

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Athias, L., & Saussier, S. (2021). *Contractual Flexibility or Rigidity for Public Private Partnerships? Theory and Evidence from Infrastructure Concession Contracts*.
- Austerity – COVID's little helper*. (2021). Retrieved 16 September 2021, from <https://www.bma.org.uk/news-and-opinion/austerity-covid-s-little-helper>
- Austerity has crippled the UK's Response to the coronavirus crisis | Letters*. (2020). Retrieved 16 September 2021, from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/mar/17/austerity-has-crippled-the-uks-Response-to-the-coronavirus-crisis>
- Aykan, B., & Güvenç-Salgırlı, S. (2015). Responibilizing individuals, regulating health: debating public spots, risk, and neoliberal governmentality in contemporary Turkey. *New Perspectives On Turkey*, 53, 71-92. doi: 10.1017/npt.2015.19
- Barnett, P., & Bagshaw, P. (2020). Neoliberalism: what it is, how it affects health and what to do about it. *The New Zealand Medical Journal*, 133(1512).
- BBC News. 2020. *Coronavirus: UK failed to stockpile crucial PPE*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.bbc.com/news/newsbeat-52440641>> [Accessed 16 September 2021].
- Blundell, R., Dias, M., Joyce, R., & Xu, X. (2020). COVID-19 and Inequalities. *Fiscal Studies*, 1-29.
- Bradley, J., Gebrekidan, S., & McCann, A. (2020). Waste, Negligence and Cronyism: Inside Britain's Pandemic Spending. *Nytimes.com*. Retrieved 8 November 2021, from <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/12/17/world/europe/britain-covid-contracts.html>.
- British Medical Association. (2021). *Thousands of overworked doctors*. Retrieved from <https://www.bma.org.uk/bma-media-centre/thousands-of-overworked-doctors-plan-to-leave-the-nhs-bma-finds>
- Britton, A. (1994). *Macroeconomic policy in Britain, 1974-87*. Cambridge [England]: Cambridge University Press.

Charlesworth, A., Gershlick, B., Firth, Z., Kraindler, J., & Watt, T. (2019). *Briefing: Investing in The NHS long term plan*. The Health Foundation.

Chricaden, K. (2020). *Impact of COVID-19 on people's livelihoods, their health and our food systems*. Who.int. Retrieved 31 July 2021, from <https://www.who.int/news/item/13-10-2020-impact-of-covid-19-on-people's-livelihoods-their-health-and-our-food-systems>.

Coke, H. (2020). Everything you need to know about Lord Deighton: Matt Hancock's new 'PPE Tsar'. Tatler. Retrieved 8 November 2021, from <https://www.tatler.com/article/who-is-lord-deighton-new-ppe-tsar-matt-hancock>.

Covid map: Coronavirus cases, deaths, vaccinations by country. BBC News. (2021). Retrieved 31 July 2021, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-51235105>.

Cummins, I. (2018). The Impact of Austerity on Mental Health Service Provision: A UK Perspective. *International Journal Of Environmental Research And Public Health*, 15(1145).

Daguerre, A., & Taylor-Gooby, P. (2002). Welfare Reform in the UK: 1985–2002. *Welfare Reform And Management Of Societal Change Working Papers*,.

Davidson, S. (2020). More trouble with NHS contracts and outsourcing - The Lowdown. The Lowdown. Retrieved 10 November 2021, from <https://lowdownnhs.info/explainers/more-trouble-with-nhs-contracts-and-outsourcing/>.

Davies, G. (2020). *Investigation into government procurement during the COVID-19 pandemic*. National Audit Office.

Davies, G. (2020). *The supply of personal protective equipment (PPE) during the COVID-19 pandemic*. National Audit Office.

Davies, N., Atkins, G., Guerin, B., & Sodhi, S. (2020). *How fit were public services for coronavirus?*. Institute for Government.

Duffy, S. (2013). A fair society? How the cuts target disabled people. The Centre for Welfare Reform. Retrieved from <http://centreforwelfarereform.org/uploads/attachment/354/a-fair-society.pdf>

Duncan, J. (2021). The death of neoliberalism? UK Responses to the pandemic. *The International Journal Of Human Rights*, 1-24. doi: 10.1080/13642987.2021.1945583

- Etherington, D. (2020). Austerity and the Covid-19 Crisis: The impact of welfare reform on employment rights - IER. Retrieved 16 November 2021, from <https://www.ier.org.uk/comments/austerity-and-the-covid-19-crisis-the-impact-of-welfare-reform-on-employment-rights/>
- Farnsworth, K., & Irving, Z. (2018). Austerity: Neoliberal dreams come true?. *Critical Social Policy*, 38(3), 461-481. doi: 10.1177/0261018318762451
- Fetzer, T. (2021). Subsidising The Spread of COVID-19: Evidence from The UK's Eat-Out-to-Help-Out Scheme. *The Economic Journal*, 1(18). doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ej/ueab074>
- Foster, P., & Neville, S. (2020). *How poor planning left the UK without enough PPE | Free to read*. Retrieved 16 September 2021, from <https://www.ft.com/content/9680c20f-7b71-4f65-9bec-0e9554a8e0a7>
- Foucault, M., Senellart, M., Ewald, F., & Fontana, A. (2010). *The birth of biopolitics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fourcade, M., & Healy, K. (2007). Moral Views of Market Society. *Annual Review Of Sociology*, 33(1), 285-311. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.33.040406.131642>
- Friedman, M., & Friedman, R. (1962). *Capitalism and Freedom*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Fukuyama, F. (2011). *Friedrich A. Hayek, Big-Government Skeptic (Published 2011)*. Nytimes.com. Retrieved 1 November 2021, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/08/books/review/f-a-hayek-big-government-skeptic.html>.
- Gallagher, J. (2020). Coronavirus: How dangerous is lifting lockdown?. Retrieved 20 December 2021, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/health-52878816>
- Gemine, R., Davies, G., Tarrant, S., Davies, R., James, M., & Lewis, K. (2020). Factors associated with work-related burnout in NHS staff during COVID-19: a cross-sectional mixed methods study. *BMJ Open*. doi: doi:10.1136/bmjopen-2020-042591
- Gosling, J. (2013). Privatising the NHS. *International Socialism Journal*, 139, 77-97. Retrieved 10 November 2021, from.



- Gournari, P. (2016). The Necropolitics of Austerity: Discursive Constructions and Material Consequences in the Greek Context. *Fast Capitalism*, 13(1). doi: 10.32855/fcapital.201601.004
- Goyal, D., Mansab, F., Naasan, A., Iqbal, A., Millar, C., & Franklin, G. et al. (2021). Restricted access to the NHS during the COVID-19 pandemic: Is it time to move away from the rationed clinical Response?. *The Lancet Regional Health - Europe*, 8, 100201. doi: 10.1016/j.lanepe.2021.100201
- Hall, D., Lister, J., Hobbs, C., Robinson, P., & Jarvis, C. (2020). *Privatised and Unprepared: The NHS Supply Chain*. University of Greenwich.
- Hall, P. (1986). *Governing the economy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Harmon, M. (1997). *The British Labour Movement and the 1976 IMF Crisis*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Harvey, D. (2005). *A brief history of neoliberalism* (1st ed.). Oxford University Press Inc.
- Hayek, F. (1960). *The Constitution of Liberty: The Definitive Edition*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Healey, N. (2020). The UK's coronavirus delay phase plan, explained. Retrieved 26 December 2021, from <https://www.wired.co.uk/article/uk-coronavirus-delay-phase>
- Health and Social Care Committee. (2021). *Workforce burnout and resilience in the NHS and social care*. House of Commons.
- Health and Social Care, and Science and Technology Committees. (2021). *Coronavirus: lessons learned to date*. House of Commons.
- Henisz, W., Zelner, B., & Guillén, M. (2005). The Worldwide Diffusion of Market-Oriented Infrastructure Reform, 1977–1999. *American Sociological Review*, 70(6), 871–897. <https://doi.org/10.1177/000312240507000601>
- Hernandez, T. (2021). The Consequences of the Austerity Policies for Public Services in the UK. *Studies In Social Justice*, 15(3), 518–537.
- Hill, M. (1945). *The Welfare State in Britain: A Political History since 1945*. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Hood, C. (1991). A Public Management for All Seasons?. *Public Administration*, 69(1), 3–19. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9299.1991.tb00779.x>
- House of Commons Library. (2020). *Eat Out to Help Out Scheme*.

How coronavirus advice from Boris Johnson has changed. (2020). Retrieved 20 November 2021, from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/mar/23/how-coronavirus-advice-from-boris-johnson-has-changed>

Howie, M. (2021). *UK Covid infection rate is one of the worst in the world, data reveals*. Standard.co.uk. Retrieved 27 October 2021, from <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/uk/uk-covid-infection-rate-global-comparison-johns-hopkins-who-b958154.html>.

Institute for Public Policy Research. (2020). Austerity ‘ripped resilience out of health and care service’ before Covid-19 crisis hit, says IPPR. Retrieved from <https://www.ippr.org/news-and-media/press-releases/austerity-ripped-resilience-out-of-health-and-care-service-before-covid-19-crisis-hit-says-ippr>

Irwin, D., & Ward, O. (2021). *What is the “Washington Consensus?”*. PIIE. Retrieved 1 November 2021, from <https://www.piie.com/blogs/realtime-economic-issues-watch/what-washington-consensus>.

Is the NHS being privatised?. The King's Fund. (2021). Retrieved 8 November 2021, from <https://www.kingsfund.org.uk/publications/articles/big-election-questions-nhs-privatised>.

Jochelson, K. (2006). Nanny or steward? The role of government in public health. *Public Health*, 120(12), 1149-1155. doi: 10.1016/j.puhe.2006.10.009

Jones, L., & Hameiri, S. (2021). COVID-19 and the failure of the neoliberal regulatory state. *Review Of International Political Economy*, 1-25. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09692290.2021.1892798>

Kelland, K. (2021). Preliminary study finds UK lockdown is slowing spread of COVID-19. Retrieved 23 November 2021, from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-health-coronavirus-britain-spread-idUSKBN21J56W>

Kinder, T., Pickard, J., & Plimmer, G. (2020). Britain’s £5.5bn bill for procuring emergency PPE brings scrutiny. Retrieved 9 December 2021, from <https://www.ft.com/content/c0d439c8-18ac-499b-8115-da2bc0f18567>

King, D., & Wood, S. (1999). The Political Economy of Neoliberalism: Britain and the United States in the 1980s. In H. Kitschelt, P. Lange, G. Marks, & J. Stephens (Eds.),

- Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism* (Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics, pp. 371-397). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9781139175050.015
- Kirka, D. (2021). Britain's delay in imposing coronavirus lockdown cost thousands of lives, report says. Retrieved 20 November 2021, from <https://www.latimes.com/world-nation/story/2021-10-12/report-uk-slow-coronavirus-lockdown-thousands-died>
- Kirka, D. (2021). Report: UK 's COVID lockdown started too late. Retrieved 20 November 2021, from <https://www.mercurynews.com/2021/10/11/report-uk-s-covid-lockdown-started-too-late/>
- Kus, B. (2006). Neoliberalism, Institutional Change and the Welfare State: The Case of Britain and France. *International Journal Of Comparative Sociology*, 47(6), 488-525. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0020715206070268>
- Labonté, R., & Stuckler, D. (2015). The rise of neoliberalism: how bad economics imperils health and what to do about it. *Journal Of Epidemiology And Community Health*, 70(3), 312-318. doi: 10.1136/jech-2015-206295
- Lewis, J. (2020). Government and NHS reform since the 1980s: the role of the market vis à vis the state, and of political ideas about the 'direction of travel'. Social Policy Working Paper 05-20. Retrieved 10 November 2021, from.
- Leys, C. (2020). *A Decade of Austerity Has Decimated the UK's National Health Service*. Jacobinmag.com. Retrieved 1 November 2021, from <https://jacobinmag.com/2020/07/nhs-austerity>.
- Lovett, S., & Lintern, S. (2021). Mounting fears over burnout among NHS staff as second wave intensifies. Retrieved 20 December 2021, from <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/health/coronavirus-burnout-nhs-doctors-nurses-second-wave-cases-deaths-latest-b1256453.html>
- McGregor, S. (2001). Neoliberalism and health care. *International Journal Of Consumer Studies*, 25(2), 82
- Mellish, T., Luzmore, N., & Shahbaz, A. (2020). Why were the UK and USA unprepared for the COVID-19 pandemic? The systemic weaknesses of neoliberalism: a comparison between the UK, USA, Germany, and South Korea. *Pluto Journals*, 7(1), 9-45.



- Mudge, S. (2008). THE STATE OF THE ART: What is neo-liberalism?. Socio-Economic Review, 6, 703-731. Retrieved 1 November 2021, from.
- Myles, J. (1984). Old Age in the Welfare State: The Political Economy of Public Pensions. University Press of Kansas.
- National Audit Office. (2020). Investigation into government procurement during the COVID-19 pandemic (pp. 4-13). National Audit Office.
- Oliver, D. (2021). David Oliver: Wider health determinants aren't just for pandemics. Retrieved 22 November 2021, from <https://www.bmj.com/content/372/bmj.n276>
- Peck, J. (2010). *Constructions of Neoliberal Reason*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- People's Health Movement, Medact, Medico International, Third World Network, Health Action International and ALAMES. (2014). Global Health Watch 4: An Alternative World Health Report. London: Zed Books Ltd.
- Perrigo, B. (2020). Coronavirus Could Hit the U.K. Harder Than Any Other European Country. Here's What Went Wrong. Retrieved 27 December 2021, from <https://time.com/5823382/britain-coronavirus-Response/>
- Picheta, R. (2020). The UK ordered 400,000 gowns from Turkey to address its PPE crisis. Some didn't meet safety standards. Retrieved 17 December 2021, from <https://edition.cnn.com/2020/05/07/uk/uk-turkey-ppe-gowns-safety-gbr-intl-scli/index.html>
- Propper, C., Stoye, G., & Zaranko, B. (2020). The Wider Impacts of the Coronavirus Pandemic on the NHS *. *Fiscal Studies*, 41(2), 345-356. doi: 10.1111/1475-5890.12227
- Public Accounts Committee. (2020). *Readying the NHS and social care for the COVID-19 peak*. House of Commons.
- Public Accounts Committee. (2021). *COVID-19: Government procurement and supply of Personal Protective Equipment*. House of Commons.
- Pym, H. (2021). Covid-19: Critical care beds shortage prompts calls for review. Retrieved 12 December 2021, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-56234898>



- Richmond-Bishop, I., & Bailey, S. (2020). Coronavirus in austerity Britain: poverty and discrimination compounded. Retrieved 22 November 2021, from <https://www.openglobalrights.org/coronavirus-in-austerity-britain-poverty-discrimination-compounded/>
- Ruane, S. (2015). Market reforms and privatisation in the English National Health Service. *Cuadernos De Relaciones Laborales*, 34(2), 263-291. Retrieved 10 November 2021, from.
- Schmidt, V. (2001). The politics of economic adjustment in France and Britain: when does discourse matter?. *Journal Of European Public Policy*, 8(2), 247-264. doi: 10.1080/13501760110041578
- Terris, M. (1999). The Neoliberal Triad of Anti-Health Reforms: Government Budget Cutting, Deregulation, and Privatization. *Journal Of Public Health Policy*, 20(2), 149. doi: 10.2307/3343209-89. doi: 10.1111/j.1470-6431.2001.00183.x
- The International Longevity Centre UK. (2020). Tipping the scales: Exploring austerity and public health in the UK. London: The International Longevity Centre UK.
- Thomas, C. (2020). Resilient Health and Care: Learning the Lessons of Covid-19 in the English NHS.
- Triggle, N. (2021). Covid: UK's early Response worst public health failure ever, MPs say. Retrieved 20 November 2021, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/health-58876089>
- Venugopal, R. (2015). Neoliberalism as concept. *Economy And Society*, 44(2), 165-187. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03085147.2015.1013356>
- Viens, A. (2019). Neo-Liberalism, Austerity and the Political Determinants of Health. *Health Care Analysis*, 27(3), 147-152. doi: 10.1007/s10728-019-00377-7
- Watkins, J., Wulaningsih, W., Da Zhou, C., Marshall, D., Sylianteng, G., & Dela Rosa, P. et al. (2017). Effects of health and social care spending constraints on mortality in England: a time trend analysis. *BMJ Open* 2017. doi: doi:10.1136/bmjopen-2017-017722
- Williams, G., Rajan, S., & Cylus, J. (2021). COVID-19 IN THE UNITED KINGDOM: How Austerity and a Loss of State Capacity Undermined the Crisis Response. In S.



UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA

Konsekuensi Neoliberalisme dalam Respon terhadap Manajemen Pandemi COVID-19 di Inggris
GARDENIA SEKARTAJI AZZAHRA, Drs. Muhadi Sugiono, MA
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>

Greer, E. King, E. da Fonseca & A. Peralta- Santos, *Coronavirus Politics* (1st ed.).

University of Michigan Press. Retrieved from

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3998/mpub.11927713.14>