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REFLECTION OF DEMOCRATIC VALUE AND ATTITUDE OF STATESMAN IN RAJA NEGERI JAMBI AND MENTIKO BETUAH'S FOLKLORE FUNCTION AND STATEMAN

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Abstract

Folklore is a construction of local wisdom that grows and develops into the basis of the values of social functions. The social function of the political meaning in folklore can be used as the country's resilience reflection, like democratic learning and strengthening the figure of the statesman. The social reality that was constructed in folklore can be a gap between the real and imaginary condition in the text. This study dug out the interrelatedness between the reflection of folklore as the forming of the resilience nation's character and characteristic of Indonesian's diversity. This study uses a qualitative description method and literature sociology and politic approach. The corpus data are "*Mentiko Betuah*" (Aceh) and "*Raja Negeri Jambi*" (Jambi) story. The results of the study indicated that the social reflection of both (stories) can be the basis of the building social resilience to counter radicalism, to grows up tolerances, mutual solidarity, democracy, and the integrity of anti-kleptocratic statesman. The method of the study is a qualitative description. The data of the study are sentences and written expressions in "*Mentiko Betuah*" (Aceh) and "*Raja Negeri Jambi*"'s story (Jambi). The results of the study indicated that tolerance and plural values were depicted in "*Raja Negeri Jambi*" and "*Mentiko Betuah*" were needed to be maintained. The threat of disintegration of the nation through the inculcation of narrow and shallow ideologies have poisoned people's perspective, especially millennial society.

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INTRODUCTION

The Contestation of the 2019 Democratic Fiesta is not the answer to the national crisis. Corruption, the perpetuation of a political dynasty, the exchange of seats in parliament, and political dowry are some of the national crises that still have no concrete solution. Democracy has not yet been able to reduce the primordial political style, such as the case that happened in Riau, the Riau Governor and Mayor of Pekanbaru have had invited their family members to occupy strategic positions. This has caused damage to the democratic order which has been considered as a middle ground to fight the absolute power. The reality that endangers the existence of democracy in Indonesia as written by Bathoro (Bathoro, 2011) concerning the Trap of Political Dynasty in the Consolidation of Democracy shown from the beginning of the writing, the political order of Ratu Atut Choisyah, the Governor of Banten for 2 periods (2007-2012 and 2011-2014) written in great details how she provided positions for her Husband who became a member of the DPR, daughter who became a member of the DPD, son-in-law as a member of the DPRD of Serang City, and her sister who became a member of DPRD Banten, her stepsister as the deputy mayor of Serang, stepmother as a member of the DPRD Pandeglang District, the other stepmother as a member of DPRD Serang, and his sister-in-law, Airin became the Mayor of South Tangerang.

Writing about the same case, Sutisna (2017), pointed out the emergence of Proliferation of Political Dynasty symptoms in Banten during the Leadership Era of Governor Ratu Atut Chosiyah, the results explained that the practice of political dynasty or kinship politics in her Era showed symptoms of a wider distribution of power reach (proliferation, growth), not only in the domain of the executive and legislative power but also in many arenas of community life, such as in business arena, socio-cultural, education,

and normality. The reality of the weakening of democracy such as political dynasty as this one would affect not only the political sphere but also to the arena of public life, the absence of public control creates an absolute power which threatens the principle of democracy itself. Such democracy combined with such stateman do not reflect an ideal figure when there is an abuse of power control, the government is used as a tool to perpetuate the practice of political dynasty of notorious elite and political actors.

On the other hand, the above-mentioned case emphasizes that politics and political actors have a tangible connection to the danger of our democratic system. The core conceptual level of democracy underlined the process of separating governmental power carried out by the people, for the people, and from the people. This kind of understanding provides reduced power deviations. Nevertheless, between reality and idealism, there are gaps in differences, as written by Farida (2019) regarding the political dowry that is rife in the regional election contestation, money politics that is associated with giving political dowry has undermined pragmatically oriented democratic practices. This has led the process of choosing regional heads to be no longer oriented to the maturity of leaders but shifted to bribery so that dirty practices such as 'buying' and 'selling' positions or further corruption distract the ideality of stateman and elevate public apathy to the democratic system.

Ideal political imagination these days may be imprinted on literary works such as folklore. Better yet, local knowledge that can be extracted from folklore can be made into a narrative reflection amid the reality of democracy in Indonesia, which inclines the ideal political practices that seems to be blurry. As uttered by Endraswara (2014) explaining the politics in Sengkuni style and Semar aesthetics which were reviewed through literary anthropology, explaining politics, culture, and literature which

resulted in two metaphorical political styles. First, into an era that is indeed a political transition, perhaps Sengkuni's style is more suitable before targeting the people (the poor). Second, Semar's aesthetic style prioritizes the segments of society that hold fast to tradition, Semar's aesthetic style places more emphasis on direct leaders, siding with their people.

In this present time, the themes and values contained in folklore are still relevant to the current conditions. Let's mention a few stories, the story of "Mouse-Deer and Mr. Farmer" or "Mouse-Deer and Crocodile", in which there are depictions of the characteristics of the mouse-deer figure who is clever but at the same time wicked. Its character is very strong as a personification figure who is clever, wicked, cunning and likes to play tricks for its benefit. If the story is interpreted in the context of the current nation's reality, then we can see the corruption practice, fraud, and abuse of authority from the news all over the country. Corruption practice as well as abuse of authority which are conducted by those actors who wear a "tie" into the landscape and daily consumption of Indonesian people from the mass media reproduction. Deceiving one another, consuming the rights of others, manipulation of data and words are examples of the manifestation of increased corrupt habitus in our public lives.

The above story represents the current political reality, say, political dynasty, buying and selling positions, political dowry, and so forth. The aforementioned mouse-deer story should be a reflection for Indonesian people, starting from parents and family, to educate and teach the children, prospective future leaders of the Indonesian nation, about the importance of honesty and mandate, as well as combating corruption practice which could potentially destroy nation's democratic order.

Broadly speaking, research that places folklore as a written symptom can be carried out by applying a structural

approach; namely examining the constituent elements and the relationships between elements in folklore. Aside from that, research on folklore as a symptom of writing may also be done by finding links between text and the social context of the community of folklore writers. Various theoretical perspectives are used to find links between folklore and community writers. Here are a few examples: psychological perspectives try to find a link between the text and the mentality of the writer of the story. Sociological perspectives, among others, use folklore to explain the social hierarchical system prevailing in the writer's community. The symbolic perspective tries to identify the symbols used in folklore as the symbolic world of the story's writer's community (Simatupang, 2011).

Some research conducted related to social reflection in folklore still revolves around the identification of the values and functions of the folklore itself. However, the interrelationship of the functions and reflections of these folklores as forming the national character and the characteristics of Indonesia's diversity wealth has not been much mentioned by researchers. This is the basis (reason) for this research. This research focuses on the themes of democracy and statesmen, namely "*Asal Usul Raja Negeri Jambi*" (Jambi) and "*Mentiko Betuah*" (Aceh).

Reading Public Space, Social Control, and Elitist Social Status

Political sociology becomes a perspective that examines the interrelations of power of abuse, and the actors involved. When the entity is juxtaposed with democracy as a sovereignty system, in government negates that there is an element of the separation of powers, as revealed by Fuqoha, Nugroho, & Firdausi (2019) which states that separation of powers is carried out to ensure the administration of justice in fulfilling the rights of the people from absolute power. In essence, the power of a

nation cannot be determined by one single person only, which can lead to abuse of power. This is what underlies the existence of the principle of democracy, to make sure such system runs, it needs a check and balance mechanism that controls, monitors, and balances to set the boundaries of each statesman. Further, the Check and Balance Mechanism was made clear by Hardiman (2010) that there is a communication space for citizens to participate actively in overseeing how the government runs. This mechanism may be likened to social control, because of the essence of supervision.

An ideal democracy must be able to provide a space for participation or public space as suggested by Habermas (1992), a participatory space in which every citizen has access can deliberate on the interaction of collective interest relations. In line with the opinion of Faedlulloh & Prasetyanti (2017) who reads public space as a space that mediates between society and the state where the public regulates and organizes itself as the owner of public opinion. Public space as interpreted by Prasetyo (2018) in his article towards rational democracy: tracking Jurgen Habermas's (1992) thoughts about public space, in a state that adopts a democratic system, public space entities as prerequisites that must be owned and developed in the country to guarantee the achievement of ideal goals in the administration of government democratic. Public space as a network that bridges information communication and perspectives delivered by citizens, public space as a discursive arena that is not trapped in discriminatory, patriarchal, racist, and biased classifications.

Political distortion in the development of democracy in Indonesia cannot be separated from the elitist role. Popularity and the granting of jobs to relatives, not the political achievements, can boost votes and thus those may easily and quickly pitch to certain political positions without a proper process of regeneration. This instant

process becomes a temporary political capital in the political arena. According to Varma (2016), elitist groups are small groups of individuals who have access to political capital that can reach the socio-political power centers. Elitist social status makes certain individuals occupy high positions in public services, this layer in politics may differentiate between those who rule and those who are governed. The elaboration of the concept is used as a framework for analyzing national political phenomena that are associated with folklore literature as a corpus of data. Hence, reflected through the perspective of political sociology.

Reflections on Folklore as a Social Function in the Perspective of Sociological Literature

Semi (1988) sees folklore as a collective wealth of which its presence is based on a desire for social cohesion. Folklore becomes tangible (visible) and intangible (invisible) assets as a result of culture and collective wealth that describe the unique characteristics of the local community. It can also be seen as traditional intellectual property and local wisdom that may be a reflection of values in controlling social behavior. Folklore may be filtering the infiltration of the elements that can cause deviations of national values.

Jan Harold Brunvand (Danandjaja, 1997) divided folklore into three core groups namely oral, partially verbal, and not verbal. Folklore genres included in the three major groups include folk languages, traditional expressions, traditional questions, poetry, folklore, folk songs, traditional beliefs, traditional games, traditional houses, handicrafts, traditional culinary, traditional medicine, and traditional music.

Folklore is a part that can be interpreted as a local cultural knowledge that is manifested through spoken and/or written language which is closely related to the social and cultural system and community's

order. Therefore, folklore and society become two things that are interlocked and of sociological value.

The sociology of the literature approach is reflective literary research, by Nurhuda et al. (2018). Furthermore, Nurhuda cites three views or perspectives related to the sociological literature according to Lauren and Swingewood (Endraswara, 2014), namely: a) research that views literary works as social documents in which they are a reflection of the situation at the time the literature was created, b) research that reveals literature as a reflection of the author's social situation, and c) research that captures literature as a manifestation of historical events and socio-cultural conditions.

If we relate to the two folklores that are the main focus of this research, "*Raja Negeri Jambi*" and "*Mentiko Betuah*", these two stories are a reflection of the social reality in the process of electing a leader in a collective community and the dishonesty attitude or behavior that we often encounter, both in the community and the nation orders. As stated by Fitrianingrum (2016), that the theory of literary sociology is intended to describe social realities related to literary works.

Additionally, Fitrianingrum (2016) adds that the review of a literary work includes three things, namely the author's social context, literature as a reflection of society, and the social function of literature. Of the three scopes, two scopes are further examined in this paper, literature, in this case, folklore, as a reflection of the state of society and social functions, concerning social values as a means of social control that binds and attaches to community members. As stated by William R. Bascom (Danandjaja, 1984), there are four main functions of folklore (including folktale), *firstly*, as a system of predictions or predictions about future events, *secondly*, as a tool for the legitimacy of cultural institutions, *third*, as a social control mechanism that binds and adheres to norms

and must be obeyed by community members.

METHODS

This research aims to describe the reflection of folklore to obtain an in-depth and overall picture of the classification of categories, identification of social functions, and reflection of the social functions of four folklore in Sumatra related to the current social situation. The two folklores are "*Mentiko Betuah*" and "*Asal Usul Raja Negeri Jambi*".

The method used in this study is a qualitative description, with a theoretical approach to literary and political sociology. The data of this research are words, expressions, and sentences contained in the text of the stories "*Mentiko Betuah*" and "*Asal Usul Raja Negeri Jambi*". The primary data source in this study is the results of recording and documentation of folklore that have been conducted by the Education and Culture Department in the two provinces. Meanwhile, secondary data, as supporting data, were obtained from literature reviews in the form of articles, research reports, and research journals related to the research focus. For data validation, the triangulation technique is used, namely by checking based on theory and expert judgment, in this case, is the resource person. Data collection was made using literature study techniques, using listening and taking notes methods, to obtain data following the research objectives.

Data processing and analysis techniques are carried out through the following procedures, (1) data inventory stage; reducing data into two research focus, which are categories and social functions, then data is classified and inventoried into tables according to the format of inventory for each focus; (2) data analysis stage; the data that has been obtained is then analyzed based on the theory that has been set by the objectives of the study. The analysis of this research was carried out by referring to

social theories by Bascom and Dandes; (3) the stage of discussion and conclusion of the results of classification/data analysis, and (4) the reporting stage; report the results of all stages of data analysis in the form of descriptive reports and followed by conclusions, implications, and suggestions.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Folklore as an Arena of Political Social Function

Analysis of folklore is not as easy as interpreting social action. Imaginary events are poured into folklore texts, a requirement for multiple perspectives in viewing the text or discourse. It depends on the perspective of what is used as a "scalpel" in the text. Literally or linguistically analyzed texts have left a lot of "empty space" that might be a 'gap' to be seen from another perspective. The text should not only be seen from the structure, flow or settings. However, a deeper context can be interpreted from the text of the folklore, so that there is no shallowness of analysis. This is further explained by Kuntowijoyo (Mardianto, 2005), literary works, in this case, folklore can be observed through the reflection of cultural values adopted by the community and the background of the socio-cultural conditions of the works. In this assumption, the right approach to be applied in studying literature is the theory of sociology of literature.

According to Dick Hartoko and B Rahmanto (Mardianto, 2005) sociological interpretation of the text is an attempt to get a bigger picture of the world and the society in it to re-create the social sphere: human relations with family, environment, country and so forth. The use of the study by applying a sociological approach, especially the sociology of literature, is to be able to know the social and cultural functions of literary works in the community. Sapardi Damono (1979) reinforces this approach by stating two things: first, an approach that moves from

factors outside of literature that consider literary works as a social and economic process. Second, the approach by prioritizing literary texts as a material for analysis, text analysis to determine its structure which is then used to understand social phenomena that exist outside of literature. This second approach model was chosen as an additional 'scalpel' analysis.

Reflections on Social Functions in Folklore "*Asal Usul Raja Negeri Jambi*"

General Description of "*Asal Usul Raja Negeri Jambi*"

This legendary story is well-known by the people of Jambi. The story begins with the agreement of the elders of five villages in the entire Jambi area in finding a king who can lead and unite those five villages. There are several criteria set by the elders for the future leader, he has to be wise, acknowledged, and have a higher status. Each village sent its representatives appointed to be candidates. Elders also test the appropriateness and capacity of the king's candidate with hardcore tests, such as being tested to fire resistance, put in the boiling water, shot with arrows, and crushed with hard metal.

None of the king candidates from each village was able to pass the test until finally the elders of the five villages were determined to look for other the candidate for the king of Jambi. After going through various obstacles, the five elders arrived at a rivet country. After walking around and looking for a candidate for the king, they were told about someone who was considered strong, in one of the villages in the rivet country, who was able to go through a series of hardcore tests. All stages of the test can be conquered by the future king candidate. As a result, the elder brought the good news to the land of Jambi, prepared all the necessities, built a palace, and inaugurated the coronation of the rivet to become King of Jambi.

Check & Balance

At the beginning of the text, this folklore revealed many meanings of the social function of the story. The values of social functions can be explored more deeply by adding an approach to political sociology. The meaning that can be captured is the amount of influence of the power relations between elitists and the community depicted in the story. The actors depicted in this story are the five village elders (Tujuh Koto, Sembilan Koto, Petajin, Muaro Sebo, dan Batin Duo Belas) and the community of each village. The power relation between the elders of the five villages and the community illustrates the style of leadership based on a check and balance mechanism. The mechanism is based on the process of agreement between the elders and the five village communities in the process of determining the candidate for the King who can unite their wishes.

The determination of the conditions for the future king of Jambi determined through a process of deliberation which creates consensus with equality of degree. That is, we still consider the opinions of the people in making decisions. This is illustrated in the story, quoted the following part:

.. Before we choose our king, how about we first determine the criteria for the king we will choose. In your opinion, what are the criteria of a good king? "Asked the elder from the village of Batin Duo Belas to open the conversation during the meeting ... (Kaslani, 1997)

From the quoted text above, there is a persuasive notion from the elite level leaders, namely the elders of the five villages in determining the criteria for the king to be elected. There is 'two-ways' dialogue process between the elders, in this case, who is acting as the leaders of each village and the community. The 'two-ways' dialogical process is a basic entity of Check and Balance democracy. This is in line with the thought of Henry B. Mayo (Budiardjo, 2003) which states the value of the principle

of democracy, firstly, minimizing coercion and promoting mutual agreement, secondly, there is recognition and respect for diversity (elders and their people from various villages), thirdly, freedom to express opinions, where this can be reflected from the determination of the king's criteria by capturing the aspirations of all elders and the people of the five villages. Although this approach is more closely and precisely to describe a constitutional state. In conclusion, the practices outlined in the folklore of "*Asal Usul Raja Negeri Jambi*" (ARJ) have shown an ideal way of democracy.

The Check and Balance mechanism according to Hardiman (2010) is a communication space for citizens to participate in overseeing the running of government. This opinion is also reinforced by Arendt and Habermas (1992) who emphasize the existence of social space that is formed through social interaction and communication (Hardiman, 2010). The mechanism is illustrated in the following quote:

... Before we choose our king, how about we first determine the criteria for the king we will choose. In your opinion, what are the criteria of a good king? "Asked the elder from the village of Batin Duo Belas to open the conversation during the meeting ..." "In my opinion, a king must have strengths", answered the elder from the Tujuh Koto Village. "Yes, right! A king must be stronger, both physically and mentally", added the elder from Petajin Village. "I agree with that opinion. We must choose a king who is appreciated and respected," said the elder from Muaro Sebo Village. "Do you all agree with that opinion?" Asked the elder from the Batin Duo Belas Village. "Agree!" The participants answered in unison ... (Kaslani, 1997).

From the above quotation, it is illustrated the space of interaction and social communication between the elders and the people of the five villages in determining the criteria for the king's candidate. The criteria are adjusted to the

wishes or desires of the five village communities. Several times there was a confirmation statement to strengthen the mutual agreement by asking the elders of the five villages and the community. Visible space for interaction with the dialogic process appears through reciprocal statements of text communication in folklore with the words 'agree'. The text in this folklore seems to have a dialogue in actual social reality. Even though the text that was constructed was only limited to an imaginary legend, the content of the story seemed to describe the real condition of social events.

Public Space & Social Control

The folklore "*Asal Usul Raja Negeri Jambi*" (ARJ) describes a political event about democratic governance practice. The democratic values contained in the text of this folklore are consensus agreement, these values are part of government practices that put forward democratic principles. In the political contestation, the issue of democracy becomes a very 'unique' issue to be raised in a social analysis of folklore.

Public space in a political perspective implies that the participatory involvement of various elements of society reaches a consensus in decision making in a deliberation. The meaning of public space provides a spectrum for each community group to be actively involved in formulating something that becomes an agreement. German philosopher and sociologist, Jurgen Habermas (1992) explained a new paradigm through the concept of *Strukturwandel der Offentlichkeit*. The essence of this concept is that a respected democratic state is very much determined by a healthy public space. Habermas (1992) defines public space as the gathering of people to discuss based on rationality. The public has a larger role in a democratic process because in it people are free to express their arguments and attitudes without any limitations or differences. Habermas (1992) also added

that the public space must be free from intervention and non-transparency and be free from political elements and 'market demand' (Monalusia, 2014).

The concept of public space is a vital part of a democratic state. Democracy can work well if in a country if there is an egalitarian public space where everyone has the same opportunity to participate and deliver their ideas (Littlejohn, 2009). In the development of modern democracy, equality includes all individual citizens and is not focused on certain interest groups. In explaining the concept, Jambi in the story is a country in which there are various kinds of individual citizens (community groups from the five villages namely Tujuh Koto, Sembilan Koto, Petajin, Muaro Sebo, and Batin Duo Belas). The practice of equality can be described by the opportunity for involvement from five villages, which are Tujuh Koto, Sembilan Koto, Petajin, Muaro Sebo, and Batin Duo Belas. The egalitarian value is reflected in the input from various elders of the five villages to determine the criteria of the king who can unite the diversity of their social entities.

The democratic governance practices depicted in the folklore "*Asal Usul Raja Negeri Jambi*" (ARJ) provides a clear picture of the existence of elements of public space as social control. This can be illustrated in the following quote of the story:

..."Before we choose our king, how about we first determine the criteria for the king we will choose. In your opinion, what are the criteria of a good king?" Asked the elder from the village of Batin Duo Belas to open the conversation during the meeting ..."In my opinion, a king must have strengths", answered the elder from the Tujuh Koto Village. "Yes, right! A king must be stronger, both physically and mentally", added the elder from Petajin Village. "I agree with that opinion. We must choose a king who is appreciated and respected," said the elder from Muaro Sebo Village. "Do you all agree with that opinion?" Asked the elder from the Batin Duo Belas Village. "Agree!"

The participants answered in unison ... (Kaslani, 1997).

The democratic dialogue process quoting from folklore ARJ "In my opinion, a king must have strengths," answered the elder from the Tujuh Koto Village. Then replied with "Yes, Right! A king must be stronger, both physically and mentally" added by the elder from Petajin Village. "I agree with that opinion. We must choose a king who is appreciated and respected" said the elder from Muaro Sebo Village. There is a negotiation process, where everyone has the same opportunity to participate and deliver their ideas.

Elitist Social Status

In the social system of society, there is a social structure that describes the level and social status inherent in individuals or groups in society. Social status is something that is attached to the individual depending on the position in the community. In another concept, Toenloe, (2016) social status is a person's social position in society that can be obtained automatically (automatically) through effort or given by others. Social interaction will encourage individuals to achieve a higher social status. Social Stratification and Social Status are two different things, what distinguishes it is social status or social position is an element that forms the creation of social stratification, while social stratification is a social coating composed of social statuses.

The concept of the 'elite' means a group of people who occupy a high position in public service. In a more specific sense, the elite is a group of prominent people in certain fields and especially a small group that holds power. The elite is intended: "a position in society at the top of the most important social structures, namely a high position in the economy, government, military apparatus, politics and religion (Chris, 2011). The type of society and its culture largely determine the pattern or character of the elite. In modern society, the

elite's character is completely different from the elite in primitive societies. There are two tendencies to determine the elite in society, among others: the first focuses on social functions and the second, moral considerations.

In certain societies, some people are involved in leadership, whereas in certain societies they are not included. Elite, in general concept, is often interpreted as a group of people in society occupying high positions in various social institutions, such as government, economy, military apparatus, politics, and so forth. However, the concept of 'elite' is also interpreted more specifically as a group of prominent people in certain fields and especially the small groups that hold power.

In layers of society, there are certainly small groups who have key positions or those who have a large influence on taking various policies. They might be officials, scholars, teachers, rich farmers, wealthy traders, retirees, and others. These opinion leaders generally hold key strategies and have their status which ultimately constitutes the elite of the community. The more general way of using the elite is intended: "a position in society at the top of the most important social structures, namely a high position in the economy, government, military apparatus, politics, religion, teachers/professors, and officials".

In this ARJ folklore, elite status is more directed towards the chairman or community elders who are depicted in the social reality of the story having a position as the village head. This can be illustrated in the text quoted as follows:

...for that, the elders from each village gathered in Batin Duo Belas Village located at the foot of Siguntang Hill (now Mukomuko Village) to hold a meeting ... (Kaslani, 1997)

The above quote is very constructive in elite status as a leader for the community which has been illustrated in the ARJ story by negating the 'elders' as the 'elite' of village leaders. The status of an 'elder' elite

does not only have the meaning of being the leader of a village but also being an elder who influences a political decision such as a representation in consensus as representative of a village community. Besides, the meaning of the representation of people reflected in the text gives essence to those who represent the people, those should speak for the people which no longer prioritizing the interests of groups or class. The reality in the political status for village elders may be similar to legislative members because they are in the contestation of the election for DPR or DPD members to represent constituents in their regions. When the voice of campaign yell (*jargon*) used as a powerful weapon for getting votes, then they will appear as the representatives who stand up to defend on common interest, but their political facts mostly only promise without proof. Supposedly they should be the representation of the people's voice in parliament, but they are still the puppet of the party that defends the interests of their party.

There are two tendencies to determine the elite in society, for example: first, focus on social functions and second, moral considerations. Both tendencies generate two kinds of elites, such as the internal elite and the external elite, which the internal elite concerning moral integration and social solidarity related to certain feelings at certain times, manners and state of mind. Whereas the external elite will include goals achievement and adaptation related to problems that shall reveal the harsh nature of other societies or an uncertain future.

The reflection of the elite political discourse lies in the elite status which is obtained by individuals or small groups. Elite is no longer viewed and obtained based on social contributions, political achievements, and morality. This status is easily obtained or boosted by access to the source of power or popularity. The reality of the 2019 political year reveals that in Indonesia an artist who cannot achieve

political achievements could be able to get elected as a representative of the people without a gradual regeneration process. Not only that, but the relatives who have a close access to the source of power could also make someone who did not go through the process of party candidate may participate in a single party candidate for the elections. As explained by Bathoro (2011) in his study about the traps of a political dynasty in the consolidation democracy, logical political that involves family became the rational choice of political elites in Banten as to establish a political dynasty in the Province. The reality also occurs in creating a family dynasty as bureaucratic structure, as known as political dynasty, based on the news release in the Tempo Magazine page by Kurniawati (2020) which examines the actions of the Governor and Regional Secretary of Riau who appointed his family members to be officials in the Riau Provincial Government. It is truly an example of the political elite to disrupt the moral integrity of people's leader who should uphold the principle of meritocracy in the bureaucratic office. If this reality lasts in the dynamics of democracy, then political decisions are no longer representative of people's voices, instead it is a private interest.

Elites Domination in Political Practical Environmental

Based on the message in the story of "*Asal Usul Raja Negeri Jambi*" it can be examined as a concept of power in the political environment. As there are many social values and social functions of the story that can be used as a lesson learned for the future. The values of openness, tolerance, consensus, egalitarian, and assertive deliberation are clearly illustrated in the story of "*Asal Usul Raja Negeri Jambi*". These values should be the basic and guidance of a philosophical life which in line with the Indonesian nationality concept of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. One of the analysis findings that could be used as a

basis in democracy practice is the public space concept. The deliberations contained in the story of the “*Asal Usul Raja Negeri Jambi*” are similar to the concept offered by Jurgen Habermas, such as communicative action. Communicative actions are actions that direct themselves to consensus. Which is, every action becomes a rational action which oriented towards understanding, agreement, and mutual understanding. The process and practice in this approach are clearly illustrated in the story of “*Asal Usul Raja Negeri Jambi*”, elders from the five villages in Jambi were looking for the figure of the leader or King who can unite them through consensus (understanding, agreement, and mutual understanding).

To reach a general accepted rational consensus, Habermas (Hardiman, 2010) proposes three precondition communication: First, participation in a discourse, which only possible if people are using the same language and consistently obey the logical and semantic rules in the language. Second, equality in gaining opportunity in discourse may only be achieved, if each participant has the intention for an impartial consensus and if each participant sees other participants as autonomous individuals, have equal responsibility and would not consider them merely as tools. Third, there should be general rules regarding the approach process of pressure and discrimination. When three rational consensuses, especially the second approach, egalitarian values, and tolerance are clearly illustrated by the opportunity of the participants or elite elders to express their views regarding the election of the king without coercion and pressure from other villages elders.

However, the description above is only a folklore construction text illustrated in literature work, with meaningful value and social function. The findings are only rhetorical and utopian in an ideal political drama depicted in the story of “*Asal Usul Raja Negeri Jambi*”. Ideal findings like a

consensus, egalitarian, tolerance, participatory and assertive public sphere will still be trapped merely as folklore if not implemented, lived and reflected as the basic and remembrance of the life as politicians in the country. The ideal practical political conditions contained in the story of “*Asal Usul Raja Negeri Jambi*” is proportional inverse between ‘black and white’ with the real conditions of the country's politics.

Political escalation towards the provincial elections and the Presidential Election became a spectacle of an elitist for power struggle drama. The elite political that dominate in the scene of state politics illustrate the style of leaders who are hungry for power. Strong political activities such as the mass base, the ability to mobilize politics, money, and influence are important keys to smoothing and defending the throne of power. Power is no longer based on the interests to achieve the welfare of wider community; it is more of greed in order to maintain the reins of leadership and prioritize the interests of the political elite and their own groups or class.



Figure 1. Mass Demonstration to Reject DPRD Regional Election

Source: Firdaus, 2014

The folklore of the “*Asal Usul Raja Negeri Jambi*” revolves around the election about the figure of the king of the Malay land of Jambi, before the year of 1723 to the domination of Malay land, and before the domination of the Bugis group, had a leadership structure based on the

government system in a certain order, 1) king or sultan, 2) datuk treasurer (daily duties as the sultan's representative, 3) admiral (navy commander who functions as the assistant to the sultan in the military field), 4) treasurer chief (managing state wealth affairs or helping treasurer, 5) ministers and commander (Mu'jizah, & Jaruki, 2010). Based on the literature, there is no political position of the elders as the government structure in the Malay land, although in the story village leaders or so-called elders are present in the story of "*Asal Usul Raja Negeri Jambi*", such a position is not reflected in the Malay royal structure in the historical review of Malay power. "*Asal Usul Raja Negeri Jambi*", which is included in a legend of the folklore theory, is not necessarily true. However, the story has taught us about democracy or has proven that we have learned about democracy since centuries ago in the past long before Europe was established. It is also informed that democracy in the Andalas (Sumatra) land has recognized the democratic system in the process of appointing Ninik Mamak, and this tradition was done long before Europe recognized the democratic system.

However, a critical note on the reflection analysis about the folklore of the "*Asal Usul Raja Negeri Jambi*" is the increasingly widespread elitist domination of reality in this country. The elitist in the story of the story emphasizes assertive, tolerant, consensus, and egalitarian values that are not reflected in current political figures. We heard a lot of news that adorns the mass media about the mega corruption case carried out by the elite political only to release the thirst/hunger for power. However, the elite figure out of the people who are proven to have misused their authority over the legitimacy of their power and did not knowingly withdraw from political office even though they were proven to have committed a crime.

Elite domination will only trigger the aristocracy, arrogance, and egoistic

tendencies of the authorities. The centralization of power without the distribution will cause the perpetuation of power. This may be reflected before the fall of the New Order (Orba) known as the Cendana's dynasty. Almost the sources of power are in the hands of Cendana's descendants and colleagues. It is even more clear, the practice of power to colleagues and nepotism in Jambi Province where the legend was born from the folklore of "*Asal Usul Raja Negeri Jambi*". Although this opinion may still be debated, the positive values in the story should be a source of inspiration for politicians to be able to act properly in implementing democratic practices. The past traced in the folklore of "*Asal Usul Raja Negeri Jambi*" that the elitist ideal conditions at that time did not force the will and open a participatory public space to invite the people to be involved in the process of electing the king. But the public interest does not impose the interests of the public to only maintain power.

Reflections on Social Functions in "*Mentiko Betuah*" Folklore

General Description of "*Mentiko Betuah*"

The way of greetings as part of Acehnese is known as *habajameuen*, which means the stories of old people that contain religious values, education, customs, and so on (Athallah et al., 1980). One of these stories is "*Mentiko Betuah*" story. "*Mentiko Betuah*" is a fairy tale that grows and is well-known by the people of Simeulue Island. "*Mentiko Betuah*" in Simeuleu language means magical objects. This story begins with the act of expulsion of the king's son by the king and empress, to educate his son to become an independent and responsible person. The expulsion of the king's son was not merely a form of punishment because his son was not diligent enough in undergoing education, but also educated his son to become a more independent and responsible person. For

this reason, the king gave some money to his son as capital for trading.

The king advised his son not to spend the money except for trading and if it was discovered that the money had run out not because of trading, the king would give severe punishment to his son. In his wandering in several villages, he often found residents abusing animals, he rebuked, but his rebukes were ignored by residents. As a result, he took the initiative to provide monetary rewards to residents who stopped the acts of persecution. Instead of trading capital, the money runs out because it was distributed to residents who abuse animals. Aware of the king's (father's) message and his promise to his father that he would succeed, the king's son felt confused and sad. When releasing fatigue and tired in a shady tree, suddenly appeared a big snake and gave him a magical object, called "*Mentiko Betuah*".

The big snake said that the "*Mentiko Betuah*" may fulfill all the desires of its owner. The *betuah* stone is formed into a ring by the son of the king so it may be used every day. He also took the *betuah* stone to the goldsmith, but due to the stupidity of the king's son, telling the power of the object, the object was not returned by the goldsmith to the king's son. The king's son was sad and told this to the rat. The rat who feel sorry, then invite dogs and cats to help the king's son look for the *betuah* stone. But in their searching, the rat was cheating, he did not tell his two friends, dogs and cats if he had found the *betuah* stone. He even, used the *betuah* stone for his interests, before being handed over to the king's son. This cunning rat is based on his interests so that he gets praise and respect from the king's son.

Media as a Form of Social Control

Examining the "*Mentiko Betuah*" story, the rat character depicted in the story becomes a metaphor for corrupt behavior implemented by humans. These corrupt behaviors or actions occur since a long time

ago, and there are (cultural) habits that are often considered normal, even though they lead to the habit of corruption practice. Nurhadi (2005) in his article entitled "Corruption Corps in the Land of Kleptoration" wrote that there was corruption that had become a culture in Indonesia. Culture is born from a habit. Related to this, Nurhadi (2005) stated that the problem of corruption in Indonesia is not just political practice or social practice, but has become a cultural practice in Indonesia. If this culture of corruption is allowed, kleptocracy will occur.

Kurnia Ramahana (2016), ICW researcher, who was copied by Koran Tempo, October 5, 2016, stated the origin of the word kleptocracy is from Greek, from two words, such as *kleptes* and *kratos*. *Kleptes* means thief and *kratos* means a form of public administration. Kleptocracy is termed as a government that takes money from the people to enrich certain groups or themselves. Regarding the "*Mentiko Betuah*" story, many social values and functions should be taken from this story. The social control offered from this story is an effort to invite, preserve, and maintain noble norms and values as a form of self-control and behavior for the collective community.

One of the social controls which reflected in the "*Mentiko Betuah*" story is the corrupt practice implement by the rat character, that misuse the trust and authority that has been entrusted to him (from the king's son) to seek personal gain.

"... heard the king's puppies, cats and dogs looked at each other and they understood that they had been cheated by rats. How angry cats and dogs at rats for deceiving them". (Athaillah et al., 1980)

If this story is reflected in today's life, this depiction of rat resembles the corrupt behavior or practices implemented by political actors, as conveyed by Ikrar Nusa Bhakti (Bhakti, 2011), which states that corrupt practices are not only done by individuals but also in a group (in

congregation). Furthermore, the Pledge stated that congregational corruption had begun to rise since the emerge of several cases, such as the Century case, frenzied Nazaruddin's babble, to the rampant corruption in the Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration.

In line with what was stated by Ikrar, Nurhadi (2005) which also mentioned that the practice of corruption in the congregation involved many people, from the top official, treasurers, heads of procurement or auction tenders, to the executive officers in the field. Corruption in the congregation is difficult to dismantle because superiors and subordinates "protect" each other and continued with the "cooperation" with the auditor. This is what termed as the land of exploration. Rat figures who are trusted by the king's son to look for "*Mentiko Betuah*" (magical objects) belonging to the king's son, apparently abusing the trust for his interests. The characterization of rats in the story explicitly emphasizes the character of rats as a symbol of corrupt behaviors.

In the present context, information about corruptors who are caught should be easily found out with the help of the media.



Figure 2. Indramayu Regent, Supendi, wearing a detention vest
Source: Atmaja, 2019

The media, in this era of digitization, is now a very vital part and makes it easy to get or provide information quickly. This media is a social control for anyone who intends to commit acts of corruption.

The Metaphor of Corrupt Statesmen in the Elite Environment

Yudi Latief, an observer of politics and reform institutions, gave knowledge of the term statesman and described the conditions of the republic's existence. According to him, statesman gave their body and soul to the state, in the order they could be pinned as heroes. The statesman gives what should be given to the state (Situmorang, 2018). Fauziah Rasad (2009) quotes Adi Sujatno's statement in Rasad (2009) about the seven characteristics of a statesman. First, statesmen may be pinned on government officials or civil employees, who are in the executive, legislative, or judicial section. Second, a person can think, behave and act wisely in all fields. Third, statesmen demonstrate expertise in directing state activities. Fourth, statesmen have a clear vision and strategic experts at all levels (national, regional, international). Fifth, statesmen have the morals and ethics of leadership. Sixth, being obedient, authoritative, and subject to rules that rely on legislation following the constitution. Seventh, statesmen are recognized regionally or globally in the type of visionary leadership.

The rat figure in the "*Mentiko Betuah*" story, which is believed by the king's son to look for "*Mentiko Betuah*", maybe metaphorically as a figure in a situation that is in the statesman environment. The rat is the symbol that the person who is linked to committing corruption acts. This rat symbol is not merely pinned without foundation. Characteristics of the rat which is easily infiltrating between the smallest holes, with a body that is flexible, destructive, and greed becomes the characteristic or identical traits and behavior of rat to describe the behavior of someone who is cheating, slippery, and damaging surrounding the idea of taking rights or dredging something that is not his right for personal or group interests.

The sly description of the rat is described from the following text excerpt.

"... when he reached in the middle, the Betiko Betuah fell from the cat's hand, then took it by the rat, by putting it in his mouth. This was not known by cat (*kucing*) and dog (*anjing*)". (Athaillah et al., 1980)

Some values should be learned and become lessons to not doing actions as rats do, such as dishonest behavior and deception. The two bad traits are described in the quoted text below.

"... when they (rats, dogs, and cats) arrived on land, they then negotiated again to find a way so that the *Mentiko Betuah* (magical object) that fell into the river could be taken back. The dog and the cat then dive but what they are looking for never gets it. Indeed, rats have deceived them". (Athaillah et al., 1980)

This dishonesty and deception are the seeds of the source for corrupt behavior. If it is not urgently cut and it will become a habit or culture that is considered normal. These behaviors are not good but are considered normal can endanger the order of norms and values of the collective society. Nurhadi (2005) exemplifies an honest police story. The honesty nature of the police brought backfires to him. Not the praise and appreciation he received, but rather the scorn and dislike of colleagues and subordinates. The police honesty is seen as a form of obstruction and is not cooperative.

The depiction of a rat character's favor to a corruptor is categorized as a metaphorical master. The use of metaphorical forms used as a form of illustration based on equations or comparisons. In KBBI (2008), metaphor is defined as the use of words or groups of words rather than the actual meaning as an illustration based on equality or comparison.

Keraf (2007) classifies metaphors in the form of figurative language styles. while Beekman and Callow (Parera, 2004) divide

the metaphor into three parts, such as (1) the object or thing discussed, (2) the image, the metaphorical part of the universe used to describe the topic in the context of comparison, and (3) similarity point, which is the part that shows similarities between the topic and the image.



Figure 3. Rats and corruption

Source: Asror, 2018

The cunning of the rat character and the equating of this animal with the corrupt is illustrated when the rat also uses the "*Mentiko Betuah*" for its own sake, before being returned to the king's son. In addition, the rat's hardness let that he who was kept the stone of "*Mentiko Betuah*" was also described from the way the rats let the dogs and cats grieve, while the rats rejoiced over the sadness of the two animals. This may be seen from the following quote.

"... apparently, the trickster rat when the dog and cat had been facing the king's child and handed the *Mentiko Betuah* to the king's son. The king's son was very happy but the cats and dogs sobbed. The king's son asked, "why are you crying, isn't *Mentiko Betuah* already here. Hearing that, cats and dogs realize that they have been deceived by rats" (Athaillah et al., 1980)

The quoted text above illustrates how someone who commits an act of corruption (corrupt) tends to only think for the benefit of himself or his group, regardless of the rights of others who are seized.

Reflections on Social Functions in Folklore "Asal Usul Raja Negeri Jambi" and "Mentiko Betuah"

The story in folklore The King's Origin of Jambi was examined from the perspective of political sociology, with this folklore story analysis approach using social function theory, such as social control, solidarity (mutual cooperation, cooperation, social cohesion, and communal harmonization), and identity and status social group. In the story of the folklore Origin of the King of Jambi, the social function of collaborative synthesis is used according to William R. Bascom, Alan Dundes (1965) and Hassanudin, such as social control, social solidarity and group identity and social status. In addition, to strengthen the analysis to be contextualized with the current situation of social reality, the political sociology perspective of Jurgen Habermas is used. In the analysis of this study intentionally collaborating the concept of macro social functions into the concept of micro political sociology to be more substantive in story analysis. As this is reinforced by Lamenaïs (Bourdieu, 2012) demands that literature should fulfill social or political functions.

Meanwhile, the story in the "*Mentiko Betuah*" folklore could be examined by linking the social function elements contained in the story and the reality of the present context. Social functions in folklore according to Dundes (1965) William R. Bascom (Danandjaja, 2007), and Hassanuddin (2003) consist of three, such as social control, identity and social status, and social solidarity. True social control is an effort to prevent, invite, preserve, and/or maintain existing values or norms that apply to the collective community through controlling behavior and attitudes that are following applicable values and norms. Social identity and status lead to a level or social position inherent in the community, both self-acquired (automatic) and business (gift). Chris (2011) argues that positions in society in social structures include high

positions in the economy, government, military apparatus, politics, and religion, and this is often termed elite position or concept. The social function in social solidarity makes folklore a building system and creates mutual respect, and eliminates differences in society. The value of social solidarity is reflected in actions or behaviors that include togetherness, mutual assistance, cooperation, and mutual cooperation (Wicaksono, 2018).

These three functions become the basis for analyzing the reflection of the function of the "*Mentiko Betuah*" story and the reality of the present context. There are two things found in the reflection analysis the functions in the "*Mentiko Betuah*" story, such as the media as a form of social control and corrupt neuro-metaphors in the elite environment.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

Reading folklore implies positive values that should be contextualized by the present condition. The strength in the analysis of folklore is to explore various dimensions or points of view presented in the story. Folklore as a literary work should fulfill social or political functions. Folklore develops a circular causality with solidarity in the dominant social environment. The social function of the people's vision that transforms the depiction of moral reality becomes a characteristic and local wisdom of the region or provision that is the source of the story. The principles of human rights alignments are characterized by the pretext of enforcing rules or following the wishes of a few elitists who are hungry for power.

From the implementation of this study, the following recommendations could be use as the basis for developing a linguistic strategy, such as:

1. The need for further similar studies that is more specific and creation of number of more representative folklore and the need to deepen the confirmation of folklore from native sources.

2. To recommend the Language and Book Development Agency through the Center for Development of Strategy and Language Diplomacy to reconstruct elementary, junior and senior high school learning curriculums to create a series of folklore modules that are representative of both content and morality values which could be easily absorbed by the millennial generation.
3. Recommend further study related to local vocabulary contained in the two folklore to see the kinship relationship of the regional vocabulary of the island of Sumatra.

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