

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

### **Buku**

- Aspinall, E., & Berenschot, W. (2019). *Democracy for Sale: Elections, Clientelism, and the State in Indonesia*. Cornell University Press.
- Birkland, T. A. (2017). *An Introduction to the Policy Process: Theories, Concepts, and Models of Public Policy Making*. Routledge.
- Buchanan, J. M., & Tullock, G. (2020). *The Calculus of Consent: Logical Foundations of Constitutional Democracy*. Liberty Fund.
- Buehler, M. (2016). *The Politics of Shari'a Law: Islamist Activists and the State in Democratizing Indonesia*. Cambridge University Press.
- Butt, S., & Lindsey, T. (2022). *Indonesian Law-Making: Crisis of Representation in the Post-Soeharto Era*. Cambridge University Press.
- Crosby, B. C., & Bryson, J. M. (2005). *Leadership for the Common Good: Tackling Public Problems in a Shared-Power World*. Jossey-Bass.
- Davidson, J. S., & Henley, D. (2021). *The Revival of Tradition in Indonesian Politics: The Deployment of Adat from Colonialism to Indigenism*. Routledge.
- Dixit, A. K. (1998). *The Making of Economic Policy: A Transaction-Cost Politics Perspective*. MIT Press.
- Dunn, W. (2000). *Pengantar Analisis Kebijakan Publik*. Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Edelman, M. (1985). *The Symbolic Uses of Politics*. University of Illinois Press.
- Feener, R. M. (2023). *Sharia and Social Engineering: The Implementation of Islamic Law in Contemporary Aceh, Indonesia*. Oxford University Press.
- Fischer, F. (2003). *Reframing Public Policy: Discursive Politics and Deliberative Practices*. Oxford University Press.
- Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*. Pantheon Books.
- Habermas, J. (1984). *The Theory of Communicative Action, Volume 1: Reason and the Rationalization of Society*. Beacon Press.
- Hadiz, V. R. (2016). *Islamic Populism in Indonesia and the Middle East*. Cambridge University Press.

- Hogwood, B. W., & Gunn, L. A. (1984). *Policy Analysis for the Real World*. Oxford University Press.
- Horowitz, D. L. (2013). *Constitutional Change and Democracy in Indonesia*. Cambridge University Press.
- Johnston, M. (1982). *Political corruption and public policy in America*. Brooks/Cole Publishing Company.
- Kingdon, J. W. (1984). *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*. Little, Brown.
- Knight, J. (1992). *Institutions and Social Conflict*. Cambridge University Press.
- Künkler, M., & Stepan, A. (2013). *Democracy and Islam in Indonesia*. Columbia University Press.
- Lindsey, T., & Butt, S. (2018). *Indonesian Law*. Oxford University Press.
- Lukes, S. (2005). *Power: A Radical View* (2nd ed.). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mahoney, J., & Thelen, K. (2010). *Explaining Institutional Change: Ambiguity, Agency, and Power*. Cambridge University Press.
- Maussen, M., Bader, V., & Moors, A. (2011). *Colonial and Post-Colonial Governance of Islam: Continuities and Ruptures*. Amsterdam University Press.
- McConnell, A. (2010). *Understanding Policy Success: Rethinking Public Policy*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Meadows, D. H. (2008). *Thinking in Systems: A Primer*. Chelsea Green Publishing.
- Menchik, J. (2016). *Islam and Democracy in Indonesia: Tolerance without Liberalism*. Cambridge University Press.
- Mosca, G. (1939). *The Ruling Class*. Mc Graw Hill.
- Muhtadi, B. (2019). *Vote Buying in Indonesia: The Mechanics of Electoral Bribery*. Springer.
- North, D. C. (1990). *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*. Cambridge University Press.
- Olson, M. (1965). *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. Harvard University Press.
- Pepinsky, T. B. (2021). *Economic Crises and the Breakdown of Authoritarian Regimes: Indonesia and Malaysia in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press.
- Pepinsky, T. B., Liddle, R. W., & Mujani, S. (2018). *Piety and Public Opinion*:

- Understanding Indonesian Islam. Oxford University Press.
- Peters, B. G. (2015). *Advanced Introduction to Public Policy*. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Peters, B. G. (2019). *Institutional Theory in Political Science: The New Institutionalism*. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Pressman, J. L., & Wildavsky, A. (1984). *Implementation: How Great Expectations in Washington Are Dashed in Oakland*. University of California Press.
- Rhodes, R. A. W. (2007). *Understanding Governance: Policy Networks, Governance, Reflexivity and Accountability*. Open University Press.
- Rhodes, R. A. W. (2017). *Network Governance and the Differentiated Polity: Selected Essays, Volume I*. Oxford University Press.
- Riker, W. H. (1986). *The Art of Political Manipulation*. Yale University Press.
- Simon, H. A. (1997). *Administrative Behavior: A Study of Decision-Making Processes in Administrative Organizations*. Free Press.
- Stone, D. (2012). *Policy Paradox: The Art of Political Decision Making*. W.W. Norton & Company.
- Tilly, C. (2007). *Democracy*. Cambridge University Press.
- Tomsa, D. (2020). *Party Politics in Southeast Asia: Clientelism and Electoral Competition in Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines*. Cambridge University Press.
- Vel, J. A. C., & Bedner, A. (2023). *Decentralization and the Rule of Law in Indonesia*. Brill.
- Weber, M. (1978). *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. University of California Press.
- Wilson, I. (2019). *Politics of Protection Rackets in Post-New Order Indonesia: Coercive Capital, Authority and Street Politics*. Routledge.
- Winters, J. A. (2022). *Oligarchy and Democracy in Indonesia*. Cambridge University Press.

### **Jurnal Ilmiah**

- Achir, N., & Kamba, S. N. M. (2020). Peraturan Daerah Bernuansa Syaria'ah Dan Hubungannya Dengan Pelaksanaan Tugas Serta Kewajiban Pemerintah Daerah. *Jurnal Ilmiah Penegakan Hukum*, 7(2).
- Al-Arif, M. Y., & Paramadina, P. F. (2021). Konstitusionalitas Perda Syariah di Indonesia dalam Kajian Otonomi Daerah. *AS-SIYASI: Journal of Constitutional Law*, 1(1).
- Al-Hamdi, R., Hardiana, D. R., & Kurniawati, N. (2020). MOTIF POLITIK TERBITNYA SURAT EDARAN WALIKOTA MALANG TENTANG HIMBAUAN PELAKSANAAN SHALAT BERJAMAAH. *Jurnal Tapis: Jurnal Teropong Aspirasi Politik Islam*, 16(2).
- Asmar, A. R. (2019). PENGATURAN PERATURAN DAERAH (PERDA) SYARIAH DALAM PENYELENGGARAAN PEMERINTAHAN DAERAH. *El-Iqtishady*, 1(1).
- Aspinall, E. (2011). Democratization and Ethnic Politics in Indonesia: Nine Theses. *Journal of East Asian Studies*, 11(2), 289-319.
- Bachrach, P., & Baratz, M. S. (1962). Two Faces of Power. *American Political Science Review*, 56(4), 947-952.
- Barnett, M., & Duvall, R. (2005). Power in International Politics. *International Organization*, 59(1), 39-75.
- Becker, G. S. (1983). A Theory of Competition Among Pressure Groups for Political Influence. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 98(3), 371-400.
- Bedner, A. (2010). Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia: A Study of Institutional Design and Legal Culture. *Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights*, 28(2), 148-174.
- Benda-Beckmann, F. von (2002). Who's Afraid of Legal Pluralism? *Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law*, 34(47), 37-82.
- Bovens, M. (2007). Analysing and Assessing Accountability: A Conceptual Framework. *European Law Journal*, 13(4), 447-468.
- Buchanan, J. M. (1999). Politics Without Romance: A Sketch of Positive Public Choice Theory and Its Normative Implications. *The Logical Foundations of Constitutional Liberty*, 1, 45-59.
- Butt, S. (2010). Regional Autonomy and Legal Disorder: The Proliferation of Local Laws in Indonesia. *Singapore Journal of Legal Studies*, 1-21.

- Cadsby, C. B., Du, N., & Song, F. (2016). In-group favoritism and moral decision-making. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, 128, 59-71.
- Crouch, M. (2016). Religious Regulations in Indonesia: Failing Vulnerable Groups. *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs*, 50(1), 95-125.
- Daud, M. K., & Sari, N. T. (2019). Peran Pemerintah Aceh dalam Mengontrol Perhotelan Terkait Pelaksanaan Syariah Islam: Kajian Implementasi Syariah Islam pada Usaha Perhotelan di Kota Banda Aceh. *LEGITIMASI*, 8(2).
- Downs, A. (1957). *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. Harper & Row.
- Fealy, G. (2020). Jokowi in the Covid-19 Era: Repressive Pluralism, Dynasticism and the Overbearing State. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 56(3), 301-323.
- Fossati, D., Muhtadi, B., & Warburton, E. (2020). Why democrats abandon democracy: Evidence from four survey experiments. *Party Politics*, 26(6), 737-748.
- Fraser, N. (1990). Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy. *Social Text*, (25/26), 56-80.
- Gaventa, J. (2006). Finding the Spaces for Change: A Power Analysis. *IDS Bulletin*, 37(6), 23-33.
- Guyanie, G. El, & Tamtowi, M. (2021). Politik Legislasi Perda Syari'ah di Sumatera Barat. *Staatsrecht: Jurnal Hukum Kenegaraan Dan Politik Islam*, 1(1).
- Hadiz, V. R., & Robison, R. (2020). Competing Populisms in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia. *International Political Science Review*, 41(5), 691-704.
- Hadi, M. A., & Wahidin, D. S. (2024). Hegemoni Partai Keadilan Sejahtera Pada Pilkada. *Jurnal Politik Profetik*.
- Ibrahim, I., Haryadi, D., & Hidayat, N. (2024). Identity, Political Culture, and Democracy Naivety in Indonesia. *SHS Web of Conferences*. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1051/shsconf/202418704023>
- Hall, P. A. (1993). Policy Paradigms, Social Learning, and the State. *Comparative Politics*, 25(3), 275-296.
- Hamayotsu, K. (2022). The Politics of Religious Minorities in Asia: Prospects and Challenges. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 41(1), 3-27.

- Hefner, R. W. (2019). Whatever Happened to Civil Islam? Islam and Democratisation in Indonesia, 20 Years On. *Asian Studies Review*, 43(3), 375-396.
- Hsiao, H. H. M., & Hsieh, C. M. (2020). Challenges to Religious Authority and the State in Contemporary Asia. *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 48(3-4), 201-226.
- Huddy, L. (2001). From social to political identity: A critical examination of social identity theory. *Political psychology*, 22(1), 127-156.
- Isroji, & Najib, A. M. (2022). PERATURAN DAERAH BERNUANSYA SYARIAH DI INDRAMAYU DAN TASIKMALAYA: AGAMA, POLITIK LOKAL DAN ANCAMAN DISINTEGRASI. *Ulu mu d d i n: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman*, 12(2).
- Krueger, A. O. (1974). The Political Economy of the Rent-Seeking Society. *American Economic Review*, 64(3), 291-303.
- Lindblom, C. E. (1959). The Science of "Muddling Through". *Public Administration Review*, 19(2), 79-88.
- Matland, R. E. (1995). Synthesizing the Implementation Literature: The Ambiguity-Conflict Model of Policy Implementation. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 5(2), 145-174.
- May, P. J. (1992). Policy Learning and Failure. *Journal of Public Policy*, 12(4), 331-354.
- Menchik, J. (2023). Democratic Regression and Religious Politics in Indonesia. *Journal of Democracy*, 34(1), 121-135.
- Mietzner, M. (2018). Fighting Illiberalism with Illiberalism: Islamist Populism and Democratic Deconsolidation in Indonesia. *Pacific Affairs*, 91(2), 261-282.
- Miller, G. J. (2005). The Political Evolution of Principal-Agent Models. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 8, 203-225.
- Morton, T. A., Postmes, T., Haslam, S. A., & Hornsey, M. J. (2009). Theorizing gender in the face of social change: Is there anything essential about essentialism. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 96(3), 653.
- Mubarrak, Husni, and Intan Dewi Kumala. 2020. "DISKRIMINASI TERHADAP AGAMA MINORITAS: STUDI KASUS DI BANDA ACEH." *Seurune, Jurnal Psikologi Unsyiah* Vol. 3, No. 2, Bulan Juli 2020.

- Mujahadah, Arifatul, Achmad Zahrul Muttaqin, Suhli, and Septian Hendra Wijaya. 2022. "Implikasi Penerapan Perda Syariah terhadap Pluralisme di Indonesia." DIKTUM: Jurnal Syariah dan Hukum 383-398.
- Oates, W. E. (1999). An Essay on Fiscal Federalism. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 37(3), 1120-1149.
- Rosser, A., & van Diermen, M. (2016). Law, Democracy and the Fulfilment of Socioeconomic Rights: Insights from Indonesia. *Third World Quarterly*, 37(2), 336-353.
- Schneider, A., & Ingram, H. (1993). Social Construction of Target Populations: Implications for Politics and Policy. *American Political Science Review*, 87(2), 334-347.
- Siregar, F. E. (2019). The Political Context of Judicial Review in Indonesia. *Constitutional Review*, 5(2), 241-267.
- Stigler, G. J. (1971). The Theory of Economic Regulation. *The Bell Journal of Economics and Management Science*, 2(1), 3-21.
- Tollison, R. D. (2012). The Economic Theory of Rent Seeking. *Public Choice*, 152(1), 73-82.
- Warburton, E., & Aspinall, E. (2019). Explaining Indonesia's Democratic Regression: Structure, Agency and Popular Opinion. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 41(2), 255-285.
- Weingast, B. R. (1995). The Economic Role of Political Institutions: Market-Preserving Federalism and Economic Development. *Journal of Law, Economics, & Organization*, 11
- Wijayanto, Enggar. 2022. "OTONOMI, PERDA SYARIAH DAN LIVING LAW DI NEGARA HUKUM PANCASILA ." *Jurnal Hukum dan HAM: WICARANA* Vol. 1, Nomor 2, September 2022 150-160.

### **Laporan Ilmiah**

BPS Depok. (2023). Kota Depok dalam Angka. Badan Pusat Statistik Kota Depok.

Laili, H. (2022). Eksistensi Peraturan Daerah Syariah dalam Sistem Ketatanegaraan Republik Indonesia. Skripsi UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI KIAI HAJI ACHMAD SIDDIQ JEMBER.

SETARA INSTITUTE. (2018). Indeks Kota Toleran 2018.

SETARA INSTITUTE. (2019). Indeks Kota Toleran 2019.

### Website

Abdi, A. P. (2020). Pernah Ditolak, DPRD Kota Depok Kini Sepakati Raperda Kota Religius. Tirto.Id.

Berita Depok. 2021. Berita Depok: Portal Berita Resmi Pemerintah Kota Depok. November 21. Accessed Juni 15, 2024. <https://berita.depok.go.id/pemkot-depok-sampaikan-usulan-empat-raperda-ke-dprd#:~:text=Wali%20Kota%20Depok%2C%20Mohammad%20Idris%20mengatakan%2C%20tiga,Depok%20tentang%20Protokol%20Kesehatan%20dalam%20Pengendalian%20Pandemi.>—, 2023.

Berita Depok: Portal Resmi Pemerintah Kota Depok. April 14. Accessed Mei 5, 2024. <https://berita.depok.go.id/wali-kota-indeks-kerukunan-umat-beragama-di-depok-tertinggi-dalam-3-tahun-terakhir>.

CNN Indonesia. (2023, Juli 21). *Akar Kuat PKS di Depok yang Hendak Dicabut Kaesang*. Retrieved from CNN Indonesia: <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20230718145238-617-974891/akar-kuat-pks-di-depok-yang-hendak-dicabut-kaesang>

Detik. (2020, Februari 13). *Selain Surabaya, Depok Juga Larang Perayaan Valentine di Sekolah*. Retrieved from Detik News: <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-2832353/selain-surabaya-depok-juga-larang-perayaan-valentine-di-sekolah>

DPD PKS Kota Depok. (2023, Juli 3). *DPC PKS se-Depok ikut sukseskan program Tebar 1,8 Juta Paket Qurban*. Retrieved from Instagram: [https://www.instagram.com/p/CuN3UGIB-Wc/?img\\_index=1](https://www.instagram.com/p/CuN3UGIB-Wc/?img_index=1)

Iswinarna, C. (2019). Ini Isi Draft Raperda Kota Religius Depok. Suara Jabar.

Lantara, F. (2022). Pro-kontra Raperda Penyelenggaraan Kota Religius Depok. Antara News.

Jurnal Depok. 2020. JurnalDepok. Juni 30. Accessed Juni 1, 2024. <https://jurnaldepok.id/2020/06/tok-sempat-ditolak-tiga-fraksi-akhirnya-raperda-pkr-disahkan-oleh-dprd/>.

Jurnalis Idris. 2022. Mohammad Idris Official Website. Oktober 7. Accessed Juni 14,

2024. <https://www.mohammadidris.id/begini-penjelasan-idris-soal-raperda-pkr/>.
- Kompas. 2019. Kompas: Jernih Melihat Dunia. Mei 19. Accessed Mei 25, 2024. <https://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2019/05/19/09161201/raperda-penyelenggaraan-kota-religius-ditolak-dprd-apa-kata-wali-kota>.
- . 2022. Kompas: Jernih Melihat Dunia. Oktober 24. Accessed Juni 13, 2024. <https://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2022/10/24/10472931/menyoal-rancangan-perda-penyelenggaraan-kota-religius-depok>.
- . 2022. Kompas: Jernih Melihat Dunia. Oktober 06. Accessed April 5, 2024. <https://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2022/10/06/14002201/idris-klaim-perda-kota-religius-depok-disambut-baik-kemenag-tapi-ditolak#:~:text=Kemenag%20menyambut%20baik%20raperda%20tersebut%20dan%20menyatakan,tidak%20melampaui%20kewenangan%20pemerintah%20daera>.
- Mantalean, V., & Maullana, I. (2020). Rancangan Perda Kota Religius Depok Dianggap Masih Bermasalah. Kompas.
- Putri, D. R. (2019). Raperda Kota Religius: Ide Ajaib Pemkot Depok. Tirto.Id.
- PKB News. 2020. #1PKB. Juli 1. Accessed Mei 25, 2024. <https://pkb.id/read/11400/fpkb-psi-kota-depok-tolak-raperda-relegius/>.
- Ratnasari, Rida Hesti. 2020. kumparan. Juli 7. Accessed Mei 17, 2025. <https://kumparan.com/dr-rida-hesti-ratnasari-msi/mewujudkan-depok-religius-yang-ramah-agama-agama-1tl16loq6z8/full>.
- Putri, D. R. (2019). Raperda Kota Religius: Ide Ajaib Pemkot Depok. Tirto.Id.
- Suara Jabar. 2019. Suara Jabar. Mei 20. Accessed Mei 10, 2024. <https://jabar.suara.com/read/2019/05/20/174841/ini-isi-draft-raperda-kota-religius-depok?page=all>.
- Tempo. 2022. Tempo. Oktober 3. Accessed Mei 22, 2024. <https://www.tempo.co/arsip/perda-kota-religius-depok-ditolak-kemendagri-fraksi-pdip-jadi-mubazir-279732>.
- Tempo. (2020). Dinas Pendidikan Kota Depok Larang Siswa Rayakan Hari Valentine