

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- A.G, Subarsono, 2013, *Analisis Kebijakan Publik: Konsep, Teori dan Praktik*, Pustaka Pelajar, Yogyakarta.
- Aaron Hedlund.2018. *Pork-Barrel Politics and Polarization* paper in University of Missouri
- Abbas Tashakkori & Charles Teddlie. (2010). *Mixed Methodology Mengombinasikan pendekatan kualitatif dan kuantitatif*. (Terjemahan Budi puspa Priadi). California: Sage Publications (Buku asli diterbitkan tahun 1998).
- Adnan Buyung Nasution, et.al., 2000, *Federalisme untuk Indonesia*, Penerbit Kompas, Jakarta, hlm. 131
- Adriana Camacho and Emily Conover,2011, *Manipulation of Social Program Eligibility*, on journal *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* 3 (May 2011): 41–65.
- Adrianus, Toni dkk. 2006. “*Mengenal Teori-Teori Sistem Politik Sampai Korupsi*”, Penerbit Nuansa: Bandung.
- Agus Pramusinto ‘*Desentraslisasi dan kepemimpinan inovatif di indonesia*” ‘ jurnal Sosiohumaniora, Vol. 12, No. 3, November 2010 : 296 – 310
- Alexander, Dan; Berry, Christopher R. and Howell, William G. “Distributive Politics and Legislator Ideology.” *Journal of Politics*, 2016, 78(1), pp. 214-31; <https://doi.org/10.1086/683643>.
- Alvarez, Saving, (1997) *Deficits, Democrats, and Distributive Benefits: Congressional Elections and the Pork Barrel in the 1980s in jorunal political Reasearch quarterly*, vol 50, no 4 pp 809 - 831
- Ames, B. (1995). Electoral Rules, Constituency Pressures, and Pork Barrel: Bases of Voting in the Brazilian Congress. *The Journal of Politics*, 57(2), 324–343. doi:10.2307/2960309
- Ames, B. 2001. *The Deadlock of Democracy in Brazil* (Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan University Press,).
- Anderson, James, 1979, *Public Policy Making, (Second ed.)*, New York : Holt,. Rinehart and Winston, New York
- Andre’S Rodri’Guez-Pose1 And Vassilis Tselios, 2015. *Toward Inclusive Growth: Is There Regional Convergence In Social Welfare?* On Journal International Regional Science Review.
- Andrew H. Sidman, 2019 . *How Government Spending Determines Elections in a Polarized Era*. Columbia University Press
- Andrew, and Gary King. 1990. “*Estimating the Incumbency Advantage without Bias.*” *American Journal of Political Science* 34(4): 1142–64.
- Anjali Thomas Bohlken.2018.*Targeting Ordinary Voters or Political Elites? Why Pork Is Distributed Along Partisan Lines in India.*in journal American Journal of Political Science
- Armesto A, (2009) *Governors and mayors, particularism in the provision of local public goods in Mexico and Argentina. Presented at Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.*

- Arnold, R. Douglas. 1990. *The Logic of Congressional Action*. New Haven: Yale University Press
- Aslam, A., Corrado, L. (2007). *No Man is an Island, the Inter-personal Determinants of Regional Well-Being in Europe*. Cambridge Working Papers in Economics n. 0717
- Aspinal dan Mada, 2015. “Politik uang di indonesia: Patronase dan klientalisme pada pemilu legislatif 2014”. Penerbit POLGOV. Yogyakarta.
- Aspinall, E 2004, 'Indonesia: Civil Society And Democratic Breakthrough', In Muthiah Alagappa (Ed.), *Civil Society And Political Change In Asia: Expanding And Contracting Democratic Space*, Stanford University Press, USA, pp. 61-96.
- Aspinall, E. & Berenschot, W. (2019). *Democracy for Sale: Elections, Clientelism, and the State in Indonesia*. First Edition. Cornell
- Aspinall, Edward and Allen Hicken. 2020. “Guns for hire and enduring machines: clientelism beyond parties in Indonesia and the Philippines.” *Democratization*, 27 (1): 137-56.
- Auerbach, Adam. 2016. “Clients and Communities: The Political Economy of Party Network Organization and Development in India’s Urban Slums.” *World Politics* 68(1): 111–48.
- Autor, David; Dorn, David; Hanson, Gordon and Majlesi, Kaveh. “Importing Political Polarization? The Electoral Consequences of Rising Trade Exposure.” Working paper, 2017
- Auyero, Javier. 2000. *Poor People’s Politics: Peronist Survival Networks and the Legacy of Evita*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Badawi, Ahmad Zaki, *Mu’jam Mushthalahâtu Al-‘Ulûm Al-Ijtimâ’iyyah*, (Beirut: Maktabah Lubnan, New Impression 1982).
- Bagir Manan, 2001, *Menyongsong Fajar Otonomi*, PSH Fakultas Hukum UII, Yogyakarta, hlm. 39.
- Balík, S. (2016). Local cleavages, politics and policy at the local level—Is the depolitization real? *Social Studies*, 1, 73–85.
- Bappeda DIY 2019, Program pembangunan daerah. Bappeda DIY. Yogyakarta
- Barrientos, A. 2007. “Does Vulnerability create poverty Traps?” CPRC working paper, 76, Chronic poverty Research Centre, Institute Of Development Studies At The University Of Sussex.
- Benoit K (2007) *Electoral laws as political consequences: Explaining the origins and change of electoral institutions*. *Annual Review of Political Science* 10: 363–390.
- Bianco, W T. 1994. *Trust: Representatives and Constituents*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Bird, Richard M. dan Francois Vaillancourt,. *Desentralisasi Fiskal di Negara-Negara Berkembang: Tinjauan Umum*, dalam Richard M. Bird dan Francois Vaillancourt (Penyunting), *Desentralisasi Fiskal Di Negara-Negara*
- Blanco, Dennis Vicencio. 2017. “Of Distributive Politics and Pork Barrel System: Why Not Epistemic Governance Approach?” *International Journal of Public Administration*, 40 (1): 89-99.

- Bohlken, A. T. 2017. "Targeting Ordinary Voters or Political Elites? Why Pork Is Distributed Along Partisan Lines in India". *Journal American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 00, No. 00, xxxx 2018, Pp. 1–16.
- Brady, D., & Bostic, A. (2015). Paradoxes of Social Policy. *American Sociological Review*, 80(2), 268–298.
- Brollo, F., & Nannicini, T. (2012). *Tying Your Enemy's Hands in Close Races: The Politics of Federal Transfers in Brazil*. *American Political Science Review*, 106(04), 742–761.
- Buchanan, J.M. and Tullock, G. (1962) *The Calculus of Consent: Logical Foundations for Constitutional Democracy*. The University of Michigan Press, Michigan.
- Budiarjo, Miriam. 2008. "Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik". Gramedia Pustaka. Jakarta.
- Burhanuddin Muhtadi. 2018. *Buying Votes in Indonesia: Partisans, Personal Networks, and Winning Margins*. The Australian National University (ANU)
- Cain, Bruce, John Ferejohn and Morris Fiorina. 1987. *The Personal Vote: Constituency Service and Electoral Independence*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press
- Calvo, E., & Murillo, M. V. (2013). Who Delivers? Partisan Clients in the Argentine
- Campbell, James. 1982. Cosponsoring Legislation in the U.S. Congress." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 7(3):415-422.
- Cann, Damon M. and Sidman, Andrew H., Exchange Theory, Political Parties, and the Allocation of Federal Distributive Benefits in the House of Representatives (February 22, 2011). *Journal of Politics*, Forthcoming. doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1767450
- Carey, J. M., & Shugart, M. S. (1995). *Incentives to cultivate a personal vote: A rank ordering of electoral formulas*. *Electoral Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 4, pp. 417-439
- Carroll, R., & Kim, H. A. (2010). Party Government and the Cohesive Power of Public Plunder • . *American Journal of Political Science*, 54(1), 34–44. doi:10.1111/j.1540-5907.2009.00416.x
- Chandra K (2004) *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Chang ECC and Golden MA (2006) *Electoral systems, district magnitude and corruption*. *British Journal of Political Science* 37(1): 115–137.
- Chapra, M. Umer, *Masa Depan Ilmu Ekonomi*, (Terj.) Ikhwan Abidin, *The Future Of Economics: An Islamic Perspective*, (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 2001).
- Charles D. Tarlton, 1965. *Symmetry and Asymmetry as Elements of Federalism: A Theoretical Speculation*, *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 27, No. 4.
- Clark, R. C. & Mayer, R. E. 2003. *E-learning and the science of instruction*. San Francisco: Jossey –Bass/Pfeiffer
- Cornelis, L. (2009). *Pengembangan Assymetrical Decentralization Sebagai Model Pengelolaan Hubungan Pusat-Daerah di Indonesia*, Jurusan Politik dan Pemerintahan Fisipol UGM.

- Crespin dan Finocchiaro. 2013. *Elections and the Politics of Pork in the U.S. Senate*. on journal Social Science Quarterly , JUNE 2013, Vol. 94, No. 2 (JUNE 2013), pp. 506-529
- Creswell dan Plano, 2007. *“Designing And Conducting Mixed Methods Research”*. Thousand oaks. CA sage publication, Inc.
- Creswell, John W. 2009. *“Research Design Pendekatan Penelitian Kualitatif, Kuantitatif, dan Mixed”*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Crisp, B. F., Escobar-Lemmon, M. C., Jones, B. S., Jones, M. P., & Taylor-Robinson, M. M. (2004). *Vote-Seeking Incentives and Legislative Representation in Six Presidential Democracies*. The Journal of Politics, 66(3), 823–846.
- D. Wilson and Sperber D.: 1986, *Relevance: Communication and Cognition*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- Dasgupta A (2017) *Voice in a Clientelism System: How Civically Engaged Villages Succeed in Distributive Politics*. Mimeo: Stanford University.
- David Brady and Amie Bostic, 2015, *Paradoxes of Social Policy: Welfare Transfers, Relative Poverty, and Redistribution Preferences*, on journal American Sociological Review 2015, Vol. 80(2) 268– 298.
- David C. Korten.1995.*When corporations rule the world*.West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press. 374 pp
- Desposato SW (2001) *Institutional Theories, Societal Realities, and Party Politics in Brazil*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California, Los Angeles.
- Desposato, S.W. 2006. *“ How Does Vote Buying Shape The Legislative Arena?”*, in F.C FC. Schafer (ed) *Election for sale : The causes and consequences of vote buying*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, pp 101 – 122.
- Diaz-Cayeros, Alberto, Federico Estévez, and Beatriz Magaloni. 2016. *The Political Logic of Poverty Relief Electoral Strategies and Social Policy in Mexico*, New York: Cambridge University Press
- Djarwanto, PS. 1994, *”Pokok – Pokok Analisa Laporan Keuangan”*. BPFE, Cetakan I, Yogyakarta.
- Dwijowijoto, Ryant Nugroho. 2003. *Kebijakan Publik Formulasi, Implementasi dan Evaluasi*. Jakarta: PT. Elex Media Komputindo.
- Dye Thomas (1981). *“Understanding Public Policy”*, Eleventh Edition, New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall.
- Eaves, Carrie 2018, *“Running in Someone Else’s Shoes: The Electoral Consequences of Running as an Appointed Senator.” Social Sciences*. 7 (75): 1-12.
- Electoral Market. American Journal of Political Science, 48, 742-757.
- Erikson, Robert S., and Thomas R. Palfrey. 2000. *“Equilibria in Campaign Spending Games: Theory and Data.” American Political Science Review* 94(3): 595–609
- Erni Nurbaningsih, 2011 , *Berbagai bentuk pengawasan kebijakan daerah*, Jurnal mimbar hukum, vol 23, no 1
- Evans, Diana. 2004. *“Greasing the Wheels: Using Pork barrel Projects to Build Majority Coalitions”*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Evans, Kevin A. and Bryan W. Marshall. 2016 "The Politics of Credit in Presidential Signing Statements." *Congress and the Presidency*, 43 (2): 179-205
- Fahrudin, Adi. (2012). Pengantar Kesejahteraan Sosial. Bandung: Refika Aditama
- Faiz Rahman., 2018, : Pemerintah Dan Pemerintahan Daerah: Refleksi Pada Era Reformasi (Membaca Momentum 20 Tahun Reformasi Indonesia). Jakarta, penerbit Aura. pp.46-56
- Fenno RF (1978) *Home Style: House Members in their Districts*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown.
- Fenno, Richard Jr. 1982. *The United States Senate: A Bicameral Perspective*. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute.
- Fere-Jhon, J. A. 1974. "*Pork barrel Politics: Rivers And Harbors Legislation, 1947 – 1968*". Stanford university press. Stanford.
- Ferrazzi Gabriel 2007 *International Experiences in Territorial Reform Implications for Indonesia*. Jakarta DRSP Usaid
- Fiorina, Morris, and Douglas Rivers. 1989. "*Constituency Service, Reputation, and the Incumbency Advantage*," In eds. Morris Fiorina and David Rohde. *Home Style and Washington Work*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Flick, U (ed). 2006. *A Companion to Qualitative Research*. London, dll: Sage Publications.
- G. Loewenberg and S. C. Patterson *Comparing Legislatures*, Toronto, Little, Brown, and Company, 1979, 344 pp. *Government and Opposition*, 14(4), 548-549. doi:10.1017/S0017257X00017656
- Golden, M. A., & Picci, L. (2008). *Pork-Barrel Politics in Postwar Italy, 1953–94*. *American Journal of Political Science*, 52(2), 268–289. doi:10.1111/j.1540-
- Goodin, R.E, rice, J.M., parpo, A., And Erikson, L, 2008. "*Discretionary Time: A New Measure Of Freedom*". Cambridge University Press. Cambrige.
- Gordon, Sanford C. and Hannah K. Simpson. 2018. "The Birth of Pork: Local Appropriations in America's First Century." *American Political Science Review*. 112 (3): 564–79
- Grindle, Merilee S. 1980 *Politics and Policy Implementations in the Third World*, New jersey: Princetown University Press.
- Grossman, G., & Helpman, E. (2005). *Party Discipline and Pork Barrel Politics*. NATIONAL BUREAU OF ECONOMIC RESEARCH
- Grossman, Gene M & Helpman, Elhanan, 1994. "Protection for Sale," *American Economic Review*, American Economic Association, vol. 84(4), pages 833-850, September.
- Guardadoa, Jenny and Leonard Wantchékon. 2018. "Do electoral handouts affect voting behavior?" *Electoral Studies*. 53: 139-49.
- Gunawan A. Tauda. 2018. *Administrative Law & Governance Journal*. Vol. 1 Edisi 4 November 2018
- Hadna, Agus. 2017. "*Political Linkages Dan Model Representasi Politik Di Indonesia*". Indie Book Corner. Yogyakarta.
- Hamidi .2005. *Metode penelitian kualitatif*. Malang: UMM press.

- Hall, Richard and Robert Van Houweling. 2006. Campaign Contributions and Lobbying on the Medicare Modernization Act of 2003. In Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, May 30-September 3, 2006. Philadelphia, PA.
- Harpham, E. J. (1984). *Political Economics*. By Alt James E. and Chrystal K. Alec. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983. Pp. xii + 276.paper: *American Political Science Review*, 78(04), 1196–1197.
- Heitshusen, Valerie, Gary Young and David Wood. 2005. Electoral Context and MP Constituency Focus in Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand and the United Kingdom." *American Journal of Political Science* 49(1):32-45
- Hendratomo, Grendi. 2009. "Demokrasi Dan Politik Pencitraan: Perang Iklan Politik Menuju Demokratisasi Indonesia" jurnal Dimensia, Vol 3, No 2.
- Herman Sumbu, 2000. Implementasi Kebijakan Otonomi Daerah dalam Konteks Formulasi Kebijakan Otonomi Desa. Prosiding Simposium Internasional Jurnal ANTROPOLOGI INDONESIA I Makassar 2000
- Hernan Tori. 2011 . KEBIJAKAN Kebijakan daerah dan Keadilan dalam mewujudkan Good Governance di Jurnal TAPIs Vol.7 No.12 Januari-Juni 2011
- Hicken, 2011. "Clientelism" Annual review of political science 14, 289-310.
- Hicken, A., & Simmons, J. W. (2008). *The Personal Vote and the Efficacy of Education Spending*. *American Journal of Political Science*, 52(1), 109-124.
- Hicken, Allen, and Nico Ravanilla. 2015. "Electoral Pressures and the Incentive to 'Bring Home the Pork': The Case of Philippine Senators." Unpublished manuscript, University of Michigan
- Hidayat, S. (2009). "Pilkada, Money Politics and the Dangers of Informal Governance Practices" dalam M. Erb & P. Sulistiyanto (eds) Deepening Democracy in Indonesia? *Direct Elections for Local Leaders (Pilkada)*. Singapura: ISEAS Publishing
- Hidayatullah dan Ulung, 2016. "Analisis Jaring Aspirasi Melalui Reses Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Lombok Timur Tahun 2015". Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan & Kebijakan Publik no 340 – 364.
- Hoessein, B. (1993). Berbagai Faktor yang Mempengaruhi Besarnya Otonomi Daerah Tingkat II. Universitas Indonesia. <http://lasa.international>.
- Huda, N. (2009). Hukum Pemerintahan Daerah. Bandung: Nusa Media.
- Huda, N. (2014). Desentralisasi Asimetris dalam NKRI: Kajian Terhadap Daerah Istimewa, Daerah Khusus, dan Otonomi Khusus. Bandung: Nusa Media.
- Ichino N and Nathan NL (2013) *Crossing the line: local ethnic geography and voting in Ghana*. *American Political Science Review* 107(2): 344–361.
- Ichlasul Amal dan Nasikun. 1990. Desentralisasi dan Prospeknya: Pelajaran dari PPW dalam Pengalaman PPW dan Strategi Pembangunan Pedesaan di Indonesia. Yogyakarta: P3PK UGM.

- Jacobson, R. E. (1978). The "Knights of Information." *Journal of Communication*, 28(4), 223–225. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.1978.tb01674.x
- Joachim HG Wehner. 2000. *Asymmetrical devolution; Development Southern Africa*. Volume 17-2, pp 249-262 Publisher Taylor & Francis Group
- Joachim Wehner, 2000, "Asymmetrical Devolution", *Development Southern Africa*, vol 17, no. 2 June 2000
- Joachim Wehner, 2000, "*Asymmetrical Devolution*", *Development Southern Africa*, vol 17, no. 2 June 2000
- John D. Huber and Michael M. Ting, 2013, *Redistribution, Pork, And Elections*, in *Journal of the European Economic Association*, December 2013, Vol. 11, No. 6 (December 2013), pp. 1382-1403
- John H. Aldrich, 1995, *Why Parties?: The Origin and Transformation of Political Parties in America*, University of Chicago Press
- John M. Cohen, Stephen B. Peterson. 1999. *Administrative Decentralization: Strategies for Developing Countries*. Michigan. Kumarian Press
- John McGarry, 2007. *Asymmetry in Federations, Federacies, and Unitary State*, *Journal of Ethnopolitics*, Vol.6, No.1, March 2007.
- John W. Kingdon. *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*. (New York: Addison-Wesley Educational Publishers, 2003), hlm. 197
- Johnson, R. B., & Onwuegbuzie, A. J. (2004). *Mixed Methods Research: A Research Paradigm Whose Time Has Come*. *Educational Researcher*, 33(7), 14–26
- Juan J. Linz, Alfred Stepan, 1996. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. JHU Press
- Kahn, R. L., & Cannell, C. F. (1957). *The dynamics of interviewing; theory, technique, and cases*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Kau, James B & Rubin, Paul H, 1979. "[Self-Interest, Ideology, and Logrolling in Congressional Voting](#)," *Journal of Law and Economics*, University of Chicago Press, vol. 22(2), pages 365-384
- Keefer, P, and Khemani, S. 2009. "When Do Legislators Pass on Pork? The Role of Political Parties in Determining Legislator Effort" *Journal American Political Science Review* Vol. 103, No. 1.
- Keefer, Philip, and Razvan Vlaicu. 2008. "Democracy, Credibility and Clientelism." *Journal of Law, Economics and Organization* 24(2): 371-406.
- Kerevel YP (2015) *Pork-barreling without reelection? Evidence from the Mexican congress*. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 40(1): 137-166.
- Kiswanto Edy, 2005, *Negara Kesejahteraan (Welfare State) Mengembalikan Peran Negara Dalam Membangun Kesejahteraan Sosial Di Indonesia*. Di *Jurnal Kebijakan Dan Administrasi Publik* Vol 9, No 2 (November 2005).
- Klingensmith, J. Z. (2016). Pork-barrel spending and state employment levels: Do targeted national expenditures increase state employment in the long run?. *The Review of Regional Studies*, 46(3), 257-279

- Klingensmith, J. Zachary. 2019. "Political Entrepreneurs and Pork-Barrel Spending", *Economies*. 7 (16): 1-17.
- Kurniadi, B. D. (2012). Desentralisasi Asimetris di Indonesia. Makalah, Seminar dengan Tema Desentralisasi Asimteris di Indonesia, Lembaga Administrasi Negara, bandung, 27 September 2012.
- Lancaster TD (1986) *Electoral structures and pork barrel politics*. International Political Science Review 7(1): 67–81.
- Larry Diamond, 1994, *Rethinking civil society: Toward democratic consolidation*. Journal of democracy 5 (3), 4-17
- Lay, C. (2013). Desentralisasi Asimetris: Sebuah Model Bagi Indonesia? Makalah pengantar Sidang Komite I DPD RI, Selasa 5 Maret 2013
- Lazarus, J., & Reilly, S. (2009). *The Electoral Benefits of Distributive Spending*. Political Research Quarterly, 63(2), 343-355
- Lazarus, J., Glas, J., & Barbieri, K. T. (2012). *Earmarks and Elections to the U.S. House of Representatives*. Congress & the Presidency, 39(3), 254–269.
- Lehoucq, F. 2007." *When Does A Market For Votes Emerge?*", in FC. Schafer (ed) Election for sale : The causes and consequences of vote buying, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, pp 33-45.
- Lindblom, Charles E. 1984. *"The Policy Making Process"*. London : Prentice Hall.
- Livert, Felipe and Xabier Gainza. 2018. "Distributive politics and spatial equity: the allocation of public investment in Chile." *Regional Studies*. 52 (3): 403-15.
- Lowi, Theodore J. 1964. *"American Business, Public Policy, Case-Studies, And Political Theory."* World Politics 16: 677–715.
- Machiko Tsubura. 2013. *The Politics of Constituency Development Funds (CDFs) in Comparative Perspective*. APSA 2013 Annual Meeting Paper. American Political Science Association 2013 Annual Meeting
- Mark Schneider.2018.*The Discerning Voter: Party–Voter Linkages And Local Distribution Under Multilevel Governance*. Party Politics XX(X) in jorunal SAGE
- Martinez Fuentes, G., & Ortega Villodres, C. (2010). The political leadership factor in the Spanish local elections. *Lex Localis Journal of Local Self-Government*, 8(2), 147–160.
- Mayhew, D.R. 1974, Congres: *"The Electoral Connection"*, Yale University Press, New Haven.
- Mayhew, D.R. 2008. Parties and policies: *"How The American Goverment Works"*, Yale University Press, New Haven.
- Mazmanian, Daniel H., dan Paul A. Sabatier. 1983. Implementation and Public Policy, New York: HarperCollins.
- McCubbins, Mathew D., and Frances Rosenbluth. 1995. *"Party Provision for Personal Politics: Dividing the Vote in Japan."* In Structure and Policy in Japan and the United States, eds. Peter Cowhey and Mathew D. McCubbins. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, pp. 35–55.
- Michael Howlett and Ramesh. 1995.*Studying Public Policy : Policy Cycles and Policy Subsystems*. Oxford University Press : New York

- Mizkan, Hendra. Kamaliah, & Agusti, Restu. (2015). Analisis Kinerja Pengelolaan Keuangan Daerah Dan Pengaruhnya Terhadap Tingkat Kemiskinan Di Kota Pekanbaru. *Jurnal Sorot*, Vol.10 (No.1), pp. 1-142.
- Moleong, Lexy J. (2010), *Metodologi penelitian kualitatif*, Remaja Rosdakarya, Bandung
- Monroe, A. D. (1979). Consistency between Public Preferences and National Policy Decisions. *American Politics Quarterly*, 7(1), 3–19. doi:10.1177/1532673x7900700101
- Murphy, L. J. (1974). *Other Peoples Mistakes. Journal of the American Society for Information Science*, 25(2), 134–134.
- Nasution, S. 2000. *Metode Research*. Jakarta: Bumi Aksara Hal 63
- Nigel King, Christine Horrocks, 2010. *Interviews in Qualitative Research*. SAGE
- Nur Kholis, 2015. *Kesejahteraan Sosial Di Indonesia Perspektif Ekonomi Islam*, Jurnal Akademika, Vol. 20, No. 02 Juli-Desember 2015.
- Oliveros, Virginia. 2016. “Making it Personal: Clientelism, Favors, and the Personalization of Public Administration in Argentina.” *Comparative Politics*. 48 (3): 373-91
- Papp, Zsafia. 2019. “Votes, money can buy: The conditional effect of EU Structural Funds on government MPs’ electoral performance.” *European Union Politics*. 20 (4): 543–61.
- Pennock, J. (1966). Political Development, Political Systems, and Political Goods. *World Politics*, 18(3), 415-434. doi:10.2307/2009763
- Persson, T., Tabellini, G., & Trebbi, F. (2003). *Electoral Rules and Corruption*. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 1(4), 958–989.
- Philip Mawhood. 1983. *Local Government In The Third World, The Experience Of Tropical Africa*. Wiley, Chichester, 1983, 261 pp.
- Pitkin, Hanna. 1967. *“The Concept of Representation”*. University of California Press, Amerika Serikat.
- Plant, R. 1998. *“Citizenship, Right And Socialism”*. Fabian Society no. 531, pp 1-20.
- Prabawa, S. 1998. *Sumberdaya Keluarga dan Tingkat Kesejahteraan Rumah Tangga Petani (Studi di Desa Wates Jaya, Kecamatan Cijeruk, Kabupaten Bogor, Provinsi Jawa Barat*. Tesis (tidak diterbitkan). Fakultas pertanian, Institut Pertanian Bogor.
- Pratikno dkk, *Desentralisasi Asimetris di Indonesia: Praktek dan Proyeksi*, Yogyakarta: JPP-Fisipol-UGM dan Yayasan Tifa, hlm 139 -160
- Robert Endi Jaweng, "Kritik terhadap Desentralisasi Asimetris di Indonesia", *Jurnal Analisis-CSIS* (Vol.40 No.2 Juni 2011).
- Roberto M. Fernandez and Jane C. Kulik. *A Multilevel Model of Life Satisfaction: Effects of Individual Characteristics and Neighborhood Composition*. on *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 46, No. 6 (Dec., 1981), pp. 840-850
- Robinson, James and Ragnar Torvik. 2005. *White Elephants*." *Journal of Public Economics* 89:197-210.
- Robinson, James and Thierry Verdier. 2013. *The Political Economy of Clientelism*." *Scandinavian Journal of Economics* 115(2):260-291.

- Ronald L.Wats, 2000. *Asymmterical Decentralization: Functional or Disfunctional*”, Indian Journal of Federal Studies, Vol.1.
- Rondinelli, D. A. (1990). *Decentralization, Territorial Power and the State: A Critical Response*. Sage: *Development and Change* Vol. 21, pp. 491-500.
- Rosni.2012, *Analisis Tingkat Kesejahteraan Masyarakat Nelayan Di Desa Dahari Selebar Kecamatan Talawi Kabupaten Batubara* Di Jurnal Geografi; [Http://Jurnal.Unimed.Ac.Id/2012/Index.Php/Geo](http://Jurnal.Unimed.Ac.Id/2012/Index.Php/Geo).
- Rueschemeyer et al., 1992, *Mobilizing for Democracy: Comparing 1989 and 2011*. OXPORD university press.
- Sabatier, Paul. 1986. “*Top down and Bottom up Approaches to Implementation Research*” *Journal of Public Policy* 6, (Jan), h. 21-48.
- Samudra, Wibawa. 2004. *Kebijakan Publik Proses dan Analisis*. Jakarta
- Sandler, I. N., West, S. G., Baca, L., Pillow, D. R., Gersten, J. C., Rogosch, F, Ramirez, R. (1992). Linking empirically based theory and evaluation: The family bereavement program. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 20(4), 491–521. doi:10.1007/bf00937756
- Sanit, Arbi 1982. “*Sistem Politik Indonesia Kestabilan, Peta Kekuatan Politik dan Pembangunan*”. Rajawali Pers. Bandung.
- Santoso, Djonet. 2017. “*Penduduk Miskin Transient: Masalah Kemiskinan Yang Terabaikan*”. Yayasan obor indonesia. Jakarta.
- Schafer, F.C and Schedler, A. 2007. “*Why study Vote Buying?*”, In FC. Schafer (ed) *Election for sale : The causes and consequences of vote buying*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, pp 17 – 30.
- Schafer,J.L., Ezzati-Rice Y.m Jhonson w., M little. RJA (1996) *the NHANES III Multiple Imputation Project*. Technical report. The U.S national center for Health Statistics
- Schneider, Mark. 2018. “*The Discerning Voter: Party–Voter Linkages And Local Distribution Under Multilevel Governance*”, *journal Party politic*, pp 1 - 12.
- Scott A. Frisch. 1999. *The Politics of Pork: A Study of Congressional Appropriation Earmarks*. Routledge
- Scott Ashworth, Ethan Bueno de Mesquita.2006. *Delivering the goods: Legislative particularism in different electoral and institutional settings*. The Journal of Politics Vol 68 Pp 168-179, Publisher Cambridge University Press
- Sellers, P. 1997. ‘Fiscal Consistency and Federal District Spending in Congressional Elections,’ *American Journal of Political Science*, 41: 1024-41
- Shepsle, K.A dan Weingast. B. R. 1981.”*Teh Political Economy Of Benefits And Cost: A Neoclassical Approach To Distributif Politics*”, *journal of political economy*, vol 89, no.4, pp 642 – 664.
- Shin JH (2011) *Electoral System Choice and Personalistic Parties in New Democracies*. Los Angeles, CA: Department of Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles.

- Shin JH (2013) *Voter demands, access to resources, and party switching: Evidence from the South Korean National Assembly, 1988–2008*. Japanese Journal of Political Science 14(4): 453–472.
- Shin JH (2015) *Voter demands for patronage: Evidence from Indonesia*. Journal of East Asian Studies 15(1): 127–151.
- Shugart MS (1998) *The inverse relationship between party strength and executive strength: A theory of politicians' constitutional choices*. British Journal of Political Science 28(1): 1–29.
- Siedentopf, H. (1987). *Decentralization for rural development: Government approaches and people's initiatives in Asia and the Pacific*. In A. Bhatt, L. V. Carino, K. Shams, & G. Sosmena (Eds.), Building from below local initiatives for decentralized development in Asia and Pacific (Vol. 1). Kuala Lumpur: Asian and Pacific Development Center
- Spac, Peter. 2020. "Pork barrel politics and electoral returns at the local level." *Public Choice*. DOI: 10.1007/s11127-020-00841-2
- Steven D. Levitt and James M. Snyder, Jr. 1995. *The Impact of Federal Spending on House Election Outcomes* Journal of Political Economy Vol. 105, No. 1 (Feb., 1997), pp. 30-53 (24 pages) Published By: The University of Chicago Press
- Stokes S, Dunning T, Nazareno M, et al. (2013) *Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism: the Puzzle of Distributive Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stokes, S. C., Thad Dunning, Marcelo Nazareno, dan Valeria Brusco. 2013. *"Brokers, Voters And Clientelism.. " The Puzzle of Distributive politics"*. New York; Cambridge University Press.
- Stokes, S.C. 2007a, *"Is Vote buying Undemocratic?"* in FC. Schafer (ed) *Election for sale : The causes and consequences of vote buying*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, pp 81 – 99.
- Stokes, S.C. 2007b, *"Political Clientelism"*, in C. Bois and S.C. Stokes. (adv) *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, Oxford University Press, New York. Pp. 604-62.
- Stokes, S.C. 2011, *"Political Clientelism"*. in Journal Goodin. R.E. (adv) *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Publikasi Cetak oxfordhb
- Stratmann, Thomas, 1992. "Are Contributions Rational? Untangling Strategies of Political Action Committees," Journal of Political Economy, University of Chicago Press, vol. 100(3), pages 647-664
- Subakti, Ramlan. 1999. *"Memahami Ilmu Politik"*. PT. Grasindo. Jakarta.
- Sudikno Mertokusumo, 1991, *Mengenal Hukum (Suatu Pengantar)*, Liberty Yogyakarta, hlm. 72
- Sudikno Mertokusumo, 1991, *Mengenal Hukum (Suatu Pengantar)*, Liberty Yogyakarta, hlm. 72
- Sugianto, Mikael, 2007. *"Metode Pengolahan Data"*. Bandung.
- Sugiyono, 2011. *"Metode Penelitian Pendidikan "pendekatan kualitatif, kuantitatif dan R&D"*, Alfabeta. Bandung.
- Sugiyono. 2007. *"Memahami Penelitian Kualitatif"*. Bandung: Alfabeta.

- Sumarto, M. 2018. *“Perlindungan Sosial Dan Klientelisme: Makna Politik Bantuan Tunai Dalam Pemilihan Umum”*. Gadjah Mada University Press. Yogyakarta.
- Susanto, 2017. *“Kedudukan Dana Aspirasi Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat dalam Ketatanegaraan Indonesia”*. Jurnal Hukum Ius Quia Iustum No. 2 Vol. 24 April 2017.
- Syaiku Usman, 2003, politik lokal di era desentralisasi : Menuju Otonomi Rakyat.SMERU.
- Syamsuddin Haris. 2005. Desentralisasi dan otonomi daerah: desentralisasi, demokratisasi & akuntabilitas pemerintahan daerah. jakarta. Yayasan Obor Indonesia
- Szwarcberg,Mariela. 2015.*Mobilizing Poor Voters:Machine Politics,Clientelism, and SocialNetworks inArgentina*.NewYork: Cambridge University Press.
- Tanzi V (1998) *Corruption around the world: Causes, consequences, scope, and cures*. Staff Papers – International Monetary Fund 45(4): 559–594.
- Tavits, M. (2009). *The Making of Mavericks*. Comparative Political Studies, 42(6), 793–815
- Tomsa, D., & Ufen, A. 2012, *“Party politics in Southeast Asia. Clientelism and electoral Competition in Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines”*. Milton Park: Routledge.
- Ubedilah,dkk, Demokrasi, HAM, dan Masyarakat Madani,, Djakarta, 2000, Indonesia Center for CivicEducation
- Van Meter, Donald S & Van Horn, Carl E. 1975,*The Policy Implementation Process: A Concentual Framework in: Administration and Society* 6 No. 4 p. 445-485.clvi
- Van Zyl, Albert. 2010. *“What Is Wrong With Constituency Development Funds?”* Budget Brief 3, no 10. International budget Patnership.
- Wasistiono, Sadu, Ismail Nurdin & M. Fahrurozi. 2009. *“Perkembangan Organisasi Kecamatan Dari Masa Ke Masa”*. Bandung: Fokusmedia.
- Watts, R.L., *The Spending Power in Federal Systems: A Comparative Study* (Kingston, Ont.: Queen’s University, Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, 2000).
- Weingast BR, Shepsle KA and Johnsen C (1981) *The political economy of benefits and costs: a neoclassical approach to distributive politics*. Journal of Political Economy 89(4): 642–664.
- Weingast, Barry R. 1979. *“A Rational Choice Perspective on Congressional Norms.” American Journal of Political Science* 23: 245–263.
- Wendi Mc Elroy (1919). *The History of Lipsticking Pigs”*, <http://www.fff.org/explore-freedom/article/pork-barrel-spending-the-history-of-lipsticking-pigs/>.
- Wiseman, Alan E. 2004. *“Tests of Vote-Buyer Theories of Coalition Formation in Legislatures.” Political Research Quarterly* 57 (3): 441–50
- Yann P. Kerevel. 2015. *(Sub)national Principals, Legislative Agents: Patronage and Political Careers in Mexico*. Comparative Political Studies 2015, Vol. 48(8) 1020–1050

- Yildirim, Kerem and Herbert Kitschelt. 2020. "Analytical perspectives on varieties of clientelism." *Democratization*, 27 (1): 20-43.
- Yin, Robert K. (2015). *Studi Kasus: Desain dan Metode*. Jakarta: Rajawali Pers.
- Yunan Farhan dkk. 2011. 'Kupas tuntas hubungan pusat daerah'.. Penerbit seknas FITRA.
- Yunan Farhan dkk. 2011. 'Kupas tuntas hubungan pusat daerah' Jakarta. Penerbit seknas FITRA
- Zarazaga, Rodrigo. 2014. "Brokers beyond clientelism: A new perspective through the Argentine case." *Latin American Politics and Society*, 56 (3): 23-45.
- Zeigler, Harmon, and Michael Baer (1969). *Lobbying: Interaction and Influence in American State Legislatures*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
http://www.nicoravanilla.com/uploads/2/4/1/1/24114923/philippine_senate_pork.pdf.

Dokumen

- STANDAR PENGELOLAAN BASIS DATA TERPADU UNTUK PROGRAM PERLINDUNGAN SOSIAL (2015). Tim Nasional Percepatan Penanggulangan Kemiskinan, Sekretariat Wakil Presiden Republik Indonesia
- "Profile Anggota DPRD DIY 2019-2024" Komisi Pemilihan Umum (KPU) Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta. KPU 2019
- Dian Puji N. Simatupang, "Reposisi Hak Budget DPR", *Harian Kompas*, Rabu, 18 Juni 2014.
- Daftar Calon Tetap Pemilihan legislatif provinsi 2019, KPU DIY

Perundang - Undangan

- Undang-Undang Nomor 3 Tahun 1950 Tentang Pembentukan Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta Sebagaimana Telah Diubah Beberapa Kali Terakhir Dengan Undang – Undang Nomor 9 Tahun 1955.
- UU No 33 Tahun 2004 Tentang Perimbangan Keuangan Antara Pemerintah Pusat Dan Pemerintah Daerah. Psi. 27 Ayat (1).
- Undang-Undang Nomor 13 Tahun 2012 Tentang Keistimewaan Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta (Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 2012 Nomor 170, Tambahan Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Nomor 5339).
- Undang-Undang Nomor 23 Tahun 2014 Tentang Pemerintahan Daerah (Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 2014 Nomor 244, Tambahan Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Nomor 5587) Sebagaimana Telah Diubah Dengan Peraturan Pemerintah Pengganti Undang-Undang Nomor 2 Tahun 2014 (Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 2014 Nomor 246, Tambahan Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Nomor 5589).
- Undang-Undang Nomor 25 Tahun 2004 Tentang Sistem Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional.

- Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 58 Tahun 2005 Tentang Pengelolaan Keuangan Daerah (Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 2005 Nomor 140, Tambahan Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Nomor 4575).
- Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 16 Tahun 2010 Tentang Pedoman Penyusunan Peraturan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Tentang Tata Tertib Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 2010 Nomor 22, Tambahan Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia 5104).
- Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 18 Tahun 2017 Tentang Hak Keuangan Dan Administratif Pimpinan Dan Anggota Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Nomor 6057).
- Peraturan Menteri Dalam Negeri Nomor 13 Tahun 2006 Tentang Pengelolaan Keuangan Daerah Sebagaimana Telah Diubah Beberapa Kali Terakhir Dengan Peraturan Menteri Dalam Negeri Nomor 21 Tahun 2011 Tentang Perubahan Kedua Atas Peraturan Menteri Dalam Negeri Nomor 13 Tahun 2006 Tentang Pedoman Pengelolaan Keuangan Daerah (Berita Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 2011 Nomor 310).
- Peraturan Menteri Dalam Negeri Nomor 86 Tahun 2017 Tentang Tata Cara Perencanaan, Pengendalian Dan Evaluasi Pembangunan Daerah, Tata Cara Evaluasi Rancangan Peraturan Daerah Tentang Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Panjang Daerah Dan Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Daerah, Serta Tata Cara Perubahan Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Panjang Daerah, Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Daerah, Dan Rencana Kerja Pemerintah Daerah (Berita Negara Republik Indonesia Nomor 1312 Tahun 2017).
- Peraturan Provinsi Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta Nomor 4 Tahun 2007 Tentang Pokok-Pokok Pengelolaan Keuangan Daerah Provinsi DIY Sebagaimana Telah Diubah Dengan Peraturan Daerah Provinsi DIY Nomor 11 Tahun 2008.
- Peraturan Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta Nomor 1 Tahun 2013 Sebagaimana Telah Diubah Dengan Peraturan Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta Nomor 1 Tahun 2015 Tentang Perubahan Atas Peraturan Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta Nomor 1 Tahun 2013 Tentang Kewenangan Dalam Urusan Keistimewaan Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta
- Peraturan Daerah Istimewa Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta Nomor 1 Tahun 2018 Tentang Kelembagaan Pemerintah Daerah Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta.
- Peraturan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta Nomor 1 Tahun 2014 Tentang Tata Tertib (Berita Daerah Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta Tahun 2014 Nomor 88) Sebagaimana Telah Diubah Beberapa Kali Terakhir Dengan Peraturan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta Nomor 1 Tahun 2018 Tentang Perubahan Ketiga Atas Peraturan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta Nomor 1 Tahun 2014 Tentang Tata Tertib (Berita Daerah Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta Tahun 2018 Nomor 11).
- Keputusan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta Nomor 58/K/DPRD/2014 Tentang Pembentukan Badan Musyawarah Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta.

Keputusan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta Nomor 35/K/DPRD/2018 Tentang Perubahan Kelima Atas Keputusan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta Nomor 58/K/DPRD/2014 Tentang Pembentukan Badan Musyawarah Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta.

Nota Kesepakatan Antara Pemerintah Daerah Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta Dengan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta

Nomor $\frac{8/KSP/VII/2018}{67/K/DPRD/2018}$ Tentang Kebijakan Umum Anggaran APBD

DIY Tahun Anggaran 2019.

Nota Kesepakatan Antara Pemerintah Daerah Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta Dengan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta

Nomor $\frac{9/KSP/VII/2018}{68/K/DPRD/2018}$ Tentang Prioritas Dan Plafon Anggaran

Sementara APBD DIY Tahun Anggaran 2019.

Peraturan Daerah Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta Nomor 13 Tahun 2018 Tentang Anggaran Pendapatan Dan Belanja Daerah Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta Tahun Anggaran 2019 (Lembaran Daerah Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta Tahun 2018 Nomor 14).

Nota Kesepakatan Antara Pemerintah DIY Dengan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat

Daerah DIY Nomor: $\frac{2/KSP/VII/2019}{51/K/DPRD/2019}$ Tentang Kebijakan Umum

Perubahan Anggaran Pendapatan Dan Belanja Daerah DIY Tahun Anggaran 2019.

Nota Kesepakatan Antara Pemerintah Daerah DIY Dengan Dewan Perwakilan

Rakyat Daerah DIY Nomor: $\frac{3/KSP/VII/2019}{52/K/DPRD/2019}$ Tentang Perubahan Plafon

Prioritas Anggaran Sementara DIY Tahun Anggaran 2019.