jgad043>

- Geert De Baere, “A Geopolitical War in Europe: Russia’s Invasion of Ukraine and Its Implications,” *Journal of International Economic Law* 26, no. 4 (2023): 756–769, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jiel/jgad043>
- George Nastos, “European Union’s Energy Security in the Aftermath of Russia’s War in Ukraine: From Dependence to Independence,” *HAPSc Policy Briefs Series* 3, no. 2 (2022): 153–160, <https://doi.org/10.12681/hapscpbs.33795>
- Goldthau, Andreas, and Kirsten Westphal. “The Politics of Shale Gas in Eastern Europe: Energy Security, Contested Technologies and the Social Licence to Frack.” *Energy Research & Social Science* 8 (2015): 25–35.
- Goldthau, Andreas, and Nick Sitter. *A Liberal Actor in a Realist World: The European Union Regulatory State and the Global Political Economy of Energy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Haas, Peter M. “Addressing the Global Governance Deficit.” *Global Environmental Politics* 4
- Haas, Peter M. “Addressing the Global Governance Deficit.” *Global Environmental Politics* 4, no. 4 (2004): 1–15.
- Haas, Peter M. “Addressing the Global Governance Deficit.” *Global Environmental Politics* 4, no. 4 (2004): 1–15.
- Haas, Peter M. “Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination.” *International Organization* 46, no. 1 (1992): 1–35.
- Haas, Peter M. “Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination.” *International Organization* 46, no. 1 (1992): 1–35.
- Haas, Peter M. “Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination.” *International Organization* 46, no. 1 (1992): 1–35.
- Haas, Peter M., and Ernst B. Haas. “Learning to Learn: Improving International Governance.” *Global Governance* 1, no. 3 (1995): 255–285.
- Haas, Peter M., and Ernst B. Haas. “Learning to Learn: Improving International Governance.” *Global Governance*
- Haas, Peter M., and Ernst B. Haas. “Learning to Learn: Improving International Governance.” *Global Governance* 1, no. 3 (1995): 255–285.
- Hafner, Manfred, and Simone Tagliapietra. “The European Gas Crisis: From Short-Term Emergency to Long-Term Transformation.” *Energy Policy* 174 (2023): 113–145.

- Hafner, Manfred, and Simone Tagliapietra. "The European Gas Crisis: From Short-Term Emergency to Long-Term Transformation." *Energy Policy* 174 (2023): 107–136.
- Hal R. Arkes and Catherine Blumer, "The Psychology of Sunk Cost," *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* 35, no. 1 (1985): 124-140, Accessed August 9, 2025. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0749-5978\(85\)90049-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/0749-5978(85)90049-4)
- Healy, N., and J. Barry. "Politicizing Energy Justice and Energy System Transitions: Fossil Fuel Divestment and a Just Transition." *Energy Policy* 108 (2017): 451–459.
- Helm, Dieter. *European Energy Policy: Securing Supplies and Meeting the Challenge of Climate Change*. Paper prepared for the UK Presidency of the EU. Oxford: University of Oxford, 2005.
- Henderson, James, and Tatiana Mitrova. *The Political and Commercial Dynamics of Russia's Gas Export Strategy*. Oxford: Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, 2015
- Hermann, Charles F. "Changing Course: When Governments Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy." *International Studies Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (1990): 3–21.
- I. V. Yakoviyk and M. P. Tselikh, "Energy Security of the European Union in the Context of Russian Aggression against Ukraine," *Problems of Legality* 160 (2023): 170.
- IEA (International Energy Agency). *World Energy Outlook 2022*. Paris: OECD/IEA, 2022.
- International Energy Agency (IEA). "How Europe Can Cut Natural Gas Imports from Russia Significantly within a Year." March 3, 2022.
- International Energy Agency (IEA). *European Gas Market Review 2023*. Paris: IEA, 2023
- International Energy Agency (IEA). *World Energy Outlook 2022*. Paris: IEA, 2023.
- International Energy Agency (IEA). *World Energy Outlook 2022*. Paris: International Energy Agency, 2022.
- International Energy Agency. (n.d.). Energy security – Europe energy crisis reports. IEA. <https://www.iea.org/topics/energy-security>
- International Energy Agency. *World Energy Outlook 2022*. Paris: International Energy Agency, 2022.

- International Energy Agency. *World Energy Outlook 2022*. Paris: International Energy Agency, 2022.
- Jirusek, Martin. "Gazprom and the European Gas Market: Strategic Behavior Before and After 2022." *Energy Policy* 176 (2023): 113534.
- Julio Noguera-Santaella, "Geopolitics and the Oil Price," *Economic Modelling* 52 (2016): 301–309, Accessed September 28, 2025. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econmod.2015.08.018>
- Justin Alger and Peter Dauvergne, "The Translocal Politics of Environmental Norm Diffusion," *Environmental Communication* 14, no. 2 (February 17, 2020): 156
- Kuzemko, Caroline, Catherine Mitchell, Matthew Lockwood, and Richard Hoggett. "Energy System Transformation, Energy Security, and the Politics of Energy in Europe." *Energy Research & Social Science*
- Leonard, Mark, Jean Pisani-Ferry, Jeremy Shapiro, Simone Tagliapietra, and Guntram B. Wolff. *The Geopolitics of the European Green Deal*. Policy Contribution 04/2021. Brussels: Bruegel, 2021.
- Leonard, Mark, Jean Pisani-Ferry, Jeremy Shapiro, Simone Tagliapietra, and Guntram B. Wolff. *The Geopolitics of the European Green Deal*. Policy Contribution 04/2021. Brussels: Bruegel, 2021.
- Leonard, Mark, Jean Pisani-Ferry, Jeremy Shapiro, Simone Tagliapietra, and Guntram B. Wolff. *The Geopolitics of the European Green Deal*. Policy Contribution 04/2021. Brussels: Bruegel, 2021.
- Lou, Hei Kan, Michael G. Pollitt, David Robinson, and Angel Vargas Arcos. *The Iberian Exception: What Was the Cost of Distorting Electricity Markets During the 2021–23 European Energy Crisis?*, *Energy Policy Research Group, University of Cambridge*, 2025. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep70918>
- Lou, Hei Kan, Michael G. Pollitt, David Robinson, and Angel Vargas Arcos. *The Iberian Exception: What Was the Cost of Distorting Electricity Markets During the 2021–23 European Energy Crisis?*, *Energy Policy Research Group, University of Cambridge*, 2025.
- Lou, Hei Kan, Michael G. Pollitt, David Robinson, and Angel Vargas Arcos. *The Iberian Exception: What Was the Cost of Distorting Electricity Markets During the 2021–23 European Energy Crisis?*, *Energy Policy Research Group, University of Cambridge*, 2025. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep70918>

- Marhold, A.-A. "Towards a 'Security-Centred' Energy Transition: Balancing the European Union's Ambitions and Geopolitical Realities." *Journal of International Economic Law* 26, no. 3 (2023): 757–764.
- Marhold, Anna-Alexandra. "Towards a 'Security-Centred' Energy Transition: Balancing the European Union's Ambitions and Geopolitical Realities." *Journal of International Economic Law* 26, no. 4 (2023): 756–769.,., <https://doi.org/10.1093/jiel/jgad043>.
- Marhold, Anna-Alexandra. "Towards a 'Security-Centred' Energy Transition: Balancing the European Union's Ambitions and Geopolitical Realities." *Journal of International Economic Law* 26,
- Marhold, Anna-Alexandra. "Towards a 'Security-Centred' Energy Transition: Balancing the European Union's Ambitions and Geopolitical Realities." *Journal of International Economic Law* 26, no. 4 (2023): 756–769. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jiel/jgad043>
- Marhold, Anna-Alexandra. "Towards a 'Security-Centred' Energy Transition: Balancing the European Union's Ambitions and Geopolitical Realities." *Journal of International Economic Law* 26, no. 3 (2023): 756–769. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jiel/jgad043>
- Marhold, Anna-Alexandra. "Towards a 'Security-Centred' Energy Transition: Balancing the European Union's Ambitions and Geopolitical Realities."
- Marhold, Anna-Alexandra. 26, no. 4 (2023): 761
- Matthew B. Miles, A. Michael Huberman, and Johnny Saldana, *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook* (SAGE Publications, 2013).
- Miles, Matthew B., A. Michael Huberman, dan Johnny Saldaña. *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook*. 4th ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2020.
- Miles, Matthew B., A. Michael Huberman, dan Johnny Saldaña. *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook*. 4th ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2020.
- Moesker, K., and U. Pesch. "The Just Transition Fund – Did the European Union Learn from Europe's Past Transition Experiences?" *Energy Research & Social Science* 91 (2022): 102750.
- Mohtar Mas' oed, *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional* (Yogyakarta: LP3ES, 1990).

- Moleong, Lexy J. *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*. Edisi Revisi. Bandung: PT Remaja Rosdakarya, 2017.
- Monica Hertz, "Regional Governance," 2013, 241.
- Monica Hertz, "Regional Governance," 236
- Nadin Ozcelik, Marta Rey-García, dan Vanessa Mato-Santiso (2025), "Enablers and Barriers to European Green Deal Implementation: A Systematic Review and Framework Proposal," *Sustainable Production and Consumption*, Vol. 61, 164–180.
- Nastos, George. "European Union's Energy Security in the Aftermath of Russia's War in Ukraine: From Dependence to Independence." *HAPSc Policy Briefs Series 3*, no. 2 (2022): 153–160. <https://doi.org/10.12681/hapscpbs.33795>
- Nastos, George. "European Union's Energy Security in the Aftermath of Russia's War in Ukraine: From Dependence to Independence." *HAPSc Policy Briefs Series 3*, no. 2 (2022): 153–160. <https://doi.org/10.12681/hapscpbs.33795>
- Oberthür, Sebastian, and Claire Dupont. "The European Union's International Climate Leadership: Towards a Grand Climate Strategy?" *Journal of European Public Policy* 28, no. 7 (2021): 1095–1114.
- Oberthür, Sebastian, and Claire Dupont. "The European Union's International Climate Leadership: Towards a Grand Climate Strategy?" *Journal of European Public Policy* 28, no. 7 (2021): 1095–1114.
- Oberthür, Sebastian, and Claire Dupont. "The European Union's International Climate Leadership: Towards a Grand Climate Strategy?" *Journal of European Public Policy* 22, no. 5 (2015): 658–677.
- Olivares, A. (2023). The EU's new energy and climate policy: Energy security and the moderation of environmental standards. *Global Energy Law and Sustainability*, 4(1–2), 1–21. Accessed October 8, 2025. <https://doi.org/10.3366/gels.2023.0091>
- Olivares, Karla. "European Union Energy Policy in Times of Crisis: Geopolitical Responses and Structural Challenges." *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 31, no. 4 (2023): 581–597.
- Peter M. Haas, "Regional Environmental Governance.," *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism* 1 (2016): 622.
- Peter M. Haas, "Regional Environmental Governance.," *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism* 1 (2016): 619.

- Peter M. Haas, "Regional Environmental Governance.," *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism* 1 (2016): 620.
- Pirani, Simon, Jonathan Stern, and Katja Yafimava. *The Russo-Ukrainian Gas Dispute of January 2009: A Comprehensive Assessment*. Oxford: Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, 2009.
- Pollitt, Michael G. "The European Single Electricity Market: Achievements and Challenges." *Energy Policy* 132 (2019): 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2019.05.020>
- Proedrou, Filippos. *EU Energy Geopolitics: Strategic Premiums, Challenges, and Dilemmas in the Global Energy Transition Era*. Cham: Springer, 2025.
- Rafael Leal-Arcas and Jan Wouters, "Russia's War on Ukraine and the European Energy Crisis: A Pathway to a Sustainable Energy Transition?" *Renewable and Sustainable Energy Reviews* 184 (2023): 113512, Accessed October 11, 2025. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rser.2023.113512>
- Sandmann, Leona, Eda Bülbül, Raúl Castaño-Rosa, Florian Hanke, Katrin Großmann, Rachel Guyet, George Jigla, Senja Laakso, Its Transition." *Energy Research & Social Science* 115 (2024): 103659. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2024.103659>.
- Siddi, Marco. "The European Green Deal: Assessing Its Implications for EU Climate and Energy Policy." *FIIA Briefing Paper* No. 268. Helsinki: Finnish Institute of International Affairs, 2021.
- Siddi, Marco. *Assessing the European Union's REPowerEU Plan: Energy Transition Meets Geopolitics*. FIIA Working Paper No. 130. Helsinki: Finnish Institute of International Affairs, October 2022.
- Siddi, Marco. *Assessing the European Union's REPowerEU Plan: Energy Transition Meets Geopolitics*. FIIA Working Paper No. 130. Helsinki: Finnish Institute of International Affairs, October 2022.
- Simone Tagliapietra, *Towards a European Energy Union: The Need to Focus on Security of Energy Supply* (Milan: Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei, 2014), 12–14.
- Simone Tagliapietra, *Towards a European Energy Union: The Need to Focus on Security of Energy Supply*
- Simone Tagliapietra, *Towards a European Energy Union: The Need to Focus on Security of Energy Supply*

Simone Tagliapietra, *Towards a European Energy Union: The Need to Focus on Security of Energy Supply*

Svensson-Hoglund, S., et al. "Repair Practices and Product Reutilization in the EU." *Resources, Conservation & Recycling* 169 (2021): 105478.

The Economist. "European Efforts to Reduce Russian State-Owned Company's Sway Over Gas Prices." *The Economist*, 2013. URL: <http://www.economist.com/news/business/21592639-european-efforts-reduce-russian-state-owned-companys-sway-over-gas-prices-have-been>

Tom Casier, "The Rise of Energy to the Top of the EU-Russia Agenda: From Interdependence to Dependence?" *Geopolitics* 16, no. 3 (2011): 536–552, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2011.574651>

Tusk, Donald. "A United Europe Can End Russia's Energy Stronghold." *Financial Times*, April 21, 2014.

United Nations Human Rights Monitoring Mission in Ukraine, *Conflict-Related Civilian Casualties in Ukraine* (Kyiv: United Nations, 2022).

Vezzoni, R. (2023). Green growth for whom, how and why? The REPowerEU Plan and the inconsistencies of European Union energy policy. *Energy Research & Social Science*, 101, 103134. Accessed December 1, 2025. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2023.103134>

Vezzoni, Rubén. "Green Growth for Whom, How and Why? The REPowerEU Plan and the Inconsistencies of European Union Energy Policy." *Energy Research & Social Science* 101 (2023): 103134. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2023.103134>

Von Homeyer, Ingmar, Sebastian Oberthür, and Claire Dupont. "Implementing the European Green Deal during the Evolving Energy Crisis." *Journal of Common Market Studies* (2022): advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.13397>.

Wettstad, Jørgen, Per Ove Eikeland, and Måns Nilsson. "EU Climate and Energy Policy: A Hesitant Supranational Turn?" *Global Environmental Politics* 12, no. 2 (2012): 67–86.

World Bank. *Commodity Markets Outlook: The Impact of the War in Ukraine on Commodity Markets*. Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2022.

Yafimava, Katja. *The Transit Dimension of EU Energy Security: Russian Gas Transit Across Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Youngs, Richard. *Europe's Energy Crisis and the Green Deal*. Brussels: Carnegie Europe, 2022.

Zeler, Ileana, Joan Ramon Rodriguez-Amat, and Riasat Muhammad Amir. "A Computational Analysis of the Media Coverage of the European Parliament's 'Green' Designation on Sustainable Energy and Climate Change." *Energy Policy* 202 (2025): 114592. Accessed November 20, 2025. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2025.114592>

