

## REFERENSI

### **Buku**

- Bergsten, C.F., Freeman, C., Lardy, N.R. & Mitchell, D.J., *China's Rise: Challenges and Opportunities*, Peterson Institute, Washington, D.C., 2008.
- Brosseau, M., Hsin-chi, K. & Kueh, Y.Y. (eds.), *Chinese Review 1996*, The Chinese University Press, Hong Kong, 1997.
- Dornbusch, R. & Edwards, S., 'Macroeconomics of Populism,' dalam R. Dornbusch & S. Edwards (eds.), *Macroeconomics of Populism in Latin America*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1991, pp. 7-13.
- Gilley, B., *Tiger on the Brink: Jiang Zemin and China's New Elite*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1998.
- Gold, T., Guthrie, D. & Wank, D., 'An Introduction to the Study of Guanxi,' dalam T. Gold, D. Guthrie & D. Wank (eds.), *Social Connections in China: Institutions, Culture, and the Changing Nature of Guanxi*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004, pp. 3-20.
- Naughton, B., *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth*, MIT Press, Cambridge, 2007.
- North, D.C., *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990.
- Oi, J.C., *State and peasant in contemporary China: The political economy of village government*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1991.
- Roskin, M.G., *Countries and Concepts: Politics, Geography, Culture*, Pearson, New Jersey, 2013.
- Ulen, T.S., 'Rational Choice in Law and Economics,' dalam B. Bouckaert & G. De Geest (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Law and Economics*, vol. 1, Edward Elgar Publishing, Cheltenham, 2000, pp. 790-818.
- Willer, D., 'The Principle of Rational Choice and the Problem of a Satisfactory Theory,' dalam J.S. Coleman & T.J. Fararo (eds.), *Rational Choice Theory: Advocacy and Critique*, SAGE Publications, Newbury Park, 1992, pp. 49-78.
- Yan, Sun, *Corruption and Market in Contemporary China*, Cornell University Press, New York, 2004.

### **Artikel jurnal**

- Acemoglu, D., Egorov G. & Sonin, K., 'A Political Theory of Populism,' *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, vol. 128, no. 2, 2013, pp. 771-805.
- Allison, G.T., 'Conceptual Models of Cuban Missile Crisis,' *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 63, no. 3, 1969, pp. 689-718.
- Cole, M.A., Elliott, A.R.J.R. & Jing Zhang, 'Corruption, Governance, and FDI Location in China: A Province-Level Analysis,' *The Journal of Development Studies*, vol. 45, no. 9, 2009, pp. 1494-1512.
- D'Amico, N., 'Corruption and Economic Growth in China: An Empirical Analysis,' *Senior Honors Projects*, Paper 78, 2015, pp. 1-23.
- Egger, P. & Winner, H., 'Evidence on Corruption as an Incentive for Foreign Direct Investment,' *European Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 21, no. 4, 2005, pp. 932-952.
- Fan, C.S. & Grossman, H.I., 'Incentive and Corruption in Chinese Economic Reform,' *Journal of Policy Reform*, vol. 4, no. 3, 2001, pp. 195-206.



- Gallagher, M.E., "Reform and Openness": Why China's Economic Reforms Have Delayed Democracy,' *World Politics*, vol. 54, no. 3, 2002, pp. 338-372.
- Gerring, J. & Thacker, S.C., 'Do Neoliberal Policies Deter Political Corruption?' *International Organization*, vol. 59, no. 1, Winter 2005, pp. 233-254.
- Gidron, N. & Bonikowski, B., 'Varieties of Populism: Literature Review and Research Agenda,' *Weatherhead Center for International Affairs*, vol. 13 no. 4, 2013, pp. 1-38.
- Guo Yong & Songfeng Li, 'Anti-corruption measures in China: suggestions for reforms,' *Asian Education and Development Studies*, vol. 4, no. 1, 2015, pp. 7-23.
- Holbig, H. & Gilly, B., 'Reclaiming Legitimacy in China,' *Politics and Policy*, vol. 38, no. 3, 2010, pp. 395-422.
- Lim, B., Lague, D. & Zhu, C., 'The Power Struggle Behind China's Corruption Crackdown,' *Reuters Special Report*, 2014, pp. 1-9.
- Morrison, W.M., 'China's Economic Rise: History, Trends, Challenges, and Implications for the United States,' *Congressional Research Services*, no. RL33534, 2015, pp. 1-44.
- Mudde, C., 'The Populist Zeitgeist,' *Government and Opposition*, vol. 39, no. 4, 2004, pp. 542-563.
- Oi, J.C., 'The Role of the Local State in China in Transitional Economy,' *The China Quarterly*, no. 144, 1995, pp. 1132-1149.
- Okada, K. & Samreth, S., 'How Does Corruption Influence the Effect of Foreign Direct Investment on Economic Growth?,' *Munich Personal RePEc Archive*, no. 27572, 2010, pp. 1-20.
- Pew Research, 'Growing Concerns in China about Inequality, Corruption,' *Global Attitudes Project*, October 2012, pp. 1-41.
- Quade, E.A., 'The Logic of Anticorruption Campaign in Contemporary China,' *Journal of Contemporary China*, vol. 16, no. 50, 2007, pp. 65-77.
- Svensson, J., 'Eight Question about Corruption,' *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, vol. 19, no. 3, 2005, pp. 19-42.
- Ting Jiang & Huihua Nie, 'The Stained China Miracle: Corruption, Regulation, and Firm Performance,' *The Economics Letters*, vol. 123, no. 3, 2014, pp. 366-369.
- Wang Peng, 'Extra Legal Protection: How Guanxi Disorients China's Legal System and Facilitates the Rise of Unlawful Protectors,' *British Journal of Criminology*, vol. 54, no. 5, 2014, pp. 809-830.
- Wang Yuanyuan & You Jing, 'Corruption and Firm Growth: Evidence from China,' *Journal of China's Economic Review*, vol. 23, no. 2, 2012, pp. 1-39.

### **Artikel daring**

- 'Chinese Anti-Corruption Laws,' *Business Anti-Corruption Portal* (daring), <<http://www.business-anti-corruption.com/about/about-corruption/chinese-anti-corruption-laws.aspx>>, diakses pada 26 Juni 2016.
- 'Why is China's economy slowing down?,' *World Finance* (daring), 12 February 2016, <<http://www.worldfinance.com/inward-investment/asia-and-australasia/why-is-chinas-economy-slown-down>>, diakses pada 16 Juni 2016.
- 'Xu Caihou Confesses to Taking Bribes,' *China Daily* (daring), 28 October 2014, <[http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2014-10/28/content\\_18817130.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2014-10/28/content_18817130.htm)>, diakses pada 22 Juni 2016.
- Barnato, K., 'How China's anti-corruption drive is hurting growth,' *CNBC* (daring), 4 December 2015, <<http://www.cnbc.com/2015/12/04/how-chinas-anti-corruption-drive-is-hurting-growth.html>>, diakses pada 22 Maret 2016.
- Branigan, T. & Ball, J., 'China blocks foreign news sites that revealed elite's offshore holdings', *The Guardian* (daring), 24 January 2014,



- <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jan/23/china-foreign-news-sites-offshore-holdings>>, diakses pada 23 Juli 2016.
- Branigan, T., 'Xi Jinping vows to fight 'tigers' and 'flies' in anti-corruption drive,' *The Guardian* (online), 22 January 2013, <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jan/22/xi-jinping-tigers-flies-corruption>>, diakses pada 16 June 2016.
- Chang Junfeng, Gan Yulai & Zhao Feng, 'Update on anti-bribery and anti-corruption regulations and enforcement in China,' *King & Wood Mallesons* (daring), 21 May 2015, <<http://www.kwm.com/en/hk/knowledge/insights/update-antibribery-anticorruption-regulations-enforcement-china-20150520>>, diakses pada 29 April 2016.
- Chen, Z., 'Xi Jinping: The heir to Deng Xiaoping?' *BBC* (daring), 22 August 2014, <<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-28892043>>, diakses pada 18 Juni 2016.
- Cho, E., 'Mapping Xi Jinping's Anti-Corruption Campaign,' *World Policy* (daring), July 22 2015, <<http://www.worldpolicy.org/blog/2015/07/22/mapping-xi-jinping%E2%80%99s-anti-corruption-campaign>>, diakses pada 21 Juni 2016.
- CNTV, *Weibo: An Eye on Corruption* (daring), 11 March 2013, <[http://www.china.org.cn/china/NPC\\_CPPCC\\_2013/2013-03/11/content\\_28201650.htm](http://www.china.org.cn/china/NPC_CPPCC_2013/2013-03/11/content_28201650.htm)>, diakses pada 28 April 2016.
- Denyer, S., 'Without corruption, some ask, can the Chinese economic system function?' *The Washington Post* (daring), 11 February 2015, <[https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia\\_pacific/without-corruption-some-ask-can-the-chinese-communist-party-function/2015/02/10/c69693e8-b12f-11e4-bf39-5560f3918d4b\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/without-corruption-some-ask-can-the-chinese-communist-party-function/2015/02/10/c69693e8-b12f-11e4-bf39-5560f3918d4b_story.html)>, diakses pada 28 Juni 2016.
- Dominguez, G., 'China's corruption crackdown 'is slowing the economy',' *Deutsche Welle* (daring), 7 March 2014, <<http://www.dw.com/en/chinas-corruption-crackdown-is-slowing-the-economy/a-17755255>>, diakses pada 22 April 2016.
- Floracruz, M., 'Chinese Government Launches Anti-Corruption Site For Netizens To Submit Tips,' *International Business Times* (daring), <<http://www.ibtimes.com/chinese-government-launches-anti-corruption-site-netizens-submit-tips-1402298>>, diakses pada 28 April 2016.
- Forsythe, M., 'Zhou Yongkang, Ex-Security Chief in China, Gets Life Sentence for Graft,' *New York Times* (daring), 11 June 2015, <[http://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/12/world/asia/zhong-yongkang-former-security-chief-in-china-gets-life-sentence-for-corruption.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/12/world/asia/zhong-yongkang-former-security-chief-in-china-gets-life-sentence-for-corruption.html?_r=0)>, diakses pada 22 Juni 2016.
- Forsythe, M. & Ansfield, J., 'Fading Economy and Graft Crackdown Rattle China's Leaders,' *New York Times*, 22 August 2015, <[http://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/23/world/asia/chinas-economy-and-graft-crackdown-rattle-leaders.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/23/world/asia/chinas-economy-and-graft-crackdown-rattle-leaders.html?_r=0)>, diakses pada 28 April 2016.
- Gan, N., 'Ling Jihua, former right-hand man of ex-president, charged with graft, abuse of power, obtaining state secrets,' *South China Morning Post* (daring), 14 May 2016, <<http://www.scmp.com/news/china/policies-politics/article/1944570/ling-jihua-former-right-hand-man-ex-president-charged>>, diakses pada 22 Juni 2016.
- Hatton, C., 'How real is China's anti-corruption campaign?,' *BBC News* (daring), 4 September 2013, <<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-23945616>>, diakses pada 22 Maret 2016.
- Hewitt, D., 'How China's Anti-Corruption Campaign Is Putting Pressure On A Slowing Economy,' *International Business Times* (online), 23 February 2016, <<http://www.ibtimes.com/how-chinas-anti-corruption-campaign-putting-pressure-slowing-economy-2308834>>, diakses pada 13 April 2016.
- Hoffman, S. & Sullivan, J., 'Why a village land protest spells trouble for China's government,' *The Conversation* (daring), 10 April 2015, <<http://theconversation.com/>



- why-a-village-land-protest-spells-trouble-for-chinas-government-39899>, diakses pada 23 April 2016.
- Huang, C., 'Xi Jinping's ambitious power play,' *South China Morning Post* (daring), 11 February 2016, <<http://www.scmp.com/news/china/policies-politics/article/1911987/xi-jinpings-ambitious-power-play>>, diakses pada 18 Juni 2016.
- International Consortium of Investigative Journalist, *Panama Papers: The Power Players* (daring), <[https://panamapapers.icij.org/the\\_power\\_players/](https://panamapapers.icij.org/the_power_players/)>, diakses pada 23 Juli 2016.
- Johnson, C. K. & Kennedy, S., 'China's Un-Separation of Powers,' *Foreign Affairs* (daring), 24 July 2015, <<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2015-07-24/>>, diakses 23 Juli 2016.
- Keliher, M. & Wu Hsin-chao, 'How to Discipline 90 Million People,' *The Atlantic* (daring), 7 April 2015, <<http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/04/xi-jinping-china-corruption-political-culture/389787/>>, diakses pada 12 April 2016.
- Li, Cheng, 'Xi Jinping's Inner Circle (Part 2: Friends from Xi's Formative Years),' *China Leadership Monitor*, no. 44, pp. 1-22.
- Lin, Leo, 'To Purge or Not to Purge: China's Anti-Corruption Campaign,' *The Diplomat.com* (daring), 15 February 2016, <<http://thediplomat.com/2016/02/to-purge-or-not-to-purge-chinas-anti-corruption-campaign/>>, diakses pada 21 Juni 2016.
- McDonnell, S., 'Xi Jinping: Chinese president's anti-corruption push gives hope to some, but rings alarm bells for others,' *ABC* (daring), 11 August 2015, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-08-11/xi-jinpings-chinese-corruption-drive-under-scrutiny/6686280>>, diakses pada 18 Juni 2016.
- Ming, F., 'Developing: Former Chinese Leader Jiang Zemin Said to Be Removed From Residence,' *the Epoch Times* (daring), 16 June 2016, <<http://www.theepochtimes.com/n3/2093383-developing-former-chinese-leader-jiang-zemin-said-to-be-removed-from-residence/?sidebar=morein>>, diakses pada 21 Juni 2016.
- O'Grady, S., 'Killing Tigers, Swatting Flies: China Punished Almost 300,000 for Corruption in 2015,' *Foreign Policy* (daring), 7 March 2016, <[http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/03/07/killing-tigers-swatting-flies-china-punished-almost-300000-for-corruption-in-2015/?utm\\_content=buffer76010&utm\\_medium=social&utm\\_source=facebook.com&utm\\_campaign=buffer](http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/03/07/killing-tigers-swatting-flies-china-punished-almost-300000-for-corruption-in-2015/?utm_content=buffer76010&utm_medium=social&utm_source=facebook.com&utm_campaign=buffer)>, diakses pada 22 Maret 2016.
- Ong, L., 'China's Xi Jinping Signals Coming Purge of Former Regime Head,' *the Epoch Times* (daring), 5 January 2016, <<http://www.theepochtimes.com/n3/1934221-chinas-xi-jinping-signals-coming-purge-of-former-regime-head/>>, diakses pada 21 Juni 2016.
- Oster, S., 'Anti-Corruption Campaign Biggest Since Mao,' *Bloomberg* (daring), 4 March 2014, <<http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2014-03-03/china-s-xi-broadens-graft-crackdown-to-boost-influence>>, diakses pada 25 Mei 2016.
- Pazzanese, C., 'Grading 10 top world leaders,' *Harvard News* (daring), 17 December 2014, <<http://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2014/12/grading-10-top-world-leaders/>>, diakses pada 24 Juli 2016.
- Pedroletti, B., 'China's citizen journalists finding the mouse is mightier than the pen,' *The Guardian*, 11 April 2013, <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/apr/16/china-anti-corruption-blogging-weibo-citizen-journalism>>, diakses pada 28 April 2016.
- Phillips, T., 'Meet the Chinese villagers protesting for weeks against local Communist Party leader,' *The Telegraph* (daring), 31 March 2015, <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/china/11504327/Meet-the-Chinese-villagers-protesting-for-weeks-against-local-Communist-Party-leader.html>>, diakses pada 23 April 2016.



- Tiezzi, S., 'China Vows to Keep Up Anti Corruption Efforts in 2016,' *The Diplomat* (daring), 26 January 2016, <<http://thediplomat.com/2016/01/china-vows-to-keep-up-anti-corruption-efforts-in-2016/>>, diakses pada 25 Mei 2016.
- Yao Yang, 'Is corruption key to China's economic growth?,' *Japan Times* (daring), <<http://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2015/05/18/commentary/world-commentary/is-corruption-key-to-chinas-economic-growth/>>, diakses pada 20 April 2016.
- Zhai, Keith, & Hong, Zhang, 'Xi Jinping Ally Cai Qi to Have Senior Role at National Security Commission,' *South China Morning Post* (daring), 28 March 2014, <<http://www.scmp.com/news/china/article/1458826/xi-jinping-ally-cai-qi-have-senior-role-national-security-commission>>, diakses 23 Juli 2016.
- Zhiyue Bo, 'The Rise and Fall of Xu Caihou, China's Corrupt General,' *The Diplomat* (daring), 18 March 2015, <<http://thediplomat.com/2015/03/the-rise-and-fall-of-xu-caihou-chinas-corrupt-general/>>, diakses pada 22 Juni 2016.