

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Acemoglu, D., Egorov, G. and Sonin, K. (2013). A political theory of populism. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 128(2), pp.771-805.  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/qje/qjs077>
- Acemoglu, D., Naidu, S., Restrepo, P., Robinson, J.A., 2015. Democracy, Redistribution and Inequality. *Handbook of Income Distribution* 2, 1885–1966.
- Acemoglu, D. and Robinson, J.A. (2006), “De Facto Political Power and Institutional Persistence”, *American Economic Review*.
- Acemoglu, D., Reed, T. and Robinson, J.A. (2013), “Chiefs: Elite Control of Civil Society and Economic Development in Sierra Leone”, NBER Working Paper, No. 18691.
- Acemoglu, D., Robinson, J.A., 2013. Why Do Voters Dismantle Checks and Balances ?*Review of Economic Studies* 80 (1), 845–875.
- Adenike. (2013). “An Econometric Analysis of the Impact of Corruption On Economic Growth in Nigeria”. *Journal of Business Management and Economics* 4(3): 54-65.
- Ades, A., & Di Tella, R. (1999). Rents, competition, and corruption. *American economic review*, 89(4), 982-993.
- Ades, A. and DI Tella, R. (1997), “The new economics of corruption: a survey and some new results”, *Political Studies*, Vol. 45 No. 3, pp. 496-515.
- Aidt, T.S., 2009. Corruption, institutions, and economic. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* 25 (2), 271–291.
- Aidt, T., Dutta, J., & Sena, V. (2008). Governance regimes, corruption and growth: Theory and evidence. *Journal of comparative economics*, 36(2), 195-220.
- Aidt, T. S., & Eterovic, D. S. (2011). Political competition, electoral participation and public finance in 20th century Latin America. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 27(1), 181-200.

- Albornoz, F. and Cabrales, A., 2013. Decentralization, political competition and corruption. *Journal of Development Economics*, 105, pp.103-111.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdeveco.2013.07.007>
- Alence, R. (2004). Political institutions and developmental governance in sub-Saharan Africa. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 42(2), 163-187.
- Alexandre, F., Bação, P., & Veiga, F. J. (2022). The political economy of productivity growth. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 102185.
- Alfano, M.R., Baraldi, A.L. and Cantabene, C., 2013. The role of political competition in the link between electoral systems and corruption: The Italian case. *The Journal of Socio-Economics*, 47, pp.1-10.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socec.2013.07.005>
- Angrist, J. D., Imbens, G. W., & Rubin, D. B. (1996). Identification of Causal Effects Using Instrumental Variables: Comment. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 91(434), 465. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2291633>
- Apergis, N., Dincer, O.C., Payne, J.E., Apergis, N., Dincer, O.C., Payne, J.E., 2010. The relationship between and income corruption in U.S. states : evidence from a panel inequality and error correction model cointegration. *Public Choice* 145 (1/2), 125–135.
- Ariza Marín, D., Goda, T., & Tabares Pozos, G. (2021). Political competition, electoral participation and local fiscal performance. *Development Studies Research*, 8(1), 24-35.
- Ashworth, J., Geys, B., Heyndels, B., & Wille, F. (2014). Competition in the political arena and local government performance. *Applied Economics*, 46(19), 2264-2276.
- Attila, J. (2008). Corruption, taxation and economic growth: theory and evidence.
- Ayyagari, M., Demirgüç-Kunt, A., & Maksimovic, V. 2014. Bribe payments and innovation in developing countries: Are innovating firms disproportionately affected?. *Journal of Financial and Quantitative Analysis*, 49(1), 51-75.

- Bardhan, P., 1997. "Corruption and development : A review of issues". *Journal of Economic Literature* 35, 1320–1346.
- Barro, R. J. (1973). The control of politicians: an economic model. *Public choice*, 19-42.
- Batzilis, D., 2019. Electoral competition and corruption: Evidence from municipality audits in Greece. *International Review of Law and Economics*, 59, pp.13-20. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.irl.2019.04.003>
- Ben-Ghiat, R. (2020). *Strongmen: How they rise, Why they succeed, How they fall*. Profile Books.
- Besley, T. (2006). *Principled agents?: The political economy of good government*. Oxford University Press on Demand.
- Besley, T., & Persson, T. (2014). Why do developing countries tax so little?. *Journal of economic perspectives*, 28(4), 99-120.
- Besley, T., Persson, T., & Sturm, D. M. (2010). Political competition, policy and growth: theory and evidence from the US. *The Review of Economic Studies*, 77(4), 1329-1352
- Besley, T., & Preston, I. (2002). Accountability and political competition: Theory and evidence. *Weather Center for International Affairs, Harvard University*, 30p.
- Besley, T., & Preston, I. (2007). Electoral bias and policy choice: theory and evidence. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 122(4), 1473-1510.
- Binder, S. A. (2003). *Stalemate: Causes and Consequences of Legislative Gridlock*. Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press.
- Blackburn, K., Bose, N., & Haque, M. E. (2006). The incidence and persistence of corruption in economic development. *Journal of Economic Dynamics and control*, 30(12), 2447-2467.
- Bolívar, M. P. R., Galera, A. N., Subirés, M. D. L., & Muñoz, L. A. (2018). Analysing the accounting measurement of financial sustainability in local governments through political factors. *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal*.

- Bracco, E., Porcelli, F., & Redoano, M. (2019). Political competition, tax salience and accountability. Theory and evidence from Italy. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 58, 138-163.
- Brennan, Geoffrey, Buchanan, James M., 1980. *The Power to Tax: Analytical Foundations of a Fiscal Constitution*. Cambridge University Press, New York.
- Brunetti, A., Kisunko, G. and Weder, B. (1998), “Credibility of rules and economic growth: evidence from a worldwide survey of the private sector”, *The World Bank Economic Review*, Vol. 12 No. 3. doi: 10.1093/wber/12.3.353
- Bueno de Mesquita, B., Smith, A., Siverson, R., Morrow, J., 2005. *The Logic of Political Survival*. MIT Press, Cambridge
- Burgess, R., Jedwab, R., Miguel, E., Morjaria, A., & Padró i Miquel, G. (2015). The value of democracy: evidence from road building in Kenya. *American Economic Review*, 105(6), 1817-51.
- Cameron, M. A. (2020). The return of oligarchy? Threats to representative democracy in Latin America. *Third World Quarterly*, 42(4), 775-792. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2020.1865794>
- Chang, C.-P., Hao, Y., 2017. Environmental performance, corruption and economic growth: global evidence using a new data set. *Appl. Econ.* 49, 498–514.
- Cieslik, A., Goczek, L., 2018a. Control of Corruption, International Investment, and Economic Growth – Evidence from Panel Data, vol. 103. *World Development*, pp. 323–335.
- Cieslik, A., Goczek, L., 2018b. Corruption, privatization, and economic growth in post communist countries. *Eur. Asia Stud.* 70, 1303–1325.
- Chirwa, W., Patel, N., & Kanyongolo, F. (2013). *Democracy report for Malawi*.
- Clapham, C. (1985). *Third world politics: An introduction*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Coate, S., Morris, S., 1995. On the form of transfers to special interests. *J. Polit. Econ.* 103, 1210–1235

- Coviello, D., Gagliarducci, S., 2017. Tenure in office and public procurement. *Am. Econ. J.* 9 (3), 59105.
- Curto-Grau, M., Solé-Ollé, A., & Sorribas-Navarro, P. 2018. Does electoral competition curb party favoritism?. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 10(4), 378-407. DOI: 10.1257/app.20160618
- D'Agostino, G., Dunne, J.P., Pieroni, L., 2016a. Government Spending, Corruption and Economic Growth, vol. 84. *World Development*, pp. 190–205.
- D'Agostino, G., Dunne, J.P., Pieroni, L., 2016b. Corruption and growth in Africa. *Eur. J. Political Econ.* 43, 71–88.
- Dal Bó, E., Dal Bó, P., & Snyder, J. (2009). Political dynasties. *The Review of Economic Studies*, 76(1), 115-142. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-937X.2008.00519.x>
- Dash, B. B., Ferris, J. S., & Winer, S. L. (2018). Measuring electoral competitiveness: With application to the Indian States. *Available at SSRN 3275389*.
- Dass, N., Nanda, V., & Xiao, S. C. 2016. Public corruption in the United States: Implications for local firms. *The Review of Corporate Finance Studies*, 5(1), 102-138.
- Della Porta, D. and Vannucci, A., 2004. The governance mechanisms of corrupt transactions: Introduction: a neo-institutional approach to corruption. In *The new institutional economics of corruption* (pp. 166-194). Routledge. <https://www.taylorfrancis.com>
- Della Porta, D., 2004. Political parties and corruption: Ten hypotheses on five vicious circles. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 42(1), pp.35-60. <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1023/B:CRIS.0000041036.85056.c6>
- De Paola, M., & Scoppa, V. (2011). Political competition and politician quality: evidence from Italian municipalities. *Public Choice*, 148(3), 547-559.
- Desposato, S.W., 2006. Parties for rent? Ambition, ideology, and party switching in Brazil's chamber of deputies. *American Journal of Political Science*, 50(1), pp.62-80. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2006.00170.x>

- Dincer, O. C. (2008). Ethnic and religious diversity and corruption. *Economics Letters*, 99(1), 98-102.
- Dreher, A., Kotsogiannis, C., & McCorrison, S. (2007). Corruption around the world: Evidence from a structural model. *Journal of comparative economics*, 35(3), 443-466.
- Dridi, M., 2014. Corruption and education: Empirical evidence. *International Journal of Economics and Financial Issues*, 4(3), pp.476-493. <https://www.econjournals.com/index.php/ijefi/article/view/781>
- Duerrenberger, N., & Warning, S. (2018). Corruption and education in developing countries: The role of public vs. private funding of higher education. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 62, 217-225. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2018.05.002>
- Dulani, B. (2019). Political parties, campaign financing and political corruption in Malawi. In *Political Corruption in Africa*. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Dzhumashev, R. (2014). "Corruption and Growth: The Role of Governance, Public Spending, and Economic Development". *Economic Modelling* 37: 202-212.
- Ellis, J., Smith, J. and White, R., 2020. Corruption and corporate innovation. *Journal of Financial and Quantitative Analysis*, 55(7), pp.2124-2149. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022109019000735>
- Ferejohn, J., 1986. Incumbent performance and electoral control. *Public Choice* 50, 5–26.
- Ferraz, C., & Finan, F. (2008). Exposing corrupt politicians: the effects of Brazil's publicly released audits on electoral outcomes. *The Quarterly journal of economics*, 123(2), 703-745. <https://doi.org/10.1162/qjec.2008.123.2.703>
- Ferraz, C., Finan, F., & Moreira, D. B. (2012). Corrupting learning: Evidence from missing federal education funds in Brazil. *Journal of Public Economics*, 96(9-10), 712-726.
- Fisman, R., & Svensson, J. 2007. Are corruption and taxation really harmful to growth? Firm level evidence. *Journal of development economics*, 83(1), 63-75.

- Fisman, R., & Gatti, R. (2002). Decentralization and corruption: evidence across countries. *Journal of public economics*, 83(3), 325-345.
- Gerring, J., & Thacker, S. C. (2005). Do neoliberal policies deter political corruption?. *International Organization*, 59(1), 233-254.
- Gilens, M., 2012. *Affluence and Influence. Economic Inequality and Political Power in America*. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Gilens, M., Page, B., 2014. Testing theories of american politics: elites, interest groups, and average citizens. *Perspectives on Politics* 12 (3), 564–581.
- Glaeser, E., Scheinkman, J., Shleifer, A., 2003. The injustice of inequality. *Journal of Monetary Economics* 50 (1), 199–222.
- Goel, R. K., & Nelson, M. A. (2011). Measures of corruption and determinants of US corruption. *Economics of Governance*, 12(2), 155-176.
- Golden, M.A. and Chang, E.C., 2001. Competitive corruption: Factional conflict and political malfeasance in postwar Italian Christian Democracy. *World Politics*, 53(4), pp.588-622. <https://doi.org/10.1353/wp.2001.0015>
- Greene, William H. 2002. *Econometric Analysis*. 5th ed. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Grossman, G.M., Helpman, E., 2002. *Special Interest Politics*. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Gründler, K., Potrafke, N., 2019. Corruption and economic growth: new empirical evidence. *Eur. J. Polit. Econ.* 60, 101810.
- Gupta, S., Davoodi, H., Alonso-Terme, R., 2002. Does corruption affect income inequality and poverty? *Economics of Governance* 3 (1), 23–45.
- Gurgur, T., & Shah, A. (2005). Localization and corruption: panacea or pandora's box?, Vol. 3486.
- Hanssen, F. A. (2004). Is there a politically optimal level of judicial independence?. *American Economic Review*, 94(3), 712-729. DOI: 10.1257/0002828041464470

- Heller, W.B. and Mershon, C., 2005. Party switching in the Italian Chamber of Deputies, 1996–2001. *The Journal of Politics*, 67(2), pp.536-559. <https://www.journals.uchicago.edu>.
- Heyneman, S.P., Anderson, K.H. and Nuraliyeva, N., 2008. The cost of corruption in higher education. *Comparative Education Review*, 52(1), pp.1-25. <https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.1086/524367>
- Hicks, W. D. (2015). Partisan Competition and the Efficiency of Lawmaking in American State Legislatures , 1991- 2009. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1532673X14564388>
- Hodge, A., Shankar, S., Rao, P., Duhs, A., 2011. Exploring the links between corruption and growth. *Rev. Dev. Econ.* 15, 474–490.
- Hopper, T. (2017). Neopatrimonialism, good governance, corruption and accounting in Africa: Idealism vs pragmatism. *Journal of Accounting in Emerging Economies*, 7(2), 225–248. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30022685>
- Huang, 2016. Is corruption bad for economic growth? Evidence from Asia-Pacific countries. *N. Am. J. Econ. Finance* 35, 247–256.
- Huang, Q. and Yuan, T., 2021. Does political corruption impede firm innovation? Evidence from the United States. *Journal of Financial and Quantitative Analysis*, 56(1), pp.213-248. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022109019000966>
- Huntington, S. P. (1968) *Political Order in Changing Societies*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Igwike, R. S., Hussain, M. E., & Noman, A. (2012). The impact of corruption on economic development: A panel data analysis. *Social & Cultural Issues,(Topic)*, 2, 2012.
- Islam, N. (1995). Growth empirics: A panel data approach. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 110(4), 1127–1170.
- Jain, A.K., 2001. Corruption: A Review. *Journal of Economic Surveys* 15 (1), 71–121. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-6419.00133>.

- Jain, A. K. (2011). Corruption: Theory, evidence and policy. *CESifo DICE Report*, 9(2), 3-9.
- Jetter, M., Agudelo, A. M., & Hassan, A. R. (2015). The effect of democracy on corruption: Income is key. *World Development*, 74, 286-304.
- Jones, P. E. (2013). The effect of political competition on democratic accountability. *Political Behavior*, 35(3), 481-515.
- Kailthya, S., & Kambhampati, U. (2022). Political competition and public healthcare: Evidence from India. *World Development*, 153, 105820.
- Karayalcin, C., & Ulubaşoğlu, M. A. (2020). Romes without empires: Urban concentration, political competition, and economic development. *European journal of political economy*, 63, 101870. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2020.101870>
- Kasuya, Y., & Sawasdee, S. N. 2019. The transformation of dominant parties in Asia: Introduction to the special issue. *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics*, 4(1), 3-7. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2057891119831470>
- Keneck-Massil, J., Nomo-Beyala, C., & Owoundi, F. (2021). The corruption and income inequality puzzle: Does political power distribution matter?. *Economic Modelling*, 103, 105610.
- Kidd, J., & Richter, F. J. (Eds.). (2003). *Corruption and governance in Asia*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan
- Klitgaard, Robert E. 1988, *Controlling corruption*. University of California Press.
- Knack, S., & Azfar, O. (2003). Trade intensity, country size and corruption. *Economics of governance*, 4(1), 1-18.
- Kosec, K., Haider, H., Spielman, D. J., & Zaidi, F. (2018). Political competition and rural welfare: evidence from Pakistan. *Oxford Economic Papers*, 70(4), 1036-1061.
- Kramer, J. J. (1997, August). Political Corruption in Post-Communist Russia: The Case for Democratization. In XVIIth World Congress of International Political Science Association (IPSA) held in Seoul, Korea on August (pp. 17-21).

- Kreuzer, M., 2009. How party systems form: path dependency and the institutionalization of the post-war German party system. *British Journal of Political Science*, 39(4), pp.669-697. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123409000696>
- Kreuzer, M., & Pettai, V. (2003). Patterns of political instability: Affiliation patterns of politicians and voters in post-communist Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 38(2), 76-98.
- Krueger, A.O., 1974. The political economy of the rent-seeking society. *Am. Econ. Rev.* 64 (3), 291–303.
- Kunicova, J., & Rose-Ackerman, S. (2005). Electoral rules and constitutional structures as constraints on corruption. *British journal of political science*, 35(4), 573-606.
- Laakso, M., & Taagepera, R. (1979). “Effective” number of parties: a measure with application to West Europe. *Comparative political studies*, 12(1), 3-27.
- Lake, D. A., & Baum, M. A. (2001). The invisible hand of democracy: political control and the provision of public services. *Comparative political studies*, 34(6), 587-621.
- Lambsdorff, J.G. (2006), “Causes and consequences of corruption: what do we know from a cross-section of countries?”, in Rose-Ackerman, S. (Ed.), *International Handbook on the Economics of Corruption*, Edward Elgar Publishing Limited
- Lambsdorff, J.G., 2013. Corrupt intermediaries, international international business transaction: between make, buy and reform. *Erur J. Law Econ.* 35, 349–366.
- Larmour, P. (2011). Anti–Anticorruption: Barry Hindess’ Recent Work on Corruption. *Alternatives*, 36(1), 48-55. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0304375411402017>
- Lederman, D., Loayza, N. V., & Soares, R. R. (2005). Accountability and corruption: Political institutions matter. *Economics & politics*, 17(1), 1-35.
- Leite, M. C., & Weidmann, J. (1999). *Does mother nature corrupt? Natural resources, corruption, and economic growth*. International Monetary Fund.

- Leonida, L., Patti, D. M. A., Marini, A., & Navarra, P. (2015). Political competition and economic growth: A test of two tales. *Economics Letters*, 135, 96-99.
- Lévêque, C. (2020). Political connections, political favoritism and political competition: evidence from the granting of building permits by French mayors. *Public Choice*, 184(1), 135-155.
- Lewis, B.D. and Hendrawan, A., 2019. The impact of majority coalitions on local government spending, service delivery, and corruption in Indonesia. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 58, pp.178-191. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2018.11.002>
- Listyawati, R., 2019. Pengaruh afiliasi partai politik, status incumbent, dan opini audit terhadap indikasi korupsi pemerintah daerah di indonesia (Doctoral dissertation, UNS (Sebelas Maret University)).
- Liu, C., Chen, Y., Li, S., Sun, L. and Yang, M., 2021. Local political corruption and M&As. *China Economic Review*, 69, p.101677. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chieco.2021.101677>
- Liu, W. M., & Ngo, P. (2020). Voting with your feet: Political competition and internal migration in the United States. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 65, 101931.
- Lui, F.T. (1985). "An Equilibrium Queuing Model of Bribery". *Journal of Political Economy* 93: 760-781.
- Malanski, L. K., & Póvoa, A. C. S. (2021). Economic growth and corruption in emerging markets: Does economic freedom matter?. *International Economics*, 166, 58-70. DOI: 10.1016/j.inteco.2021.02.001
- Man, G. (2014). Political competition and economic growth: A nonlinear relationship?. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 36, 287-302.
- Man, G. (2016). Political competition and growth in global perspective: evidence from panel data. *Journal of applied economics*, 19(2), 363-382.
- Mauro, P. (1995). "Corruption and Growth". *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 110(3): 681-712.

- Mauro, P. 1995. Corruption and growth. *The quarterly journal of economics*, 110(3), 681-712.
- McChesney, F., 1997. *Money for Nothing: Politicians, Rent Extraction, and Political Extortion*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- Meon, P-G. dan K. Sekkat (2005). "Does Corruption Grease or Sand the Wheels of Growth?" *Public Choice* 122(1/2): 69-97.
- Michels, R. (1915). *Political parties: a sociological study of the oligarchical tendencies of modern democracy*, trans. Eden and Cedar Paul (New York: Hearst's International Library Co., 1915), 390-92.
- Mietzner, M., 2015. Dysfunction by design: Political finance and corruption in Indonesia. *Critical Asian Studies*, 47(4), pp.587-610. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14672715.2015.1079991>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. 2006. Fighting high level corruption. St. Petersburg, 16 Juli. <https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/economy/summit/2006/corruption.html>.
- Mo, P.H. (2001). "Corruption and Economic Growth". *Journal of Comparative Economics* 29: 66-79.
- North, D.C., Wallis, J.J., Weingast, B.R., 2009. *Violence and Social Orders. A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting Recorded Human History*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Nyblade, B. and Reed, S.R., 2008. Who cheats? Who loots? Political competition and corruption in Japan, 1947–1993. *American Journal of Political Science*, 52(4), pp.926-941. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2008.00351.x>
- Olken, B. A., & Pande, R. (2012). Corruption in developing countries. *Annu. Rev. Econ.*, 4(1), 479-509.
- Padovano, F. and Ricciuti, R., 2009. Political competition and economic performance: evidence from the Italian regions. *Public Choice*, 138(3), pp.263-277. <https://link.springer.com>

- Paldam, M. (2002). The cross-country pattern of corruption: economics, culture and the seesaw dynamics. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 18(2), 215-240.
- Pedauga, L.E., Pedauga, L.D., Delgado-Marquez, B.L., 2016. Relationships between corruption, political orientation, and income inequality: evidence from Latin America. *Applied Economics*, Routledge 49 (17), 1689–1705.
- Persson, T., Tabellini, G., 2000. *Political Economics: Explaining Economic Policy*. The MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Pieroni, L., & d'Agostino, G. (2013). Corruption and the effects of economic freedom. *European journal of political economy*, 29, 54-72.
- Pinto De Sousa, L., “Corruption and Parties in Portugal,” Working Paper written for the conference on *Political Corruption and Parties*, organized by the Robert Schuman Centre, held at the European University Institute, Florence, March 18–20, 1999, now Working Paper of the RSC.
- Policardo, L., Carrera, E. J. S., & Risso, W. A. (2019). Causality between income inequality and corruption in OECD countries. *World Development Perspectives*, 14, 100102. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wdp.2019.02.013>
- Quah, J.S.T. (2011), *Curbing Corruption in Asian Countries: An Impossible Dream?*, Emerald Group Publishing, Bingley.
- Quah, J.S.T. (2021), "Breaking the cycle of failure in combating corruption in Asian countries", *Public Administration and Policy: An Asia-Pacific Journal*, Vol. 24 No. 2, pp. 125-138. <https://doi.org/10.1108/PAP-05-2021-0034>
- Ram, R. (2009). Openness, country size, and government size: Additional evidence from a large cross-country panel. *Journal of Public Economics*, 93(1), 213–218.
- Robinson, R., & Hadiz, V. (2013). The political economy of oligarchy and the reorganisation of power in Indonesia. *Indonesia*, 96, 33-56.
- Rose-Ackerman, S. (1978). *Corruption: A Study in Political Economy*. Academic Press. New York.

- Rose-Ackerman, S. (1998). Bribes and gifts. *Economics, values, and organization*, 296-328.
- Rotberg, R.I. (2009), "Leadership alters corrupt behavior", in Rotberg, R.I. (Ed.), *Corruption, Global Security, and World Order*, Chapter 13, Brookings Institution Press, Washington, DC, pp. 341-358.
- Roubini, N., & Sachs, J. (1989). Government spending and budget deficits in the industrial countries. *Economic policy*, 4(8), 99-132.
- Rowley, C., & Oh, I. (2016). Business ethics and the role of context: Institutionalism, history and comparisons in the Asia Pacific region. *Asia Pacific Business Review*, 22(3), 353-365. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13602381.2015.1129814>
- Sáez, L., & Sinha, A. (2010). Political cycles, political institutions and public expenditure in India, 1980–2000. *British Journal of Political Science*, 40(1), 91-113.
- Sartori, G. (1970). Concept misformation in comparative politics. *American political science review*, 64(4), 1033-1053. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/1958356>
- Setiyono, B. and McLeod, R.H., 2010. Civil society organisations' contribution to the anti-corruption movement in Indonesia. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 46(3), pp.347-370. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.ugm.ac.id/10.1080/00074918.2010.522504>
- Setiyono, B., & McLeod, R. H. (2010). Civil society organisations' contribution to the anti-corruption movement in Indonesia. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 46(3), 347-370. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00074918.2010.522504>
- Sharma, S., Singhal, S., & Tarp, F. (2021). Corruption and mental health: Evidence from Vietnam. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, 185, 125-137. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jebo.2021.02.008>
- Shleifer, A. and R. W. Vishny. (1993). "Corruption". *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 108(3): 599-617.

- Sitarman, Ganesh. 2019. Countering Nationalist Oligarchy. <https://democracyjournal.org/magazine/51/countering-nationalist-oligarchy/>.
- Skilling, D., & Zeckhauser, R. J. (2002). Political competition and debt trajectories in Japan and the OECD. *Japan and the World Economy*, 14(2), 121-135.
- Smith, J. D. 2016. US political corruption and firm financial policies. *Journal of Financial Economics*, 121(2), 350-367
- Solé-Ollé, A., & Viladecans-Marsal, E. 2012. Lobbying, political competition, and local land supply: Recent evidence from Spain. *Journal of Public Economics*, 96(1-2), 10-19. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpubeco.2011.08.001>
- Sørensen, R. J. (2014). Political competition, party polarization, and government performance. *Public Choice*, 161(3), 427-450.
- Stigler, G.J., 1972. Economic competition and political competition. *Public Choice*, pp.91-106.
- Sugiyanto, C., Handoko, B. S., & Adinusa, I. (2013). Pengaruh Konsentrasi Partai Politik di Daerah terhadap Pertumbuhan Ekonomi Daerah. *Jurnal Ekonomi Dan Pembangunan Indonesia*, 13(2), 109-124.
- Sung, H-E. (2004), "Democracy and political corruption: a cross-national comparison", *Crime, Law and Social Change*, Vol. 41 No. 2, pp. 179-194, doi: 10.1023/B:CRIS.0000016225.75792.02.
- Svaleryd, H. and Vlachos, J., 2009. Political rents in a non-corrupt democracy. *Journal of Public Economics*, 93(3-4), pp.355-372. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpubeco.2008.10.008>
- Svensson, Jakob. "Who must pay bribes and how much? Evidence from a cross section of firms." *The quarterly journal of economics* 118, no. 1 (2003): 207-230.
- Swaleheen, M. (2011). "Economic Growth with Endogenous Corruption: An Empirical Study". *Public Choice* 146: 23-41.

- Syarif, L. M., & Faisal, F. (2019). Addressing the Root of Political Corruption in Indonesia. *Integritas : Jurnal Antikorupsi*, 5(2), 191–198. <https://doi.org/10.32697/integritas.v5i2.487>
- Tavits, M., 2008. Representation, corruption, and subjective well-being. *Comparative political studies*, 41(12), pp.1607-1630. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414007308537>
- Treisman, D. (2000). The causes of corruption: a cross-national study. *Journal of Public Economics*, Vol. 76 No. 3, pp. 399-457, doi: [10.1016/S0047-2727\(99\)00092-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0047-2727(99)00092-4).
- Tsanana, E., Chapsa, X., Katrakilidis, C., 2016. Is growth corrupted and or bureaucratic? Panel evidence from the enlarged EU. *Appl. Econ.* 48, 3131–3147.
- Tsebelis, G. (1995). Decision making in political systems: Veto players in presidentialism, parliamentarism, multicameralism and multipartyism. *British journal of political science*, 25(3), 289-325.
- Weber, Max. (1974). *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. Diterjemahkan oleh A. M. Henderson dan Talcott Persons. The Free Press. New York.
- Wiles, P. J. 1981. *Corruption. A study in political economy*., New York: Academic Press, 1978. xii+ 258 pp., author and subject indexes. \$16.95. *Journal of Comparative Economics*, 5(3), 329-333.
- Winters, M. S., & Weitz-Shapiro, R. (2013). Lacking information or condoning corruption: When do voters support corrupt politicians?. *Comparative Politics*, 45(4), 418-436. <https://doi.org/10.5129/001041513X13815259182857>
- Wittman, D. (1989). Why democracies produce efficient results. *Journal of Political economy*, 97(6), 1395-1424.