



- Lux, S., Crook, T. & Leap, T., 'Corporate Political Activity: the good, the bad, and the ugly,' *Business Horizons*, vol. 55, 2012, pp. 307-312, doi:10.1016/j.bushor.2012.01.008, accessed 29 April 2020.
- Mizruchi, M.S., 'Similarity of Ideology and Party Preference among Large American Corporations: A Study of Political Action Committee Contributions,' *Sociological Forum*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1990, pp. 213-240.
- OECD, 'Lobbyists, Governments, and Public Trust: Implementing the OECD Principles for Transparency and Integrity in Lobbying,' *Highlights*, vol. 3, 2014, pp. 1-4, <https://www.oecd.org/gov/ethics/lobbyists-governments-trust-vol-3-highlights.pdf>, accessed 14 April 2020.
- Oliver, C. & Holzinger, I., 'The Effectiveness of Strategic Political Management: A Dynamic Capabilities Framework,' *The Academy of Management Review*, vol. 33, no. 2, 2008, pp. 496-520, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2-159410>, accessed 15 April 2020.
- Porter, M., 'The Five Competitive Forces That Shape Strategy,' *Harvard Business Review*, vol. 86, no. 1, 2008, pp. 78-93.
- Snyder, J., 'Campaign Contributions as Investments: The House of Representatives,' *Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 98, 1990, pp. 1195-1227.
- Vidal, J.B., Draca, M. & Frons-Rosen, C., 'Revolving door lobbyists,' *CEP Discussion Papers*, no. 0993, Centre for Economic Performance, London School of Economics, 2010, <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/31546/1/dp0993.pdf>, accessed 16 April 2020.
- Wright, J., 'PAC Contributions, Lobbying, and Representation,' *Journal of Politics*, vol. 51, 1989, pp. 713-729.

Online articles

- 'Alexa Political Contribution,' *Amazon Pay*, 2020, <https://pay.amazon.com/politicaldonations>, accessed 28 April 2020.
- 'Enterprise Zones: The Zombie Idea That Just Won't Die,' *Urban Affairs Forum*, 18 July 2017, https://urbanaffairsreview.com/2017/07/18/theyre-back-ben-carson-revives-the-enterprise-zone-the-zombie-idea-that-just-wont-die/#_ftn4, accessed 29 April 2020.
- 'The Biden Plan to Guarantee Government Works for the People,' *Biden President*, 2020, <https://joebiden.com/governmentreform/>, accessed 29 April 2020.
- Amazon Annual Report*, 2018, http://www.annualreports.com/HostedData/AnnualReports/PDF/NASDAQ_AMZN_2018.pdf, accessed 10 February 2020.
- Amazon Acquisitions*, 2020, <https://acquiredby.co/amazon-acquisitions/>, accessed 29 April 2020.
- Center for Responsive Politics, 'Amazon Donation Summary,' 2020, <https://www.opensecrets.org/pacs/lookup2.php?cycle=2018&strID=C00360354>, accessed 28 April 2020.
- Center for Responsive Politics, 'Summary Data of Amazon.com services LLC Separate Segregated Fund (Amazon PAC),' 2020, <https://www.opensecrets.org/pacs/lookup2.php?cycle=2020&strID=C00360354>, accessed 17 April 2020.
- Center for Responsive Politics, 'Super PACs,' <https://www.opensecrets.org/pacs/superpacs.php>, accessed 10 February 2020.
- Clowes, G.A., 'The Only Solution is Competition: An Exclusive Interview with Milton Friedman,' *The Heartland Institute*, 1 December 1998, <https://www.heartland.org/news-opinion/news/the-only-solution-is-competition-an-exclusive-interview-with-milton-friedman?source=policybot>, accessed 23 April 2020.



- Ebeling, R.M., 'Milton Friedman and the Chicago School of Economics,' *Foundation for Economic Education*, 1 December 2006, <https://fee.org/articles/milton-friedman-and-the-chicago-school-of-economics/>, accessed on 10 December 2019. Hayes, A., 'Economic Rent,' *Investopedia*, 12 August 2019, <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/e/economicrent.asp>, accessed 20 April 2020.
- LaVecchia, O. & Mitchell, S., *Amazon's Stranglehold: How the Company's Tightening Grip is Stifling Competition, Eroding Jobs, and Threatening Communities*, Institute for Local Self-Reliance, November 2016, <https://ilsr.org/amazon-stranglehold/>, accessed 12 January 2020. Zibel, A., 'Revolving Congress: The Revolving Door Class of 2019 Flocks to K Street,' *Public Citizen*, 30 May 2019, <https://www.citizen.org/article/revolving-congress/>, accessed 30 April 2020.

Online news

- 'Antitrust: Commission opens investigation into possible anti-competitive conduct of Amazon,' *European Commission*, 17 July 2019, https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP_19_4291, accessed 30 April 2020.
- 'Microsoft Slapped with Biggest Fine in EU History,' *DW*, 24 March 2004, <https://www.dw.com/en/microsoft-slapped-with-biggest-fine-in-eu-history/a-1149932>, accessed 30 April 2020.
- 'Venture Capital Funnel Shows Odds of Becoming a Unicorn are About 1%,' *CBInsights*, 6 September 2018, <https://www.cbinsights.com/research/venture-capital-funnel-2/>, accessed 12 April 2020.
- Allison, B., 'The 2020 presidential race might be remembered as when the dam broke on money in U.S. politics,' *Fortune*, 14 February 2020, <https://fortune.com/2020/02/13/2020-election-campaign-spending-money/>, accessed 29 April 2020. Baca, C.Z., & Marie, C., 'Lawmakers grill Amazon, Facebook, Google and Apple at antitrust hearing,' *Washington Post*, 17 July 2019, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2019/07/16/lawmakers-grill-amazon-facebook-google-apple-antitrust-hearing/>, accessed on 25 November 2019.
- Beekman, D., 'Tax Amazon group, Sawant announce ballot initiative for tax on big businesses,' *The Seattle Times*, 19 March 2020, <https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/politics/tax-amazon-group-sawant-announce-ballot-initiative-for-tax-on-big-businesses/>, accessed 29 April 2020.
- Cohn, S., 'Amazon reveals the truth on why it nixed New York and chose Virginia for its HQ2,' *CNBC*, 10 July 2019, <https://www.cnbc.com/2019/07/10/amazon-reveals-the-truth-on-why-it-nixed-ny-and-chose-virginia-for-hq2.html>, accessed 29 April 2020.
- Dayen, D., 'Amazon HQ2 will cost taxpayers at least \$4.6 billion, more than twice what the company claimed, new study shows,' *The Intercept*, 16 November 2018, <https://theintercept.com/2018/11/15/amazon-hq2-long-island-city-virginia-subsidies/>, accessed 21 April 2020.
- Davis, A., 'Why Amazon paid no 2018 US federal income tax,' *CNBC*, 4 April 2019, <https://www.cnbc.com/2019/04/03/why-amazon-paid-no-federal-income-tax.html>, accessed 29 April 2020.
- Del Rey, J., '6 reasons smaller companies want to break up Big Tech,' *Vox Recode*, 22 January 2020, <https://www.vox.com/recode/2020/1/22/21070898/big-tech-antitrust-amazon-apple-google-facebook-house-hearing-congress-break-up>, accessed 30 April 2020.



- Del Rey, J., 'Why Congress' antitrust investigation should make Big Tech nervous,' *Vox Recode*, 6 February 2020, <https://www.vox.com/recode/2020/2/6/21125026/big-tech-congress-antitrust-investigation-amazon-apple-google-facebook>, accessed 23 April 2020.
- DePillis, L., 'It's Amazon's world. We just live in it,' *CNN*, 4 October 2018, <https://edition.cnn.com/2018/10/03/tech/amazon-effect-us-economy/index.html>, accessed on 9 December 2018.
- Goodman, J.D., 'Amazon Pulls Out of Planned New York City Headquarters,' *The New York Times*, 14 February 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/14/nyregion/amazon-hq2-queens.html>, accessed 29 April 2020.
- Gregg, A., 'With new Pentagon IT certification, Microsoft narrows the cloud security gap with Amazon,' *The Washington Post*, 21 December 2019, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2019/12/20/with-new-pentagon-it-certification-microsoft-narrows-cloud-security-gap-with-amazon/>, accessed 18 April 2020.
- Heller, L., 'Amazon's Growing Power in The U.S. Economy,' *Forbes*, 30 November 2016, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/lauraheller/2016/11/30/amazons-growing-stranglehold-on-the-us-economy/#7bfa837feb40>, accessed on 9 December 2018.
- Huddleston Jr, T., 'Amazon had to pay federal income taxes for the first time since 2016 – here's how much,' *CNBC*, 4 February 2020, <https://www.cnbc.com/2020/02/04/amazon-had-to-pay-federal-income-taxes-for-the-first-time-since-2016.html>, accessed 6 May 2020.
- Kanter, J., 'The DOJ's latest probe erased \$33 billion from Amazon, Apple, Facebook, and Google,' *Business Insider*, 24 July 2019, <https://markets.businessinsider.com/news/stocks/amazon-apple-facebook-and-google-shares-doj-antitrust-2019-7-1028379566>, accessed 20 April 2020.
- Macias, A., & Palmer, A., 'Amazon slams Pentagon's approach to fix messy \$10 billion JEDI contract, new court docs show,' *CNBC*, 24 March 2020, <https://www.cnbc.com/2020/03/24/amazon-slams-pentagons-approach-to-fix-10-billion-jedi-contract.html>, accessed 30 April 2020.
- Manjoo, F., 'How the Frightful Five Put Start-Ups in a Lose-Lose Situation,' *New York Times*, 18 October 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/18/technology/frightful-five-start-ups.html>, accessed 12 February 2020.
- Matsakis, L., 'The Truth about Amazon, Food Stamps, and Tax Breaks,' *Wired*, 6 September 2018, <https://www.wired.com/story/truth-about-amazon-food-stamps-tax-breaks/>, accessed 20 April 2020.
- Mullins, B., & Zimmerman, A., 'Target Discovers Downside to Political Contribution,' *Wall Street Journal*, 7 August 2010, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052748703988304575413650676561696.html>, Accessed 26 April 2020.
- Neate, R., 'Amazons reaps \$11,000-a-second coronavirus lockdown bonanza,' *The Guardian*, 15 April 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2020/apr/15/amazon-lockdown-bonanza-jeff-bezos-fortune-109bn-coronavirus>, accessed 29 April 2020.
- Nix, N., 'Amazon is Flooding D.C. with Money and Muscle: The Influence Game,' *Bloomberg*, 7 March 2019, <https://www.bloomberg.com/graphics/2019-amazon-lobbying/>, accessed 12 April 2020.
- Novet, J., 'Microsoft narrows Amazon's lead in cloud, but the gap remains large,' *CNBC*, 27 April 2018, <https://www.cnbc.com/2018/04/27/microsoft-gains-cloud-market-share-in-q1-but-aws-still-dominates.html>, accessed 20 March 2020.



- Palmer, A., 'Amazon joins the trillion-dollar club again after knockout earnings report,' *CNBC*, 31 January 2020, <https://www.cnbc.com/2020/01/31/amazon-amzn-reaches-1-trillion-market-cap.html>, accessed 21 February 2020.
- Palmer, A., 'Blow to Amazon as Seattle passes new political spending restrictions,' *CNBC*, 13 January 2020, <https://www.cnbc.com/2020/01/13/blow-to-amazon-as-seattle-passes-new-political-spending-restrictions.html>, accessed 29 April 2020.
- Romm, T., 'Tech giants led by Amazon, Facebook, and Google spent nearly half a billion on lobbying over the past decade, new data shows,' *The Washington Post*, 22 January 2020, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2020/01/22/amazon-facebook-google-lobbying-2019/>, accessed 21 April 2020.
- Sarlin, J., 'Is Amazon a monopoly?' *CNN Video*, 3 October 2018, <https://edition.cnn.com/videos/business/2018/10/03/amazon-monopoly-orig.cnn-business/video/playlists/business-amazon/>, accessed on 9 December 2018.
- Saunders, B., 'Who's Using Amazon Web Services,' *Contino*, 28 January 2020, <https://www.contino.io/insights/whos-using-aws>, accessed 22 April 2020.
- Schulze, E., 'If you want to know what a US tech crackdown may look like, check out what Europe did,' *CNBC*, 7 June 2019, <https://www.cnbc.com/2019/06/07/how-google-facebook-amazon-and-apple-faced-eu-tech-antitrust-rules.html>, accessed 30 April 2020.
- Sink, J., 'Trump Era's Biggest Winner is Jeff Bezos, Presidential Nemesis,' *Bloomberg*, 4 February 2019, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-02-04/trump-era-s-biggest-winner-is-jeff-bezos-presidential-nemesis>, accessed 17 April 2020.
- Son H., & Surane, J., 'Dimon Says He'll Fight for Tax Breaks Amazon Gets for HQ2,' *Bloomberg*, 28 February 2018, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-02-27/dimon-says-he-ll-fight-for-same-tax-breaks-amazon-gets-for-hq2>, accessed on 25 February 2019.
- Strauss, S., 'Is it time to break up the big tech companies,' *Los Angeles Times*, 30 June 2016, <https://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-strauss-digital-robber-barons-break-up-monopolies-20160630-snap-story.html>, accessed 22 April 2020.
- Vox, 'What is a Super PAC, and Should it be legal?' *Vox*, 10 July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UnOn60YtcGo>, accessed 20 February 2020.
- Wilson, R., 'Amazon Dumps \$1 million into Seattle elections,' *The Hill*, 16 October 2019, <https://thehill.com/homenews/state-watch/466213-amazon-dumps-1-million-into-seattle-elections>, accessed 29 April 2020.

Others:

- 'Antitrust: Commission fines Google €1.49 billion for abusive practices in online advertising,' *European Commission*, 20 March 2019, https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP_19_1770, accessed 30 April 2020.
- 'Antitrust: Commission opens investigation into possible anti-competitive conduct of Amazon,' *European Commission Press*, https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP_19_4291, accessed on 25 November 2019.
- 'Contribution Limits,' *Federal Election Committee*, <https://www.fec.gov/help-candidates-and-committees/candidate-taking-receipts/contribution-limits/>, accessed 15 April 2020.
- 'Data protection in the EU,' *European Commission*, https://ec.europa.eu/info/law/law-topic/data-protection/data-protection-eu_en, accessed 30 April 2020.



- ‘The Economic Effects of the 2017 Tax Revision: Preliminary Observations,’ *Congressional Research Service*, 7 June 2019, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R45736.pdf>, accessed 6 May 2020, p. 1.
- Porter, R., ‘Government-Business Relations in the United States,’ *Transatlantic Perspectives on US-EU Economic Relations: Convergence Conflict and Cooperation*, 2002, pp. 1-19.
- Rubin, J.E., ‘General Overview of United States Antitrust Law,’ *Congressional Research Service*, 2005, pp. 1-5.
- Scariano, M.J., *Super PAC Funding and its impact on voting behaviour in the U.S. House of Representatives*, Honors thesis, University of Tennessee at Chattanooga, 2016.
- United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, ‘Competition issues in the digital economy,’ *Intergovernmental Group of Experts on Competition Law and Policy*, 12 July 2019, https://unctad.org/meetings/en/SessionalDocuments/ciclpd54_en.pdf, accessed 20 April 2020.