

REFERENSI

- Abranches, S. H. (1988). *Presidencialismo de coalizão : raízes e evolução do modelo político brasileiro*. Companhia Das Letras.
- Barbosa, K., & Spagnolo, G. (2019). *Corrupting cartels: An overview of the Petrobras case*. <https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/249246/1/hasite0051-1.pdf>
- Barrientos, A. (2013). The Rise of Social Assistance in Brazil. *Development and Change*, 44(4), 887–910. <https://doi.org/10.1111/dech.12043>
- Beetham, D. (1991). *The Legitimation of Power*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Braga, R. (2012). *The politics of the precariat : from populism to Lulista hegemony*. Brill.
- Braga, R., & Barbosa dos Santos, F. L. (2019). The Political Economy of Lulism and Its Aftermath. *Latin American Perspectives*, 47(1), 169–186. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582x19887806>
- Braga, R., & Purdy, S. (2018). A precarious hegemony: neo-liberalism, social struggles, and the end of Lulismo in Brazil. *Globalizations*, 16(2), 201–215. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2018.1479013>
- Centre for Public Impact. (2019). *Bolsa Família in Brazil*. Centre for Public Impact. <https://centreforpublicimpact.org/public-impact-fundamentals/bolsa-familia-in-brazil/#Management>
- Ceratti, M. (2023). *Brazil Faces the Challenge of Resuming Growth without Backtracking on its Social Achievements*. World Bank. <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/brazil/publication/brazil-how-resume-growth-keep-social-progress>
- Demirörs, S. (2024). New Developmentalism Under Neoliberalism: The Case of Brazil. *İktisadi İdari ve Siyasal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 9(25). <https://doi.org/10.25204/iktisad.1480371>
- ECLAC. (2017). *Social Panorama of Latin America 2015*. United Nations Publication.
- Greenwald, G., Martins, R. M., Demori, L., Santi, A. de, & Fishman, A. (2019). *Breach of Ethics: Exclusive: Leaked Chats Between Brazilian Judge and Prosecutor Who Imprisoned Lula Reveal Prohibited Collaboration and Doubts Over Evidence*. The Intercept. <https://theintercept.com/2019/06/09/brazil-lula-operation-car-wash-sergio-moro/>

- Higley, J., & Burton, M. (2006). *Elite foundations of liberal democracy*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Cop.
- Hunter, W., & Power, T. J. (2019). Bolsonaro and Brazil's Illiberal Backlash. *Journal of Democracy*, 30(1), 68–82. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2019.0005>
- IMF. (2023). *World Economic Outlook Database*. IMF. https://www.imf.org/en/publications/weo/weo-database/2023/october/weo-report?c=223&s=NGDP_R&sy=2003&ey=2014&ssm=0&scsm=1&ssd=1&scs=1&ssc=1&sic=0&sort=country&ds=.&br=0
- Katz, A. S. (2018). Making Brazil work? Brazilian coalitional presidentialism at 30 and its post-Lava Jato prospects. *Revista de Investigações Constitucionais*, 5(3), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.5380/rinc.v5i3.60965>
- Levitsky, S., & Ziblatt, D. (2018). *How Democracies Die*. Crown Publishing.
- Limongi, F. (2021). From Birth to Agony. *The University of Toronto Law Journal*, 71, 151–173. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/48749623>
- Loureiro, P. M., & Saad-Filho, A. (2019). The Limits of Pragmatism: The Rise and Fall of the Brazilian Workers' Party (2002–2016). *Latin American Perspectives*, 46(1), 66–84. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582x18805093>
- Mainwaring, S. (2006). *The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes*. Stanford University Press.
- Mair, P. (2013). *Ruling the Void: The Hollowing-Out of Western Democracy*. Verso Books.
- Málaga, D. M., & Silveira, S. de F. R. (2024). A Wounded Democracy: Analysis of the Determinant Factors of Democratic Backsliding in Brazil. *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies an Interdisciplinary Journal*, 16(3), 13–26. <https://doi.org/10.5130/ccs.v16.i3.9071>
- Mattei, L., & Pereira, A. W. (2015). Dilemmas of Brazilian Economic Development in the Twenty-First Century. *Palgrave Macmillan UK EBooks*, 3–25. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137549815_1
- Melo, M. A. (2016). Latin America's New Turbulence: Crisis and Integrity in Brazil. *Journal of Democracy*, 27(2), 50–65. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2016.0019>
- Merkel, W. (2004). Embedded and Defective Democracies. *Democratization*, 11(5), 33–58. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510340412331304598>
- Müller, J.-W. (2016). *What is Populism?* (1st ed.). University Of Pennsylvania Press.

- Norris, P. (2011). *Democratic Deficit Critical Citizens Revisited*. Cambridge University Press.
- Nunes, F., & Melo, C. R. (2017). Impeachment, Political Crisis and Democracy in Brazil. *Revista de Ciencia Política (Santiago)*, 37(2), 281–304.
<https://doi.org/10.4067/s0718-090x2017000200281>
- Pahnke, A. R., & Milan, M. (2020). *The Brazilian Crisis and the New Authoritarianism*. Monthly Review.
<https://monthlyreview.org/articles/the-brazilian-crisis-and-the-new-authoritarianism/>
- Pereira, C., & Bertholini, F. (2017). *Coalition Management in Multiparty Presidential Regimes*.
<https://repositorio.fgv.br/server/api/core/bitstreams/bae31cf0-a940-4a02-b47b-c1502f110998/content>
- Perez-Linan, A. (2009). *Presidential impeachment and the new political instability in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.
- Przeworski, A. (2019). *Crises of Democracy*. Cambridge University Press.
- Rennó, L. R. (2020). The Bolsonaro Voter: Issue Positions and Vote Choice in the 2018 Brazilian Presidential Elections. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 62(4), 1–23.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/lap.2020.13>
- Saad-Filho, A., & Boito, A. (2015). Brazil: The Failure of the PT and the Rise of the “New Right.” *Socialist Register*, 52(52), 213–230.
<https://socialistregister.com/index.php/srv/article/view/25598/18803>
- Saad-Filho, A., & Moraes, L. (2018). *Brazil: neoliberalism versus democracy*. Pluto Press.
- Samuels, D. J., & Zucco, C. (2014). Lulismo, Petismo, and the Future of Brazilian Politics. *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 6(3). <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2310761>
- Samuels, D., & Zucco, C. (2018). *Partisans, antipartisans, and nonpartisans : voting behavior in Brazil*. Cambridge University Press.
- Sánchez-Ancochea, D., & Mattei, L. (2011). Bolsa Família, poverty and inequality: Political and economic effects in the short and long run. *Global Social Policy: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Public Policy and Social Development*, 11(2-3), 299–318.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1468018111421297>
- Schlegel, R. (2024). *Brazil En Route to Authoritarianism Following First Round of Elections | Columbia | Journal of International Affairs*. Columbia SIPA; Journal of International Affairs.

<https://jia.sipa.columbia.edu/news/brazil-en-route-authoritarianism-following-first-round-elections>

- Singer, A. V. (2012). *Os sentidos do lulismo : reforma gradual e pacto conservador*. Companhia Das Letras, Cop.
- Tanscheit, T., & Barbosa, P. (2023). A Battle of Two Presidents: Lula Vs. Bolsonaro in the Brazilian Elections of 2022. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 43(2). <https://doi.org/10.4067/s0718-090x2023005000111>
- Taylor, M. (2020). Coalitions, Corruption, and Crisis: The End of Brazil's Third Republic? *Latin America Research Review*, 55(3), 595–604. <https://doi.org/10.25222/larr.1264>
- Urbinati, N. (2018). Political Theory of Populism. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 22, 111–127. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-050317-070753>
- Vidigal, R. (2022). Authoritarianism and Right-Wing Voting in Brazil. *Latin American Research Review*, 57(3), 554–572. <https://doi.org/10.1017/lar.2022.32>
- Watmough, S. P. (2021). Jair Bolsonaro: Far-Right Firebrand and Cheerleader for Dictatorship. *European Center for Populism Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.55271/lp0008>
- Weber, M. (1978). *Economy and society: an Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. University of California Press.
- Weis, V. V. (2022). What does Lawfare mean in Latin America? A new framework for understanding the criminalization of progressive political leaders. *Punishment & Society*, 25(4), 909–933. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14624745221116348>
- Zelditch, M. (2001). *Theories of Legitimacy in The Psychology of Legitimacy: Emerging Perspectives on Ideology, Justice, and Intergroup Relations* (J. T. Jost & B. Major, Eds.; pp. 33–53). Cambridge University Press.