

Governance of Financial Assistance to Political Parties Based on Good Governance Principles in Indonesia

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Abstract

The problem of this research is that the government's indecisiveness in giving sanctions makes political parties remain negligent in providing financial accountability reports for political parties for state subsidies. When the financial accountability reports from state subsidies are not in accordance with existing regulatory provisions, it can be ascertained how the form of financial accountability of political parties for funding sources that do not come from the state can be ascertained. Then another problem, namely the inability of the government to manage the financial assistance of political parties by providing accountability and transparency of political parties is accused of being one of the root causes of the management of financial assistance of political parties that are not in accordance with the principles of good governance. This research on the governance of the provision of financial assistance to political parties based on the principles of good governance uses a qualitative descriptive research approach. Qualitative descriptive research is research that is included in the type of qualitative research. In the aspect of responsive and responsible leadership, the three actors, both civil actors, governance and political parties, have not yet seen a leadership figure who through political will and his leadership role has become a driving force with certain instruments to realize the support of creating a synergistic connectedness. This synergistic relationship fosters a mutually influencing response in order to support the realization of the conception of good governance in the management of political party financial assistance. The lack of traces of breakthroughs made by the leadership figures of the three actors, so that leadership practices are still passive to actually realize the governance of political party financial assistance in accordance with the principles of good governance. The most dominant aspect of power where the government has not been able to maximally influence political parties so that the management of financial assistance can be more accountable and transparent.

Keywords

governance; financial; political parties



I. Introduction

National democratic conditions over the last 10 years have experienced a significant setback. Budiarti said that not even a few academics or researchers said that Indonesia's democracy for the last 10 years had stagnated, regressed, to setbacks. The world democracy survey institute, Freedom House, said that Indonesia was no longer called a free country since

2013. The Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) also said the same thing, which revealed that Indonesia's democracy has been in decline since 2015. There are 31 problems of democracy in Indonesia, and the most dominant are problems of weak law enforcement, intolerance, corruption and money politics, economic inequality, oligarchy, deviant civil liberties, and the rise of populist politics Qanita Azzahra and Rosyid (2020).

In the context of governance, as mentioned by Budiarti above, there is relevance that the political climate that affects the political atmosphere is closely related to the quality of government management in a country with a foundation of democracy. This relevance is also in line with Hyden (1992), that governance is more about how a political system operates, rather than just how the distributive and allocative aspects of a public policy are. Furthermore, Hyden (1992) states that politics as part of the process of forming public policy, is not allowed only to be placed as an instrument for achieving the short-term interests of various individuals in it.

In the context of this research, governance is directed at the paradigm of good governance which is the output of the implementation of governance. Because substantially the implementation of governance in Indonesia is influenced by the thought of systemic government reform in the form of internal and external distribution of economic and political power. Then politically because the government accepts a democratic mandate (legitimacy or authority), and administratively in the context of efficient, open, accountable and auditable public services, including the management of political party financial assistance.

A good governance system is participatory, which states that all members of the governance institution have a say in influencing decision-making. This is the foundation of legitimacy in a democratic system. Decision-making procedures and methods must be transparent to allow for effective participation. Whoever is elected to make decisions in government, business and civil society organizations must be accountable to the public, as well as to "stakeholder" institutions. governance institutions must be efficient and effective in carrying out their functions, responsive to people's needs, facilitating (facilitative) and enabling (enabling) rather than controlling (controlling), implementing in accordance with the laws and regulations (the rule of law) (Zack Taylor, 2016) .

In terms of managing financial assistance from the government to political parties, problems related to accountability and financial transparency of parties were also found which also added to the image of the weak performance of political parties. As stated by Laode M. Syarif, who said that many political parties do not want to be audited in their entirety regarding the budget of the political party funds. None of them are transparent, none of them want to be audited in their entirety, so that where the political party funds come from, they are used for anything. (Ibn Harianto, 2020).

Another inappropriate expenditure from political parties is to finance party and office administration activities (such as office rent, office equipment, electricity and water bills, employee salaries, meeting consumption, and transportation). Some political parties even carry out member regeneration but it is not tiered and systematic. Some parties carry out party anniversary activities with healthy walks, visits to orphanages, and circumcision activities which of course are not related to the regeneration and political education that political parties are expected to carry out.

Financial accountability reports for political parties starting from the general cash accounts of political parties, lists of contributors, budget realization reports, balance sheets, cash on income and financial expenditures of political parties have indeed been regulated in Law Number 2 of 2011 concerning Political Parties, but have not or cannot make political

parties transparent, accountable and responsible. Only the use of finance sourced from state subsidies or the State Budget is better regulated by law. State subsidy funds are audited annually by the Supreme Audit Agency (BPK), before being submitted to the government. However, from the results of the BPK audit, there were still some that were not in accordance with the regulations. The public also cannot see the report, because it is only sent to the BPK and copied to the Central Government/Local Government as the person in charge.

From the report on the results of the BPK examination, it can be seen that there are still things that are not in accordance with the laws and regulations. Likewise in the 2019 Semester Examination Results Summary (IHPS), the results of the examination of the Accountability Report (LPJ) of financial assistance for political parties (banparpol) originating from the State Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBN) and Regional Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBD), there are some problems. This examination was carried out to fulfill the mandate of Article 34A of Law (UU) Number 2 of 2011 concerning Amendments to Law Number 2 of 2008 concerning Political Parties, and in particular Articles 13 and 14 of Government Regulation Number 5 of 2009 concerning Financial Assistance to Political Parties as stated above. amended by Government Regulation Number 83 of 2012.

Another problem that occurs in political parties is that there is no independence of political parties in funding other than member fees and state subsidies. Membership fees in most political parties are relatively unworkable due to the mass nature of the parties and the weak mechanism of rewards and rewards within the internal party. As a result, political parties always depend or hope on donations from the government and other parties, whether private or corporate. This causes political parties to be busy seeking additional party funds, while at the same time political parties must fight for the interests of the people. This is where the strategic value of political party financial assistance from the state is to maintain the independence of political parties.

II. Research Methods

This research on the governance of the provision of financial assistance to political parties based on the principles of good governance uses a qualitative descriptive research approach. Qualitative descriptive research is research that is included in the type of qualitative research. The purpose of descriptive research is to make a systematic, factual and accurate description, painting or picture of the facts, nature and relationships between the phenomena studied. Whitney (Moh. Nazir: 2014) suggests that the descriptive method is fact finding with the right interpretation. In descriptive method, researchers can compare certain phenomena so that it is a comparative study. The descriptive method was chosen because the research carried out was related to ongoing events and with regard to current conditions.

III. Discussion

3.1 Dimensions of Political Parties Financial Aid Management Actors

According to Hyden, governance is more about how a political system operates, rather than just how the distributive and allocative aspects of a public policy are. Furthermore, Hyden stated that politics as part of the process of forming public policy, should not only be placed as an instrument for achieving the short-term interests of various individuals in it.

As organizations that live in the midst of society, political parties absorb, formulate, and aggregate the interests of the community. Meanwhile, as an organization that places its cadres in the legislative and executive institutions, political parties convey and press the

interests of the community to make government policies. The role of these political parties is a representation of a democratic state as stated that a democratic state is a state that is organized based on the will and will of the people.

In line with this, political parties have a central role to channel people's aspirations in order to achieve the welfare of the nation and state, or in other words political parties also play a role as a strategic liaison between the government and citizens. In addition, another fundamental role played by political parties is because formally only political parties are legally recognized and regulated as institutions that function to create people's representatives in government.

Observing what Hyden and several experts have stated above, it can be concluded that in a country that adheres to democracy, governance cannot be separated from the dynamics of the political system that runs within it. In line with this, governance and politics are seen as having a reciprocal instrumental and functional relationship. The democratic political system that runs in Indonesia is an instrument that produces governance actors. On the other hand, governance actors can be nurses of the democratic atmosphere and the rolling political system, which can have an impact on political actors.

In relation to this reciprocal relationship, government actors as nurses of the atmosphere of political democracy in Indonesia play an important role in facilitating and accommodating political actors in order to build platforms that contribute to the achievement of state goals related to good governance and welfare public. The Government of the Republic of Indonesia was formed to protect the whole of the Indonesian people (Angelia, 2020). One of the roles of governance in this regard is the management of financial assistance to political parties.

In order to examine the practice of good governance in the management of political party financial assistance, it is worth studying how the management of political party financial assistance is viewed from the dimensions of the good governance actor itself. Aspects of power, authority, reciprocity and exchange, are aspects that are included in the actor dimension.

Regarding the aspect of power in the actor dimension of good governance, Budiardjo argues that power is defined as the authority obtained by a person or group to exercise the authority in accordance with the authority given, authority should not be exercised beyond the authority obtained or the ability of a person or group to influence behavior other people or groups in accordance with the wishes of the perpetrator, or power is the ability to influence other parties to think and behave in accordance with the will of the influencer.

Regarding whether there is an aspect of power that affects the management of political party financial assistance from the policy formulation stage, an informant from the Sub-Directorate for Institutional Facilitation of Political Parties, Ministry of Home Affairs said:

"No one can influence the formulation of policies related to financial assistance to political parties."

In line with the informant, the informant from the Directorate General of Polpum, Ministry of Home Affairs also stated:

"No, the mechanism for implementing political party financial assistance is carried out in accordance with statutory regulations. That the provision of financial assistance to political parties has been regulated in detail in Law Number 2 of 2011 concerning Political Parties, Government Regulation Number 5 of 2009 concerning Financial Assistance to Political Parties, and Regulation of the Minister of Home Affairs Number 36 of 2018 concerning Procedures for Calculation, Budgeting In the Regional Revenue and Expenditure Budget, and Orderly Administration of Submission, Distribution, and Accountability Report on the Use of Political Party Financial Assistance, the amount of which is calculated based on the number

of valid national votes that have seats in the DPR and DPRD, sourced from the APBN and APBD based on the State's financial capacity and capacity regional finance.

The information from the two informants above illustrates that stakeholders managing political party financial assistance, in this case the Ministry of Home Affairs, claim that there is no influence of power in the formulation or implementation of policies related to political party financial assistance, both the influence of power originating from the internal and external environment. This is because the policies outlined in both the law and its derivative regulations are standard guidelines that regulate technical and other provisions in the management of political party financial assistance. Thus, the Ministry of Home Affairs is bound by standard rules that allow potential to be avoided from the influence of power originating from the internal and external environment.

In contrast to what the two informants mentioned above, the Bappenas Intermediary Planning informant revealed the influence of power originating from the internal and external environment. Informant says:

"Yes, in the formulation of policies related to planning for the provision of financial assistance to political parties, there is leadership influence. The influence is in the form of direction and coordination with the heads of related institutions and other stakeholders (eg academics, communities)."

Furthermore, the informant said that the influence of power from the leadership of an institution was very influential, because the final policy decision was in the leadership.

Meanwhile, actors in the management of political parties' financial assistance, in this case the recipients of financial assistance themselves, acknowledged the influence of power as conveyed by a PKB functionary informant who revealed:

"Yes, here. Leaders as decision makers on policies that will later be implemented of course with reference to the provisions of the applicable legislation. In terms of the use of political party financial assistance, the leadership orders it to be used in accordance with the applicable provisions."

The PPP functionary informant stated the same thing:

"Yes, Party Leaders/Managers have full authority in making policies so that the implementation of financial management is right on target, in accordance with statutory provisions and the Party's Articles of Association, especially financial management sourced from the APBN."

The PKB functionary informant was also added who described that the influence of power possessed by party leaders or elites was not wrong as long as it did not conflict with the applicable laws and regulations.

From the information from the PKB and PPP functionaries, it can be seen that the leadership and elite of political parties as representatives of a power within the political parties seem to play an important and influential role. This is in line with the PAN functionary informant who said:

"Yes, there is. Because the policy for financial income and expenditure must be informed by the party leadership."

The important role and influence of the power possessed by the leadership or elite of political parties is a positive thing if the opportunity to influence the financial policies of political parties does not only contain the internal interests of political parties, but also the interests of the community. This is as recognized by the Gerindra Party functionary informant that the leadership role in influencing the financial management of political parties is in the form of input, considerations and suggestions to prioritize the aspirations of the community.

3.2 Structural Dimensions of Political Party Financial Aid Management

In observing the governance of political party financial assistance by the government to political parties, the structural dimension is also used to assess whether the management of political party financial assistance is in accordance with the principles of good governance.

As stated in the previous section, Hyden's concept of structure in good governance on the one hand is understood as a normative framework that contains a constitutive dimension, and on the other hand structure is understood as the product of a group of people who live together, are involved in a competitive and cooperative manner in order to achieve common goals. Therefore, the structure manifests in a set of mutually agreed rules and laws.

Regarding the structural dimension, the first aspect to be examined is the compliance aspect. Regarding this aspect, an informant from the Directorate of Institutional Facilitation of Political Parties said:

"In formulating policies, things that are of concern to the government are coordinating with relevant ministries and agencies so that there is no overlapping of regulations and how the regulations that have been prepared can be understood and understood by political parties, both in the process of submitting proposals and in the preparation of financial accountability reports."

The information from the informants above illustrates that the element of compliance in the structural dimension has an important role in ensuring that the governance of political party financial assistance is in accordance with the principles of good governance. The structure in the context of policy products, as stated by the informant above, should ideally be understood and understood by political parties.

Furthermore, the informant from the Directorate General of Polpum, Ministry of Home Affairs, provided an overview of the level of government compliance in managing financial assistance for political parties. Informants reveal:

"The government's level of compliance in distributing financial assistance to political parties is in accordance with statutory regulations, and in the process of verifying the administrative validity of the application for financial assistance to political parties, it must ensure that it is complete, so that waiting for the political parties to actually fulfill the administrative requirements will then be transferred to the accounts of political parties. . One of the most crucial administrative requirements is the accountability report of political parties for the previous fiscal year which has been reviewed by the BPK.

In line with the informant from the Directorate General of Polpum of the Ministry of Home Affairs, the informant from the Directorate of Institutional Facilitation of Political Parties stated that the level of compliance is manifested in how government elements help political parties to be able to understand the rights and obligations in accordance with the provisions of the regulation on the management of political party financial assistance. Further informants said:

"The rules that must be obeyed are how the government understands the rights and obligations of political parties, especially political parties that get seats to be given financial assistance, and implements the program of activities by complying with the legal corridors that have been prepared to be carried out as well as possible. Socializing the procedures for distributing financial assistance to political parties so that the use of financial assistance is right on target and there are no obstacles in financial reporting. In addition, the government also issues other regulations such as Circulars in order to make it easier for political parties to distribute financial assistance for political education to cadres and the public."

The information from the two informants above was further confirmed by the information from the BPK Auditor informant who stated that:

"So far, the government, mainly the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Finance, in managing political party financial assistance in terms of the authority of the BPK, its performance has complied with the provisions outlined by law and other regulations."

Meanwhile, in the aspect of compliance, several political party actors acknowledged that they had complied with the provisions outlined in the distribution mechanism and the use of political party financial assistance. One of them was stated by a functionary informant from Gerindra's DPP who revealed:

"In using the financial support of political parties originating from the state, follow the regulations that are in accordance with the regulations that already exist in the Kesbangpol and other regulations that support it. Compliance with applicable regulations is a must for political parties in using political party financial assistance sourced from the APBN. Because the use of this financial aid will be audited every year by the BPK. As a party that is committed to transparency, we will continue to maintain the proportion in using these funds for the community and in accordance with existing regulations."

The same thing was also expressed by an informant from the PAN DPP functionary who stated:

"The rules that must be obeyed by political parties cannot be separated from Permendagri RI No. 78 of 2020. In general, the use of financial aid funds is intended for Operational Activities of Political Parties and Political Education Activities. During this Pandemic, there is an additional article in Permendagri RI No. 78 of 2020 where it is possible for political party financial assistance funds to be allocated for efforts to prevent Corona Virus Disease 2019. The National Mandate Party has so far complied with the rules for using political party financial aid funds, this is shown by the results examination of the financial statements of political parties by the Supreme Audit Agency of the Republic of Indonesia where every year the National Mandate Party has complied with the provisions."

Meanwhile, related to compliance in the management of political parties' financial assistance, the BAPPENAS Associate Researcher admitted that the level of compliance of political parties was quite good. Informant says:

"Based on the results of the evaluation conducted by the Ministry of Home Affairs and the BPK, relatively many political party DPPs have used Banpol according to the designation mandated by the Law and PP, namely for political education and operational costs."

Regarding the level of compliance, an informant from the Directorate General of Polpum at the Ministry of Home Affairs gave a different statement who found weaknesses in the level of compliance regarding the management of political party financial assistance. Informants describe:

"In the administrative process of distributing Financial Aid to several Political Parties, there are obstacles in the delay of several Political Parties in submitting Accountability Reports so that the audit process by the BPK is also delayed, which causes the distribution of financial assistance to political parties in the year concerned is also delayed, so that Political Parties are expected to on time, that is, one month after the end of the fiscal year, political parties must submit an accountability report for financial assistance to the BPK for examination."

Furthermore, the informant from the Directorate General of Polpum of the Ministry of Home Affairs stated more specifically the following weaknesses in the level of compliance in the management of political party financial assistance:

"The use of political party financial assistance is still largely focused on meeting the operational costs of the political party secretariat in fulfilling its facilities and infrastructure, not yet fully for the implementation of political education for cadres or the community. The use of financial assistance carried out by political parties refers to the laws and regulations, this is reflected in Articles 24, 25, 26 concerning the distribution of financial assistance and

Article 27 concerning the use of financial assistance. And reinforced in Articles 30 to 37 related to reporting and accountability for the use of financial assistance (Permendagri Number 36 of 2018).”

The information from the informant from the Directorate General of Polpum, Ministry of Home Affairs, is also in line with the BPK Auditor informant who stated that:

“Well, if the political party itself. The level of compliance is still lacking. It can be said that of the total political parties that received financial assistance, there was a small percentage, 10-30% who were less compliant. For example, in terms of reporting on accountability and transparency in the use of the financial aid budget for political parties, it is not uncommon for political parties to submit reports late. There is a lot of evidence of invalid use of the aid budget. Most of it was found that the budget was not in accordance with its designation, which should have been emphasized in the regulations for political education, used for secretariat operations and other matters that were not relevant to the most basic interests of political parties.”

The findings regarding weaknesses in the level of compliance were similarly conveyed by informants from researchers and academics. One of them was conveyed by an SPD research informant who stated:

“There are still many weaknesses and it is necessary to create a separate use and reporting scheme that is in accordance with the political party activity model.”

In line with the information above, academic informants added statements that found discrepancies in the management of political party financial assistance. Academic informants added:

“If you read the information from the BPK, there are several uses of political party financial assistance that are not in accordance with the rules, including the payment of honorariums. So I think the level of compliance is still minimal.”

If you look at the statements of some of the informants above, it can be seen that on the one hand, governance actors are trying to increase the level of compliance regarding the management of political party financial assistance so that it is in accordance with the corridors of both legal and ethical aspects of government so that it does not deviate from the specified regulations. On the one hand, political party actors still seem to have weaknesses in the management of financial assistance, including on the administrative side there are still delays, while on the budget use side, there are discrepancies in the use of the budget beyond what has been determined in the regulations.

IV. Conclusion

Based on the results of the research and discussion that have been described, the researchers conclude as follows:

1. Governance in the management of political party financial assistance is still not very good. This can be seen from the following dimensions of good governance: a. Based on the dimensions of the actor with the most dominant aspect of power where the government has not been able to maximally influence political parties so that the management of financial assistance can be more accountable and transparent. b. Based on the dimensions of the structure with the most dominant aspects of accountability and innovation, where in terms of accountability the government has not been able to increase accountability for the use of financial assistance and feedback for political parties to further optimize the management of financial aid. Meanwhile, in the aspect of innovation, the government has not been able to present a variety of innovations that utilize technological developments to respond to the demands of the dynamics of the situation and environmental conditions. c. Based on the empirical dimension with

aspects of citizen influence and social reciprocity, the government has not significantly presented participatory channels for the community or social pressure groups that are inclusively used as synergistic partners in managing financial assistance for political parties. Then, in the aspect of responsive and responsible leadership, there is still a lack of leader figures who through political will, breakthroughs and leadership roles are able to become motors so that the actors involved become more proactive and synergistic in managing political party financial assistance.

2. The management model of political party financial assistance that meets the criteria of good governance is a management model that is simultaneously able to increase the role of the actors involved, streamline and streamline its implementation, as well as increase accountability and transparency in its supervision. In addition, the management model can also be used as a parameter and is easy to apply (applicable) in the stages of managing political party financial assistance. The model proposed by the researcher is the Good Governance Model for the Management of Political Party Financial Aid which has been elaborated by researchers from the existing problems of political party funding, research findings, and references to the dimensions of good governance from experts that have previously been applied. The model consists of an actor's accommodative policy dimension; effectiveness and efficiency of organizing and mobilizing; and participatory accountable and transparent supervision.

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