

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Alfirdaus, F. L. K. 2018. *Botoh dan Pembiayaan Pilkada Alternatif*, dalam M. S. A. Perdana (Ed.). *Pembiayaan Pemilu di Indonesia* (pp. 185–202). Bawaslu.
- Arikunto, Suharsimi. 2006. *Prosedur Penelitian*. Jakarta: PT Rineka Cipta
- Ardiansa, D., Panghegar, F., Samosir, H. P., & Raffiudin, R. 2018. *Transaksi Politik Warga: Mendorong Partisipasi Politik Warga Dalam Pemilu dan Perencanaan Pembangunan*. Depok: Cakra Wikara Indonesia.
- Aspinall, E. 2014. *When Brokers Betray: Clientelism, Social Networks, Electoral Politics in Indonesia*. *Critical Asian Studies* , 545-570.
- Aspinall, E., & As'ad, M. U. 2015. *The Patronage Patchwork: Village Brokerage Networks and The Power of States in Indonesia Election*. *Bijdragen tot de Tall-, Land-en Volkenkunde*, 165-195.
- Aspinall, E. dan Sukmajati, M. 2016. *Electoral Dynamics in Indonesia: Money Politics, Patronage and Clientelism* (hal. 102-199). Singapura: NUS Press.
- Aspinall, E., & Berenschot, W. 2019. *Democracy for Sale: Pemilihan Umum, Klientelisme, dan Negara di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- Auyero. 2000. *The Logic of Clientelism in Argentina: An Ethnographic Account*. *Latin America Studies Association* , 55-81.
- Baldwin, K. (2013). *Why Vote with the Chief? Political Connections and Public Goods Provison in Zambia*. *American Journal of Political Science*, 794-809.
- Berenschot. 2018. *The Political Economy of Clientelism: A Comparative Study of Indonesia's Patronage Democracy*. *Comparative Political Studies*, 1-31.
- Buehler, M., & Tan, P. (2007). *Party-candidate Relationships in Indonesian Local Politics: A Case Study of the 2005 Regional Elections in Gowa, South Sulawesi Province*. *Indonesia* , 41-69.
- Buehler, M. (2009). *The Rising Importance of Personal Networks in Indonesian Local Politics: An Analysis of the District Goverment Head Elections in South Sulawesi in 2005*. *Dalam M. Erb, & P. Sulistiyanto*, Deepening

- Democracy in Indonesia (hal. 101-124). Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asia Studies.
- Bungin, Burhan. 2012. *Penelitian Kualitatif*. Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group
- Camp, E. (2012). *Throwing a Wrench Into The Machine: The Cost of Brokers*. Yale: Yale University.
- Creswell. John. W. 2016. *Research Design: Pendekatan Metode Kualitatif, Kuantitatif dan Campuran*. Edisi Keempat. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Darwin, R. L. 2017. *The Power of Female Brokers: Local Election in North Aceh*. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 532-551.
- Fitriyah. 2013. *Fenomena Politik Uang Dalam Pilkada*. *Politika: Jurnal Ilmu Politik*, 3(1), 5–14.
- Gulo. W. 2002. *Metodologi Penelitian*. Jakarta: Gramedia Widiasarana Indonesia.
- Hergianasari, P. 2013. *Matinya Mesin Partai Politik: Studi Kasus Pencalonan Syahri Mulyo dalam Pilkada Kabupaten Tulungagung 2013*. *Jurnal Cakrawala*, 245-270.
- Holland, Alisha C dan Palmer-Rubin, Brian. 2015. *Beyond the Machine: Clientelist Brokers and Interest Organizations in Latin America*. *Comparative Political Studies*, Volume 48, Issue 9.
- Kitschelt, & S. Wilkinson. 2007. *In Patrons, Clients, and Policies of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McMillan, James H., & Schumacher, Sally. (2003). *Research in Education*. New Jersey: Pearson.
- Mietzner, M. (2011). Funding Pilkada: Illegal Campaign Financing in Indonesia's local elections. Dalam E. Aspinall, & G. v. Klinken, *The State and Illegality in Indonesia* (hal. 173-190). Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Moleong, Lexy J. 2013. *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*. Edisi Revisi. Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya.

- Roniger, Luis. Briquet, Jean-Louis, dan Sawicki, Frederic. 2004. *Political Clientelism, Democracy, and Market Economy*. Comparative Politics Volume 36 Issue 3.
- Savirani, A. 2016. *Bekasi, West Java: From Patronage to Interest Groups Politics?* Dalam E. Aspinall, & M. Sukmajati, *Electoral Dynamics in Indonesia: Money Politics, Patronage, and Clientelism at the Grassroots* (hal. 184-202). Singapore: NUS Press.
- Stokes, S. C. 2005. *Perverse Accountability: A Formal Model of Machine Politics with Evidence from Argentina*. American Political Science Review, 315-325.
- Stokes, S. C., Dunning, T., Nazareno, M., & Brusco, V. 2013. *Broker, Voters, and Clientelism: The Puzzle of Distributive Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Sugiyono. 2017. *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, dan R&D*. Bandung: Alfabeta.
- Tawakall, G. T., Kistanto, N. H., Asy'ari, H., Pradhanawati, A., & Garner, A. 2017. *Why Broker Don't Betray: Social Status and Brokerage Activity in Central Java*. Asian Affairs: An American Review , 52-68.