

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Allum, F., & Allum, P. (2008). Revisiting Naples: Clientelism and Organized Crime. *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 13(3), 340-365.
- Ambardi, K. (2008). *The Making of the Indonesian Multiparty System: A Cartelized Party System and Its Origin*. The Ohio State University: Dissertation.
- Andrews, J. T., & Montinola, G. R. (2004). Veto Players and the Rule of Law in Emerging Democracies. *Comparative Political Studies*, 37(1), 55-87.
- Ansell, A., & Mitchell, K. (2011). Models of Clientelism and Policy Change: The Case of Conditional Cash Transfer Programmes in Mexico and Brazil. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 30(3), 298-312.
- Aspinall, E. (2010). Indonesia: The Irony of Success. *Journal of Democracy*, 21(2), 20-34.
- _____. (2014). When Brokers Betray: Clientelism, Social Networks, and Electoral Politics in Indonesia. *Critical Asian Studies*, 46(4), 545-570.
- _____. (2015). Patronage and Clientelism in Southeast Asia. *Routledge Handbook of Southeast Asian Democratization*, 299.
- _____. & Sukmajati, M. (Eds). (2016). *Electoral Dynamics in Indonesia: Money Politics, Patronage and Clientelism at the Grassroots*. Singapore: NUS Press.
- _____. & Berenschot, W. (2019). *Democracy for Sale: Elections, Clientelism, and the State in Indonesia*. Cornell University Press.
- _____. Fossati, D., Muhtadi, B., & Warburton, E. (2020). Elites, Masses, and Democratic Decline in Indonesia. *Democratization*, 27(4), 505-526.
- Fox, 1994.
- Auerbach, A. M. (2016). Clients and Communities. *The Political Economy of Party Network Organization and Development in India's Urban Slums*. *World Pol.*, 68, 111.
- Behrend, J. (2011). The Unevenness of Democracy at the Subnational Level: Provincial Closed Games in Argentina. *Latin American Research Review*, 150-176.
- Berenschot, W. (2018). The Political Economy of Clientelism: A Comparative Study of Indonesia's Patronage Democracy. *Comparative Political Studies*, 51(12), 1563-1593.
- _____. (2019). Informal Democratization: Brokers, Access to Public Services and Democratic Accountability in Indonesia and India. *Democratization*, 26(2), 208-224.

- _____ & Aspinall, E. (2020). How Clientelism Varies: Comparing Patronage Democracies. *Democratization*, 27(1), 1-19.
- Bjarnegård, E. (2013). Who's the Perfect Politician?: Clientelism as a Determining Feature of Thai Politics.
- Cairney, P. (2019). *Understanding public policy: theories and issues*. Red Globe Press.
- Crouch, H. (1979). Patrimonialism and military rule in Indonesia. *World Politics*, 31(4), 571-587.
- Dahl, R. A. (Ed.). (1966). *Political Oppositions in Western Democracies*. Yale University Press.
- Denscombe, M. (2007). *The Good Research Guide For Small-Scale Social Research Projects*. 3rd Edition. McGraw Hill: Open University Press.
- de Sousa, L. (2008). Clientelism and the quality (ies) of democracy. Public and policy aspects. DIS Working Paper 2008/2, Center for the Study of Imperfections in Democracy, Central European University, Budapest.
- Diermeier, D., & Krehbiel, K. (2003). Institutionalism as a Methodology. *Journal of theoretical politics*, 15(2), 123-144.
- Eisenstadt, S. N., & Roniger, L. (1984). *Patrons, Clients and Friends: Interpersonal Relations and the Structure of Trust in Society*. Cambridge University Press.
- Evertsson, N. (2013). Corporate Donations to Electoral Campaigns: A Case Study of White-Collar Crime. *State Crime Journal*, 2(1), 52-71.
- Fossati, D., Aspinall, E., Muhtadi, B., & Warburton, E. (2020). Ideological Representation in Clientelistic Democracies: The Indonesian Case. *Electoral Studies*, 63, 102111.
- Gay, R. (1998). Rethinking Clientelism: Demands, Discourses and Practices in Contemporary Brazil. *Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe/European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, 7-24.
- Hagopian, F. (2007). *Traditional Politics and Regime Change in Brazil*. Cambridge University Press.
- Harriss-White, B. (2003). *India Working: Essays on Society and Economy* (No. 8). Cambridge University Press.
- Haryanto, Cahyati, D. D., & Lopo, Y. H. L. (2018). *Pembiayaan Kampanye Calon Usungan Partai Politik di Pilkada: Kasus Pilkada Kota dan Kabupaten Madiun 2018*. Badan Pengawas Pemilihan Umum Republik Indonesia, Jakarta.
- Hay, C. (2006). Constructivist Institutionalism in Rhodes, R. A. W., Binder, S. and Rockman, B. (Eds). *The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Heller, A., & Riekmann, S. P. (1996). *Biopolitics: The Politics of the Body, Race and Nature*. Ashgate Publishing.
- Helmke, G., & Levitsky, S. (2004). Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics: A Research Agenda. *Perspectives on Politics*, 2(4), 725-740.
- Hendrawan, A., Berenschot, W., & Aspinall, E. (2021). Parties as Pay-Off Seekers: Pre-electoral Coalitions in a Patronage Democracy. *Electoral Studies*, 69, 102238.
- Hicken, A. (2011). Clientelism. *The Annual Review of Political Science Department of Political Science*. University of Michigan.
- Holland, A. C., & Palmer-Rubin, B. (2015). Beyond the Machine: Clientelist Brokers and Interest Organizations in Latin America. *Comparative Political Studies*, 48(9), 1186-1223.
- Hopkin, J. (2006). Clientelism and Party Politics. London School of Economics and Political Science. Philadelphia: APSA Annual Meeting, 31 August – 3 September. Panel 46-18, Concept Analysis: Unpacking Clientelism, Governance and Neoliberalism.
- _____ (2004). The Problem with Party Finance: Theoretical Perspectives on the Funding of Party Politics. *Party Politics*, 10(6), 627-651.
- Hutchinson, J., & Smith, A. D. (1996). *Ethnicity*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Immergut, E. M. (1992). *Health politics: Interests and Institutions in Western Europe*. CUP Archive.
- _____ (1990). Institutions, Veto Points, and Policy Results: A Comparative Analysis of Health Care. *Journal of Public policy*, 391-416.
- Jackson, K. D. (1978). *Bureaucratic Polity dalam Karl D. Jackson and Lucien W. Pey (Eds.), Political Power and Communications in Indonesia*. Berkeley: California Univ. Press.
- Jha, S., Rao, V., & Woolcock, M. (2005). *Governance in the Gullies: Democratic Responsiveness and Leadership in Delhi's Slums*. The World Bank.
- Johnston, M. (2005). *Syndromes of Corruption: Wealth, Power, and Democracy*. Cambridge University Press.
- Kang, D. C. (2002). *Crony Capitalism: Corruption and Development in South Korea and the Philippines*. Cambridge University press.
- Katz, R. S., & Mair, P. (1993). The Evolution of Party Organizations in Europe: The Three Faces of Party Organization. *American review of politics*, 14, 593-617.
- _____ (1995). Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party, *Party Politics*, Vol 1, No. 1, hal. 528, London-Thousand Oaks-New Delhi: Sage Publication.

- _____ (2009). The Cartel Party: Arestatement, Perspectives on Politics, Vol 7, No. 4 (Dec. 2009), American Political Science Association, pp. 753-766.
- Kellas, J. G. (1998). The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity. Macmillan International Higher Education.
- Kitschelt, H., & Wilkinson, S. I. (Eds.). (2007). Patrons, Clients and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition. Cambridge University Press.
- Krishna, A. (2007). Politics in the Middle: Mediating Relationships Between the Citizens and the State in Rural North India. Patrons, Clients and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political competition, 141-58.
- Laclau, E. (1977). Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory. London: Verso.
- Laporan Ekonomi NTT. (2020). Badan Pusat Statistik Nusa Tenggara Timur.
- Lauth, H. J. (2004). Informal Institutions and Political Transformation: Theoretical and Methodological Reflections. ECPR Joint Sessions, Uppsala, 56-69.
- Lawrence, T. B., & Suddaby, R. (2006). Institutions and Institutional Work. The Sage Handbook of Organization Studies, 215-254.
- Lay, C. (2017). Political Linkages Between CSOs and Parliament in Indonesia: A Case Study of Political Linkages in Drafting the Aceh Governance Law. Asian Journal of Political Science, 25(1), 130-150.
- Liliwery, Alo. (1994). Prasangka Sosial dan Komunikasi Antar Etnik: Kajian Tentang Orang Kupang. Majalah Kajian Ekonomi dan Sosial 12: 3-22.
- Low, S. M. (1996). The Antropology of Cities: Imagining and Theorizing the City. Annual Review of Antropology 25: 283-409.
- Lowndes, V. (2018). Institutionalism. I Lowndes. V, Marsh, D & Stoker, G (red.) Theory and Methods in Political Science. Fourth Edition London: Palgrave, 54-74.
- _____, Marsh, D., & Stoker, G. (2018). Theory and Methods in Political Science, 4th Edition, Palgrave: Macmillan.
- Luna, J. P. (2014). Segmented Representation: Political Party Strategies in Unequal Democracies. OUP Oxford.
- MacIntyre, A. J. (1994). Organising Interests: Corporatism in Indonesian Politics (No. 43). Asia Research Centre on Social, Political and Economic Change, Murdoch University.
- Mainwaring, S. (1999). Rethinking Party Systems in the Third Wave of Democratization: The Case of Brazil. Stanford University Press.
- March, J. G. (1995). Democratic governance. The Free Press.

- _____, & Olsen, J. P. (2006). Elaborating the “new institutionalism”. The Oxford handbook of political institutions, 5, 3-20.
- Mason, T. D. (1986). Land Reform and the Breakdown of Clientelist Politics in El Salvador. *Comparative Political Studies*, 18(4), 487-516.
- Massey, D. (2009). Concepts of Space and Power in Theory and in Political Practice. *Documents D'anàlisi Geogràfica*, (55), 15-26.
- Mas'udi, W., & Kurniawan, N. I. (2017). Programmatic Politics and Voter Preferences: The 2017 Election in Kulon Progo, Yogyakarta. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 449-469.
- Mellaz, A. (2018). Personal Vote, Candidate-Centered Politics, dan Pembiayaan Pileg 2014. *Pembiayaan Pemilu di Indonesia*.
- Mietzner, M. (2010). Funding Pilkada: Illegal Campaign Financing in Indonesia's Local Elections. In *The state and illegality in Indonesia* (pp. 123-138). Brill.
- _____. (2007). Party Financing in Post-Soeharto Indonesia: Between State Subsidies and Political Corruption. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 238-263.
- Muno W. (2010). Conceptualizing and Measuring Clientelism. Presented at Workshop Neopatrimonialism in Various World Regions, Aug. 23, GIGA, Hamburg.
- North, D. C. (1990). *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*. Cambridge University Press.
- Ormeling, F. J. (1956). *The Problem of Timor: A Geographical Interpretation of An Underdeveloped Island*. The Hague, Holland: J. B. Wolters and Martinus Nijhoff.
- O'Donnell, G. (1994). Delegative Democracy. *Journal of democracy*, 5(1), 55-69.
- _____. (1996). Another Institutionalization: Latin America and Elsewhere.
- Parimatha, I. G. (2002). *Perdagangan dan Politik di Nusa Tenggara 1815-1915*. Jakarta: Djambatan.
- Peters, B. G. (1999). *Institutional Theory in Political Science, The New Institutionalism*, Continuum.
- Piattoni, Simona (ed.) (2001). *Clientelism, Interests, and Democratic Representation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pierre, J. (Ed.). (2016). *Partnerships in urban governance: European and American experiences*. Springer.
- Rivadulla, M. J. A. (2012). Clientelism or something else? Squatter politics in Montevideo. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 54(1), 37-63.
- Riwu Kaho, Y. (2005). R. Riwu Kaho [1933]. *Orang Sabu dan Budayanya*. Yogyakarta; Jogja Global Media.
- Robison, R. (1986). *The Rise of Capital*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

- _____ & Hadiz, V. R. (2004). *Reorganising Power in Indonesia: The Politics of Oligarchy in an Age of Markets* (Vol. 3). Psychology Press.
- Rohi, R. (2007). *Pergulatan Elit Politik Lokal di Masa Transisi: Studi Konfigurasi Elit Politik dalam Pemilihan Gubernur dan Wakil Gubernur Kepala Daerah Nusa Tenggara Timur Periode 2003-2008*. Yogyakarta: PLOD UGM – Tesis.
- _____ (2014). *Politik Etnisitas Dalam Pilkada: Studi Kasus Terhadap Pilkada di Kabupaten Ende dan Timor Tengah Selatan, Nusa Tenggara Timur*. Australian National University: Final Report.
- _____ (2016). *East Nusa Tenggara: Patronage Politics, Clientelism and The Hijacking of Social Trust in* Aspinall, E., & Sukmajati, M. (Eds.). (2016). *Electoral dynamics in Indonesia: Money politics, patronage and clientelism at the grassroots*. NUS Press.
- _____ (2019). *Gereja, Politik dan Demokrasi dalam GMT Hadir di Panggung Kehidupan: Rekonstruksi Keterlibatan Gereja Dalam Berbagai Bidang*. Paul Bola (Eds). Kupang: Sinar Harapan.
- _____ (2020). *Transformasi Wajah Organisasi Masyarakat Sipil di Tingkat Lokal: Studi Kasus Yayasan Alfa Omega di Nusa Tenggara Timur*. Polgov, UGM: Paper.
- _____ & Sayrani, L. (2012). *State of Local Democracy Assessment in Indonesia: Chapter Kupang*. International IDEA. Final Report.
- Roniger, L. (2004). *Political Clientelism, Democracy, and Market Economy*. *Comparative Politics*, 353-375.
- Sanghera, B., & Satybaldieva, E. (2020). *The Other Road to Serfdom: The Rise of the Rentier Class in Post-Soviet Economies*. *Social Science Information*, 59(3), 505-536.
- Sarantakos, S. (1998) *Social Research*,. 2nd Edition. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS and London: Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Schneider, C. Q., & Wagemann, C. (2012). *Set-Theoretic Methods for the Social Sciences: A Guide to Qualitative Comparative Analysis*. Cambridge University Press.
- Sidel, J. T. (2014). *Economic Foundations of Subnational Authoritarianism: Insights and Evidence from Qualitative and Quantitative Research*. *Democratization*, 21(1), 161-184.
- Stokes, S. C. (2005). *Perverse Accountability: A Formal Model of Machine Politics With Evidence from Argentina*. *American Political Science Review*, 315-325. De Wit, 2016.

- _____, (2007). Political Clientelism. In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Science*.
- _____, Dunning, T., Nazareno, M., & Brusco, V. (2013). *Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism: The Puzzle of Distributive Politics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Tidey, Sylvia. (2012). A Devided Provincial Town: The Development From Ethnic to Calss Segmentation in Kupang, West Timor. *City & Society* (24-3). pp. 302-320.
- Törnquist, O. (1990). Rent Capitalism, State, and Democracy: A Theoretical Proposition. *State and Civil Society in Indonesia*, (22).
- Tsebelis, G. (2011). Veto Player Theory and Policy Change: An Introduction. In *Reform Processes and Policy Change* (pp. 3-18). Springer, New York, NY.
- van de Walle, N. (2007). The Path from Neopatrimonialism: Democracy and Clientelism in Africa Today.
- van Klinken, G. (2007). *Perang Kota Kecil: Kekerasan Komunal dan Demokratisasi di Indonesia*. Jakarta: KITLV & Yayasan Obor.
- _____ & Berenschot, W. (Eds.). (2016). *In Search of Middle Indonesia: Kelas Menengah di Kota-Kota Menengah*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- Vel, Jacqueline. (2008). *Uma Politics: An Ethnography of Democratization in West Sumba, Indonesia 1986-2006*. Leiden: KITLV.
- Vernon, D. G. (2013). *Big Game, Small Town: Clientelism and Democracy in the Modern Politics of Belize, 1954-2011* (Doctoral Dissertation, UCL (University College London)).
- von Beyme, K. (1996). Biopolitical Ideologies and Their Impact on the New Social Movements. *Public Policy and Social Welfare*, 19, 113-132.
- Warburton, E., & Aspinall, E. (2019). Explaining Indonesia's Democratic Regression. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 41(2), 255-285.
- Weaver, R. K., & Rockman, B. A. (Eds.). (2010). *Do institutions matter?: Government capabilities in the United States and abroad*. Brookings Institution Press.
- Weingast, B. R. (1996). Political institutions: Rational choice perspectives. *A new handbook of political science*, 167, 168.
- Weingrod, A. (1968). Patrons, Patronage, and Political Parties. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 10(4), 377-400.
- Weitz-Shapiro, R. (2014). *Curbing clientelism in Argentina: Politics, poverty, and social policy*. Cambridge University Press.
- Wilkinson, S. (2007). Explaining Changing Patterns of Party-Voter Linkages in India. *Patrons, Clients, and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*, 110-140. Grzymala-Busse 2008

- Winters, J. A. (2013). *Oligarchy and Democracy in Indonesia*. Northwestern University: Research Gate Publication.
- _____ (2011). *Oligarchy*. Cambridge University Press.
- YAO. (2005). *Alfa Omega dan Transformasi Sosial*. Timor Kupang: Yayasan Pelayanan dan Pengembangan Masyarakat Alfa Omega.
- Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case Study Research Design and Methods Third Edition*. Applied Social Research Methods Series, 5.

Lain-lain

- <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/771074/nusa-tenggara-timur-cari-nama-untuk-760-pulau/full&view=ok>, diakses 27/8/2020.
- <https://kupang.kompas.com/read/2019/11/11/20505171/sidang-kasus-korupsi-ntt-fair-terdakwa-sebut-mantan-gubernur-minta-fee-25?page=all>, diakses 07/9/2020.
- <https://kupang.kompas.com/read/2019/11/11/17472101/sidang-kasus-korupsi-ntt-fair-sekda-terima-rp-100-juta-untuk-mobil-alphard?page=all>, diakses 07/9/2020.
- <https://www.kompas.tv/article/90258/polda-ntt-amankan-3-tersangka-korupsi-proyek-irigasi-ttu>, diakses 07/9/2020.
- <https://ekorantt.com/2020/08/03/dua-tersangka-kasus-korupsi-proyek-jalan-di-ngada-ditahan/>, diakses 07/9/2020.
- <https://www.victorynews.id/victory-joss-pungkas-safari-deklarasi/>, diakses 07/9/2020.
- <http://www.nttonlinenow.com/new-2016/2017/12/19/siap-deklarasi-paket-victory-joss-bakal-hadirkan-dewi-persik-dan-mario-klau/>, diakses 07/9/2020.
- <http://www.nttonlinenow.com/new-2016/2017/12/19/siap-deklarasi-paket-victory-joss-bakal-hadirkan-dewi-persik-dan-mario-klau/>, diakses 07/9/2020.
- <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1041781/begini-kronologi-kasus-setya-novanto/full&view=ok>, diakses 05/10/2020.
- <https://www.merdeka.com/politik/surya-paloh-incar-semua-kemenangan-di-pilkada-serentak.html>, diakses 05/10/2020.
- <https://kupang.tribunnews.com/2018/06/25/fantastis-sumbangan-dana-kampanye-victory-joss-rp-3-miliar-lebih-terendah-paket-esthon-chris>, diakses 05/10/2020.

<https://regional.kompas.com/read/2018/07/10/09352251/rekapitulasi-kpu-viktor-laiskodat-josef-nae-soi-menang-di-pilkada-ntt>, diakses 05/10/2020.

<https://ntt.bps.go.id/publication/2020/04/27/080aa7bde0454f07e7848b49/provinsi-nusa-tenggara-timur-dalam-angka-2020.html>, diakses 07/10/2020