

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Abas, (2017). *Birokrasi dan Dinamika Politik Lokal*. Lontar Mediatama.
- Abdullah, Sr. (1985). *Birokrasi dan Pembangunan Nasional*. Makassar: Universitas Hasanuddin
- Abdullah, S. (1991). *Budaya Birokrasi di Indonesia (Profil Budaya Politik)*, editor Alfian dan Nazaruddin Sjamsuddin. PT. Pustaka Utama Grafiti, Jakarta.
- Aberbach, J. D., & Christensen, T. (2005). *Citizens and consumers: An NPM dilemma*. *Public Management Review*, 7(2), 225–245.
- Agung, D. A. G. (2015). *Pemahaman Awal terhadap Anatomi Teori Sosial dalam Perspektif Struktural Fungsional dan Struktural Konflik*. *Sejarah Dan Budaya*, 9(2).
- Alamsyah. (2003). *Politik Dan Birokrasi: Reposisi Peran Birokrasi Publik Dalam Proses Politik Lokal*. *Jurnal Administrasi Publik Unpar*, 2(1), 55–70. <http://journal.unpar.ac.id/index.php/JAP/article/viewFile/1522/1462>
- Alatas, S. H. (1999). *Corruption and the destiny of Asia*. Prentice Hall.
- Alexander, J. (1983). *The Modern Reconstruction of Classical Thought: Talcott Parsons*. University of California Press.
- Alexander, J.C. (1985). Introduction. In J.C. Alexander (Ed.), *Neofunctionalism. Key Issues in Sociological Theory*. Sage.
- Alexander, J., & Colomy, P. (1990). *Neofunctionalism Today: Reconstructing of a Theoretical Tradition*. In G. Ritzer (Ed.), *Frontiers of Social Theory: The New Synthesis*. Columbia University Press.
- Alexander, J. (1998). *Neofunctionalism and After*. Blackwell Publishers.
- Almond, G.A. (1990). *A Discipline Divided. Schools and Sects in Political Science*. Routledge.
- Ambarwati, W., Kambo, G. A., & Muhammad, M. (2020). *The Violation of Bureaucracy at Local Election in Gowa South Sulawesi: Based on Weberian and Marxism Concept*. *Aristo*, 8(2), 297. <https://doi.org/10.24269/ars.v8i2.2474>

- Antlöv, H., Derajat, Y., & Wetterberg, A. (2016). *Citizen engagement, political participation, and local governance in Indonesia*. *Asian Journal of Political Science*, 24(3), 476–497.
- Armin, *Hubungan Pusat Daerah: Konflik di Bidang Keuangan Dalam Pelaksanaan Otonomi Daerah di Provinsi Kalimantan Timur (2001-2002)* Desertasi; Fisip Universitas Indonesia, 2003
- Aspinall, E., & Berenschot, W. (2019). *Democracy for sale: Elections, clientelism, and the state in Indonesia*. Cornell University Press.
- As'ad, M. U. (2025). *Feodalisme Birokrasi dan Pengaruhnya Terhadap Akuntabilitas Publik*. LaksBang Akademika.
- As'ad, M. U. (2025). *Reformasi Birokrasi dalam Cengkeraman Patrimonialisme Politik di Era Demokratisasi*. LaksBang Akademika.
- As'ad, M. U. (2025). *Relasi Oligarki dan Birokrasi: Rivalitas Dalam Pemerintahan*. LaksBang Akademika.
- Basir, G. (2018). *Birokrasi Dan Kekuasaan Politik (Kasus: Partisipasi Birokrat dalam Pemilihan Kepala Daerah)*. *Al Hurriyah: Jurnal Hukum Islam*.
- Bevir, M. (2011). *The SAGE handbook of governance*. SAGE Publications.
- Blau, P. M. (1964). *Exchange and power in social life*. Wiley.
- Brinkerhoff, D. W., & Goldsmith, A. A. (2004). *Good Governance, Clientelism, And Patrimonialism: New perspectives on old problems*. *International Public Management Journal*, 7(2), 163–186.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). "The Forms of Capital." dalam *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. J. Richardson (Ed.). New York: Greenwood.
- Bozeman, B. (2000). *Bureaucracy and Tape*. Prentice Hall.
- Chabibi, M. (2019). *Pertukaran Politik Calon Tunggal dalam Pilkada Studi Kasus Pilkada Kabupaten Pasuruan 2018*. Gemala.
- Cheema, G. S., & Rondinelli, D. A. (2007). *Decentralizing governance: Emerging concepts and practices*. Brookings Institution Press.
- Christensen, T., & Lægreid, P. (2007). The whole-of-government approach to public sector reform. *Public Administration Review*, 67(6), 1059–1066.
- Creswell JW. (2013). *Research Design Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed*

- Method Approaches by John W. Creswell (z-lib.org).pdf* (p. 265). Sage Publications.
- Dalim, S. (2010). *Politisasi Birokrasi: Netralitas dan Mobilitas PNS dalam Pilkada*. Global Sositama. Tangerang Selatan.
- Dwiyanto, A. (2008). *Mewujudkan Good Governance Melalui Pelayanan Publik*. Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Dwiyanto, A. (2011). *Mengembalikan Kepercayaan Publik Melalui Reformasi Birokrasi*. Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Easton, D. (1993). *The Idea of a Political System and the Orientation of Political Research*. In J. Farr, & R. Seidelman (Eds.), *Discipline and History. Political Science in United States*. University of Michigan Press.
- Edward III, G. C. (1980). *Implementing public policy*. Congressional Quarterly Press.
- Efriza. (2016). *Kekuasaan Politik*. Intrans Publishing
- Evans, P. (1995). *Embedded autonomy: States and industrial transformation*. Princeton University Press.
- Farazmand, A. (2010). *Bureaucracy and Democracy: A Theoretical Analysis*. *Public Organization Review*, 10(3). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11115-010-0137-0>
- Fukuyama, F. (2013). *What is governance?* *Governance*, 26(3), 347–368.
- González, S., & Healey, P. (2005). *A sociological institutionalist approach to the study of innovation in governance capacity*. *Urban Studies*, 42(11), 2055–2069.
- Grindle, M. S. (1997). *Bureaucrats, Politicians and Peasants in Mexico; A Case Study in Public Policy*. University of California Press. Berkeley.
- Grindle, M. S. (2012). *Jobs for the boys: Patronage and the state in comparative perspective*. Harvard University Press.
- Guritno, Danur Condro. (2024). *Dinasti Politik Tipe Regenerasi: Kinerja Pemerintah Daerah dan Kemiskinan*. PT. Nas Media Indonesia
- Haboddin, M. (2015). *Politik Primordialisme dalam Pemilu di Indonesia*. Universitas Brawijaya Press. Malang

- Hadiz, V. R. (2010). *Localising power in post-authoritarian Indonesia: A Southeast Asia perspective*. Stanford University Press.
- Halevy, E. (2011) *Demokrasi dan Birokrasi: Sebuah Dilema Politik*. Total Media. Yogyakarta
- Halim, A. (2019). *Politik Lokal*. Intrans Publishing
- Hamim, U. & Mahmud, R. (2023). *Birokrasi vs Pemilu: membaca Indonesia dari Boalemo*. Samudra Biru
- Harahap, E. Z. (2019). *Dinamika Politik Lokal : Praktik, Masalah dan Prospek*. Deepublish. Yogyakarta.
- Haryadi, & Dodi A. (2012). *Demokrasi lokal: Evaluasi pemilukada di Indonesia*. Konstitusi Press. Jakarta.
- Haque, M. S. (2001). *The diminishing publicness of public service under the current mode of governance*. *Public Administration Review*, 61(1), 65–82.
- Heywood, A., *Political Ideologies: An Introduction* (5th edn) (2012). An accessible, up-to-date and comprehensive guide to the major ideological traditions.
- Hendarto, A. (2007). *Netralitas Birokrasi: Menjernihkan Pola Hubungan Pemerintah dan Birokrasi*. Mandar Maju. Jakarta.
- Hidayat, S. (2010). Bureaucratic reform in Indonesia: Problems and prospects. *Public Administration Quarterly*, 34(3), 397–420.
- Hill, H. (2014). *Regional dynamics in a decentralized Indonesia*. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Hughes, O. E. (2012). *Public management and administration: An introduction* (4th ed.). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Huntington, S. P. (1991). *The third wave: Democratization in the late twentieth century*. University of Oklahoma Press.
- Ihsan, A. B. (2012) *Politik Tak Hanya Kekuasaan*. Expose.
- Irham, M. A. (2016). *Demokrasi Muka Dua: Membaca Ulang Pilkada di Indonesia*. Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia. Jakarta
- Istianto, B. (2013). *Demokratisasi Birokrasi*. Mitra Wacana Media

- Jayasuriya, K. (2005). *Building citizenship in Asia: Emerging inequalities and civic imaginaries*. *The Pacific Review*, 18(4), 489–510.
- Jeddawi, M. (2008) *Reformasi Birokrasi, Kelembagaan dan Pembinaan PNS*, Total Media, Yogyakarta.
- Jeddawi, M. (2012). *Reformasi Birokrasi Antara Konsep dan Kenyataan*, Total Media, Yogyakarta.
- Junda, A. (2020). *Reformasi Birokrasi : Merumuskan Tata Birokrasi Yang Kompatibel*. Yayasan Sanggar Inovasi Desa. Yogyakarta.
- Kambo, G (2021) *Politik Identitas Etnik Sebuah Kajian Konstruktivis dalam Tradisi Interaksi Simbolik*. In: -. Unhas Press. ISBN 978-979-530-377-0
- Katharina, R. (2021). *Reformasi Birokrasi Era Pemerintahan Joko Widodo*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- Kjaer, A. M. (2004). *Governance*. Polity Press.
- Leda, H. A. (2024). *Menavigasi Kekuasaan: Tantangan Demokrasi Lokal dan Masyarakat Sipil dalam Pilkada Serentak 2024*. Deepublish.
- Levitsky, S., & Ziblatt, D. (2018). *How democracies die*. Crown Publishing.
- Lipsky, M. (1980). *Street-level bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the individual in public services*. Russell Sage Foundation.
- Lukito, R. (2016) *Bureaucratic Reform and Accountability in Indonesia; Between Policy and Practice*. Yayasan Obor Indonesia. Jakarta
- Knott, Jack H. & Gary J.M, 1998. *Reforming Bureaucracy: The Politics of Institutional Choice*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc.
- Kaloh, 2003. *Kepala Daerah-Pola Kegiatan, Kekuasaan, dan Perilaku Kepala Daerah, Belajar dari Kekeliruan Negara-negara Lain*. Mizan, Bandung.
- Kuntowijoyo. 1994. *Demokrasi dan Budaya Birokrasi*. Yayasan Bentang Budaya. Yogyakarta:
- Machiavelli, N. (1997). *Politik Kekuasaan*. Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia
- Maj, P., & Paruch, W. (2008). The Concept of “Political System” in Political Science Research in Poland – Aspects and Controversies Related to the Concept’s Definition. *Politics and Society*, 5.
- Martini, R., & Martini, R. (2013). *Politisasi Birokrasi Di Indonesia*. In *Politika : Jurnal Ilmu Politik* (Vol. 1, Issue 1).

<https://doi.org/10.14710/politika.1.1.2010.118-133>

- March, J. G., & Olsen, J. P. (1989). *Rediscovering institutions: The organizational basis of politics*. Free Press.
- Mariana, D. (2008). *Dinamika Demokrasi & Perpolitikan Lokal di Indonesia*. Asosiasi Ilmu Politik Indonesia Bandung
- Marsh, D. and G. Stoker (eds), (2010). *Theory and Methods in Political Science, 3rd edn* An accessible, yet comprehensive and sophisticated, exploration of the nature and scope of the discipline of political science.
- Mas'ood, M., (2003). *Politik, Birokrasi dan Pembangunan*. Yogyakarta. Pustaka Pelajar
- McLeod, R. H. (2005). *The Struggle to Regain Effective Government Under Democracy In Indonesia*. Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies, 41(3), 367–386.
- Meliala, F.C. D & Permana, P. A. (2023). *Competitive Threats to Political Dynasty in Indonesia: The Failure of the Yasin Limpo Family in the 2018 South Sulawesi Gubernatorial Election*. Jurnal Politik.
- Meyer, J. W., & Rowan, B. (1977). *Institutionalized organizations: Formal structure as myth and ceremony*. American Journal of Sociology, 83(2), 340–363.
- Muhtadi, B. (2019). *Populisme, Politik Identitas, dan Dinamika Elektoral; Mengurai Jalan Panjang Demokrasi*, Prosedural. Intrans Publishing.
- Mulgan, R. (2003). *Holding power to account: Accountability in modern democracies*. Palgrave.
- Miles & Huberman. (1999). *Qualitative Data Analysis An expanded Sourcebook 2nd Edition by Matthew B. Miles, Michael Huberman (z-lib.org).pdf* (p. 354).
- Nasution, A. (2016). Government decentralization program in Indonesia. *Asian Development Bank Institute Working Paper Series*, (601).
- Nder, H. (2014). *Ketidaknetralan Birokrasi Indonesia*. Elex Media Komputindo.
- Nizar, M., & Alqarni, W. (2021). *Book Series Demokrasi dan Otonomi Daerah Volume 1: Dinasti Politik dan Demokrasi Lokal*. Syiah Kuala University Press. Banda Aceh.

- Nordholt, H. S. & Klinken, G. V. (2007). *Politik Lokal di Inonesia*. Yayasan Obor Indonesia. Jakarta.
- North, D. C. (1990). *Institutions, institutional change and economic performance*. Cambridge University Press.
- Nugroho, K., Fitrianto, H. & dkk. (2025) *Generasi Z dan Dinasti Politik Tinjauan Preferensi Politik Pemilu 2024*. Airlangga University Press
- Nurlinah, & Haryanto. (2017). Citizenship pluralism: Between policy, paradigm and local value in Indonesia. *Science International (Lahore)*, **29**, 285–290.
- Pambudi, H. (2007). *Birokrasi, Partisipasi Politik, dan Otonomi Daerah*. Jurnal Jentera. Jakarta
- Parsons, T. (1951). *The Social System*. Free Press.
- Parsons, T. (1969). *Politics and Social Structure*. Free Press.
- Parsons, T. (1972). *Szkice z Teorii Socjologicznej*. PWN.
- Peters, B. G. (2010). *The Politics of Bureaucracy: An Introduction to Comparative public Administration* (6th ed.). Routledge.
- Pierre, J., & Peters, B. G. (2005). *Governing complex societies: Trajectories and scenarios*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pollitt, C., & Bouckaert, G. (2011). *Public management reform: A comparative analysis* (3rd ed.). Oxford University Press.
- Przeworski, A. (1991). *Democracy and the market: Political and economic reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.
- Prianto, B. (2016). Partai Politik, Fenomena Dinasti Politik dalam Pemilihan Kepala Daerah, dan Desentralisasi. *Publisia (Jurnal Ilmu Administrasi Publik)*, 1 (2)
- Purwaningsih, T. (2015). *Politik Kekkerabatan dalam Politik Lokal di Sulawesi Selatan Pada Era Reformasi (Studi Tentang Rekrutmen Politik pada Partai Golkar, Partai Amanat Nasional dan Partai Demokrat Sulawesi Selatan Tahun 2009)*. Ringkasan Disertasi. Depok : Universitas Indonesia.
- Purwaningsih, T. (2015). *Politik Kekkerabatan dan Kualitas Kandidat di*

Sulawesi Selatan. Jurnal Politik 1 (1): 97-124.

- Ramadhan, A. D., Rusli, A. M., & Irwan, A. L. (2025). Social relationship patterns of multicultural communities in religious lifestyles. *Proceedings of the 5th International Conference on Linguistics and Cultural Studies (ICLC-5 2024)*, **916**, 4. Springer Nature. https://doi.org/10.2991/978-94-6463-410-1_4
- Rania, L. (2024) *Genealogi Kekuasaan Local Strongman dalam Politik Lokal: Studi Relasi Kuasa Familisme Yasin Limpo dalam Pilkada Gowa (Tahun 2005 - 2020)*. Wijaya Kusuma Surabaya University.
- Rasyid, M. R. (1991). "Birokrasi Budaya Politik." dalam *Profil Budaya Politik Indonesia*. Alfian dan Nazaruddin Syamsuddin (Ed.). Jakarta: Pustaka Utama Grafiti.
- Razzaq, A. (2019) *Dinasti Politik Dalam Kajian Pemikiran Politik Islam*. Rafah Press, Palembang
- Rhodes, R. A. W. (1997). *Understanding governance: Policy networks, governance, reflexivity and accountability*. Open University Press.
- Ritzer, G. (2008). *Modern sociological theory* (7th ed.). McGraw-Hill.
- Rose-Ackerman, S. (1999). *Corruption and government: Causes, consequences, and reform*. Cambridge University Press.
- Rothstein, B., & Teorell, J. (2008). What is quality of government? A theory of impartial government institutions. *Governance*, *21*(2), 165–190.
- Rukka, A. P. (2018). Politik, Birokrasi & Kebijakan Publik: Pokok-Pokok Pemikiran dalam Memerangi Tuna Politik di Indonesia. Birokrat Menulis
- Rusnaedy, Z., & Purwaningsih, T. (2018). *Keluarga Politik Yasin Limpo Pada Pemilihan Kepala Daerah di Kabupaten Gowa Tahun 2015*. Jurnal Politik, *3*(2). <https://doi.org/10.7454/jp.v3i2.116>
- Rusnaedy, Z. (2020). *Dinasti Politik di Aras Lokal*. Deepublish.
- Saifuddin, R. & Budi, Adi A. (2019). *Pilkada, Reformasi Birokrasi, & Revolusi Digital ; Sebuah Ikhtiar Mencari Benang Merah*. Balitbangda Provinsi Lampung
- Sama, K. A. & Nilanda, G. (2024) *Generasi Z, dalam Pusaran Politik Dinasti*. Sulur Pustaka. Yogyakarta.

- Santoso, P. B. (1997). *Birokrasi Pemerintah Orde Baru : Perspektif Kultural dan Struktural*, Edisi I. Cetakan Ketiga, PT. Raja Grafindo Persada, Jakarta
- Sarjiyati., Haryani, A. & Sutrisno, B. (2021). *ASN ??? Netralitas ASN dalam Pemilu*. Deepublish.
- Scott, W. R. (2008). *Institutions and organizations: Ideas and interests* (3rd ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Sembiring, W. M. (2020). *Birokrasi Dan Kekuasaan Politik Lokal: Politisasi Birokrasi Atau Birokrasi Berpolitik?*. Jurnal Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial, Vol. 8 No.
- Setiyono, B., (2016). *Birokrasi dalam Perspektif Politik & Administrasi*. Nuansa Cendekia
- Setyawibawa, R., Harahap, H., Amin, M. & Achmad, N. (2024). *Rivalitas Politik Dinasti*. Umsu Press. Medan.
- Siagian, S. P. (1994). *Patologi Birokrasi; Analisis, Identifikasi dan Terapinya*. Ghalia Indonesia.
- Skocpol, T. (1985). Bringing the state back in: Strategies of analysis in current research. *Advances in Comparative Social Science*, 1, 3–37.
- Smith, B. C. (2007). *Good governance and development*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sukatno, Otto. (2018). *Politik Identitas Kesaktian Dan Kekuasaan*. Pustaka Pelajar
- Suleiman, E. N. (2003). *Dismantling Democratic States*. Princeton University Press.
- Sumatri Ms, I. (2021). *Politik Kekerabatan Limpo di Kabupaten Gowa Sulawesi Selatan*. *Madika: Jurnal Politik Dan Governance*, 1(1). <https://doi.org/10.24239/madika.vol1.iss1.689>
- Svara, J. H. (2006). *Complexity in political–administrative relations and the limits of the dichotomy concept*. *Administrative Theory & Praxis*, 28(1), 121–139.
- Syauket, A. (2021). *Membangun Dinasti Politik Oligarki yang Korup (Fenomena Pilkada Serentak 2020)*. Kreasi Cendekia Pustaka. Jakarta.
- Thoha, M. (2003). *Birokrasi dan Politik di Indonesia*. Pranada Media.

- Thoha, M. (2014). *Birokrasi Politik & Pemilihan Umum di Indonesia*. Kencana
- Tika, Z., Culla, A., & Temba H. (2016). *HM. Yasin Limpo dalam Kancah Revolusi Kemerdekaan*. Lembaga Kajian Sejarah Budaya Sulawesi Selatan kerjasama dengan Madani Publishing. Makassar
- Tim CSIS. (2011). *Analisis CSIS : Politik Kekkerabatan di Indonesia Vol. 40 No. 2 - Juni 2011*. Jakarta.
- Tjiptoherijanto, P. (2012). *Reformasi Birokrasi: Konsep, Strategi dan Implementasi*. *Jurnal Kebijakan dan Administrasi Publik*, 16(2), 121–135.
- Turner, M., & Hulme, D. (1997). *Governance, administration and development: Making the state work*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Usman, N. N. (2015). *Percepatan dan Perlambatan Demokrasi di Tingkat Lokal: Pemilihan Kepala Daerah dalam Politik Indonesia*. Elex Media Komputindo. Jakarta.
- Van Klinken, G. (2007). *Communal violence and democratization in Indonesia: Small town wars*. Routledge.
- Viswanathan, G. (2020). *Kekuasaan, Politik, Dan Kebudayaan : Wawancara Dengan Edward W. Said*. Narasi
- Weber, M. (1978). *Economy and society: An outline of interpretive sociology*. University of California Press.
- Widmalm, S. (2008). Explaining the paradox of corruption and democracy: A tale of two Indian states. *Asian Survey*, 48(4), 575–597.
- World Bank. (2004). *World development report 2004: Making services work for poor people*. World Bank & Oxford University Press.
- Yamin, A. (2017). *Politicization Bureaucracy in the Implementation of Regional Chief Election*. *International Journal Of Innovation And Economic Development*, 3(3). <https://doi.org/10.18775/ijied.1849-7551-7020.2015.33.2005>
- Yin, R. K. (2018). *Case study research and applications: Design and methods* (6th ed.). Sage Publications.

