

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Aspinall, E., & Berenschot, W. (2019). *Democracy for sale: Elections, clientelism, and the state in Indonesia*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Aspinall, E., & Sukmajati, M. (Eds.). (2015). *Politik uang di Indonesia: Patronase dan klientelisme pada Pemilu Legislatif 2014*. Yogyakarta: Research Centre for Politics and Government (PolGov), Universitas Gadjah Mada.
- Besley, T., & Case, A. (1995). Incumbent behavior: Vote-seeking, tax-setting, and yardstick competition. *American Economic Review*, 85(1), 25–45.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77–101.
- Buehler, M. (2010). Decentralisation and local democracy in Indonesia: The marginalisation of the public sphere. *Local Government Studies*, 36(2), 267–285.
- Chandra, K. (2004). *Why ethnic parties succeed: Patronage and ethnic head counts in India*. Cambridge University Press.
- Choi, N. (2007). *Local politics in Indonesia: Pathways to power*. London: Routledge.
- Cornelius, W. A. (2004). Mobilized voting in the 2000 elections: The changing efficacy of vote buying and coercion in Mexican electoral politics. Dalam J. I. Domínguez & C. H. Lawson (Ed.), *Mexico's pivotal democratic elections: Candidates, voters, and the presidential campaign of 2000*. Stanford University Press.
- Cox, G. W. (1997). *Making votes count: Strategic coordination in the world's electoral systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dixit, A., & Londregan, J. (1996). The determinants of success of special interests in redistributive politics. *Journal of Politics*, 58(4), 1132–1155.
- Farrell, D. M., & McAllister, I. (2006). *The Australian electoral system: Origins, variations and consequences*. Sydney: UNSW Press.
- Fenno, R. F. (1978). *Home style: House members in their districts*. Little, Brown.
- Gallagher, M., & Mitchell, P. (Eds.). (2005). *The politics of electoral systems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ghazarian, Z. (2009). *The making of a party system: Minor parties in the Australian Senate*. Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag.

- Gibson, E. L. (2013). *Boundary control: Subnational authoritarianism in federal democracies*. Cambridge University Press.
- Jacobson, G. C. (1987). The marginals never vanished: Incumbency advantage and competition in elections to the U.S. House of Representatives. *American Political Science Review*, 81(1), 126–141.
- Kitschelt, H., & Wilkinson, S. I. (Eds.). (2007). *Patrons, clients and policies: Patterns of democratic accountability and political competition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Komisi Pemilihan Umum Kota Yogyakarta. (1999–2024). *Data perolehan suara Pemilu Kota Yogyakarta* [Dataset terkompilasi dan diolah oleh peneliti dari berbagai dokumen resmi KPU].
- Komisi Pemilihan Umum Kota Yogyakarta. (2024). *Hasil Pilkada*. KPU Kota Yogyakarta. <https://kota-yogyakarta.kpu.go.id/page/read/hasil-pilkada>
- Komisi Pemilihan Umum Republik Indonesia. (2024, 27 November). *Pilkada berjalan lancar, KPU apresiasi kerja keras semua pihak*. KPU RI. <https://www.kpu.go.id/berita/baca/12686/pilkada-berjalan-lancar-kpu-apresiasi-kerja-keras-semua-pihak>
- Komisi Pemilihan Umum Republik Indonesia. (2025). Portal Publikasi Pemilu dan Pemilihan. KPU RI. <https://infopemilu.kpu.go.id/>
- Levitsky, S., & Way, L. A. (2010). *Competitive authoritarianism: Hybrid regimes after the Cold War*. Cambridge University Press.
- Lindbeck, A., & Weibull, J. W. (1987). Balanced-budget redistribution as the outcome of political competition. *Public Choice*, 52, 273–297.
- Mietzner, M. (2013). *Money, power, and ideology: Political parties in post-authoritarian Indonesia*. Singapore: NUS Press.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Moleong, L. J. (2005). *Metodologi penelitian kualitatif* (Edisi revisi). Bandung: PT Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Müller, W. C., & Strøm, K. (1999). *Policy, office, or votes? How political parties in Western Europe make hard decisions*. Cambridge University Press.
- Nichter, S. (2008). Vote buying or turnout buying? Machine politics and the secret ballot. *American Political Science Review*, 102(1), 19–31.

- Schady, N. R. (2000). The political economy of expenditures by the Peruvian social fund (FONCODES), 1991–1995. *American Political Science Review*, 94(2), 289–304.
- Sofaer, S. (1999). Qualitative methods: What are they and why use them? *Health Services Research*, 34(5 Pt 2), 1101–1118.
- Stokes, S. C., Dunning, T., Nazareno, M., & Brusco, V. (2013). *Brokers, voters, and clientelism: The puzzle of distributive politics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Tomsa, D., & Ufen, A. (Eds.). (2013). *Party politics in Southeast Asia: Clientelism and electoral competition in Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Tribun Jogja. (2024, Desember 10). *Intip suara Hasto–Wawan yang unggul di Pilkada Kota Yogyakarta 2024, hanya kalah di dua kemantren*. <https://jogja.tribunnews.com/2024/12/10/intip-suara-hasto-wawan-yang-unggul-di-pilkada-kota-yogyakarta-2024-hanya-kalah-di-dua-kemantren>
- Vaishnav, M. (2017). *When crime pays: Money and muscle in Indian politics*. Yale University Press.
- van de Walle, N. (2003). Presidentialism and clientelism in Africa's emerging party systems. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 41(2), 297–321.
- Wahman, M. (2011). Offices and policies: Why do opposition parties form pre-electoral coalitions in competitive authoritarian regimes? *Electoral Studies*, 30(4), 642–653.
- Wantchekon, L. (2003). Clientelism and voting behavior: Evidence from a field experiment in Benin. *World Politics*, 55(3), 399–422.
- Widiptya, G. P. (2016). *Analisis kemenangan calon perseorangan pasangan Abdul Hafidz–Bayu Andriyanto dalam Pilkada Kabupaten Rembang tahun 2015* (Skripsi Sarjana, Universitas Diponegoro). Semarang: Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik, Universitas Diponegoro.
- Wilson, I. D. (2015). *Politik Jatah Preman: Ormas dan Kuasa Jalanan di Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru*. Serpong: Marjin Kiri