DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Acemoglu, D., Johnson, S., & Robinson, J. A. (2001). The colonial origins of comparative development: An empirical investigation. *American economic review*, 91 (5), 1369–1401.
- Acemoglu, D., & Robinson, J. A. (2008). Persistence of power, elites, and institutions. *American Economic Review*, 98(1), 267–293.
- Acemoglu, D., & Robinson, J. A. (2013). Why nations fail: The origins of power, prosperity, and poverty. Crown Currency.
- Acemoglu, D., Ticchi, D., & Vindigni, A. (2010). A theory of military dictatorships. *American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics*, 2(1), 1–42.
- Albertus, M., & Menaldo, V. (2014). Gaming democracy: Elite dominance during transition and the prospects for redistribution. *British Journal of Political Science*, 44 (3), 575–603.
- Asako, Y., Iida, T., Matsubayashi, T., & Ueda, M. (2015). Dynastic politicians: Theory and evidence from japan. *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, *16* (1), 5–32.
- Aspinall, E. (2014). Indonesia's 2014 elections: Parliament and patronage. *Journal of Democracy*, 25 (4), 96–110.
- Berlinski, S., Dewan, T., & Van Coppenolle, B. (2014). Franchise extension and the british aristocracy. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *39*(4), 531–558.
- Besley, T. (2005). Political selection. *Journal of Economic perspectives*, 19 (3), 43–60.
- Besley, T., Montalvo, J. G., & Reynal-Querol, M. (2011). Do educated leaders matter? *The Economic Journal*, *121* (554), F205–227.

- Bohlken, A., & Chandra, K. (2015). Why dynastic legislators do better in elections: An institutionalist explanation. *Unpublished paper, University of British Columbia and New York University*.
- Bragança, A., Ferraz, C., & Rios, J. (2015). Political dynasties and the quality of government. *Unpublished manuscript*.
- Buehler, M. (2003). 13 decentralisation and local democracy in indonesia: The marginalisation of the public sphere. *Problems of democratisation in Indonesia*.
- C. Eggers, A., & Hainmueller, J. (2013). Capitol losses: The mediocre performance of congressional stock portfolios. *The Journal of Politics*, 75 (2), 535–551.
- Crouch, H. A. (2007). The army and politics in indonesia. Equinox Publishing.
- Dal Bó, E., Dal Bó, P., & Snyder, J. (2009). Political dynasties. *The Review of Economic Studies*, 76(1), 115–142.
- Dreher, A., & Schneider, F. (2010). Corruption and the shadow economy: An empirical analysis. *Public Choice*, *144*, 215–238.
- Eggers, A. C., & Hainmueller, J. (2009). Mps for sale? returns to office in postwar british politics. *American Political Science Review*, 103 (4), 513–533.
- Eggers, A. C., & Hainmueller, J. (2014). Political capital: Corporate connections and stock investments in the us congress, 2004-2008. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 2012–26.
- Farah, A. (2025). Supplementary data: Last mayor soeharto and post reform mayor in indonesia [Unpublished manuscript, Diponegoro University, 16.02.2025].
- Farah, A., & Lim, S. (2025). Authoritarian legacies and agricultural resource politics: Evidence from palm oil in indonesia [Working Paper, Diponegoro University & Louisiana State University. Date 16.02.2025]. *The 2025 Political Economy of Democracy and Dictatorship, Submitted Version*.

- Fealy, G., & Aspinall, E. (2003). Local power and politics in indonesia: Decentralisation and democratisation. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Feinstein, B. D. (2010). The dynasty advantage: Family ties in congressional elections. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *35* (4), 571–598.
- Ferraz, C., & Finan, F. (2009). Political power persistence and economic development: Evidence from brazil's regime transition. *Unpublished manuscript*, *Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro*.
- Fiva, J. H., & Smith, D. M. (2015). Political dynasties in party-centered environments. *Unpublished paper, BI Norwegian Business School and Harvard University*.
- Folke, O., Persson, T., & Rickne, J. (2015). Dynastic political rents. *Trabalho em progresso*.
- Fukuoka, Y. (2012). Politics, business and the state in post-soeharto indonesia. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 80–100.
- Geys, B. (2017). Political dynasties, electoral institutions and politicians' human capital.
- Hadiz, V. (2010). Localising power in post-authoritarian indonesia: A southeast asia perspective. Stanford University Press.
- Hadiz, V., Hadiz, V. R., & Robison, R. (2004). *Reorganising power in indonesia:*The politics of oligarchy in an age of markets. Routledge.
- Hallward-Driemeier, M., Kochanova, A., & Rijkers, B. (2021). Does democratisation promote competition? evidence from indonesia. *The Economic Journal*, 131 (640), 3296–3321.
- Indonesia, S. N. R. (2004). Undang-undang republik indonesia nomor 34 tahun 2004 tentang tentara nasional indonesia. *Lembaran RI tahun*, *34*.

- Labonne, J., Parsa, S., & Querubin, P. (2019). *Political dynasties, term limits and female political empowerment: Evidence from the philippines* (tech. rep.). National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Lee, T. (2000). The nature and future of civil-military relations in indonesia.

 Asian Survey, 40(4), 692–706.
- Martinez-Bravo, M. (2014). The role of local officials in new democracies: Evidence from indonesia. *American Economic Review*, 104 (4), 1244–1287.
- Martinez-Bravo, M., Mukherjee, P., & Stegmann, A. (2017). The non-democratic roots of elite capture: Evidence from soeharto mayors in indonesia. *Econometrica*, 85 (6), 1991–2010.
- Mietzner, M. (2009). *Military politics, islam, and the state in indonesia: From turbulent transition to democratic consolidation*. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- North, D. C. (1990). *Institutions, institutional change and economic performance*.

 Cambridge university press.
- Querubin, P. (2016). Family and politics: Dynastic persistence in the philippines.

 Quarterly Journal of Political Science, 11, 151–181.
- Querubin, P., & Snyder, J. (2009). The returns to us congressional seats in the mid-19th century. *The political economy of democracy*, 225–40.
- Rossi, M. (2011). Wealth and political power: Evidence from the foundation of buenos aires. *Buenos Aires, Argentina: Universidad de San Andrés. Mimeographed document*.
- Rossi, M. A., et al. (2016). Self-perpetuation of political power: Evidence from a natural experiment in argentina.

- Van Coppenolle, B. (2017). Political dynasties in the uk house of commons: The null effect of narrow electoral selection. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 42 (3), 449–475.
- Van Klinken, G., & Schulte Nordholt, H. (2007). Renegotiating boundaries: Local politics in post-suharto indonesia. Brill.