



Meritocracy in the Qur'an: A Critique of Modern Political Patronage Through the Story of Prophet Yūsuf

Abdurrahman Ahady*, Sefriyono**

Universitas Islam Negeri Imam Bonjol Padang, Indonesia*

Universitas Islam Negeri Imam Bonjol Padang, Indonesia**

email: 2420080038@uinib.ac.id*

Abstract : *This research departs from the phenomenon of political patronage that still dominates the modern political system, especially in Indonesia. Patronage practices based on personal loyalty and political connections often hinder the creation of a fair and effective government, while meritocracy offers an alternative based on competence and integrity. In the Islamic context, the story of the Prophet Yūsuf as stated in Qs. Yūsuf [12]: 55 is a paradigmatic example of how meritocracy can be applied. This study aims to explore the values of meritocracy in the story of the Prophet Yusuf and how these values can be applied as a solution to overcome the challenges of modern political patronage. This research uses a literature-based qualitative method with a thematic interpretation approach and socio-political analysis. The thematic interpretation approach is applied to explore the Qur'anic messages relevant to the theme of meritocracy, while socio-political analysis is used to connect these values with the phenomenon of patronage in the contemporary political context. The results show that the story of Prophet Yūsuf provides a theological and ethical foundation for the application of meritocracy, which emphasizes integrity (ḥafīẓ) and competence ('alīm) as the main criteria in the appointment of leaders. In conclusion, this study underlines that meritocracy, as exemplified in the story of Prophet Yūsuf, can be an alternative paradigm to replace patronage, while encouraging political reforms that are more just, transparent and inclusive.*

Keywords: Meritocracy; Prophet Yūsuf; Patronage; Politics; Qur'an

INTRODUCTION

Meritocracy and political patronage are two opposing concepts that have become central to modern political studies. Meritocracy focuses on the distribution of power or positions based on a person's competence, performance, and expertise. In contrast, political patronage is a practice based on awarding positions or benefits through personal relationships or political loyalty rather than integrity or capability. In the context of modern governance, particularly in Indonesia, these two systems reflect the dilemma between skill-based professionalism and a traditional culture filled with individual and/or group interests (Rosyan & Prasojo, 2024). The phenomenon of modern political patronage often hinders the creation of an effective and just governance system. Over time, countries with high levels of corruption generally have a strong culture of

patronage (Khan, 1998). Beyond corruption, patronage also manifests as cronyism, creating an exclusive power structure and hindering development (Rosyan & Prasojo, 2024). This condition indicates that patronage is not merely a political phenomenon but also a broad social issue. Conversely, meritocracy is claimed to be an effective solution for improving government efficiency, political stability, and public trust. Meritocracy plays a crucial role in establishing a responsive and fair government. However, its implementation is often obstructed by deeply rooted patronage culture, which, in the Indonesian context, has existed since the colonial era (Lestari Dewi et al., 2023).

In relation to this, the Qur'an provides moral and ethical guidance (Darwis et al., 2024) relevant to discussing these issues through the stories it contains. One prominent story is the narrative of Prophet Yūsuf. This story illustrates how Prophet Yūsuf was chosen as Egypt's treasurer based on his ability, integrity, and honesty. This excerpt from Prophet Yūsuf's story demonstrates that the practice of meritocracy, as opposed to patronage, has been exemplified since the prophetic era and is recorded in the Qur'an. Therefore, the urgency of this study lies in the relevance of Prophet Yūsuf's story in offering solutions to the issue of modern political patronage. This story is not merely a historical narrative but also an ethical guideline that upholds the principles of meritocracy. This study will fill the research gap of previous studies, which tend to be normative. Many previous studies have discussed political patronage, but few have linked it to meritocracy and political patronage through Prophet Yūsuf's story in the Qur'an. Some relevant studies include: meritocracy in the framework of the Qur'an (Asy-Syakir & Qolbah, 2024); patronage in Islamic law (Mahfudz, 2022); political patronage and democratic contestation (Rosyan & Prasojo, 2024; Dalupe, 2020; Mahsun, 2020); political patronage versus the merit system (Handayani et al., 2024), (Winanti, 2020). Among all the mentioned studies, there has not been a study that attempts to elaborate on meritocracy in the Qur'an as a critique of political patronage culture through Prophet Yūsuf's story.

This study aims to reveal the values of meritocracy in the story of Prophet Yūsuf and how these values can serve as a paradigm to address contemporary political challenges, especially in Indonesia. By examining Prophet Yūsuf's story, this study seeks to answer fundamental questions about how Islamic values can be applied in the modern political context to "eradicate" patronage culture and replace it with meritocracy. This research also supports the argument that meritocracy is a system more aligned with Islamic principles in governance. Therefore, the main claim of this study is that meritocracy, inspired by Prophet Yūsuf's story, can provide an alternative solution to the issue of modern political patronage, which hinders social and political development. This study not only critiques the patronage culture but also offers an alternative paradigm based on meritocratic values in the Qur'an, particularly through the story of Prophet Yūsuf. The objective is to provide practical recommendations for implementing meritocracy in modern political systems with a strong foundation in Islamic values.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study employs a qualitative research method based on library research, utilizing a thematic exegesis approach and socio-political analysis to explore the meritocratic values embedded in the story of Prophet Yūsuf in the Qur'an. The thematic exegesis approach is chosen as it allows for the identification of themes within the discussed narrative, such as leadership based on competence and integrity, which align with the principles of meritocracy. To deepen this analysis, the study refers to contemporary exegeses that provide deeper insights into the context and meaning of the relevant verses. Furthermore, socio-political analysis is employed to connect the meritocratic values found in the story of Prophet Yūsuf with the phenomenon of political patronage. This study seeks to explore how the meritocratic principles reflected in the story of Prophet Yūsuf may offer an alternative framework for addressing the problems posed by patronage. The research process begins with an in-depth literature review of relevant studies, followed by an exegesis analysis of the verses related to the story of Prophet Yūsuf. Subsequently, a socio-political analysis is conducted to link these values to the modern political context. The gathered data is examined through descriptive and critical analysis in order to build the central argument that supports the implementation of meritocratic principles within contemporary governance.

RESEARCH RESULTS and DISCUSSION

The Dynamics of Political Patronage

Political patronage is a deeply rooted pathology. Conceptually, patronage refers to a reciprocal relationship between a patron (giver) and a client (receiver), where the patron provides benefits such as positions, facilities, or access to resources in exchange for loyalty or political support. The discourse on political patronage revolves around the practice of providing material or non-material rewards to groups or individuals with the aim of securing political support. Sorauf (1960) likens patronage to a political currency incentive system used for transactional exchanges in political activities. Its primary function is to attract public support, gain advantages in policymaking, and strengthen power (Weingrod, 1968). In the Indonesian context, this phenomenon is deeply embedded in electoral contests, particularly in general and local elections (*Pemilu* and *Pilkada*) (Handoko et al., 2023). Political patronage in elections is often seen as a strategy to strengthen the relationship between candidates and voters through the provision of various forms of assistance, including money, goods, or government projects. These provisions are usually accompanied by an expectation that recipients will support the candidate in the election (Anggoro, 2019). In this sense, patronage is not merely a tool for gaining support but also for maintaining long-term loyalty and fostering a dependent relationship between candidates and constituents.

Political patronage has various social impacts. On the one hand, this tactic is seen as a form of wealth redistribution. However, the influence of patronage extends beyond immediate benefits. According to (Hawing & Hartaman, 2021), although the assistance

provided tends to offer direct benefits to recipients, its long-term effect is the creation of dependence on a particular candidate or political party. This dependence reduces political independence among the public and limits meaningful participation in the democratic process. Furthermore, patronage can exacerbate social inequality. Communities with limited access to political and economic resources, particularly in rural areas, are more vulnerable to this practice. This vulnerability can create injustice in the distribution of political power, as marginalized groups become trapped in a system that reinforces elite dominance (Aspinall & Sukmajati, 2016). Thus, while patronage may provide material benefits to recipients, it also hinders broader social transformation and increases inequality within society. This indicates that patronage is not only an ethical issue but also a factor that degrades the quality of democracy itself.

The impact of patronage can be observed from various aspects. Politically, patronage poses multiple challenges to the quality of democracy. First, patronage tends to undermine the fundamental principle of fair democratic competition, as mandated by the constitution (Undang-Undang (UU) Nomor 7 Tahun 2017 Tentang Pemilihan Umum, 2017). Candidates with greater financial resources have a higher chance of securing public support (Mietzner, 2015). This leads to unequal political participation and reinforces transactional politics, which deviates from the principles of a healthy democracy, where voters should make choices based on vision and policies rather than mere rewards.

Second, political patronage weakens political institutions and degrades the quality of governance. This practice often results in the formation of political coalitions based on material exchange rather than ideological agreement or long-term programs (Rekha Adji Pratama et al., 2023). Elected candidates tend to focus more on repaying their political debts to supporters who contributed during their campaigns rather than implementing policies that promote the overall welfare of society. Instead, they prioritize strengthening their positions and securing personal gains. As a result, the policies produced do not reflect the interests of the majority but rather those of a select elite with greater financial influence.

At the structural level, political patronage reinforces oligarchy and political inequality. When political power is controlled by a small group of elites who use patronage to gain and maintain support, the political structure becomes more concentrated and exclusive. In another manifestation, patronage also appears as a hereditary tradition used to pass down power and positions to family members or close associates (Winanti, 2020). Candidates who rely on patronage networks are often closely connected to major business figures or political elites, who later benefit from the policies they enact once elected. This reality further exacerbates social and economic inequality in society (Hicken, 2011). Patronage also undermines the ability of political institutions to produce policies that are truly fair and equitable. Often, policies are not based on an objective analysis of societal needs but rather on personal or elite group interests with access to power (Permana et al., 2019).

Such political dependence leads to the reinforcement of the status quo and the neglect of the broader public's needs, resulting in no substantive improvements in the distribution of power and resources. Thus, the problem of patronage in Indonesia is not only a political issue but also a more complex phenomenon that highlights global challenges in addressing political and social inequality within the country's democratic system. Patronage frequently intersects with values of justice and policy transparency. This patronage culture is also influenced by the existing social structure within society (Sabarudin, 2018). In many cases, individuals are more inclined to support those closest to them rather than selecting the most competent individuals for particular positions. This creates a cycle in which power remains concentrated within certain groups, preventing opportunities for other potentially more qualified individuals (Khan, 1998). In other words, the culture of patronage not only affects political decision-making but also perpetuates injustice in access to opportunities.

Discourse on the Meritocracy System

Meritocracy is an idea that prioritizes talent, capability, and achievement as the main criteria for appointing and advancing individuals across different spheres of life, including governance and broader society. This term was first popularized by Michael Young in 1958. Young described meritocracy as a system where everything—from jobs and positions to achievements—is attained based on intelligence and individual effort, rather than inheritance, connections, or social status. In a meritocratic system, the main emphasis is on individual accomplishments achieved through hard work, talent, and ability. This stands in contrast to the patronage system, which often bases positions or appointments on political connections and close relationships (Young, 1961). The core of the meritocratic system lies in professionalism and achievement, which can be identified through four key aspects: talent, the right attitude, hard work, and morality (McNamee & Miller Jr., 2004, p. 100).

Meritocracy is considered a solution to overcome the weaknesses of the patronage system, which relies on personal relationships or political loyalty. In the context of modern politics, meritocracy aims to create a fair, efficient, and transparent government. It enhances political stability by ensuring that competent individuals hold strategic positions. As such, meritocracy serves as a tool to improve the quality of leadership and the effectiveness of public policy-making. It has also been proven to contribute to reducing corruption levels and increasing public trust in political institutions, which are negative impacts of political patronage, as previously explained (Lestari Dewi et al., 2023). A successful example of meritocracy implementation can be observed in Singapore. The country's success in reducing corruption and increasing public confidence in governmental institutions is concrete evidence that meritocracy can yield positive results when applied consistently and comprehensively (Seno, 2023).

In the Islamic context, Qs. Yūṣuf [12]:55 highlights the importance of competence and integrity in leadership. This suggests that meritocracy is not only relevant in the secular world but also has theological foundations in Islam. It emphasizes that leaders should be selected based on their abilities rather than personal connections. However,

institutional reforms supporting meritocracy are often hindered by dominant political interests. The appointment of public officials in many countries, particularly Indonesia, still tends to be based on personal connections or political loyalty rather than actual qualifications or competence (Sapto Nugroho et al., 2020). Therefore, overcoming these challenges requires a holistic approach to implementing meritocracy.

In an increasingly complex global world, meritocracy stands as one of the most relevant approaches to creating a fair and sustainable society. Despite various challenges, the principles of meritocracy—such as fairness, transparency, and appreciation for hard work—can serve as a foundation for social, political, and economic development. With a strong commitment to these values, societies can move toward a brighter future where every individual has the opportunity to realize their full potential. Meritocracy is not only a tool for improving existing systems but also a reflection of humanity's aspirations to create a more equitable and humane world.

The Story of Prophet Yūsuf: A Glimpse of Meritocracy in the Qur'an

The term *meritocracy* is not explicitly mentioned in the Qur'an. However, meritocracy in the Qur'an can be analyzed through messages embedded in verses that emphasize the value of competence. These values are reflected in the stories of various figures in the Qur'an regarding leadership, entrusted positions, and work, such as the story of Prophet Yūsuf, as recorded in Qs. Yūsuf [12]: 54-55:

وَقَالَ الْمَلِكُ إِنِّي أَرَىٰ فِيهَا مَكْرًا ۖ فَلَمَّا كَلَمَهُ قَالَ إِنَّكَ الْيَوْمَ لَدَيْنَا مَكِينٌ ۖ قَالَ اجْعَلْنِي عَلَىٰ خَزَائِنِ الْأَرْضِ ۚ إِنِّي حَفِيظٌ عَلِيمٌ ۝

"The king said, 'Bring him to me so that I may appoint him exclusively for myself.' And when he spoke to him, he said, 'Indeed, from this day, you will hold a high rank in our presence and be trusted.' Yusuf said, 'Appoint me as the treasurer of the land. Indeed, I am a skilled keeper and knowledgeable.'"

These verses narrate the appointment of Prophet Yūsuf as the treasurer of Egypt. According to Hamka, this appointment began when the king heard the testimony of women in the royal court (including Zulaikha) that Yūsuf was handsome, pure, and virtuous. At that time, Prophet Yūsuf was a prisoner, yet the king ordered him to be brought to the palace—recognizing that he was the right person to hold an official position in the kingdom (Hamka, 1982). The term *hāfiẓ* in the verse, interpreted by Hamka as "manager" signifies that Prophet Yūsuf possessed the ability to safeguard, maintain, and manage the kingdom's wealth responsibly.

On the surface, the textual meaning of the verse may seem problematic, as it appears that Prophet Yūsuf requested a position and praised himself. However, a deeper analysis reveals that Prophet Yūsuf was not seeking personal gain but rather taking responsibility for an essential role that required expertise and integrity. He was not merely accepting an honorary title but ensuring that his role would be carried out effectively. Hamka, quoting Qatadah, explains that Prophet Yūsuf's request was not a pursuit of personal grandeur but rather an acceptance of a heavy responsibility with significant risks in case of failure. Moreover, the king had already entrusted governance

to Prophet Yūsuf before Yusuf formally requested responsibility over the state treasury (Hamka, 1982).

From Hamka's interpretation, it is evident that Prophet Yūsuf was chosen by the king based on his expertise and ability rather than any personal connection. This is particularly striking, considering that Yūsuf was still a prisoner when the king summoned him. Additionally, although it may seem as though Prophet Yūsuf was requesting the position, his request was legitimate and aligned with ethical principles. As Shihab (2004) explains, Prophet Yūsuf's request was not morally inappropriate because he knew that no one else was better suited to take on the role, especially given the economic crisis Egypt was facing at the time. This verse also serves as a justification for self-nomination for leadership positions, provided the motivation is for public benefit and the candidate possesses the necessary qualifications—not for personal enrichment.

From the story of Prophet Yūsuf's appointment, two key qualifications emerge as essential for leadership: *hafīz* (preserver/guardian)—the ability to maintain and responsibly manage entrusted duties and *'alīm* (knowledgeable)—possessing sufficient expertise and understanding (Yunus, 2010). Interestingly, the word *hafīz* appears before *'alīm* in the verse, implying that the ability to safeguard responsibilities takes precedence over mere knowledge. In governance and leadership, an individual's ability to uphold integrity should be prioritized over their academic or theoretical knowledge. Without integrity, knowledge alone can lead to corruption, as seen in many cases where highly educated individuals engage in corrupt practices.

From the explanations of various exegetes, the story of Prophet Yūsuf offers valuable lessons on meritocracy. When Prophet Yūsuf presented himself as Egypt's treasurer, he stated: *"Appoint me as the treasurer of the land; indeed, I am a skilled keeper and knowledgeable."* This declaration highlights two fundamental principles of meritocracy: competence and integrity. Prophet Yūsuf did not offer himself out of personal ambition but out of a conviction that he was the best candidate to save Egypt from economic crisis. This serves as a concrete example of how leadership selection should be based on qualifications rather than personal connections or political interests.

The socio-political context of Egypt during Prophet Yūsuf's time is highly relevant to discussions on meritocracy. As one of the most advanced civilizations of its era, Egypt required a complex bureaucratic system and competent leaders to manage its resources effectively. Prophet Yusuf demonstrated that a merit-based system could successfully address major governance challenges. He not only displayed exceptional managerial skills but also maintained high ethical standards in managing state resources. His story underscores the importance of transparency and accountability in leadership.

This narrative also serves as a critique of modern political patronage, which is prevalent today—ranging from expensive election campaigns that involve vote-buying, nepotism, favoritism, and political agreements that benefit only certain elites. Such practices create an entrenched power structure that is difficult to break, stifles

innovation, and undermines bureaucratic integrity. By contrast, the story of Prophet Yusuf promotes a system in which leadership is entrusted to the most qualified individuals, ensuring justice, stability, and prosperity for society as a whole.

The Lessons from the Story of Yūsuf: Implementing Meritocracy and Critiquing the Culture of Patronage

The story of Prophet Yūsuf offers many relevant lessons for modern political contexts; one of the main lessons is the importance of meritocracy as the foundation for appointing leaders. As previously explained, the story of Prophet Yūsuf in Qs. Yūsuf [12]: 55 emphasizes that competence and integrity are two essential qualities that a leader or officeholder must possess. This lesson can be applied in modern political contexts to create a fairer and more effective governance system. Competence and integrity are crucial. If we examine the principles of democracy, we find that democracy allows everyone the freedom to participate in political contests. As a result, public assessment of a candidate's capacity for office may become inadequate. If competence and integrity are not used as parameters, the ideal indicators for selecting candidates will diminish and be replaced by political transactions inherent in patronage systems. This will ultimately lead to democracy failing in its role to select leaders who are truly capable and willing to devote themselves fully to the well-being of society and human values.

Therefore, implementing meritocracy requires deep reforms, especially amid the widespread practice of patronage. Meritocracy can only succeed if supported by transparent selection processes and strong accountability mechanisms. This effort must also be accompanied by strengthening values that uphold justice and transparency. By ensuring that the most qualified individuals occupy key positions, meritocracy holds the potential to strengthen public confidence in political institutions. It can also lead to more responsive and effective policies. In the long term, this system can help reduce social inequality and improve the overall quality of life in society. The story of Prophet Yūsuf demonstrates that meritocracy is not just a modern concept but a principle taught in Islam. By adopting these values, we can establish a more inclusive, transparent, and just political system that aligns with both Qur'anic teachings and the needs of the modern world.

Another key takeaway from the story of Prophet Yūsuf is that the current generation should strive to become leaders who meet the qualifications of credibility, capability, intellectual depth, and a forward-thinking vision. However, a good leader must also possess integrity, honesty, and loyalty to the interests of the people. A leader must not prioritize personal, group, or party interests over the needs of the people they serve.

CONCLUSION

The story of Prophet Yūsuf in the Qur'an presents the paradigm of meritocracy as a critique of the modern political patronage system. The meritocracy reflected in Yūsuf's story prioritizes competence and integrity as the foundation for leadership

appointments, as illustrated through the qualities of *ḥafīẓ* (trustworthiness) and *‘alīm* (knowledgeable). This approach emphasizes not only technical skills but also moral values, which are key to successful leadership. Conversely, political patronage—based on personal connections, nepotism, and political loyalty—has been proven to degrade the quality of democracy, create social inequality, and hinder national development. This phenomenon not only threatens political institutions but also erodes public trust in the government system. By prioritizing personal or group interests over the common good, patronage leads to unjust and exclusive policies.

Through the study of Qs. Yūsuf [12]: 55 and a socio-political analytical approach, this research affirms that the meritocratic values upheld in the Qur'an are relevant for implementation in modern political contexts, particularly in Indonesia. The story of Prophet Yūsuf provides both ethical and practical guidance for selecting leaders based on capability and integrity rather than personal relationships. It also serves as a theological foundation for rejecting the deeply ingrained patronage culture in modern politics. In the context of political reform in Indonesia, implementing meritocratic values requires strong commitment to establishing transparent selection systems, effective accountability mechanisms, and political education based on justice and professionalism. Thus, meritocracy can serve as a transformative political tool that not only enhances the quality of leadership but also fosters public trust and governance that is more responsive to societal needs. By integrating meritocratic principles into governance, we can hope to create a more just, inclusive, and welfare-oriented political system. This study aims to contribute to bridging Islamic values with practical solutions to modern political challenges and to enrich discourse on political system reform through a Qur'an-based approach.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anggoro, T. (2019). Politik Patronase dan Klientelisme Purnawirawan Tni Pada Pemilu Legislatif. *Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan : Kajian Ilmu Pemerintahan Dan Politik Daerah*, 4(1), 64. <https://doi.org/10.24905/jip.v4i1.1242>
- Aspinall, E., & Sukmajati, M. (2016). *Electoral dynamics in Indonesia: Money politics, patronage and clientelism at the grassroots*. NUS Press.
- Asy-Syakir, I., & Qolbah, I. N. (2024). Meritokrasi Dalam Bingkai Al-Quran (Studi Tafsir Tematik Konseptual Al-Quran). *Jurnal Ilmiah Pendidikan Kebudayaan Dan Agama*, 2(1), 78–91.
- Dalupe, B. (2020). Kandidat Perempuan dan Tantangan Politik Patronase pada Pemilu Legislatif 2019 di Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur. *INADA; Vol 3 No 1 (2020): JUNI; 15-34 ; Jurnal Inada: Kajian Perempuan Indonesia Di Daerah Tertinggal, Terdepan, Dan Terluar; Vol. 3 No. 1 (2020): JUNI; 15-34 ; 2620-8229 ; 2622-3937 ; 10.33541/Ji.V3i1, 3(1).* <http://ejournal.uki.ac.id/index.php/inada/article/view/1902>
- Darwis, M., Saidah, W., Ningsih, W., Maryam, S., Amanda, S., Akbar, F. H., Nurhidayat, R., & Syawalludin, M. (2024). Islam dan Moral. *Jurnal Ilmiah Kajian Multidisipliner*, 8(6), 25902–25908.
- Hamka. (1982). *Tafsir al-Azhar* (Jilid 5). Pustaka Nasional PTE LTD Singapura.

- Handayani, S., Fadzia Fauzi, E., Dwi S.N, R., & Damayanti, K. (2024). Systematic Literature Review: Political Patronage Versus Merit System On Local Government Analysis Vosviewer. *Journal of Governance Innovation; Vol. 6 No. 1 (2024): Volume 6 Nomor 1, Maret 2024; 18-27; 2657-1714; 2656-6273, 6(1), 18-27.* <https://ejournal.uniramalang.ac.id/index.php/JOGIV/article/view/4241>
- Handoko, P., Rohmah, E. I., & Farida, A. (2023). The Practice of Patronage in Elections And Its Implications for Democratic Credibility in Indonesia. *Al-Daulah Jurnal Hukum Dan Perundangan Islam, 13(1), 137-158.* <https://doi.org/10.15642/ad.2023.13.1.137-158>
- Hawing, H., & Hartaman, N. (2021). Politik Uang Dalam Demokrasi Di Indonesia. *Journal of Social Politics and Governance (JSPG), 3(1), 45-53.* <https://doi.org/10.24076/jspg.v3i1.533>
- Hicken, A. (2011). Clientelism. *Annual Review of Political Science, 14*(June 2011), 289-310. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.031908.220508>
- Khan, M. H. (1998). Patron-Client Networks and the Economic Effects of Corruption in Asia. In *European Journal of Development Research* (Vol. 10, Issue 1, pp. 15-39). <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315126647-41>
- Lestari Dewi, A., Muhram, L. O., Khayati, S., Nur, L. O. M. A., Yusuf, N. Y., Kurniawati, W. I., & Alimuddin. (2023). Meritokrasi terhadap Pengaturan Kebijakan dan Manajemen Kepegawaian Aparatur Sipil Negara di Lingkup Birokrasi Pemerintahan Kabupaten Konawe Selatan. *Arus Jurnal Sosial Dan Humaniora, 3(3), 236-241.* <https://doi.org/10.57250/ajsh.v3i3.318>
- Mahfudz. (2022). *Patronase Politik dalam Hukum Islam*. Institut Agama Islam Negeri Palopo.
- Mahsun, M. (2020). Demokrasi Patronase dan Praktik Politik Uang: Pengalaman Pemilu Legislatif 2014 di Kota Palembang, Sumatera Selatan. *JPW (Jurnal Politik Walisongo; Vol 2, No 1 (2020); 13-26; 2503-3204; 2503-3190; 10.21580/jpw.V2i1, 2(1).* <https://journal.walisongo.ac.id/index.php/JPW/article/view/1996>
- McNamee, S. J., & Miller Jr., R. K. (2004). *The Meritocracy Myth*. Rowman & Littlefield Publisher.
- Mietzner, M. (2015). *Reinventing Asian Populism: Jokowi's Rise, Democracy, and Political Contestation in Indonesia*. East-West Center. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/75711d49-209a-31d5-8926-153ba8d4312a>
- Permana, I., Siswoyo, M., & Hamirul. (2019). Patologi Demokrasi Di Indonesia. *Konferensi Nasional Ilmu Administrasi, 1-5.* <http://knia.stialanbandung.ac.id/index.php/knia/article/view/98>
- Rekha Adji Pratama, Alvina, & Rahman Tandi. (2023). Politik Patronase Pada Pemerintah Daerah Provinsi Sulawesi Tenggara. *JAPMAS: Jurnal Politik Dan Demokrasi, 1(2), 129-139.* <https://doi.org/10.52423/japmas.v1i2.17>
- Rosyan, A. N., & Prasajo, E. (2024). Pemilihan Umum dan Budaya Patronase: Mahalnya Biaya Politik di Tengah Berkembangnya Sistem Meritokrasi. *PUBLIKAUMA: Jurnal Administrasi Publik UMA, 12(1), 47-63.* <https://ojs.uma.ac.id/index.php/publikauma/article/view/11791%0Ahttps://ojs.um>

- a.ac.id/index.php/publikauma/article/view/11791/5694
- Sabarudin, D. (2018). Dilema Birokrasi Dalam Demokrasi. *Ensains*, 1(1), 26–35. <http://jurnal.universitaskebangsaan.ac.id/index.php/ensains>
- Sapto Nugroho, K., Warsono, H., Yuniningsih, T., Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik, F., & Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa, U. (2020). Birokrasi di Indonesia: Kasus Penempatan Pegawai, Politisasi Birokrasi atau Merit System? *Journal of Public Administration and Local Governance*, 4(2), 96–110. <https://doi.org/10.31002/jpalg.v4i1.2394>
- Seno, R. H. (2023). Kunci Kesuksesan Reformasi Birokrasi Singapura: Pembelajaran untuk Para Pembuat Kebijakan. *Jurnal Litbang Provinsi Jawa Tengah*, 20(2), 163–177. <https://doi.org/10.36762/jurnaljateng.v20i2.960>
- Shihab, Q. (2004). *Tafsir al-Mishbah: "Pesan, Kesan, dan Keserasian al-Qur'an"* (Vol. 6). Lentera Hati.
- Sorauf, F. J. (1960). The Silent Revolution in Patronage. *Public Administration Review*, 20(1), 28–34. <https://doi.org/10.2307/974064>
- Undang-Undang (UU) Nomor 7 Tahun 2017 Tentang Pemilihan Umum, Pub. L. No. 7 (2017). <https://peraturan.bpk.go.id/details/37644/uu-no-7-tahun-2017>
- Weingrod, A. (1968). Looked at in one way , these quotations seem to focus upon the same issue : the three authors assume that patronage relations can be successfully identified , all stress the inequality in power between patrons and clients , and each also emphasizes the. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 10(1), 377–400.
- Winanti, S. A. (2020). Analisis Patronase Politik Terhadap Birokratisasi Pemerintahan Dalam Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Kota Padang. *Jurnal Dinamika Sosial Budaya*, 22(2), 222–223. <https://doi.org/10.26623/jdsb.v22i2.2710>
- Young, M. (1961). *The Rise of the Meritocracy*. Penguin Books Ltd. <http://www.amazon.co.uk/Rise-Meritocracy-Classics-Organization-Management/dp/1560007044>
- Yunus, M. (2010). *Kamus Arab-Indonesia*. PT. Mahmud Yunus Wa Dzurriyyah.