

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Acemoglu, Daron, Georgy Egorov, and Konstantin Sonin. 2013. "A Political Theory of Populism." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 128 (2): 711-805.
- Adhari, Agus. 2019. "Ambiguitas Pengaturan Keadaan Bahaya Dalam Sistem Ketatanegaraan Indonesia." *Dialogia Iuridica: Jurnal Hukum Bisnis dan Investasi* 11 (1): 43-61.
- Agamben, Giorgio. 1998. *Homo Sacer*. Edited by Daniel Heller-Roazen. California: Stanford University Press.
- . 2005. *State of Exception*. Edited by Kevin Attell. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Alt, Suvi. 2016. *Beyond The Biopolitics of Development: Being, Politics and Worlds*. Rovainemi: Lapland University Press.
- Aminsoni, Ayomi. 2020. *Masyarakat adat Besipae di NTT yang 'digusur' dari hutan adat Pubabu: Anak-anak dan perempuan 'trauma' dan 'hidup di bawah pohon'*. Agustus 20. Accessed Juli 23, 2021
<https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-53839101>.
- Amir, Sulfikar. 2008. "The Engineers Versus the Economists: The Disunity of Technocracy in Indonesian Development." *Bulletin of Science, Technology & Society* 28 (4): 316-323.
- Amnesty International Indonesia. 2020. *Civil and Political Rights' Violation in Papua and West Papua*. Report, Jakarta: Amnesty International.

- Andika, Muhammad Tri, and Allya Nur Aisyah. 2020. "Analisis Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia-China di Era Presiden Joko Widodo: Benturan Kepentingan Ekonomi dan Kedaulatan?" *Indonesian Perspective* 2 (2): 161-179.
- Arrendt, Hannah. 1979. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. Florida: Harcourt Brace & Company.
- . 2006. *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Aspinall, Edward. 2016. "The New Nationalism in Indonesia." *Asia & the Pacific Policy Studies* (Asia & the Pacific Policy Studies) 3 (1): 72-82.
- . 2013. "A Nation in Fragments: Patronage and Neoliberalism in Contemporary Indonesia." *Critical Asian Studies* 45 (1): 27-54.
- Baker, Anton, and Ahmad Charis Zubair. 1990. *Metode Penelitian Filsafat*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius.
- Barrenechea, Rodrigo, and Eduardu Dargent. 2020. "Populists and Technocrats in Latin America: Conflict, Cohabitation, and Cooperation." *Politics and Governance* 8 (4): 509-519.
- Barrow, Clyde W. 1993. *Critical Theories of the State: Marxist, Neo-Marxist, Post-Marxist*. Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Bappenas. 2014. *Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional 2015-2019*. Jakarta: Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional.
- Benjamin, Walter. 1956. *On Concept of History*. Accessed May 2021.
https://www.sfu.ca/~andrewf/books/Concept_History_Benjamin.pdf.

- Bizzarro, Fernando, John Gerring, Carl Henrik Knutsen, Allen Hicken, Michael Bernhard, Svend-Erik Skaaning, Michael Coppedge, and Staffan I. Lindberg. 2018. "Party Strength and Economic Growth." *World Politics* 70 (2): 275-320.
- BPS. 2019. *Perkembangan Indeks Harga Konsumen/Inflasi*. Jakarta : Badan Pusat Statistik.
- Bradford, Anu, and Eric A. Posner. 2011. *Universal Exceptionalism in International Law*. 52 (1). Accessed July 18, 2021.
https://scholarship.law.columbia.edu/faculty_scholarship/560.
- CNN Indonesia. 2018. *Penyelesaian Kasus HAM, SBY Disebut Lebih Baik dari Jokowi*. Desember 11. Accessed September 13, 2021.
<https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20181210204148-32-352578/penyelesaian-kasus-ham-sby-disebut-lebih-baik-dari-jokowi>.
- Damai, Puspa. 2005. "The Killing Machine of Exception: Sovereignty, Law, and Play in Agamben's State of Exception." *The New Centennial Review* 255-276.
- Daugbjerg, Carsten, and Peter H. Feindt. 2017. "Post-exceptionalism in public policy: transforming food and agricultural policy." *Journal of European Public Policy* 24 (11): 1565-1584.
- Diprose, Rachael, Dave McRae, and Vedi R. Hadiz. 2019. "Two Decades of Reformasi in Indonesia: Its Illiberal Turn." *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 49 (5): 691-712.

- Ekayanta, Fredrick Broven. 2019. "Ideology and Pragmatism: Discourse Factors in Infrastructure Development in Indonesia's Jokowi-JK Era." *Jurnal Politik* 4 (2): 297-328.
- Escobar, Arturo. 1995. *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of The Third World*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Fathurrahman, Izzan. 2019. *Development under Jokowi leaves human rights behind*. October 25. Accessed Agustus 25, 2021.
<https://www.newmandala.org/jokowi-development/>.
- Foucault, Michel. 1977. *Discipline And Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage Books.
- . 2003. *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at The College De France 1975-76*. New York: Picador.
- . 2009. *Security, Territory, Population: Lecture at The College De France, 1977-78*. Edited by Arnold I. Davidson. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- . 2008. *The Brith of Biopolitics*. Edited by Michel Senellart. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Galiya, Ghina. 2020. *Jokowi Pledges to Protect Human RIghts, Environment*. Agustus 14. Accessed Agustus 20, 2021.
<https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2020/08/14/jokowi-pledges-to-protect-human-rights-environment.html>.

- Goldkuhl, Göran. 2004. "Meanings of Pragmatism: Ways to conduct information systems research." *International Conference on Action in Language, Organisations and Information Systems*. Sweden: Linköping University.
- Goulon, M., P. Babinet, and N. Simon. 1983. "Brain Death or Coma Dépassé." In *Care of the Critically Ill Patient*, Tinker J and Rapin M. London: Springer.
- Gordon, Howard Scott. 1950. "The Pragmatic Basis of Economic Theory." *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* (Canadian Economics Association) 16 (4): 475-500.
- Guild, James. 2019. *Jokowinomics gambles with Indonesia's democratisation*. Oktober 30. Accessed March 18, 2021.
<https://www.newmandala.org/jokowinomics-gambles-with-indonesias-democratisation/>.
- Guild, James, and Jonathan Chen. 2019. "Assessing Jokowi's First Term 'Jokowinomics' : Has It Worked?" Accessed March 8, 2021.
<https://hdl.handle.net/10356/107500>.
- Hale, Henry E. 2010. "Eurasian polities as hybrid regimes: The case of Putin's Russia." *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 1 (1): 33-41.
- Hamid, Usman, and Ary Hermawan. 2020. *New Mandala*. October 9. Accessed February 25, 2021. <https://www.newmandala.org/indonesias-omnibus-law-is-a-bust-for-human-rights/>.
- Hobbes, Thomas. 1651. *Leviathan of Common-wealth Ecclesiasticall and Civil*. London.

- Karim, Muhammad Satria Abdul. 2020. "Imanensi Fasisme dan Kedaulatan: Kritik Giorgio Agamben Atas State of Exception." *Jurnal Aqidah dan Filsafat Islam* 5 (2): 154-171.
- Kenny, Paul D. 2019. *Populism in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge University Press.
- Koldoko, Grzegoz W. 2017. "New Pragmatism: In the Quest for Economics and Development Policy in the 21st Century." *Journal of Management and Business Administration. Central Europe* (De Gruyter) 25 (2): 2-5.
- Komnas HAM. 2017. *Komnas HAM Meminta Pembangunan Pabrik Semen di Kendeng Tidak Dilanjutkan*. April 11. Diakses March 28 2021.
<https://www.komnasham.go.id/index.php/news/2017/4/11/305/komnas-ham-meminta-pembangunan-pabrik-semen-di-kendeng-tidak-dilanjutkan.html>.
- kompas.com. 2014. *Nawa Cita, 9 Agenda Prioritas Jokowi-JK*. Mei 21. Accessed February 27, 2021.
<https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2014/05/21/0754454/.Nawa.Cita.9.Agenda.Prioritas.Jokowi-JK>.
- Laclau, Ernesto. 2005. *On Populist Reason*. London & New York: Verso.
- Lechte, John. 2001. *50 Filsuf Kontemporer*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius.
- Lerner, Abba P. 1943. "Economic Liberalism in the Postwar World." In *Postwar Economic Problems*, by Eymour E Harris, 127-139. New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
- Lune, Howard, and Bruce L. Berg. 2017. *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences 9th Edition*. London: Pearson Education.

- Marx, Jerry D. 2016. *American Social Policy in the Great Depression and World War II*. January 8. Accessed Agustus 14, 2021.
<https://socialwelfare.library.vcu.edu/eras/great-depression/american-social-policy-in-the-great-depression-and-wwii/>.
- McCoy, Jennifer, Tahmina Rahman, and Murat Somer. 2018. "Polarization and the Global Crisis of Democracy: Common Patterns, Dynamics, and Pernicious Consequences for Democratic Polities." *American Behavioral Scientist* 62 (1): 16-42.
- Melani, Agustina. 2019. *Inflasi Terkendali dan Ekonomi RI Stabil di Era Jokowi*. February 17. Accessed April 14, 2021.
<https://www.liputan6.com/bisnis/read/3896353/inflasi-terkendali-dan-ekonomi-ri-stabil-di-era-jokowi>.
- Mietzner, Marcus. 2015. *Reinventing Asian Populism: Jokowi's Rise, Democracy and Political Contestation in Indonesia*. Hawaii: East-West Center.
- Minderop, Albertine. 2006. *Pragmatisme: Sikap Hidup dan Prinsip Politik Luar Negeri Amerika*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor.
- Müller, Jan-Werner. 2016. *What Is Populism?* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Mungiu-Pippidi, Alina. 2015. "The Evolution of Political Order." *Journal of Democracy* 26 (4): 169-175.

- Muthadi, Burhanuddin. 2015. "Jokowi's First Year: A Weak President Caught Between Reform and Oligarchic Politics." *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* (Routledge Taylor & Francis Group) 51 (3): 349-368.
- Nasional Tempo. 2018. *Amien Rais Kritik JK: Jokowiomics Belum Berhasil*. Juli 4. Accessed April 5, 2021. <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1103607/amien-rais-kritik-jk-jokowinomics-belum-berhasil>.
- Neal, Andrew W. 2019. *Security as Politics: Beyond The State of Exception*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Negara, Siwage Dharma. 2019. *The Indonesian Economy under Jokowi's Second Term*. May. Accessed March 24, 2021. <http://hdl.handle.net/11540/10260>.
- Nitzan, Jonathan, and Shimshon Bichler. 2000. "Capital Accumulation: Breaking the Dualism of "Economics" and "Politics"." In *Global Political Economy: Contemporary Theories*, by Ronen Palan, 67-88. New York: Routledge.
- NJ, Jefferson. 2020. *Jokowi's Macron Moment: Moving Fast or Moving Together?* 1 29. Accessed February 26, 2021. <https://www.newmandala.org/jokowis-macron-moment/>.
- Nugraha, Arga. 2018. "Politik Pembangunan era Jokowi, Studi : Peran Pemerintah Tiongkok dalam Pembangunan Infrastruktur di Indonesia." *Skripsi*. Sumatera Utara: Universitas Sumatera Utara.
- Nurhasim, Ahmad, Andre Arditya, Fidelis Eka Satriastanti, Ika Krismantari, and Yessar Rosendar. 2020. *Panel ahli: UU Cipta Kerja tak jamin investor datang ke Indonesia, lingkungan berpotensi makin rusak*. Oktober 6. Accessed June

9, 2021. <https://theconversation.com/panel-ahli-uu-cipta-kerja-tak-jamin-investor-datang-ke-indonesia-lingkungan-berpotensi-makin-rusak-147561>.

Pangestu, Cheryl. 2020. "Jokowinomics: A New Developmentalism with Rising Skycrapers and Sinking Indonesian Civil Rights Liberty." *Sentris Academic Journal* 1: 1-12.

Parfitt, Trevor. 2009. "Are the Third World Poor Homines Sacri? Bipolitics, Sovereignty, and Development." *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 34 (1): 41-58.

Pramesti, Iswari Anggit. 2019. *Sederet Bukti Konkret Pembangunan Infrastruktur Era Jokowi!* February 14. Accessed March 24, 2021.
<https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20190214123837-4-55506/sederet-bukti-konkret-pembangunan-infrastruktur-era-jokowi>.

Prozorov, Sergei. 2014. *Agamben And Politics: A Critical Introduction*. UK: Edinburgh University Press Ltd.

Rahardjo, M Dawam. 1997. *Habibienomics: Telaah Ekonomi Pembangunan Indonesia*. Jakarta: Cidesindo.

Robinson, Richard, and Vedi R. Hadiz. 2004. *Reorganising Power in Indonesia: The Politics of Oligarchy in an Age of Markets*. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon.

Rochadi, Sigit. 2014. "Kebijakan Industrialisasi dan Kontinuitas Konflik Industrial pasca Ekonomi 1997/1998." *Jurnal Masyarakat, Kebudayaan dan Politik* 27 (2): 91-103.

- Rostow, Walt Whitman. 1959. "The Stages of Economic Growth." *The Economic History Review, New Series* 12 (1): 1-16.
- Sai'o, Rindo. 2019. *Jokowinomics and the Future Path for Indonesia's Economy*. January 18. Accessed February 21, 2021.
<https://thediplomat.com/2019/01/jokowinomics-and-future-path-for-indonesias-economy/>.
- Salim, Zamroni. 2019. *THC Review: Evaluasi dan Agenda Pemerintahan Jokowi (2014-2024)*. Report, Jakarta: The Habibie Center.
- Schmitt, Carl. 1985. *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*. Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Schneider, Ben Ross. 2015. *Designing Industrial Policy in Latin America: Business-State Relations and the New Developmentalism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Soleman, Mochdar, and Mohammad Noer. 2018. "Nawa Cita Sebagai Strategi Khusus Jokowi Periode Oktober 2014-20 Oktober 2015." *Jurnal Kajian Politik dan Masalah pembangunan* 13 (1): 1961-1975.
- Sowell, Thomas. 2012. *"Trickle Down" Theory and "Tax Cuts for the Rich"*. California: Hoover Institutions Press.
- Sudibyo, Agus. 2019. *Demokrasi dan Kedaruratan*. Tangerang Selatan, Banten: Marjin Kiri.
- Suparno, Riyadi. 2017. *Commentary: Jokowinomics in The Making*. May 30. Accessed September 10, 2021.

<https://www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2017/05/30/commentary-jokowinomics-in-the-making.html>.

Syamsi, Syam Surya. 2015. "Nawa Cita Jokowi-JK Dalam Paradigma Pembangunan Ekonomi." *Surya Octagon Interdisciplinary Journal of Technology* 1 (1): 72-100.

Sylvester, Chirstine. 2006. "Bare Life as a Development/Postcolonial Problematic." *The Geographical Journal* 172 (1): 66-77.

The Gecko Project. 2021. *Sang Konsultan: Mengapa konglomerat sawit rela membayar puluhan juta dolar untuk seorang 'ahli' di Papua?* Accessed Agustus 1, 2021. <https://geckoproject.id/sang-konsultan-712a53fca680>.

Tim Bisnis Indonesia. 2017. *Jokowinomics: Sebuah Paradigma Kerja*. Jakarta: Gagas Bisnis.

Urbinati, Nadia. 2019. "Political Theory of Populism." *Annual Review of Political Science* 111-127.

Vannarith, Chheang. 2018. "Economic Pragmatism and Regional Economic Integration: The Case of Cambodia." *Asian Pasific Buletin*.

Vico, Giambattista. 1948. *The New Science*. New York: Cornell University Press.

Walhi. 2020. *(Darurat Agraria Langkat) Hentikan Perampasan Tanah Rakyat Penunggu Sumut*. Accessed September 29, 2021.

<https://www.walhi.or.id/darurat-agraria-langkat-hentikan-perampasan-tanah-rakyat-penunggu-sumut>.

- Warburton, Eve. 2016. "Jokowi and the New Developmentalism." *Buletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* (Routledge) 52 (3): 297-320.
- . 2018. "A New Developmentalism in Indonesia?" *Journal of Southeast Asian Economies* 35 (3): 255-368.
- Word Bank. 2019. *Indonesia Pertahankan Pertumbuhan Ekonomi Stabil di Tahun 2019*. July 1. Accessed March 24, 2021.
<https://www.worldbank.org/in/news/press-release/2019/07/01/indonesia-maintains-steady-economic-growth-in-2019>.
- Zakaria, Fareed. 1997. "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy." *Foreign Affairs* 76 (6): 22-43.