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CATATAN AKHIR

BAB I

¹ Lihat juga Naskah Akademis RUU Cipta Kerja, hal 1. Dapat diakses di <https://uu-ciptakerja.go.id/naskah-akademis-ruu-tentang-cipta-kerja/>

² Ibid. Hal 6-7.

³ Ibid. Hal 10

⁴ Ibid. Hal 23-26.

⁵ Lihat juga Kertas Kebijakan: Catatan Kritis Terhadap UU No.11 Tahun 2020 Tentang Cipta Kerja. Fakultas Hukum: Universitas Gadjah Mada. Dapat diakses di <https://rispub.law.ugm.ac.id/2020/11/06/kertas-kebijakan-catatan-kritis-terhadap-uu-no-11-tahun-2020-tentang-cipta-kerja/>; dan Gonjang-Ganjing Omnibus Law Cipta Kerja: Sebuah Kritik. Institute of Governance and Public Affairs: Universitas Gadjah Mada. Dapat diakses di <https://map.ugm.ac.id/2020/07/28/insight-gonjang-ganjing-omnibuslaw-cipta-lapangan-kerja/>

⁶ Penyederhanaan tiga ideologi ekonomi tersebut mengikuti konseptualisasi dari Wolff & Resnick (2012). Mereka mendiskusikan secara luas konsep awal, logika, dan bentuk kebijakan dari setiap perspektif ekonomi. Untuk diskusi lebih mendalam pada perspektif ekonomi, spesifiknya tentang ketenagakerjaan, lihat Fleetwood (2015) untuk perspektif Neoklasik; untuk perspektif Keynesian lihat Fernandes-Huerga et al (2017) dan Herr (2009); untuk perspektif Marxist lihat Fine (1998: Bab 7). Untuk pembahasan ketiga perspektif tersebut lihat Fine (1998) dan Vercherand (2014). Untuk penjelasan tiap-tiap perspektif tersebut secara singkat dapat dilihat di buku koding.

⁷ Lihat Lidwina (2019) untuk penjelasan partai mana saja yang termasuk pada partai koalisi dan oposisi.

BAB II

⁸ Lihat Lidwina (2019) untuk susunan kursi legislatif partai koalisi di DPR pada pada awal tahun 2019. Untuk diskusi lebih lanjut lihat Savarini (2020).

⁹ Pembahasan hubungan antara *base* dan *superstructure* di luar jangkauan dari ulasan singkat ini. Untuk penjelasan bagaimana hubungan antara *base* dan *superstructure* lihat Fuchs (2020b: Chapter 3); Wood (1995: Chapter 2); dan Wayne (2003: Chapter 5).

BAB III

¹⁰ “Masukkan Bagi RUU Cipta Kerja” (22/02/2020)

¹¹ “Janji UMKM Menjadi Tangguh (14/10/2020)

¹² “Memastikan Petani Sejahtera” (10/10/2020)

¹³ “Pendidikan dalam UU Cipta Kerja” (17/10/2020)

¹⁴ “Harapan Besar Kerja Sama RI-Jepang” (21/10/2020)

¹⁵ “Upah Minimum 2021” (31/10/2020)

¹⁶ “UU Sapu Jagat Untuk Rakyat” (7/11/2020) dan “Libatkan Publik Seluasnya” (14/02/2020)

¹⁷ “Saatnya Mendekat ke Rakyat” (09/04/2020)

¹⁸ “Suara Lirih Pekerja di Masa Sulit” (02/05/2020)

¹⁹ “Komersialisasi Pendidikan” (26/09/2020)

²⁰ “Dengarkan Suara Rakyat” (06/10/2020)

²¹ “Buka Draf, Intensifkan Dialog” (12/10/2020)

²² “Meningkatkan Kontribusi UMKM” (24/02/2020)

²³ “Ida Fauziah: RUU Cipta Kerja Lindungi Semua Pekerja” (17/10/2020)

²⁴ “Mewaspadaai Krisis Ketenagakerjaan” (30/10/2020)

²⁵ “Kepentingan Publik yang Hilang (28/12/2019)

²⁶ “Ada Penumpang Gelap “Omnibus Law”” (28/02/2020) dan “Omnibus Law” dan Praktik Harmonisasi UU” (12/03/2020)

²⁷ “Berpacu Melawan Arus Baru” (10/10/2019)

- ²⁸ “RUU Cipta Kerja: Labirin Pusat dan Daerah” (6/03/2020)
- ²⁹ “Menjaga Marwah Perusahaan Pers” (26/02/2020)
- ³⁰ “Perikanan: Strategi Berkelanjutan” (26/02/2020)
- ³¹ “Jangan Melaju Tanpa Dasbor dan Tanpa Rem” (27/12/2019), “Jangan Abaikan Pembangunan Berkelanjutan” (21/02/2020), dan “Sapu Jagat yang Menentang Alam” (22/02/2020)
- ³² “Payung Bolong Buruh Lokal, “Payung Teduh” Pekerja Asing” (18/02/2020)
- ³³ “Pasar Kerja Makin Fleksibel, Pekerja Main Rentan “Didribel” (28/02/2020).
- ³⁴ “Memperjuangkan Ekonomi Kerakyatan” (19/02/2020)
- ³⁵ “Jauh Solusi dari Persoalan Lingkungan” (17/04/2020), “Penyelamatan Hutan, Demi Indonesia dan Dunia” (20/04/2020), “Mempertaruhkan “Masyarakat Hutan”” (29/04/2020), “Solusi Instan “Omnibus Law”, Awas Senjata Makan Tuan” (16/08/2020).
- ³⁶ “Kebebasan Pers yang Tertunda” (06/05/2020),
- ³⁷ “Komodifikasi Pendidikan Tinggi di RUU Cipta Kerja” (17/06/2020).
- ³⁸ “Ketar-ketir Menyongsong Dunia Kerja” (08/10/2020)
- ³⁹ “Cerita Para Pekerja Kontrak di Jakarta” (10/10/2020), “Pekerja Kontrak Kian Tak Berani Bermimpi” (12/10/2020)
- ⁴⁰ “Tak Berharap Anak Menjadi Buruh” (06/10/2020)
- ⁴¹ “Buruh Kala Pandemi, “Sudah Jatuh Tertimpa Tangga Pula” (06/10/2020), “Buruh Terus Dag-dig-dug Menanti Aturan Turunan” (07/10/2020), “Paparkan RUU Cipta Kerja, Jangan Buat Makin Simpang Siur” (10/10/2020).
- ⁴² “Mendadak Terjun Bebas” (28/10/2020)
- ⁴³ “Menjaga Hak Hidup Layak” (3/11/2020)
- ⁴⁴ “Beragam Dalil Memuluskan UU Cipta Kerja” (07/10/2020), “Serba Cepat Untuk RUU Cipta Kerja” (06/10/2020), “Rapat Utak-Atik Draf Saat Gedung Parlemen Tengah “Lockdown”” (14/10/2020), “Ting tung! Maaf, “Suara” Anda Kami Matikan .. “(10/10/2020), “RUU Cipta Kerja dan Ironi Kekuasaan Mayoritas” (10/10/2020), “Tantangan Menjaga Kualitas Demokrasi” (23/10/2020)

- ⁴⁵ “Mencemaskan Masa Depan Petani” (10/10/2020), “Kontradiksi Cipta Kerja” (21/10/2020)
- ⁴⁶ “Menimbang Dampak Definisi Nelayan Kecil” (17/10/2020)
- ⁴⁷ “Kisah Tertinggalnya Pasal 65 di RUU Cipta Kerja” (16/10/2020)
- ⁴⁸ “Kembalinya Gerakan Pemuda” (28/10/2020) dan “Mengapa Gerakan Mahasiswa Kembali Galak?” (09/10/2020)
- ⁴⁹ “Menjaga Komunikasi” (13/01/2020)
- ⁵⁰ “UMKM dan Koperasi dalam “Omnibus Law” RUU Cipta Kerja” (18/02/2020)
- ⁵¹ “Bagaimana RUU Cipta Kerja Mengatur Pekerja Asing” (14/02/2020)
- ⁵² “Persetujuan Lingkungan dalam “Omnibus Law” RUU Cipta Kerja (21/02/2020) dan “Mempertaruhkan Ekologi dalam “Omnibus Law” RUU Cipta Kerja” (22/02/2020)
- ⁵³ “RUU Cipta Kerja dan Hak Pekerja” (24/02/2020)
- ⁵⁴ “Menanti Kepekaan Wakil Rakyat” (20/04/2020)
- ⁵⁵ “Tantangan Berat di Awal Periode Kedua” (20/10/2020), “Pro-Kontra UU Cipta Kerja Ramaikan Media Sosial” (21/10/2020).
- ⁵⁶ “Wakil Rakyat Perlu Menjamin Demokrasi” (17/10/2020)
- ⁵⁷ “Babak Baru Masalah Ketenagakerjaan” (13/10/2020)
- ⁵⁸ “Ruang Dialog Jadi Jalan Tengah” (26/10/2020)
- ⁵⁹ Artikel pro dari sisi politik adalah “Memorabilia Politica Reforma” (19/12/2019)
- ⁶⁰ “Melawan Pelambatan” (3/12/2019)
- ⁶¹ “Perekonomian Indonesia Menyambut 2020” (31/12/2019)
- ⁶² “Dilema RUU Cipta Kerja” (25/02/2020)
- ⁶³ “Mendobrak Kelambanan Birokrasi” (13/10/2020)
- ⁶⁴ “Magnet Baru Bernama “Omnibus Law”” (14/12/2019)
- ⁶⁵ “Salah Ketik, Jangan Salah Langkah” (22/02/2020)
- ⁶⁶ “Menyisir Pasar Keblinger” (29/02/2020)
- ⁶⁷ “Cermat Membaca Alarm Resesi”(28/01/2020)

- ⁶⁸ “Surat untuk Yang Terhormat”, (11/04/2020), “Politik Tuna-Empati” (16/04/2020), “Eskalasi Politik Sosial” (23/07/2020).
- ⁶⁹ “RUU Sapu Jagat di Tengah Revolusi Sunyi”, (25/04/2020)
- ⁷⁰ “Tirani Mayoritas Politik dan RUU Cipta Kerja” (15/10/2020)
- ⁷¹ “Berserah kepada Mahkamah (10/10/2020)
- ⁷² “Tujuan dan Cara Etis” (22/10/2020)
- ⁷³ “Kisah-kisah Tidak Lengkap” (17/10/2020)
- ⁷⁴ “Ekstra Paradoks di Tengah Resesi” (06/10/2020)
- ⁷⁵ “Pekerja” (17/10/2020).
- ⁷⁶ “Pangkas Eselonisasi Birokrasi” (26/10/2019), “Orkestrasi Reformasi Birokrasi” (28/11/2019), dan “Memuluskan Jalan “Omnibus Law”” (09/12/2019)
- ⁷⁷ “Industri Pangan Menuju 2045” (20/01/2020)
- ⁷⁸ “”Omnibus Law” dan Pertanian” (02/03/2020)
- ⁷⁹ “”Omnibus Law”, BUMN, Negara (07/03/2020)
- ⁸⁰ “Ekonomi Politik UU Sapu Jagat” (26/02/2020)
- ⁸¹ “Menghindari Perlambatan Ekonomi” (26/12/2019), “Harapan Kepada Tim Ekonomi (28/12/2019), “Harapan Besar Pada UU Omnibus” (12/12/2019), “Harapan di Tahun 2020” (20/02/2020), “Menjaga Optimisme di Tengah Tekanan (02/01/2020), “Fokus Pertumbuhan Investasi” (04/02/2020).
- ⁸² “Mencermati RUU Cipta Kerja” (25/02/2020)
- ⁸³ “Omnibus Law, Antara Buruh dan Produktivitas “(23/01/2020)
- ⁸⁴ “RUU Cipta Kerja, Ekonomi dan Kesejahteraan” (04/03/2020)
- ⁸⁵ “Omnibus Law” dan Kekhawatiran Buruh” (23/01/2020)
- ⁸⁶ “Ekonomi Politik UU Sapu Jagat” (26/02/2020)
- ⁸⁷ “Produk Halal dalam RUU Cipta Kerja” (26/06/2020).
- ⁸⁸ “Jaminan Kehilangan Pekerjaan” (31/10/2020)
- ⁸⁹ “Memaknai Delik Pesangon” (2/11/2020)
- ⁹⁰ “Undang-Undang Cipta Kerja Bagi Desa” (22/10/2020), “RUU Cipta Kerja, Undang-Undang Sekarang dan Masa Datang” (18/10/2020)

- ⁹¹ “Transformasi UMKM dan Koperasi” (19/10/2020), “UU Cipta Kerja dan Industri Halal” (19/10/2020)
- ⁹² “Makna UU “Omnibus Law” Cipta Kerja Bagi Perbankan (23/10/2020)
- ⁹³ “Menanti Lembaga Pengelola Investasi” (3/11/2020), ““Omnibus Law”, Iklim Investasi, dan Sektor Transportasi” (15/10/2020)
- ⁹⁴ “UU Cipta Kerja Mendorong Pendidikan Kapitalistik?” (4/11/2020)
- ⁹⁵ “Jokowi dan Jejak yang Dalam” (22/10/2020)
- ⁹⁶ “Politik Hukum RUU Cipta Kerja” (09/03/2020)
- ⁹⁷ “Obesitas PP “Omnibus Law” (03/03/2020), “Jalan Tengah untuk RUU Cipta Kerja” (06/03/2020), “Politik Hukum RUU Cipta Kerja” (09/03/2020), “Over-Delegasi Kuasa Legislasi Presiden” (09/03/2020)
- ⁹⁸ ““Omnibus Law” Berperspektif Antikorupsi” (28/02/2020)
- ⁹⁹ “Omnibus Law”, UU Sapu Jagat?” (04/01/2020)
- ¹⁰⁰ “Catatan Penegakan Hukum 2019” (23/12/2019)
- ¹⁰¹ “Dimensi Politik UU Sapu Jagat” (14/03/2020)
- ¹⁰² Riset dan Inovasi dalam RUU Cipta Kerja (23/03/2020)
- ¹⁰³ “Pembonceng “Omnibus””(13/02/2020)
- ¹⁰⁴ “Sanksi dalam RUU Cipta Kerja” (11/03/2020)
- ¹⁰⁵ “Omnibus Law 4.0 Vs Amdal” (31/01/2020)
- ¹⁰⁶ “Kehutanan dan RUU Cipta Kerja” (29/02/2020)
- ¹⁰⁷ “RUU Cipta Kerja dan Pertanahan” (22/02/2020)
- ¹⁰⁸ “Hak Guna Usaha 90 Tahun” (5/12/2019)
- ¹⁰⁹ “Tanpa Masyarakat Adat” (13/01/2020)
- ¹¹⁰ “ Krisis Politik Legisprudensi” (14/04/2020)
- ¹¹¹ “Hilangnya Frasa Kebudayaan Bangsa Indonesia” (21/07/2020)
- ¹¹² “Menggagas “Omnibus Law” Sisdiknas” (01/10/2020).
- ¹¹³ “Matinya Kedaulatan Petani dan Pangan” (29/05/2020)
- ¹¹⁴ “RUU Cipta Kerja Versus Petani (05/08/2020)
- ¹¹⁵ “Mendesakkan HGU 90 Tahun?” (06/06/2020), “Jurus Pangkas UU Cipta Kerja” (29/06/2020)

- ¹¹⁶ “150 Tahun Belenggu Atas Hak Tanah” (27/07/2020)
- ¹¹⁷ “60 Tahun UUPA, Masih Relevankah?” (24/09/2020)
- ¹¹⁸ “Polemik UU Cipta Kerja” (16/10/2020)
- ¹¹⁹ “Upah Buruh” (3/11/2020)
- ¹²⁰ “UU Cipta Kerja dan Pilihan Tersedia” (15/11/2020)
- ¹²¹ “Politik Hukum Omnibus Cipta Kerja” (10/10/2020), “Legislasi Nan Menyebalkan” (20/10/2020), “Berseminya Lagi “Pohon Otoritarianisme” (2/11/2020), “Destruksi Legislasi Nasional” (13/10/2020)
- ¹²² “Politik Hukum Klaster Pertahanan” (4/10/2020)
- ¹²³ “RUU Cipta Kerja Pasca-Persetujuan” (13/10/2020)
- ¹²⁴ “Tugas Khusus BUMN” (30/10/2020)
- ¹²⁵ “Gerak Cepat Pengesahan RUU Cipta Kerja” (5/10/2020), “Soal Bank Tanah dan Reforma Agraria” (09/10/2020), “Tata Ruang dan UU Cipta Kerja” (24/10/2020)
- ¹²⁶ “Nasib Pendidikan di RUU Cipta Kerja” (14/10/2020)
- ¹²⁷ “Kehutanan Pasca-UU Cipta Kerja” (14/10/2020)
- ¹²⁸ “Monopoli Penyiaran di UU Cipta Kerja” (21/10/2020)

BAB IV

- ¹²⁹ Lihat artikel Agnes Theodora “Rakyat di Antara Resesi Ekonomi, Korupsi, dan Janji Jokowi” (27/02/2020)
- ¹³⁰ Lihat artikel kolom dan analisis “Menyisir Pasar Keblinger” (29/02/2020)
- ¹³¹ Lihat diskusi kolom dan analisis di bab 3 halaman 82-83
- ¹³² Lihat buku koding untuk penjelasan persaingan perspektif ekonomi antara Neoklasik, Keynesian, dan Marxist.
- ¹³³ Lihat artikel editorial “Masukkan Bagi RUU Cipta Kerja” (22/02/2020)
- ¹³⁴ Lihat diskusi kolom dan analisis dan opini di bab 3 dalam halaman 81, 84-85
- ¹³⁵ Lihat artikel opini “Omnibus Law, BUMN, Negara” (07/03/2020) dan “Ekonomi Politik UU Sapu Jagat” (26/02/2020)
- ¹³⁶ Lihat diskusi artikel opini di bab 3 halaman 84

- ¹³⁷ Lihat diskusi kolom dan analisis di bab 3 halaman 81-83
- ¹³⁸ Lihat artikel opini “”Omnibus Law” dan Supremasi Korporasi” (22/02/2020) dan “Politik Hukum RUU Cipta Kerja” (09/03/2020)
- ¹³⁹ Lihat artikel feature “Rakyat di Antara Resesi Ekonomi, Korupsi, dan Janji Jokowi” (27/02/2020) dan “Memperjuangkan Ekonomi Kerakyatan” (19/02/2020)
- ¹⁴⁰ Lihat diskusi artikel opini di bab 3 halaman 85-87
- ¹⁴¹ Lihat artikel kolom dan analisis “Dilema RUU Cipta Kerja” (25/02/2020) dan lihat artikel opini “Kaji Ulang Klaster Ketenagakerjaan” (28/05/2020)
- ¹⁴² Lihat diskusi artikel feature di bab 3 halaman 75-76
- ¹⁴³ Lihat artikel feature “Mendadak Terjun Bebas” (28/10/2020) dan “Polemik UU Cipta Kerja” (16/10/2020)
- ¹⁴⁴ Lihat artikel editorial “Upah Minimum 2021” (31/10/2020)