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Discourse of Gotong Royong Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle in Kulon Progo, Special Region of Yogyakarta

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Abstract

Indonesian political party face high financing issues in each political momentum. This research aims to explain the discourse of *gotong royong* in the effort to be victorious couple of Hasto Wardoyo – Sutedjo in elections 2017 Kulon Progo Regency. This study is a qualitative study using the theoretical references of the thought of Michel Foucault. The research informant is the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle cadres in Kulon Progo regency. The research informant consisted main informant Kulon Progo Regent 2017-2023 and key informant were DPD Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle DIY and DPC Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle in Kulon Progo. Data collection techniques used interview and documentation. Technique of analysis used interactive model. The results of this study showed that the discourse of mutual assistance in the internal party of PDI struggle serves to activate party cadre militancy in carrying out the duties of the parties, especially in the effort to win the spouse of Hasto Wardoyo – Sutedjo at the momentum of the election 2017 in Kulon Progo. Then, *gotong royong* as a local genius has become the social norm of people in Kulon Progo, so the discourse is more easily accepted and considered as a form of truth by society.

Keywords: Discourse, Gotong Royong, Local Leader Election, Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle

1. Introduction

The practice of political party in post-reformation is still an interesting thing to observe. The dynamics and contestation of the elite political parties are very impactful in social, economic and political life. Because of political parties have the different forms, ideology, platform, objectives and its functions. This distinction carries a potential influence on every action undertaken by political parties. The action was based on a political stance that had previously been a party policy.

The existence of the political party in new order government was still not able to push the function of non-electoral party. This is evident from the inactive of political party to create the prospective leader who has a commitment to the companionship. However, the presence of political parties has changed the people's relationship with the ruler, especially after the transition from authoritarian democracy to civilian democracy (reform). In this era of reform has changed the pattern to get a good position in the structure of the executive,

legislative and judicial institutions. For those who want to be reign, political parties become a source of production and reproduction of power so many are plunged into the party.

In principle, a political party established as a formal organization in the form of organizations representing an interest and political objectives that should be fought in the formal level and need to obtain legitimation (Firmanzah, 2013:199). As a country that adheres to the democratic system, the legitimacy of political struggles could be accommodated through the organization of political parties. The existence of political parties in the principles of democratic life, cannot be separated from the social reality. Therefore, political parties can be a distributor of aspirations and wishes of society. Political parties should also carry out a number of functions, namely function as a medium among government and people, nominating of candidates, organizing the government, encouraging public accountability, political education and regulating conflicts.

In the modern democracy system, political parties are institutions that are considered so relevant. The role of political parties cannot be replaced by any institution even by elements of civil society or other organisations representing the public interest. The party became an inevitable necessity, even difficult to imagine how a democracy representative could stand without the existence of a political party (Bryce, 2006:7). In addition, to be able to power linkage between the government and civil society, political parties also organise to the various ideological differences and interests in society. As Schattsneider said that it is difficult to think about how modern democracy can run safely without a party (Schattsneider, 1942:1).

In politics, structures are an important aspect to note. Duverger (2003) in his study introduces a simple division of political structures based on physical structures and social structures. Therefore, in the structure of legal political institutions, it has become the obligation of political parties to be consistent in the struggle for the interests of the people by always guiding the ideology of the party. Ideology in the political party in the break down in party manifesto and party program will be the basic attitude of the party in running the country policy management process (Sugiono, 2009:3). Ideology is also a basis for the struggle of political parties, because any member of the party or society cannot understand the pattern of thinking, being and acting without understanding the structure of the political ideology that builds it. As Wilcox and Clyde (2006:790) revealed that ideology as an idea bearer.

In the era of reform, the description of politics in Indonesia still shows that the position of political parties as an obstacle to democratic reform. Carothers (2006), Tomsa (2010), describe the party in Indonesia as a highly centric leader organization dominated by a small circle of politicians elite, so that management becomes less professional and rooted. However, the political liberalization of after reform has brought a new situation that is more conducive to ideological experimentation in the political sphere (Noor, 2014). Many political parties then conducted romanticism of political ideology, especially the great parties of the past who used ideological political bases as his political capital. Thus, it takes a clear ideological base in its construction process (Firmanzah, 2013:199).

The role of after reform political ideology became important as the fundamental changes in the body of political parties. The identity of political parties is important in the midst of an intensive rivalry. Meanwhile, the limited resources and infrastructure of political parties, making ideological positioning is a must. To support it, political parties need to think of strategies to strengthen identity. This is certainly one of the factors to raise trust in the middle of society.

In the reality of political parties that exist today, there are at least three large ideologies of the party that competed after reform those are nationalist ideology, religion and moderate. The ideology became the mirror of the party's identity and became the party instrument to realizing the ideal community order to be achieved as a achievement of political objectives. Firmanzah (2013, XLVI) said that the existence of a strict political identity will make it easier for voters to identify the alignments in the political issues of a party and the public policy who was made. In the other hand, the phenomenon of revival of ideology in the political in the early

democratization of Indonesia, as presented by a political party that chooses an ideological path, is still limited between the intellectual elite and its political activities (Sujito, 2015). Therefore, the ideology that belongs to political parties is still a lot that has not been formulated and translated into the real and concrete forms, and generally still fixed in abstract ideology.

Local leader election is one of the tools to realize the local democratization process. The elections were realized in hopes of becoming a political instrument that gave change in determining its local leaders. Elections were born to fix democracy practices amid political party pragmatism. In addition, the elections became the arena for political parties to better run the function as an equitable regeneration institution in all areas. Thus, political parties are required to present a leader figure who has strong character and meets the expectations of the public.

The strategy to install the people's role model and charismatic figure in the party is not obsolete, although the political trend is shifting from the political figure to the celebrity figure. However, political facts like this should be a challenge for political parties so that every local leader candidate has a commitment to concern and credible in the ideology.

In terms of maintenance, the violation of the elections, especially money politic, is a special study by the organizers of election. Since the enactment of the open proportional system resulted in the increasing practice of money politic. The system carries an incentive structure for candidates to compete openly with other candidates, both the different parties and the same party, in an effort to reap the vote. Indirectly, such fierce competition can increase the political use of money in obtaining votes from voters.

Political works in the community is very decisive in opening the opportunity of victory of the elections. Although, so many political parties which in the end still submit a prisoner in the election 2017. This fact shows that the political party has not fully assumed the regeneration function in accordance with expectations. Like Albana (2015) said the presence of the officials and the former head of the district has always been the capital to obtain the prospective head of the district that will be promoted or proposed by the political party.

In the momentum of the election in 2017, DPP Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle recommends 101 candidates, one of them in Kulon Progo regency. The main concept in the discourse relates to power and knowledge, where that power produces knowledge through discourse that contains ideas, ideas or concepts (Foucault: 2002). The discourse of *gotong royong* became the strategy of political actors in the victory of the elections. According to Foucault (Eriyanto; 2011) that the main characteristic of a discourse is being able to form and maintain power in society. The discourse of *gotong royong* as knowledge has the purpose of power, then produce the truth for society. This research aims to describe how the discourse of *gotong royong* affects Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle as an effort to victory the election 2017 in Kulon Progo Regency, Special region of Yogyakarta.

2. Methodology

2.1 Research Design

The location of this research is in Kulon Progo Regency, Special region of Yogyakarta. Primary Data for resource sources consist of major informant and supporting informant. This research approach uses a case study model (Milles et al., 2014; Yin, 2015). In this study, sample collection using purposive sampling technique, that is technique of obtaining samples by selecting individuals who are considered to be aware of the information and problems in depth and trustworthiness become the data resource (Sutopo, 2002).

The study uses a qualitative research type and a case study approach. Qualitative research refers to research strategies such as deep interviews, literature studies and documentation that allow researchers to obtain information related to Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle. The case study approach is one of the methods of research in social sciences. Using the case study method, this research seeks to see *gotong royong* in the

ideological practice of Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle in the local leader elections in Kulon Progo 2017 and its association in the winning of the 2017 elections in Kulon Progo.

The data source in this research consist of two types of primary data sources and secondary data. Firstly, the results of interviews and findings in the field. According to Moleong (2007:112), the main data source is the words or actions of people who were observed or interviewed. The recording of such data sources is the result of the combined efforts of viewing, listening and asking questions that are made consciously, purposefully and always aiming to obtain the necessary information. The informant is the party cadre involved in the activism of *gotong royong* in the ideologization practice of Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle on local leader elections 2017 in Kulon Progo.

Secondly, secondary data is obtained by researchers from books and documents related to the research. According to Moleong (2007:113), in addition to words and actions as the main data source, there are also additional data such as documents and others as secondary data sources. The secondary data source is a source of data that is obtained indirectly support to the primary data. This data is data from KPU RI (General Elections Commission) about the acquisition of the results of the 2017 simultaneous regional elections and archives of Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle.

2.2 Technique of Sampling

In this study, sample collection using purposive sampling technique or sampling aims, that is the technique to obtaining samples by selecting individuals who are considered to be aware of the information and problems in depth and trustworthiness become data resource (Sutopo, 2002). In the purposive sampling technique, researcher do not make everyone as an informant, but researcher prefer the informant that is perceived to know and understand the problem of research. Characteristics entered as informant is the regent of Kulon Progo in period 2017-2022, DPP (Central Leadership Board of Parties) Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, DPD (Regional Representative Assembly) Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle DIY and DPC (Sub-District Leadership Board of Parties) Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle Kulon Progo.

2.3 Technique of Data Collection

To obtain relevant data are needed data collection methods with several stages of data collection, namely first, interview technique. Interview can be done in a number of forms, but according to Robert K. Yin (2008:110), the most common is the open-ended case study interview, where researcher can ask key respondents about the facts of an event and their opinions about the events. The interview technique is conducted by researcher with discussions with the informant who is a cadre of Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle. Researcher are expected to obtain data that support in the formulation of the results in this research. The interview technique is conducted by conducting unstructured interview and the informants to be free to giving the information, in order to make possible the development of answers by the informant about the focus of this research. The following are the tables of research informants;

Table 1. List of Main Informants

	Main Informants
1	Hasto Wardoyo as Regent / Candidate of Regent in 2017-2022
2	Idham Samawi as Chairperson of Field in Ideology and Regeneration DPP Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle in 2015-2020
3	Yuni Satia Rahayu as Secretary DPD Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle DIY

Table 2. List of Key Informants and Supporting Informants

	Key Informants and Supporting Informants
1	Sudarto as Chairperson of Kulon Progo DPC Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle
2	Istana as Secretary of Kulon Progo DPC Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle
3	Aris Syarifuddin as Chairperson of Winning Election DPC Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle
4	Yuli Yantoro as Victory Team of Hasto – Sutedjo/PAC Sentolo

Secondly, in this study used documentation technique. This method refers to one of the methods of collecting data used in social research methodology. According to Arikunto (2002:187), the data retrieval technique in the form of this documentation was used to obtain data on matters of record, transcript, book, newspaper, magazine, paper, agenda and so many others. Usage of the most important documents can support and add evidence from other sources.

2.4 Data Validation

Validity is a measure that will indicate the degree of validity or legality of an instrument. Arikunto (2007:160), said an instrument to be valid or invalid when able to measure what it should be measured. The research used triangulation technique in achieving the validity of data. Triangulation is a data checking technique that takes advantage of something else beyond the purpose of checking or as a comparison to the data (Moleong, 2007:178). Research was used the triangulation of source, namely by comparing and checking back the degree of trust of a source of information obtained through the informant, in the different times and tools in the qualitative method.

The study is to analyse by referring to the theoretical foundation to draw conclusion on data and information that has been gathered sustainably. In accordance with the technique of data collection that was done, the process of analysis was developed and continues to occur while data collection was done. In this case, researcher worked with the data or technical analysis data interactive of analysis that has the stages of data collection, data reduction, display data, and withdrawal of conclusions (Miles and Huberman, 1992:16)

3. Research Framework

In the theory of this discourse, researcher emphasize the discourse of *gotong royong* that develops in the society. The discourse aims to construct topics, define and produce knowledge objects. It regulates how a topic not only discussed meaningless, but also affect ideas are transformed into practice and use as a form of regularity. Discourse has the power and influence within a social context and devise a structure of understanding of the reality and idea of identity.

The discourse, for Foucault, is a system of thought or a picture system that then builds the concept of a cultural. The discourse will create a knowledge and truth about the people who pronounce it. Behind this (the person who pronounces) is where the person has power or authority rights. The power refers to a person who has a higher position as the expert in the field or the person who has the assignment in that section. For Michel Foucault, the discourse will not be separated from power and knowledge.

The discourse of *gotong royong* was done by the elite and party cadres in Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle as a form of practice ideologization of the party. To see the ideological practice, the study used *gotong royong* as a local genius (local wisdom values). Using the theory of discourse, we can see the discourse of *gotong royong* which is delivered by the incumbent candidate in the campaign activities has established a set of knowledge and power. Relation of them has an important role in shaping of social norms in the victory of local leader election in 2017.

Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle in Kulon Progo is a party that has a social base (cadre) and a clear mass. In this explanation of the power and knowledge by Foucault can be seen from the persuade of Hasto Wardoyo (Regent and candidate of Regent) as an institution or individual who has authority and he is deemed able to run governance. Hasto Wardoyo's invitation about this *gotong royong* for cadres is considered an obligation, so the invitation is regarded as the truth, the truth is not separated from the power and knowledge owned by Hasto Wardoyo as regent and candidate for regent.

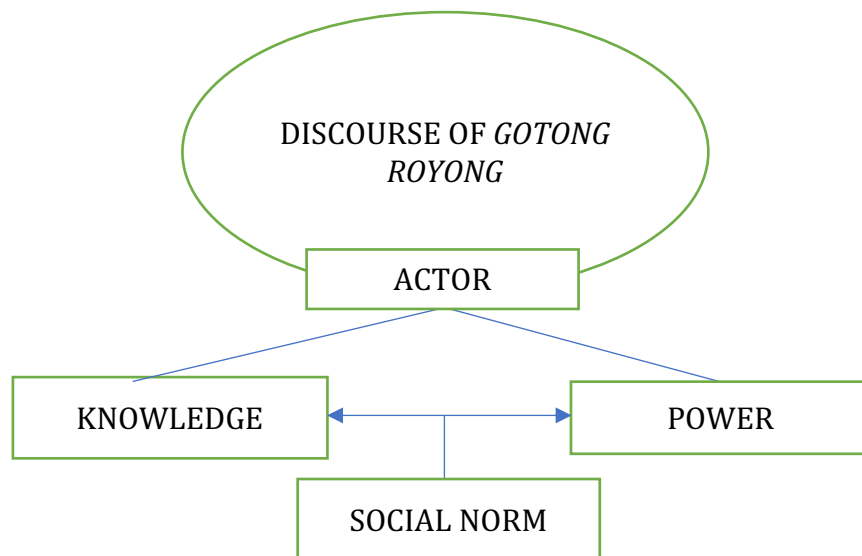


Figure 1. Research Framework

4. Result and Discussion

This research was conducted in Kulon Progo Regency, Special region of Yogyakarta. The area of this district are 586,627.512 ha consist of 12 sub-districts, 87 villages, 1 urban village, 918 Pedukuhan (village in smaller area), 1,825 hamlets and 4,469 neighbourhood. Final voter list in the election 2017 Kulon Progo Regency for men amount to 161,348 peoples and women amount to 170,863 peoples. So, total amount are 332,211 peoples. For voters participation, the vote were around 70% and who did not use the vote was 30%.

As one of party in electoral participants, Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle in Kulon Progo is a party that has considerable influence in the society in every momentum of the elections. This is evidenced by the four period selected by the regent of Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, including couple of Toyo Santoso Dipo (in period 2001 – 2006 and 2006 – 2011) and Hasto Wardoyo (in period 2011-2017 and 2017 – 2022). At the 2017 election, the vote for the candidate number 1, Zuhadmono Azhari and Iriani Pramastuti received 36,874 votes (14.32%) and the candidate number 2 Hasto Wardoyo and Sutedjo obtained 220,643 votes (85.68%) from the total valid votes was 257,517 votes.

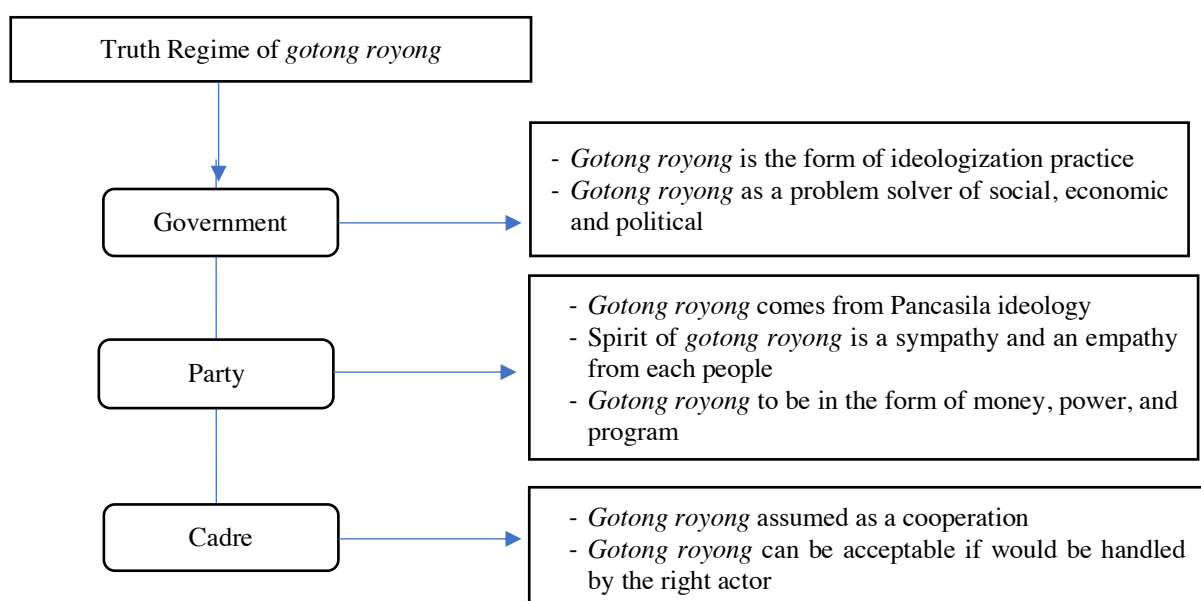
Perception of Actors about *Gotong Royong*

Local Leaders election have brought the change in fulfilling the political rights of the peoples to determine the leaders in their regions. For the society of Kulon Progo, appreciation of the election was evidenced by the level of attendance was quite significant. Although, various research on the electoral practice during the last decade still showed that the realm of political freedom was plowed by the power of oligarchy, so it was caused the election to be a high-budget of political practice, but it has not gave the guarantee for public welfare.

The victory of Hasto Wardoyo and Suttedjo as regent and vice regent of Kulon Progo in period 2017-2022 for the second time, it became proof that since the reform of 1998, Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle was able to defend its power. Efforts to defend power at this election, political actors play a discourse of *gotong royong* as the main issue. The impact of the discourse affects the peoples to choose Hasto Wardoyo and Suttedjo pairs. As a candidate for the adjutant, through the discourse of *gotong royong*, political actors built a hegemonic narrative to achieve public sympathy before the 2017 local leaders election in Kulon Progo.

Power organizers always produce knowledge as the basis of power. *Gotong royong* has a position discourse as the knowledge that lubricated power. Discourse can produce truth and knowledge and it caused power effect. As a knowledge, the discourse is a local genius that is already present and inherent as the habit of the peoples of Kulon Progo. Knowledge and truth resulted from the discourse of *gotong royong*, its combined by the political actors by packing a program that was 'pro peoples'. *Gotong royong* is embodied in the program *Bela Beli* Kulon Progo, *Bedah Rumah* and *Gentong Rembes*. There are similarities to *gotong royong* that are built by political actors with habits that have grown in society. As an actor and regent who is still in office, Hasto has the legitimation of power in determining the policy, but the process of forming this discourse was also contracted by the network of actors from outside the government.

The role of this actor differs in the perception, production and build discourse of *gotong royong* as a tool of truth. Although, the contents of discourse is not the only one that can affect the belief of society, but also who convey the discourse. The knowledge form of *gotong royong* according to actors is a real implementation of Pancasila ideology. In the discourse, actors have power over knowledge, so that the discourse of *gotong royong* then become a social norm in the society that must be obeyed and executed. Thus, *gotong royong* discourse can be easily played to influence the society to be able to choose the partner of Hasto Wardoyo and Suttedjo at the 2017 election in Kulon Progo regency



Note. Data Analyzing, 2019

The Discourse of The *Gotong Royong* on Cadre of Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle

In Foucault Discourse, power forms discourse as a control of behaviour by forming a perspective on things. The power of Foucault does not work through suppression and repression, but through on the regulation and normalization. In this case, the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle cadre must follow the rules that have been specified in Article of Association of party. Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle was constructed *gotong royong* as a tool of struggle, as stated in the vision of the party in article 6 of the Article of Association of Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle that the struggle to oppose any form of individualism and to animate the soul and the spirit of *gotong royong* in the life of society, nation and state (*Eka Sila*). This regulation is to regulate the strategic steps and party program so that when the discourse of *Gotong Royong* has been established, then the cadres must run in every political activism. Meanwhile, in the society, this discourse can be delivered in the form of societal programs. Thus, power in Foucault's view can be applied through the social relations, where actors produce the discourse as a form of control to the society.

Actor Domination in Knowledge Power

The discourse of *gotong royong* be the legitimacy of values was adopted by power holders. In power, the discourse then lubricated the actions performed by political actors in influencing society. In this case, for example, the discourse of *gotong royong* in *Bedah Rumah* program. *Gotong royong* discourse was presented by Hasto Wardoyo intended to move the spirit of mutual cooperation of people in dealing with poverty by cultivating awareness and solidarity in the society. The actor in the *Bedah Rumah* became a dominant program by defeating the role of local elites.

The discourse of *gotong royong* in the context of social relations serves the social elites who can also take the power of knowledge from the society. In this discussion of mutual assistance involving actors from Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle as the holder of the main knowledge power by utilizing the political space available as a winning strategy. The discourse of *gotong royong* was dominated by the actors as the principal knowledge power holders. When the actors of the knowledge holders do not come from the society then the discourse of mutual cooperation tends to produce a narrative of hegemonic policy. With the discourse of *gotong royong*, that the political actors are attempting to activate the military cadre of Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle in carrying out the party's duties to win the local leaders election 2017 in Kulon Progo regency.

5. Conclusion

Political parties have a big responsibility to present qualified candidates in the momentum of the elections. In addition, its roles and functions, political parties must also be strong in controlling every political dynamic that occur in the society. Especially for candidates who are the internal cadres of the party, solidity and cadre loyalty become the activator of party. The elections are influential for the future of a political party as well as local leadership in the future. This has become proof for the party to show strong social base in grass roots. In addition, political parties are also encouraged to be able to produce local leadership that has global insight. For the party who is unable to prepare, will lose momentum in any political contestation. *Gotong Royong* as an ideological practice on Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle is intended to activate the party cadre militancy in carrying out the duties of the party, especially in the effort to win the pair of Hasto Wardoyo - Sutedjo at the momentum of the elections 2017 in Kulon Progo. *Gotong royong* as a local genius becomes the social norm of the society in Kulon Progo, so the discourse of *gotong royong* in the society is more readily acceptable and regard as a form of truth.

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