## **DAFTAR PUSTAKA**

- Aidt, T. S., & Shvets, J. (2012). Distributive politics and electoral incentives: Evidence from seven US State legislatures. *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, 4(3), 1–29. https://doi.org/10.1257/pol.4.3.1
- Akhmedov, A., & Zhuravskaya, E. (2004). Opportunistic Political Cycles: Test in a Young Democracy Setting. In *Source: The Quarterly Journal of Economics* (Vol. 119, Issue 4).
- Aldrich, J. H. (1997). ). When is it Rational to Vote? In D. Mueller (Ed.), Perspectives on Public Choice: A Handbook. University of Michigan Press.
- Alesina, A., Perotti, R., & Tavares, J. (1998). The political economy of fiscal adjustments. *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, *1*, 197–266. https://doi.org/10.2307/2534672
- Anderson, C. J., Kellogg, J. L., & Ward, D. S. (1996). Barometer Elections in Comparative Perspective. In *Electoral Studies* (Vol. 15, Issue 4).
- Arvate, P. R., Avelino, G., & Tavares, J. (2009). Fiscal conservatism in a new democracy: "Sophisticated" versus "naïve" voters. *Economics Letters*, 102(2), 125–127. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econlet.2008.11.030
- Barro, R. J. (1973). *The Control of Politicians: An Economic Model* (Vol. 14, Issue Spring). https://about.jstor.org/terms
- Bennett, D. L., & Long, J. T. (2019). Is it the economic policy, stupid? Economic policy, political parties & the gubernatorial incumbent advantage. *European Journal of Political Economy*, *58*, 118–137. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2018.09.006
- Blais, A. (2000). *To Vote or Not to Vote*. University of Pittsburgh Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt5hjrrf
- Block, S. A. (2002). Political business cycles, democratization, and economic reform: the case of Africa. In *Journal of Development Economics Ž* (Vol. 67). www.elsevier.comrlocatereconbase
- Brender, A. (2003). The effect of fiscal performance on local government election results in Israel: 1989-1998. *Journal of Public Economics*, 87(9–10), 2187–2205. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0047-2727(02)00045-2
- Brender, A., & Drazen, A. (2008). How do budget deficits and economic growth affect reelection prospects? Evidence from a large panel of countries. *American Economic Review*, 98(5), 2203–2220. https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.98.5.2203

- Brender, A., & Drazen, A. (2013). Elections, leaders, and the composition of government spending. *Journal of Public Economics*, 97(1), 18–31. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpubeco.2012.08.011
- Brug, W. van der., Eijk, C. van der., & Franklin, M. N. (2007). *The economy and the vote: economic conditions and elections in fifteen countries*. Cambridge University Press.
- Bryan Caplan The Myth of the Rational Voter\_ Why Democracies Choose Bad Policies-Princeton University Press (2007). (n.d.).
- Cassette, A., & Farvaque, E. (2014). Are elections debt brakes? Evidence from French municipalities. *Economics Letters*, *122*(2), 314–316. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econlet.2013.12.022
- Coate, S., & Conlin, M. (2004). A Group Rule: Utilitarian Approach to Voter Turnout: Theory and Evidence (Vol. 94, Issue 5).
- Cukierman, A., & Meltzer, A. H. (1986). A Theory of Ambiguity, Credibility, and Inflation under Discretion and Asymmetric Information (Vol. 54, Issue 5). dahl & Lindblom 1953. (n.d.).
- de Mesquita, B. (n.d.). THE LOGIC OF POLITICAL SURVIVAL.
- Downs, A. (1957a). An Economic Theory of Democracy. Harper.
- Downs, A. (1957b). An Economic Theory of Political Action in a Democracy. In *Source: Journal of Political Economy* (Vol. 65, Issue 2). https://www.jstor.org/stable/1827369
- Drazen, A. (2000). *Political Economy in Microeconomics*. Princenton University Press.
- Drazen, A., & Eslava, M. (2010a). Electoral manipulation via voter-friendly spending: Theory and evidence. *Journal of Development Economics*, 92(1), 39–52. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdeveco.2009.01.001
- Drazen, A., & Eslava, M. (2010b). Electoral manipulation via voter-friendly spending: Theory and evidence. *Journal of Development Economics*, 92(1), 39–52. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdeveco.2009.01.001
- Drinkwater, S., & Jennings, C. (2007). Who Are the Expressive Voters? *Choice*, *132*(1), 179–189. https://doi.org/10.1007/slll27-006-9141-x
- Feddersen, T., & Sandroni, A. (2006). A Theory of Participation in Elections (Vol. 96, Issue 4).
- Following Their Leaders. (n.d.).

- García, I., & Hayo, B. (2021). Political budget cycles revisited: Testing the signalling process. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 69. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2021.102030
- Garmann, S. (2017). Political budget cycles and fiscally conservative voters. *Economics Letters*, *155*, 72–75. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econlet.2017.03.023
- Gersbach, H., & Hahn, V. (2004). VOTING TRANSPARENCY, CONFLICTING INTERESTS, AND THE APPOINTMENT OF CENTRAL BANKERS. *Economics & Politics*, *16*(3), 321–345. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0343.2004.00142.x
- Giacobbe, P., Ordine, P., & Rose, G. (2024). The effects of relaxing fiscal rules on Political Budget Cycle: A difference-in-discontinuities analysis on Italian municipalities. *Electoral Studies*, 88. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2024.102761
- Hibbs, D. A. (1977). Political Parties and Macroeconomic Policy. *American Political Science Review*, 71(4), 1467–1487. https://doi.org/10.2307/1961490
- Hill, L. (2002). Compulsory voting: Residual problems and potential solutions. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, *37*(3), 437–455. https://doi.org/10.1080/1036114021000026328
- Holcombe, R. G. (1989). The Median Voter Model in Public Choice Theory. In *Choice* (Vol. 61, Issue 2). https://about.jstor.org/terms
- Joseph, W. (n.d.). CAPITALISM, SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY.
- Katsimi, M., & Sarantides, V. (2009). Do Elections Affect the Composition of Fiscal Policy? www.RePEc.org
- Klomp, J., & de Haan, J. (2013). Political budget cycles and election outcomes. *Public Choice*, *157*(1–2), 245–267. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11127-012-9943-y
- Lee, D., & Min, S. (2021). Defective democracy and the political budget cycle. *Journal of Comparative Economics*, 49(4), 947–961. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jce.2021.04.009
- Lee, D., Min, S., & Park, S. (2024). Political budget cycle and the alignment effect: Evidence from South Korea. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 81. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2023.102485
- Lewis-Beck, M. S., & Stegmaier, M. (2013). /4, Special Issue: Essays in Honor of Martin Paldam. 157(3), 367–385. https://doi.org/10.1007/sI

- Lohmann, S. (1998). Rationalizing the Political Business Cycle: A Workhorse Model. *Economics & Politics*, 10(1), 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0343.00035
- Müller, M. (2007). Motivation of Politicians and Long-Term Policies. *Choice*, 132(4), 273–289. https://doi.org/10.1007/sl
- Myerson, R. B. (2000). Large Poisson Games. In *Journal of Economic Theory* (Vol. 94). www.idealibrary.com
- Nadeau, R., Lewis-Beck, M. S., & Bélanger, É. (2013). Economics and Elections Revisited. *Comparative Political Studies*, 46(5), 551–573. https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414012463877
- Nadeau, R., Niemi, R. G., & Yoshinaka, A. (2002). A cross-national analysis of economic voting: taking account of the political context across time and nations. In *Electoral Studies* (Vol. 21). www.elsevier.com/locate/electstud
- Nannestad, P., & Paldam, M. (1994). The VP-Function: A Survey of the Literature on Vote and Popularity Functions After 25 Years. In *Choice* (Vol. 79, Issue 4). https://about.jstor.org/terms
- Peltzman, S. (1992). Voters as Fiscal Conservatives. In *Source: The Quarterly Journal of Economics* (Vol. 107, Issue 2). https://www.jstor.org/stable/2118475
- Persson, T., Roland, G., & Tabellini, G. (2000). Comparative Politics and Public Finance. *Journal of Political Economy*, *108*(6), 1121–1161. https://doi.org/10.1086/317686
- Price, S. (1997). Political Business Cycles and Macroeconomic Credibility: A Survey. In *Source: Public Choice* (Vol. 92, Issue 4). https://www.jstor.org/stable/30024270
- Prior, M. (2006). The incumbent in the living room: The rise of television and the incumbency advantage in U.S. house elections. *Journal of Politics*, 68(3), 657–673. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2508.2006.00452.x
- Riker, W. H., & Ordeshook, P. C. (1968). A Theory of the Calculus of Voting (Vol. 62, Issue 1).
- Rogoff, K. (1988). The Review of Economic Studies, Ltd. Elections and Macroeconomic Policy Cycles Author(s): Kenneth Rogoff and Anne Sibert Reviewed work(s): Source: The Review of Economic Studies Elections and Macroeconomic Policy Cycles (Vol. 55, Issue 1).
- Rogoff, K. (1990). Equilibrium Political Budget Cycles. *The American Economic Review*, 80, 21–36.

- Schumpeter, J. A. (1943). Capitalsim, Socialism and Democracy. Routledge.
- Syamsuddin Harris. (2017). *Dinamika Politik Pilkada Serentak* (S. Harris, Ed.). Inteligensia Media.
- Topan Yuniarto. (2020). Pilkada Langsung Serentak: Sejarah dan Perkembangnya di Indonesia. *Kompas.Id*.
- Tufte, E. R. (2020). *Political Control of the Economy*. Princeton University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv15r5816
- Vergne, C. (2009). Democracy, elections and allocation of public expenditures in developing countries. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 25(1), 63–77. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2008.09.003
- Weingast, B. R., Shepsle, K. A., & Johnsen, C. (1981). The Political Economy of Benefits and Costs: A Neoclassical Approach to Distributive Politics. In *Source: Journal of Political Economy* (Vol. 89, Issue 4). https://www.jstor.org/stable/1833029