

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

### Buku

- Bedner, Adriaan W, Sulistyowati Irianto, Jan Michiel Otto, and Theresia Dyah Wirastri. "Kajian Sosio-Legal." *Denpasar: Pustaka Larasan*, 2012.
- Fachrudin, Achmad. *Oligarki Demokrasi Dan Konglomerasi Media Massa*. Pustaka Literasindo, 2022.
- Hadiz, Vedi, and Richard Robison. *Reorganising Power in Indonesia: The Politics of Oligarchy in an Age of Markets*. Routledge, 2004.
- Hiariej, Erick, Ucu Martanto, and Ahmad Musyaddad. *Politik Transisi Pasca Soeharto*. Fisipol UGM, 2004.
- Huda, Nimatul. "Hukum Tata Negara Indonesia," 2011.
- Institut Studi Arus Informasi (Indonésie)., and AE Priyono. *Warisan Orde Baru: Studi Fenomena Dan Sistem Bablaskan Rezim Soeharto Di Era Reformasi*. Institut Studi Arus Informasi, 2005.
- Irwansyah, Irwansyah. "Penelitian Hukum: Pilihan Metode & Praktik Penulisan Artikel." *Yogyakarta: Mirra Buana Media* 8 (2020).
- Jeffrey Winters. *Oligarki*. Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2011.
- Jimly Asshiddiqie. *Oligarki Dan Totalitarianisme Baru*. Depok: LP3S, 2022.
- Jufian Podung, Beckham. "Politik Klientelistik Elektoral Indonesia." In *Regresi Demokrasi Dan Penataan Kelembagaan Negara*. Malang: Setara Press, 2024.
- Latif, Yudi. *Negara Paripurna: Historisitas, Rasionalitas, Dan Aktualitas Pancasila*. Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2011.
- Mochtar, Zainal Arifin. *Politik Hukum Pembentukan Undang-Undang*. Buku Mojok, 2022.
- Moh. Mahfud MD. *Politik Hukum Di Indonesia*. Cetakan Ke-5. Jakarta: PT Rajawali Pers, 2012.
- Nasikun. "Reformasi Politik, Demokrasi Dan Integrasi Nasional." In *Politik Transisi Pasca Soeharto*, 316. Yogyakarta: FISIPOL UGM, 2004.
- Nonet, Philippe, Philip Selznick, and Robert A Kagan. *Law and Society in Transition: Toward Responsive Law*. Routledge, 2017.
- Paryono, Paryono, S H Absori, and Muhammad Muinudinillah. "Hukum Energi Ketenagalistrikan Indonesia: Studi Kebijakan Ketenagalistrikan Berbasis Kesejahteraan." Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta, 2020.
- Roosa, John. *Buried Histories: The Anticommunist Massacres of 1965–1966 in Indonesia*. University of Wisconsin Press, 2020.
- Satjipto Rahardjo. *Ilmu Hukum*. Cetakan Ke-4. Citra Aditya Bakti, 2014.
- Shidarta, Hukum Penalaran, and Penalaran Hukum. "Genta Publishing." Yogyakarta, 2013.
- Sina Chandranegara, Ibnu. "Kuasa Modal Dalam Pembentukan Peraturan Perundang-Undangan." In *Monograf Dekonstruksi Perundang-Undangan Indonesia: Menggapai Cita-Cita Ideal Pembentukan Peraturan Perundang-Undangan*. Malang: Fakultas Hukum Universitas Brawijaya, 2023.

Sirajuddin. *Legislative Drafting Metode Partisipatif Dalam Pembentukan Peraturan Perundang-Undangan*. Malang: Setarapress, 2016.

Soeprapto, Maria Farida Indrati. *Ilmu Perundang-Undangan 2: Proses Dan Teknik Penyusunan*. PT Kanisius, 2018.

### Artikel Jurnal

Agassi, Muhammad Adhe, Rikki Hendrawan, and Arkan Aziz Mubarak. "Analisis Politik Hukum Undang-Undang Nomor 3 Tahun 2020 Tentang Perubahan Atas Undang-Undang Nomor 4 Tahun 2009 Tentang Pertambangan Mineral Dan Batubara." *Madani: Jurnal Ilmiah Multidisiplin* 1, no. 11 (2023).

Altman, David. "The Potential of Direct Democracy: A Global Measure (1900–2014)." *Social Indicators Research* 133, no. 3 (2017): 1207–27.

Andriani, Henny. "Partisipasi Bermakna Sebagai Wujud Asas Keterbukaan Dalam Pembentukan Undang-Undang." *UNES Journal of Swara Justisia* 7, no. 1 (2023): 306–18.

Ansell, Ben, and Jane Gingrich. "Political Inequality," 2022.

Ansori, Lutfil. "Pembentukan Kabinet Koalisi Dalam Sistem Presidensial Multi Partai Di Indonesia." *Al Daulah: Jurnal Hukum Pidana Dan Ketatanegaraan*, 2023, 316–34.

Antlöv, Hans. "Not Enough Politics! Power, Participation and the New Democratic Polity in Indonesia." *Local Power and Politics in Indonesia: Decentralisation and Democratisation, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore*, 2003.

Apriliyanti, Indri Dwi. "Continuity and Complexity: A Study of Patronage Politics in State-Owned Enterprises in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia." *Critical Asian Studies* 55, no. 4 (2023): 516–37.

Arifin, Muhammad Zainul, and Yunial Laily Mutiari. "Suatu Pandangan Tentang Eksistensi Dan Penguatan Dewan Perwakilan Daerah." *Jurnal Thengkyang* 2, no. 1 (2017): 1–15.

Arnstein, Sherry. "'A Ladder of Citizen Participation': Journal of the American Institute of Planners (1969)." In *The City Reader*, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429261732-36>.

Aspinall, Edward. "Oligarchic Populism: Prabowo Subianto's Challenge to Indonesian Democracy." *Indonesia*, no. 99 (2015): 1–28.

Aspinall, Edward, Diego Fossati, Burhanuddin Muhtadi, and Eve Warburton. "Elites, Masses, and Democratic Decline in Indonesia." *Democratization* 27, no. 4 (May 18, 2020): 505–26. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2019.1680971>.

Asrinaldi, Mohammad Agus Yusoff, and dan Zamzami Abdul Karim. "Oligarchy in the Jokowi Government and Its Influence on the Implementation of Legislative Function in Indonesia." *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics* 7, no. 2 (2022): 189–203.

———. "Oligarchy in the Jokowi Government and Its Influence on the Implementation of Legislative Function in Indonesia." *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics* 7, no. 2 (2022): 189–203.

- A'yun, Rafiqha Qurrata, and Abdil Mughis Mudhoffir. "Reproducing Indonesia's Illiberal Legalism amid Covid-19: Public Health Crisis as a Means of Accumulation." *Austl. J. Asian L.* 22 (2022): 21.
- Azhar, Muhammad Ali. "Relasi Pengusaha-Penguasa Dalam Demokrasi: Fenomena Rent Seeker Pengusaha Jadi Penguasa." *Publica* 2, no. 1 (2012).
- Baker, Jacqui. "Reformasi Reversal: Structural Drivers of Democratic Decline in Jokowi's Middle-Income Indonesia." *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* 59, no. 3 (2023): 341–64.
- . "Reformasi Reversal: Structural Drivers of Democratic Decline in Jokowi's Middle-Income Indonesia." *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* 59, no. 3 (2023): 341–64.
- Buehler, Michael. "Elite Competition and Changing State-Society Relations: Shari'a Policymaking in Indonesia." *Beyond Oligarchy: Wealth, Power, and Contemporary Indonesian Politics*, 2014, 157–75.
- Bulmer, Elliot, and Stuart White. "Constitutions against Oligarchy." In *Wealth and Power*, 274–94. Routledge, 2022.
- Casanova, Pablo Gonzalez. "Globalism, Neoliberalism, and Democracy." *Social Justice* 23, no. 1/2 (63-64 (1996): 39–48.
- Chandranegara, Ibnu Sina, and Luthfi Marfungah. "Regulatory Capture on Emergency Due Process of Law-Making." *Cogent Social Sciences* 10, no. 1 (2024): 2356382.
- Chidqi, Achmad Labib. "Perluasan Kewenangan Dewan Perwakilan Daerah Ditinjau Dari Bikameral Yang Ideal." *Jurnal Ilmu Hukum: ALETHEA* 4, no. 1 (2020): 75–94.
- Corrales, Javier. "Autocratic Legalism in Venezuela." *Journal of Democracy* 26, no. 2 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2015.0031>.
- Debora Sanur. "Keberadaan Koalisi Dan Oposisi Dalam Kinerja DPR RI 2019–2024." *PARLIAMENTARY REVIEW* 1, no. 4 (2019).
- DR, Muhammad Rusydi, and Muhtar Said. "Kajian Awal Kedudukan Omnibus Law Dalam Pembentukan Peraturan Perundang-Undangan Di Indonesia." *Jurnal De Lege Ferenda Trisakti*, 2024, 1–17.
- Elsässer, Lea, and Armin Schäfer. "Political Inequality in Rich Democracies." *Annual Review of Political Science* 26, no. 1 (2023): 469–87.
- Eve, Warburton. "Indonesian Politics in 2016: Jokowi and the New Developmentalism." *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* 52, no. 3 (2016): 297–320.
- Fadhil, Moh. "Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi, Politik Hukum Antikorupsi Dan Delegitimasi Pemberantasan Korupsi." *Al Ahkam* 15, no. 2 (2019): 7–36.
- Faedlulloh, Dodi, Rahayu Sulistiowati, Apandi Apandi, and Vina Karmilasari. "Oligarchy and Elite Politics in The 2020 Local Election: Short Review." *Journal of Political Issues* 5, no. 1 (July 4, 2023): 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.33019/jpi.v5i1.113>.
- Faiz, Pan Mohamad. "Teori Keadilan John Rawls." *Jurnal Konstitusi* 6, no. 1 (2009).
- Fariz, Donal. "Pemerintahan Joko Widodo Dan Serangan Politik Terhadap KPK." *Integritas: Jurnal Antikorupsi* 5, no. 2 (2019): 19–33.

- Fauzi, Ahmad Fadli. "Politik Hukum Undang-Undang Cipta Kerja Pada Aspek Hubungan Industrial." *Lex Renaissance* 8, no. 1 (November 30, 2023): 20–38. <https://doi.org/10.20885/JLR.vol8.iss1.art2>.
- Fukuoka, Yuki. "Debating Indonesia's Reformasi: Bridging 'Parallel Universes.'" *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 44, no. 3 (2014): 540–52.
- . "Oligarchy and Democracy in Post-Suharto Indonesia." *Political Studies Review* 11, no. 1 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1478-9302.2012.00286.x>.
- Fukuoka, Yuki, and Luky Djani. "Revisiting the Rise of Jokowi: The Triumph of Reformasi or an Oligarchic Adaptation of Post-Clientelist Initiatives?" *South East Asia Research* 24, no. 2 (2016): 204–21.
- Galang Asmara, Muh.Risnain, Zunnuraeni, and Sri Karyati. "KONSEP PENGUATAN FUNGSI LEGISLASI DEWAN PERWAKILAN RAKYAT REPUBLIK INDONESIA PASCA AMANDEMEN UUD NRI TAHUN 1945." *Jurnal Kompilasi Hukum* 4, no. 2 (December 2019): 194–205. <https://doi.org/10.29303/jkh.v4i2.28>.
- Geissbühler, Simon. "Does Direct Democracy Really Work? A Review of the Empirical Evidence from Switzerland." *Przegląd Politologiczny*, no. 4 (2014): 87–97.
- Gottfried, Shelly. *Contemporary Oligarchies in Developed Democracies*. Springer, 2019.
- Hadiz, Vedi R. "The Left and Indonesia's 1960s: The Politics of Remembering and Forgetting." *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 7, no. 4 (2006): 554–69.
- Hadiz, Vedi R, and Richard Robison. "The Political Economy of Oligarchy and the Reorganization of Power in Indonesia." *Indonesia* 96, no. 1 (2013): 35–57.
- Hakim, Muhammad Helmy. "Pergeseran Orientasi Penelitian Hukum: Dari Doktrinal Ke Sosio-Legal." *Syariah: Jurnal Hukum Dan Pemikiran* 16, no. 2 (2016): 105–14.
- Hall, Anthony. "Patron-client Relations," 1974.
- Hapsoro, Fakhris Lutfianto. "PRINSIP KONSTITUSIONALISME DALAM POLITIK HUKUM PEMBENTUKAN UNDANG-UNDANG." *Jurnal Pro Justice: Kajian Hukum Dan Sosial* 1, no. 2 (March 28, 2020): 1–11.
- Haryanto. "Konfigurasi Elite Dan Demokrasi: Aktor, Sumber Daya, Dan Strategi Kontestasi." *Prisma: Negara, Kesejahteraan, Dan Demokrasi* 36, no. 1 (2017): 22–37.
- Helmi, Helmi Al Djufri, and Aay Muhammad Furkon. "HUBUNGAN POLITIK DAN HUKUM DALAM PROSES LEGISLASI DI INDONESIA." *JURNAL KLIENDI LAW* 1, no. 1 (2024): 1–14.
- Hermanto, Bagus. "Pembenahan Pendekatan Ex-Ante Dan Ex-Post Facto Dalam Perbaikan Kualitas Legislasi Dan Penataan Perundang-Undangan Indonesia." *Jurnal Legislasi Indonesia* 21, no. 1 (2024): 56–69.
- Hermanto, Bagus, Asrul Ibrahim Nur, and Made Subawa. "Indonesia Parliamentary Reform and Legislation Quality Backsliding Phenomenon: Case of Indonesia Post Reformasi." *The Theory and Practice of Legislation* 12, no. 1 (2024): 73–99.

- Hidayat, Arif, and Zaenal Arifin. "Politik Hukum Legislasi Sebagai Socio-Equilibrium Di Indonesia." *Jurnal Ius Constituendum* 4, no. 2 (2019): 147–59.
- Huq, Aziz, and Tom Ginsburg. "How to Lose a Constitutional Democracy." *Chicago Unbound Journal Articles Faculty Scholarship*, 2018. [https://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/journal\\_articles](https://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/journal_articles).
- Irianto, Sulistyowati. "Legal Education for The Future of Indonesia: A Critical Assessment." *The Indonesian Journal of Socio-Legal Studies* 1, no. 1 (2021): 1.
- Isra, Saldi, Fahmi Idris, and Hilaire Tegan. "Designing a Constitutional Presidential Democracy in Indonesia." *J. Pol. & L.* 13 (2020): 22.
- Izzati, Nabiyla Risfa. "Kepastian Hukum vs Ketidakpastian Kerja: Substansi Ketenagakerjaan Dalam Undang-Undang Nomor 6 Tahun 2023 Tentang Cipta Kerja." *Jurnal Hukum IUS QUIA IUSTUM* 31, no. 2 (2024): 384–407.
- Jordan, Sara R, and Phillip W Gray. "American Bureaucracy in an Age of Oligarchy." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 32, no. 3 (2019): 279–300.
- Junaidi, Veri, and Viola Reininda. "Relasi Presiden Dan DPR Dalam Pembentukan Undang-Undang Pada Sistem Pemerintahan Presidensial Multipartai." *Jentera: Jurnal Hukum* 3, no. 1 (2020).
- Kawamura, Koichi. "Politics of Inequality in Indonesia: Does Democracy Matter?" *Emerging States at Crossroads*, 2019, 231–53.
- Khan, Tareq Hossain. "Co-Existence of Democracy and Capitalism: A Reflection of Reciprocity or Ideology?" *Siyasal: Journal of Political Sciences* 32, no. 2 (2023): 311–55.
- Kobori, Masahiro. "Referendums in Asia." In *Referendums around the World: The Continued Growth of Direct Democracy*, 207–17. Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Kusman, Airlangga Pribadi. "Kuasa Oligarki Dan Posisi Masyarakat Sipil: Relasi Antara Intelektual Dan Kekuasaan." *Jurnal Prisma*, 2017, 148–60.
- Liddle, R William. "Improving the Quality of Democracy in Indonesia." *Indonesia* 96 (2013): 59–80.
- Linder, Wolf, Sean Mueller, Wolf Linder, and Sean Mueller. "Direct Democracy." *Swiss Democracy: Possible Solutions to Conflict in Multicultural Societies*, 2021, 119–65.
- Mahardika, Ahmad Gelora. "The Implementation of Referendum as a Limitation to Autocratic Legalism in the Formation of the Nusantara Capital City Law." *Al-Ahkam: Jurnal Ilmu Syari'ah Dan Hukum* 9, no. 2 (2024): 113–29.
- Mahfuz, Abdul Latif. "Faktor Yang Mempengaruhi Politik Hukum Dalam Suatu Pembentukan Undang-Undang." *Jurnal Kepastian Hukum Dan Keadilan* 1, no. 1 (2020): 43–57.
- Manullang, Sardjana Orba, Yessy Kusumadewi, Verawati Verawati, Henry Kristian Siburian, Hendro Siburian, and Baren Sipayung. "Problematisa Hukum Atas Pembentukan Perubahan Kedua Atas UU KPK." *Journal on Education* 5, no. 2 (2023): 4885–97.



- Markus, Stanislav, and Volha Charnysh. "The Flexible Few: Oligarchs and Wealth Defense in Developing Democracies." *Comparative Political Studies* 50, no. 12 (2017): 1632–65.
- Michele Ford and Thomas B. Pepinsky. "Beyond Oligarchy? Critical Exchanges on Political Power and Material Inequality in Indonesia." *Indonesia*, no. 96 (2013): 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.5728/indonesia.96.0001>.
- Mietzner, Marcus. *Reinventing Asian Populism: Jokowi's Rise, Democracy, and Political Contestation in Indonesia*. JSTOR, 2015.
- . "The Limits of Autocratisation in Indonesia: Power Dispersal and Elite Competition in a Compromised Democracy." *Third World Quarterly*, 2024, 1–17.
- Mochtar, Zainal Arifin, and Idul Rishan. "Autocratic Legalism: The Making of Indonesian Omnibus Law." *Yustisia* 11, no. 1 (2022): 29–41.
- Mudhoffir, Abdil Mughis, and Vedi R Hadiz. "Indonesia's 'Third-Wave' Democratic Model?" In *Routledge Handbook of Illiberalism*, 753–64. Routledge, 2021.
- . "Social Resilience against Covid-19 Masks Indonesian Class Divide." *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs* 22, no. 1 (2021): 45–52.
- Muhtadi, Burhanuddin. "2024/104 'Indonesia's Regional Elections: Electoral Competition Limited By Cartel Politics' by Burhanuddin Muhtadi" 2024, no. No. 104 (December 19, 2024). <https://www.iseas.edu.sg/articles-commentaries/iseas-perspective/2024-104-indonesias-regional-elections-electoral-competition-limited-by-cartel-politics-by-burhanuddin-muhtadi/>.
- . "Jokowi's First Year: A Weak President Caught between Reform and Oligarchic Politics." *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* 51, no. 3 (2015): 349–68.
- Muhtadi, Burhanuddin, and Eve Warburton. "Inequality and Democratic Support in Indonesia." *Pacific Affairs* 93, no. 1 (2020): 31–58.
- Muhtadi, Burhanuddin, Eve Warburton, and Aninda Dewayanti. "Perceptions of Inequality in Indonesia: A Matter of Partisan Politics?," 2019.
- Nadzri, Muhamad MN, and Jamaie HJ Hamil. "From Autocracy to Oligarchy: Elite Adjustment and Authoritarian Legacies in the Jokowi's Administration." *Akademika* 94, no. 1 (2024): 118–30.
- Novianto, Arif, and Anindya Dessi Wulansari. "Responding to Elite Consolidation: The Anti-Cement-Factory Movement Resisting Oligarchy in an Indonesian Local Election." *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik* 26, no. 3 (2023): 298–310.
- Oktaryal, Agil. *Legislasi Masa Pandemi: Catatan Kinerja Legislasi DPR 2020*. Pusat Studi Hukum & Kebijakan Indonesia, 2021.
- Prihandono, Iman, and Ekawestri Prajwalita Widiati. "Regulatory Capture in Energy Sector: Evidence from Indonesia." *The Theory and Practice of Legislation* 11, no. 3 (2023): 207–31.
- Putro, Widodo Dwi, and Herlambang Wiratrasman. "Penelitian Hukum, Antara Yang Normatif Dan Empiris." *Episterna Digest* 5 (2015).
- Putuhena, M. Ilham F. "Politik Hukum Perundang-Undangan: Mempertegas Reformasi Legislasi Yang Progresif." *Jurnal Rechts Vinding: Media*

- Pembinaan Hukum Nasional* 2, no. 3 (December 31, 2013): 375–95. <https://doi.org/10.33331/rechtsvinding.v2i3.66>.
- Rafiqi, Ilham Dwi. “Pembaruan Politik Hukum Pembentukan Perundang-Undangan Di Bidang Pengelolaan Sumber Daya Alam Perspektif Hukum Progresif.” *Bina Hukum Lingkungan* 5, no. 2 (2021): 319–39.
- Rahmawati, Desi. “Demokrasi Dalam Genggaman Para Pemburu Rente (Studi Kasus Asahan Sumatera Utara).” *JlIP: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Pemerintahan* 1, no. 2 (2017): 86–102.
- Rakhmani, Inaya, and Muningsari Sri Saraswati. “Authoritarian Populism in Indonesia: The Role of the Political Campaign Industry in Engineering Consent and Coercion.” *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 40, no. 3 (2021). <https://doi.org/10.1177/18681034211027885>.
- Regilme Jr, Salvador Santino F. “Constitutional Order in Oligarchic Democracies: Neoliberal Rights versus Socio-Economic Rights.” *Law, Culture and the Humanities* 19, no. 1 (2023): 126–43.
- Reilly, Shauna. *Direct Democracy: A Double-Edged Sword*. Lynne Rienner Publishers Boulder, CO, 2018.
- Rishan, Idul. “Evaluasi Performa Legislasi Dalam Pembentukan Omnibus Law Cipta Kerja: Kajian Legisprudensi.” *Undang: Jurnal Hukum* 5, no. 1 (2022): 43–67.
- . “Risiko Koalisi Gemuk Dalam Sistem Presidensial Di Indonesia.” *Jurnal Hukum Ius Quia Iustum* 27, no. 2 (2020): 219–40.
- Samsuddin, Haris, Cakti Indra Gunawan, and Cahyo Sasmito. “Membongkar Relasi Kekuasaan Oligarki Di Kota Batu : Studi Kasus Penyalahgunaan Kekuasaan Dalam Pemberian Keringanan Pajak Dan Korupsi Kebijakan PT BWR.” *Jurnal Ilmu Administrasi: Media Pengembangan Ilmu Dan Praktek Administrasi* 16, no. 2 (2019). <https://doi.org/10.31113/jia.v16i2.511>.
- Satrio, Abdurrachman. “Constitutional Retrogression in Indonesia Under President Joko Widodo’s Government: What Can the Constitutional Court Do?” *Constitutional Review* 4, no. 2 (2018). <https://doi.org/10.31078/consrev425>.
- Scheppele, Kim Lane. “Autocratic Legalism.” *Law Review* 85, no. 2 (2018): 545–84. <https://doi.org/10.2307/26455917>.
- Sethi, Amal. “Looking beyond the Constituent Power Theory: The Theory of Equitable Elite Bargaining.” *Global Constitutionalism* 13, no. 1 (2024): 126–53.
- Setiawan, Adjie Hari. “Politik Hukum Presidential Threshold 20% Dalam Undang-Undang Nomor 7 Tahun 2017.” *Japhtn-Han* 2, no. 1 (2023): 169–86.
- Sherlock, Stephen. “Made by Committee and Consensus: Parties and Policy in the Indonesian Parliament.” *South East Asia Research* 20, no. 4 (2012): 551–68.
- . “Parties and Decision-Making in the Indonesian Parliament: A Case Study of RUU APP, the Anti-Pornography Bill.” *Australian Journal of Asian Law* 10, no. 2 (2009): 159–83.
- . *The Indonesian Parliament after Two Elections: What Has Really Changed?* Centre for Democratic Institutions, 2007.

- Sherlock, Stephen, Edward Aspinall, and Marcus Mietzner. "People's Forum or Chamber of Cronies? The Parliament in Indonesia's Decade of Democracy." *Problems of Democratisation in Indonesia*, 2010, 160–80.
- Sitaraman, Ganesh. "Countering Nationalist Oligarchy," 2019.
- . "Economic Structure and Constitutional Structure: An Intellectual History." *Tex. L. Rev.* 94 (2015): 1301.
- Smith, Thomas B. "Referendum Politics in Asia." *Asian Survey* 26, no. 7 (1986): 793–814.
- Sopiani, Sopiani, and Zainal Mubaraq. "Politik Hukum Pembentukan Peraturan Perundang-Undangan Pasca Perubahan Undang-Undang Nomor 12 Tahun 2011 Tentang Pembentukan Peraturan Perundang-Undangan." *Jurnal Legislasi Indonesia* 17, no. 2 (2020): 146.
- Stahl, Rune Møller. "The Return of Oligarchy: Elite Power in an Age of Inequality," 2016.
- Sugeng, Sugeng. "GAGASAN PEMBATASAN KEKUASAAN DAN PENGENDALIAN OLIGARKI." *Jurnal Demokrasi Dan Politik Lokal* 5, no. 1 (2023): 70–84.
- Sulistiyanto, Priyambudi. *Politik Golput Di Indonesia: Kasus Peristiwa Yogya 1992*. Lembaga Kajian Hak-Hak Masyarakat, 1994.
- Sunardi, Sunardi. "Oligarki Di Indonesia: Relasi Kapital Yang Dominan." *Jurnal Politik Profetik* 8, no. 2 (2020): 313–17.
- Suryani, Dini, Fathimah Fildzah Izzati, Imam Syafi'i, Pandu Yuhsina Adaba, and Septi Satriani. "Kemunduran Demokrasi Tata Kelola SDA: Penguatan Oligarki Dan Pelemahan Partisipasi Civil Society." *Jurnal Penelitian Politik* 18, no. 2 (2022): 173–90.
- Susanti, Bivitri. "Menyoal Jenis Dan Hierarki Peraturan Perundang-Undangan Di Indonesia." *Jentera: Jurnal Hukum* 1, no. 2 (2017): 128–43.
- Svolik, Milan W. "Polarization versus Democracy." *Journal of Democracy* 30, no. 3 (2019): 20–32.
- Syahwal. "Gerakan Sosial Dalam Politik Hukum Pembentukan Undang-Undang Di Bidang Hukum Perburuhan." *Jurnal Legislasi Indonesia* 21, no. 3 (September 2024). <https://doi.org/10.54629/jli.v21i3.1097>.
- Syawawi, Reza. "Memutus Oligarki Dan Klientisme Dalam Sistem Politik Indonesia Melalui Pembaharuan Pengaturan Pendanaan Partai Politik Oleh Negara." *Jurnal Legislasi Indonesia* 18, no. 1 (2021): 139–52.
- Tadjoeddin, Mohammad Zulfan. "Inequality and Exclusion in Indonesia." *Journal of Southeast Asian Economies* 36, no. 3 (2019): 284–303.
- Tambunan, Derwin. "The Intervention of Oligarchy in the Indonesian Legislative Process." *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics* 8, no. 2 (2023): 637–53.
- Tardjono, Heriyono. "Reorientasi Politik Hukum Pembentukan Undang-Undang Di Indonesia." *Jurnal Renaissance* 1, no. 02 (2016): 61–74.
- Therborn, Göran. "The Rule of Capital and the Rise of Democracy." *New Left Review*, no. 103 (1977): 3.
- Toloh, Pascal Wilmar Yehezkiel. "Formulasi Sistem Partisipasi Bermakna (Meaningful Participation) Dalam Pembentukan Peraturan Daerah Sebagai



- Penguatan Demokrasi Lokal.” *Jurnal Legislasi Indonesia* 21, no. 3 (2024): 304–18.
- Tomsa, Dirk. “Regime Resilience and Presidential Politics in Indonesia.” *Contemporary Politics* 24, no. 3 (2018): 266–85.
- Tomsa, Dirk, and Narissa Bax. “Democratic Regression and Environmental Politics in Indonesia.” *Asian Studies Review* 47, no. 4 (2023): 740–60.
- Ulum, Muhammad Bahrul, and Nilna Aliyan Hamida. “Revisiting Liberal Democracy and Asian Values in Contemporary Indonesia.” *Const. Rev.* 4 (2018): 111.
- Vergara, Camila. “Towards Material Anti-Oligarchic Constitutionalism.” *Revus. Journal for Constitutional Theory and Philosophy of Law/Revija Za Ustavno Teorijo in Filozofijo Prava*, no. 46 (2022).
- Warburton, Eve. “Inequality, Nationalism and Electoral Politics in Indonesia.” *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 2018, 135–52.
- . “Private Power and Public Office: The Rise of Business Politicians in Indonesia.” *Critical Asian Studies*, 2024, 1–23.
- Warburton, Eve, and Edward Aspinall. “Explaining Indonesia’s Democratic Regression: Structure, Agency and Popular Opinion.” *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 41, no. 2 (2019). <https://doi.org/10.1355/cs41-2k>.
- Warburton, Eve, Burhanuddin Muhtadi, Edward Aspinall, and Diego Fossati. “When Does Class Matter? Unequal Representation in Indonesian Legislatures.” *Third World Quarterly* 42, no. 6 (2021): 1252–75. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2021.1882297>.
- Wibowo, Ghiyats Amri, Muhammad Alfin Imanullah, Haqie Religia Saintika, and Fayza Reizha Isfany. “Pembatasan Oligarki Dalam Mewujudkan Sistem Demokrasi Di Indonesia.” *Media of Law and Sharia* 5, no. 3 (2024).
- Wijaya, Henky. “Evolusi Oligarki Di Indonesia.” *Wijayanto, AP Budiatri, & HP Wiratraman, Demokrasi Tanpa Demos: Refleksi* 100 (2021): 822–30.
- Winters, Jeffrey A. “Oligarchy and Democracy in Indonesia.” *Indonesia* 96, no. 1 (2013): 11–33.
- Wiratraman, Herlambang P. “Constitutional Struggles and the Court in Indonesia’s Turn to Authoritarian Politics.” *Federal Law Review* 50, no. 3 (2022). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0067205X221107404>.
- Wiryadi, Uyan, and Edy Dwi Martono. “Politik Hukum Dalam Pembentukan Peraturan Perundang-Undangan Nasional.” *Krisna Law: Jurnal Mahasiswa Fakultas Hukum Universitas Krisnadwipayana* 6, no. 1 (2024).
- Zuhri, Sholehudin. “Proses Politik Dalam Pembentukan Regulasi Pemilu: Analisis Pertarungan Kekuasaan Pada Pembentukan Undang-Undang Nomor 7 Tahun 2017 Tentang Pemilu.” *Jurnal Wacana Politik* 3, no. 2 (2018): 94–107.

### **Skripsi, Tesis, Disertasi, Bahan Ajar dan Karya Ilmiah Lainnya**

- Hargens, Boni. *Oligarchic Cartelization in Post-Suharto Indonesia*. Dorrance Publishing, 2021.
- Sumardjono, Maria S W. “Bahan Kuliah: Metodologi Penelitian Ilmu Hukum Edisi Revisi.” *Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta*, 2019.

- Susanti, Bivitri. "Mengembalikan Lembaga Legislatif Pada Kedudukan Dan Fungsinya Yang Sejati." Jakarta, 2018.
- Wiratraman, Herlambang P. "Penelitian Sosio-Legal Dan Konsekuensi Metodologisnya." *Surabaya: Center of Human Right Law Studies (HRLS), Fakultas Hukum Universitas Airlangga, Tt*, 2008.
- Wiratraman, Herlambang Perdana. *Good Governance and Legal Reform in Indonesia*. Mahidol University, 2006.
- Wirawiryawan, Raden Mas Muhammad Daffa Muharam. "Pengaruh Demokrasi Dan Oligarki Terhadap Ketimpangan Ekonomi Di Indonesia (Periode 2006-2018)," n.d.

### **Hasil Penelitian dan Laporan**

- Abdul Malik Akdom, Alif Nur Fauzi Nurwidiastomo, Ady Anugrah Pratama, Heri Pramono, Ivan Wagner, Pascal David Wungkana, Rizky Putra Edry, and Siti Rakhma Mary Herawati. "Laporan Kajian Audit Perpu Cipta Kerja; Kudeta Terhadap Konstitusi, Membahayakan Kehidupan Demokrasi, Negara Hukum Dan Hak Asasi Manusia." Jakarta Pusat: Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Indonesia (YLBHI), February 2023. <https://lbhpadang.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/a-am.pdf>.
- Aidulsyah, F, D Margiansyah, FE Kurniawan, D Kusumaningrum, K Sabilla, and YN Aini. "Peta Pebisnis Di Parlemen: Potret Oligarki Di Indonesia." *Marepus Corner*, 2020.
- Bersihkan Indonesia and Fraksi Rakyat Indonesia. "OMNIBUS LAW KITAB HUKUM OLIGARKI: Para Pebisnis Tambang Dan Energi Kotor Di Balik Omnibus Law: Peran, Konflik Kepentingan, Dan Rekam Jejaknya," 2020. <http://bit.ly/MateriLaporanBI-FRI>.
- "Catatan ICW\_UU Cipta Kerja\_pdf.Pdf." Accessed November 16, 2024. [https://antikorupsi.org/sites/default/files/dokumen/Catatan%20ICW\\_UU%20Cipta%20Kerja\\_pdf.pdf](https://antikorupsi.org/sites/default/files/dokumen/Catatan%20ICW_UU%20Cipta%20Kerja_pdf.pdf).
- Chancel, Lucas, Thomas Piketty, Emmanuel Saez, and Gabriel Zucman. *World Inequality Report 2022*. Harvard University Press, 2022.
- Ferdian Yazid, Grita Anindarini, Kurnia Ramadhana, Lalola Easter, and Diky Anandya. "Memperkuat Regulasi Anti Konflik Kepentingan: Studi Kasus Pebisnis Di Balik Pengelolaan Sumber Daya Energi." *Indonesia Corruption Watch & Transparency International Indonesia*, 2023. <https://antikorupsi.org/sites/default/files/dokumen/Kajian%20Studi%20Kasus%20Konflik%20Kepentingan%20Sektor%20Sumber%20Daya%20Energi.pdf>.
- "Hasil Penelitian Potensi Konflik Kepentingan Anggota DPR RI 2014 – 2019 | ICW." Accessed November 2, 2024. <https://antikorupsi.org/id/article/hasil-penelitian-potensi-konflik-kepentingan-anggota-dpr-ri-2014-2019>.
- Jaringan Advokasi Tambang (JATAM). "JEJARING OLIGARKI TAMBANG & ENERGI Pada Pemilu 2024." JATAM: Jaringan Advokasi Tambang, 2024. <https://pemilu.jatam.org/Laporan-Pemilu-Oligarki-Tambang-Energi-2024.pdf>.

- JATAM. "Korupsi Politik Di Balik Gurita Bisnis Menteri Bahlil." JATAM, March 18, 2024. <https://jatam.org/tebet/lengkap.php?slug=korupsi-politik-di-balik-gurita-bisnis-menteri-bahlil>.
- "Kajian Pejabat Publik Dan Afiliasi Bisnis Energi.Pdf." Accessed October 28, 2024. <https://antikorupsi.org/sites/default/files/dokumen/Kajian%20Pejabat%20Publik%20dan%20Afiliasi%20Bisnis%20Energi.pdf>.
- Oxfam.org. "Towards a More Equal Indonesia: How the Government Can Take Action to Close the Gap between the Richest and the Rest." *Oxfam.Org*, no. February (2017): 1–48.
- pshk.or.id. "Pengesahan UU Cipta Kerja : Legislasi Tanpa Ruang Demokrasi," October 6, 2020. <https://pshk.or.id/publikasi/penge-sahan-uu-ci-p-ta-kerja-legis-lasi-tan-pa-ruang-demok-ra-si/>.
- Pusat Kajian Politik Departemen Ilmu Politik FISIP Universitas Indonesia. "Profil Anggota DPR Dan DPD RI 2014-2019," September 26, 2014. [http://www.puskapol.ui.ac.id/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/Rev271014\\_Final\\_Kompilasi-PPT-Seminar-26-Sept-2014-Compatibility-Mode.pdf](http://www.puskapol.ui.ac.id/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/Rev271014_Final_Kompilasi-PPT-Seminar-26-Sept-2014-Compatibility-Mode.pdf).
- Pusat Pengembangan Kebijakan Ketenagakerjaan and Kementerian Ketenagakerjaan RI. *Indonesia Employment Outlook 2024: Strengthening Employment Policy Post COVID-19 Pandemic and Government Transition*. Jakarta: Pusat Pengembangan Kebijakan Ketenagakerjaan dan Kementerian Ketenagakerjaan Republik Indonesia, 2023. <https://doi.org/10.47198/outlook.2024>.
- Unit, Economist Intelligence. "Democracy Index 2023: Age of Conflict," 2024.
- Vrushi, Jon. "Global Corruption Barometer Asia 2020: Indonesia." *TI Indonesia*, 2020, 26.

### **Internet dan Sumber Lainnya**

- Abdil Mughis Mudhoffir. "Indonesian Democracy Is Best Understood as Existing in a State of Disorder." Australian Institute of International Affairs, September 1, 2023. <https://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/australianoutlook/indonesian-democracy-is-best-understood-as-existing-in-a-state-of-disorder/>.
- Abdil Mughis Mudhoffir and Vedi Hadiz. "Dominasi Oligarki Dalam Demokrasi Indonesia Membuat Pelemahan KPK Tak Terhindarkan." *Watch Indonesia*, 2021.
- Administrator. "UU Cipta Kerja Respons Terhadap Tantangan Ketenagakerjaan." *Universitas Gadjah Mada* (blog), October 9, 2020. <https://ugm.ac.id/id/berita/20191-uu-ci-p-ta-kerja-respons-terhadap-tantangan-ketenagakerjaan/>.
- Ahmad Faiz. "Demokrat Tolak Revisi UU Minerba Ke Pembahasan Tingkat Dua." *Tempo*, May 11, 2020. <https://www.tempo.co/politik/demokrat-tolak-revisi-uu-minerba-ke-pembahasan-tingkat-dua--623402>.
- Andri Saubani. "Kejujuran Bambang Pacul Yang Buat Mahfud Geleng-Geleng Kepala Dan DPR Terbahak." *Republika*, April 2, 2023.

- <https://news.republika.co.id/berita/rsghd8409/kejujuran-bambang-pacul-yang-buat-mahfud-gelenggeleng-kepala-dan-dpr-terbahak-part3>.  
“BALEG-RJ-20201019-113449-4920.Pdf.” Accessed November 24, 2024.  
<https://berkas.dpr.go.id/akd/dokumen/BALEG-RJ-20201019-113449-4920.pdf>.
- BBC News Indonesia. “DPR Dan KPU Sepakat Jalankan Putusan MK Soal Ambang Batas Parlemen Dan Syarat Batas Usia Calon Kepala Daerah.” *BBC Indonesia*, 21 Agustus 2024 edition. Accessed September 25, 2024.  
<https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/ckgwe5qpyzjo>.
- Beech, Hannah. “The New Face of Indonesian Democracy.” *TIME*, October 15, 2014. <https://time.com/3511035/joko-widodo-indonesian-democracy/>.
- Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia. “Laporan Singkat Rapat Kerja Komisi VII DPR RI Dengan Menteri ESDM RI, Menteri Dalam Negeri RI, Menteri Hukum Dan HAM RI, Menteri Perindustrian RI, Dan Menteri Keuangan.” Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia, February 13, 2020. <https://berkas.dpr.go.id/akd/dokumen/K7-RJ-20200306-112739-6440.pdf>.
- Dwi Aditya Putra. “UU Ciptaker Bisa Jamin Kepastian Hukum Iklim Investasi Indonesia.” *Tirto*, March 24, 2023. <https://tirto.id/uu-ciptaker-bisa-jamin-kepastian-hukum-iklim-investasi-indonesia-gD2E>.
- Editor, arif adiputro. “Indeks Kinerja Legislasi DPR RI Dari Tahun 2020 – 2021.” *Indonesian Parliamentary Center* (blog). Accessed November 11, 2024.  
<https://ipc.or.id/indeks-kinerja-legislasi-dpr-ri-dari-tahun-2020-2021/>.
- ELSAM. “Mungkinkah Partisipasi Publik Melawan Kekuasaan Oligark.” Lembaga Studi dan Advokasi Masyarakat (ELSAM), 2015.  
<https://www.perpustakaan.elsam.or.id/index.php?p=fstream-pdf&fid=481&bid=15090>.
- Eve Warburton, Edward Aspinall, Diego Fossati, Burhanuddin Muhtadi & Sally White. “Indonesians Want a More Diverse Legislature.” *New Mandala*, 2024. <https://www.newmandala.org/indonesians-want-a-more-diverse-legislature/>.
- Find an Expert: The University of Melbourne. “Pandangan Moralis Kaburkan Masalah Struktural Dalam Pendidikan Tinggi: Butuh Lebih Dari Sekadar Kejujuran Untuk Atasi Pelanggaran Akademis.” Accessed January 23, 2025. <https://findanexpert.unimelb.edu.au/news/81118-pandangan-moralis-kaburkan-masalah-struktural-dalam-pendidikan-tinggi--butuh-lebih-dari-sekadar-kejujuran-untuk-atasi-pelanggaran-akademis>.
- Indonesia at Melbourne. “Old money: Indonesia beyond cronyism.” Accessed January 29, 2025. <https://indonesiaatmelbourne.unimelb.edu.au/old-money-indonesia-beyond-cronyism/>.
- Indonesia at Melbourne. “Who Are the Elites Who Control Indonesian Politics?” Accessed December 2, 2024. <https://indonesiaatmelbourne.unimelb.edu.au/who-are-the-elites-who-control-indonesian-politics/>.
- Indonesia, Badan Pusat Statistik. “Penduduk 15 Tahun Ke Atas yang Bekerja menurut Lapangan Pekerjaan Utama 1986 - 2024 - Tabel Statistik.”

- Accessed November 1, 2024. <https://www.bps.go.id/id/statistics-table/1/OTcwIzE=/penduduk-15-tahun-ke-atas-yang-bekerja-menurut-lapangan-pekerjaan-utama-1986---2023.html>.
- Indonesia, Inside. "Inside Indonesia's Newsletter | Substack." Accessed October 26, 2024. <https://insideindonesia.substack.com/embed>.
- Indonesia, Sekretariat Kabinet Republik. "Angka Kemiskinan Dan Ketimpangan Indonesia Menurun." Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia, 2024. <https://setkab.go.id/angka-kemiskinan-dan-ketimpangan-indonesia-menurun/>.
- IndoPROGRESS. "Kemenangan Prabowo Tidak Akan Mengembalikan Otoritarianisme di Indonesia," February 22, 2024. <https://indoprogress.com/2024/02/kemenangan-prabowo-tidak-akan-mengembalikan-otoritarianisme-di-indonesia/>.
- IndoPROGRESS. "Rezim Legalisme Otokrasi dan Hukum Represif di Indonesia," July 17, 2023. <https://indoprogress.com/2023/07/rezim-legalisme-otokrasi-dan-hukum-represif/>.
- Jeffrey A. Winters. "Who Will Tame the Oligarchs?" Inside Indonesia, April 22, 2011. <https://www.insideindonesia.org/editions/edition-104-jul-sep-20113/who-will-tame-the-oligarchs?>
- kumparan. "Politik Dagang Sapi." Accessed November 13, 2024. <https://kumparan.com/ahmad-muhajir-1685020387019315623/politik-dagang-sapi-21r9G7k8D8k>.
- KumparanBISNIS. "Tingkat Kemiskinan Di Era Jokowi Memang Turun, Tapi Ketimpangan Malah Meningkat." KumparanBISNIS, 2024. <https://kumparan.com/kumparanbisnis/tingkat-kemiskinan-di-era-jokowi-memang-turun-tapi-ketimpangan-malah-meningkat-222Gps1JjwD/full>.
- KUSTIASIH, NIKOLAUS HARBOWO/RINI. "RUU Cipta Kerja dan Ironi Kekuasaan Mayoritas." *kompas.id*, October 9, 2020. <https://www.kompas.id/baca/polhuk/2020/10/10/ruu-cipta-kerja-dan-ironi-kekuasaan-mayoritas>.
- "Makna Lahirnya UU Cipta Kerja Di Mata Pakar Hukum Ekonomi | Mahkamah Konstitusi Republik Indonesia." Accessed December 20, 2024. <https://www.mkri.id/index.php?page=web.Berita&id=19456&menu=2>.
- Media, Kompas Cyber. "Fraksi Kompak Revisi UU KPK, tetapi Begini Faktanya... Halaman all." KOMPAS.com, September 18, 2019. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2019/09/18/08131291/fraksi-kompak-revisi-uu-kpk-tetapi-begini-faktanya>.
- . "Senin Siang, Komisi VII DPR Rapat Pengambilan Keputusan RUU Minerba." KOMPAS.com, May 11, 2020. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2020/05/11/09384371/senin-siang-komisi-vii-dpr-rapat-pengambilan-keputusan-ruu-minerba>.
- nasional. "KontraS: Jokowi Wajarkan Tindakan Represif Aparat saat Demo." Accessed January 29, 2025. <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20201019162712-20-560178/kontra-jokowi-wajarkan-tindakan-represif-aparat-saat-demo>.



- nasional. “Manuver Oposisi di Era Omnibus Law: Pragmatis dan Tak Gigih.” Accessed November 30, 2024. <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20201006133854-32-554933/manuver-oposisi-di-era-omnibus-law-pragmatis-dan-tak-gigih>.
- Negara, Kementerian Sekretariat. “Pakar Ekonomi UGM : Undang-Undang Cipta Kerja Sesuai Tujuan Hidup Masyarakat | Sekretariat Negara.” Accessed December 19, 2024. [https://www.setneg.go.id/baca/index/pakar\\_ekonomi\\_ugm\\_undang\\_undang\\_cipta\\_kerja\\_sesuai\\_tujuan\\_hidup\\_masyarakat](https://www.setneg.go.id/baca/index/pakar_ekonomi_ugm_undang_undang_cipta_kerja_sesuai_tujuan_hidup_masyarakat).
- . “Pemerintah Dan Ahli Sebut UU Cipta Kerja Memiliki Manfaat Besar | Sekretariat Negara.” Accessed December 19, 2024. [https://www.setneg.go.id/baca/index/pemerintah\\_dan\\_ahli\\_sebut\\_uu\\_cipta\\_kerja\\_memiliki\\_manfaat\\_besar](https://www.setneg.go.id/baca/index/pemerintah_dan_ahli_sebut_uu_cipta_kerja_memiliki_manfaat_besar).
- “Pelanggaran Akademik Guru Besar | Tempo.Co.” Accessed December 21, 2024. <https://www.tempo.co/politik/pelanggaran-akademik-guru-besar-409102>.
- Pontoh, Coen Husain. “Prabowo Dan Kediktatoran Kapital.” *Indoproggress*, 2024. <https://indoproggress.com/2024/05/prabowo-dan-kediktatoran-kapital/>.
- Prabowo, Haris. “PPP: PKS & Demokrat Tolak RUU Ciptaker, tapi Setuju Pembahasan DIM.” *tirto.id*, October 5, 2020. <https://tirto.id/ppp-pks-demokrat-tolak-ruu-ciptaker-tapi-setuju-pembahasan-dim-f5Aa>.
- Rakhmani, Inaya, and Zulfa Sakhiyya. “Analysis: Indonesian policymaking is not supported by quality research and academic freedom.” *The Conversation*, November 7, 2019. <http://theconversation.com/analysis-indonesian-policymaking-is-not-supported-by-quality-research-and-academic-freedom-126023>.
- “Recapitulation of Law Case | The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia.” Accessed September 30, 2024. <https://www.mkri.id/index.php?page=web.RekapPUU&menu=4>.
- “RekamJejak.” Accessed November 30, 2024. <https://rekamjejak.net/ruu/3>.
- “Revisi UU KPK Sarat Dugaan Konflik Kepentingan | ICW.” Accessed November 7, 2024. <https://antikorupsi.org/id/article/revisi-uu-kpk-sarat-dugaan-konflik-kepentingan>.
- RI, Setjen DPR. “Tentang DPR - Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat.” Accessed November 7, 2024. <https://www.dpr.go.id/tentang/fraksi>.
- Rizaty, Monavia Ayu. “Kupas Data: Cak Imin Sebut Harta 100 Orang Kaya Lebih Dari 100 Juta Penduduk RI, Apa Benar?” *DataIndonesia.id*, 2023. <https://dataindonesia.id/ekonomi/detail/kupas-data-cak-imin-sebut-harta-100-orang-kaya-lebih-dari-100-juta-penduduk-ri-apa-benar>.
- Singgih, Viriya. “Profil & Peta Koneksi Bisnis dan Politik 10 Oligark Batubara Terbesar di Indonesia di bawah Pemerintahan Jokowi.” *Project Multatuli* (blog), February 4, 2022. <https://projectmultatuli.org/profil-peta-koneksi-bisnis-dan-politik-10-oligark-batubara-terbesar-di-indonesia-di-bawah-pemerintahan-jokowi/>.
- “Survei Indikator Politik Indonesia, Partai Politik Dan DPR Lembaga Yang Paling Tidak Dipercayai Masyarakat - Nasional Tempo.Co.” Accessed September 30, 2024. <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1720314/survei-indikator-politik->

- indonesia-partai-politik-dan-dpr-lembaga-yang-paling-tidak-dipercayai-masyarakat.
- Tempo. "Cawe-cawe Prabowo Pilkada Jakarta | tempo.co," December 1, 2024. <https://www.tempo.co/kolom/cawe-cawe-prabowo-pilkada-jakarta-1175364>.
- Tempo. "Jokowi Jadi Finalis Kejahatan Terorganisasi Dan Korupsi 2024." Tempo, December 31, 2024. <https://www.tempo.co/internasional/jokowi-jadi-finalis-kejahatan-terorganisasi-dan-korupsi-2024-1188193>.
- . "Jungkir-Balik Jokowi Melanggengkan Dinasti Politik." *Tempo*, 25 Agustus 2024 edition. Accessed September 25, 2024. <https://majalah.tempo.co/read/laporan-utama/172252/kawal-putusan-mk-uu-pilkada>.
- Tempo. "Kilas Balik Timor Timur Jadi Negara Timor Leste, Apa yang Terjadi Usai Referendum 2002? | tempo.co," May 20, 2024. <https://www.tempo.co/internasional/kilas-balik-timor-timur-jadi-negara-timor-leste-apa-yang-terjadi-usai-referendum-2002--57172>.
- Tempo. "Kumpulkan Koalisi, Jokowi Tanya Progres Omnibus Law di DPR | tempo.co," March 12, 2020. <https://www.tempo.co/politik/kumpulkan-koalisi-jokowi-tanya-progres-omnibus-law-di-dpr-643471>.
- . "Represif Menangani Demonstrasi Kawal Putusan MK." Tempo, August 24, 2024. <https://majalah.tempo.co/read/nasional/172237/demonstrasi-kawal-putusan-mk>.
- Tempo. "Sederet Pendapat Soal Tingginya Angka Golput pada Pilkada Jakarta 2024 | tempo.co," December 11, 2024. <https://www.tempo.co/politik/sederet-pendapat-soal-tingginya-angka-golput-pada-pilkada-jakarta-2024-1179938>.
- Tempo. "Seruan Terbuka untuk Pratikno dan Ari Dwipayana, Fisipol UGM: Kami Kecewa, Kembalilah ke Demokrasi | tempo.co," February 12, 2024. <https://www.tempo.co/politik/seruan-terbuka-untuk-pratikno-dan-ari-dwipayana-fisipol-ugm-kami-kecewa-kembalilah-ke-demokrasi-88188>.
- Theodora, Kurnia Yunita Rahayu dan Agnes. "Ini Nama Sejumlah Anggota DPR Pengusul Revisi UU KPK." *kompas.id*, September 6, 2019. <https://www.kompas.id/baca/utama/2019/09/06/ini-nama-sejumlah-anggota-dpr-pengusul-revisi-uu-kpk>.
- "UU Cipta Kerja Dan Kepastian Hukum Iklim Investasi - Kompas.Id." Accessed December 21, 2024. [https://www.kompas.id/baca/opini/2023/01/10/uu-cipta-kerja-dan-kepastian-hukum-iklim-investasi?open\\_from=Search\\_Result\\_Page](https://www.kompas.id/baca/opini/2023/01/10/uu-cipta-kerja-dan-kepastian-hukum-iklim-investasi?open_from=Search_Result_Page).
- WALHI. "Siapa Sponsor Di Balik Satgas Dan Panja Omnibus Law?," October 9, 2020. <http://www.walhi.or.id/siapa-sponsor-di-balik-satgas-dan-panja-omnibus-law>.
- Wiratraman, Herlambang P. "Perangai Intelektual dan Kekuasaan." *kompas.id*, February 28, 2021. <https://www.kompas.id/baca/opini/2021/03/01/perangai-intelektual-dan-kekuasaan>.

Wulan, Mawar Kusuma. "Pemerintahan Jokowi Tinggal 7-8 Bulan, Orang Miskin Masih 26 Juta Dan Kemiskinan Ekstrem 6 Juta Orang." Kompas.id, 2024. <https://www.kompas.id/baca/polhuk/2024/02/22/target-penurunan-kemiskinan-dan-penghapusan-kemiskinan-eksrem-2024-dinyatakan-bakal-tak-tercapai>.

Yerushalmy, Jonathan. "A Family Affair: Can Asia Break Free from Its Political Dynasties?" *The Guardian*, 9 September 2024 edition. Accessed September 25, 2024. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/article/2024/sep/09/a-family-affair-can-asia-break-free-from-the-power-of-its-political-dynasties>.

### **Peraturan Perundang-Undangan**

Undang-Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945.

Undang-Undang Nomor 12 Tahun 2011 tentang Pembentukan Peraturan Perundang-Undangan (Lembaran Negara Nomor 82, Tambahan Lembaran Negara Nomor 5234).

Undang-Undang Nomor 15 Tahun 2019 tentang Perubahan atas Undang-Undang Nomor 12 Tahun 2011 tentang Pembentukan Peraturan Perundang-Undangan, (Lembaran Negara Nomor 183, Tambahan Lembaran Negara Nomor 6398).

Undang-Undang Nomor 13 Tahun 2022 tentang Perubahan Kedua atas Undang-Undang Nomor 12 Tahun 2011 tentang Pembentukan Peraturan Perundang-Undangan, (Lembaran Negara Nomor 143, Tambahan Lembaran Negara Nomor 6801).