

RECLAIMING BANYUMAS IDENTITY AN INTERPRETIVE STUDY ABOUT IDENTITY AND CHARACTER OF LOCAL SOCIETY BASED ON LITERARY STUDIES OF HISTORY, ATTITUDES, BEHAVIOR, ARTS AND CULTURE

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Abstract: The objectives of these study is to explore more about Banyumas cultural identity through. Caused by politics and power in the past, some of writings indicated that there were alienation, seclusion towards Banyumas culture due to political objectives created by Keraton elite and Colonial ruler in the past. As many Javanese culture, This view exclude other forms of arts and culture which flourished besides the mainstream culture or in this case high culture as Keraton had. And then labeled those art as folk art, sometimes not representation of Javanese culture or even as included as non art at all. For instance, Prior to Indonesian Independence in 1945, art, culture and symbols represented by keraton in Yogyakarta and Surakarta considered appraised a higher status compared to Banyumas culture and identity. Contradicted with inferior behavior in general, Banyumas attitudes towards Keraton, are resistant, doubt, lowered, and even mocked them. It showed in daily life interactions especially when they dealt with *Bandek* language, the sublimity in Keraton rituals, art culture and philosophy and also nobility symbols. Banyumas people are commonly proud of their culture and identity but at the same time they feel inferior towards Keraton or Javanese mainstream culture. This study concentrated in inferiority complex phase based on Adler's thesis. Response coming from Banyumas people is often paradoxical with the inferiority as a general. One of its implications was the emergence of new character as compensation. These compensation commonly reflected in two ways, first would be elevate own's status and secondly lowering the others. The common attitudes shown on this compensations for example passionately willingness to be superior, insulting, hostile and indifference.

Keywords: Identity, Culture, Banyumas, Keraton, Inferiority Complex

Abstrak: Tujuan utama dari penelitian ini adalah untuk melakukan telaah lebih dalam mengenai kebudayaan Banyumas. Karena adanya politik dan kekuasaan yang bermain di masa lalu, beberapa tulisan mengindikasikan adanya alienasi, pengasingan terhadap kebudayaan Banyumas yang disebabkan karena tujuan politis yang diciptakan pihak – pihak keraton dan penguasa kolonial. Seperti kebudayaan Jawa yang lain, bentuk kesenian dan kebudayaan yang berkembang selain kebudayaan Keraton Jawa tidak dianggap sebagai perwakilan bentuk kebudayaan Jawa. Setelah itu, ada pemberian cap sebagai kebudayaan rakyat, kebudayaan yang rendah atau bahkan bukan kebudayaan sama sekali. Sebagai contoh, sebelum Kemerdekaan di tahun 1945, seni, budaya dan simbol - symbol yang dikeluarkan keraton Jogjakarta dan Surakarta dianggap memiliki status yang lebih tinggi dibanding identitas dan Kebudayaan yang ada di Banyumas. Berlawanan dengan sikap inferior secara umum, sikap orang Banyumas terhadap Keraton bersifat melawan atau menentang, ragu, merendahkan dan bahkan mengejek. Hal ini terlihat dalam interaksi setiap harinya terutama terkait dengan Bahasa Bandek yang khas digunakan pihak Keraton, Keagungan ritual di dalam keraton, seni budaya, filosofi serta simbol simbol kenengratan. Orang Banyumas secara umum merasa bangga atas identitas kebudayaan yang dimilikinya namun di saat yang sama merasa inferior jika dibandingkan dengan kebudayaan Keraton yang dianggap sebagai kebudayaan Jawa yang dikenal secara umum. karena alienasi tersebut, kebudayaan Banyumas menurut Anderson Sutton, mengalami perendahan secara politis dan artistik terhadap Kebudayaan Keraton “ *subordinate politically and inferior artistically to the great courts*”(Sutton, 1986 : 116). Penelitian ini terfokus terhadap inferiority complex yang diambil dari pemikiran Alfred Adler. Karena respons dari masyarakat Banyumas yang seringkali berlawanan dengan sikap inferior secara umum. Salah satu implikasi dari sikap ini adalah compensation atau kemunculan sikap lain (Broh, 1979 : 178). Sikap ataun kompensasi ini umumnya muncul dalam dua sikap, yang pertama adalah dengan menaikkan status yang dimilikinya dan yang kedua merendahkan status yang dimiliki pihak lainnya. Sikap yang umum tercermin dari kompensasi tersebut adalah keinginan yang menggebu untuk unggul, memusuhi, merendahkan, melawan tidak peduli.

Kata Kunci: Identitas, Kebudayaan, Banyumas, Keraton, Inferiority Kompleks

BACKGROUND

Identity from Two Perspectives

The first reason why this study is existed because Banyumas is such a unique culture when it posits with another Javanese culture. Banyumas, although officially on central Java region is sometimes described as “liyan” or different than Javanese culture as general. Its distinctive language, the way its people behave, its traditional art and their common attitudes towards what so called real Javanese character is absolutely intriguing. The entity described as Banyumas here is located in southern central of Java island. Historically it was called Karesidenan Banyumas in the past, which Ranging from four districts or Kabupaten today with similarity in culture and language. Today, they are popularly known as Barlingmascakeb, a short or abbreviation from Purbalingga, Banyumas, Cilacap and Kebumen.

At least there are two basic thoughts we used on this writing regarding to the importance of reclaiming the identity or in this case, Banyumas Identity studies. It was globalization effect and modernity values especially when it linked with The new order development program in the past respectively. From first point of view, identity would be again the important issue due to the response to global culture or another superior dominant culture of the modern world. The reduction of traditional social institution role and the decline of traditional moral value causing the globalization is such a paradox, become the main reason why identity is important issue today. Secondly, there is a sense that ambiguity is occurred, especially when new value attitudes and beliefs in some point become unfamiliar to some people or society. In some way, it triggered movements in finding the more familiar values which sometime lies on local wisdom.

Formularization of local identity is a reponse to the materialistic, technocratic and deterministic point of view, since those value become dominant especially in new order era or probably until today. Development is consider as “menyesatkan” ideal value because it never be a representation of local value. “Composing local identity could be a stepping stone before the local people building new culture to adapt with the new challenges.

Identity as Chris Barker said could be seen from taste, beliefs, attitudes and lifestyle of people. Personal and social identity could not be separated

from one another. What it means to be a person is a social and cultural all the way down. Hence, inside the personal identity lies social and cultural factors which closely interacted. Whilst, Identity studies from Giddens basically tries to answer the important question such as, what to do, how to act and what to be in large part of society. Therefore there are relations between identity and attitudes, art, culture including language and political behavior in society. From this perspectives, Throughout everyday life, an identity could be clearly seen and interpreted.

But also there is a fluid character on identity. Because its fluidity, identity tend to seek a new form from time to time. Even so,

METHODS

This study tries to seek the roots of current behavior mostly from literature. By comparing, analyzing and interpreting text by text of historical events, books, fictional writings, paper and magazines to uncover the reason of its behavior. This study would discuss a lot about dominant culture, subculture and folk culture, including stereotyping, High and low culture and concept of identity based on socio and psychological standpoint.

Socio-Political Beliefs from Historical Standpoint

According to Sutherland, in general there was a pattern on how local Kingdom governing the Java in the past, start from Majapahit into Islamic Mataram Kingdom. Obviously, geographical aspect become one of the main reason to this. Basically, Many Kingdoms in Java divided their region into 3 separate territory which had differences in administration based on their distance from the central. First territory would be the Palace it self. There were kings and *punggawa* (royal employee and chronies) sit and order. And then several territories outside the benteng, which called *Negara*. The second territory would be *Negaragung* and thirdly the most remote area far from central palace which called *Mancanagari*. According to Sutherland, Mataram Islam on 19th century, Once was called *Negaragung* and *Mancanagari* was spread from Priangan Hills on the West Java to The Mount Arjuna and Kawi on the East of Java .

As *Keraton* (Palace) become the place for Sultan or Sunan and all of their *punggawa*, *Negaragung* territory was divided into thousands of tiny districts. On each *Negaragung* placed *petugas pengadilan* (baliffds, court or tax officer) to collected taxes. Along with them, administrative employee

had responsible for the security and productivity on each area of districts. On *Mancanagari*, besides Bupati (mayor) as a leader and responsible for the area, they have duty to send the *upeti* (tributes) to the *Keraton* on the scheduled time.

There were complexity on Java after *Giyanti* treaty or agreement with colonials on 1755. Mataram Islam as one of the biggest ruler in Java was splitted into two kingdoms, Kasunanan Surakarta and Kasultanan Yogyakarta. It is even more complex after the rise of Kadipaten Mangkunegaran in 1757 and Kadipaten Pakualaman in 1812.

Before 1812, *Negaragung* territory was consisted from some territories relatively close to central *keraton* which in Yogyakarta and Surakarta. For instance Mataram, Pajang, Bagelen and Kedu. After 1830, when Java War had finished, Bagelen and Kedu became colonies which governed directly by Dutch. On the northern area of Kedu, or today's Kabupaten Magelang and Kabupaten Temanggung, was took over by English on 1812. But after Java War on 1830, all of once Mataram Area was took over by dutch respectively. Kutoarjo, Purworejo dan Wonosobo in 1833, Bagelen, Kebumen dan Karanganyar in 1835, (Sutherland, 1974: 42).

Apart from *Negaragung*, *Mancanagari* area was consisted of two vast area on the east and the west. On East it dibatasi by Solo River and Kendeng Range. Restricted by Mount Slamet, Prahurip and Merbabu on the west. As another area after Giyanti Treaty on Mataram Islam, East Mancanagari became one of the most complex territory. A large part of Ponorogo on East Java was belonged to Kasunanan Surakarta. Meanwhile Tulungagung, Ngawi, Magetan and Madiun was under Kasultanan Yogyakarta. And Banyumas, the territory on this study was entirely belonged to Kasunan Surakarta.

As a member of *Mancanagari* or *mancanagari kilen* (west mancanagari) territory, Banyumas relatively independent to choosed its own leader. Who was commonly become *Bupati* often came from Gandasubrata or Yudanegara family clan. Ancestor of These families was considered was still have connection with Prabu (King) Brawijaya III from Majapahit era and Prabu Siliwangi from Padjajaran. Some writings also showed their close connection with *keraton* ruler both on Yogyakarta and Surakarta.

Although they had close relationship, Some events showed that there were crisis between Keraton and Banyumas ruler. Even in several cases

Banyumas Bupati were too powerful and tend to dislike the Keraton authorization. The death of umenggung Yudonegoro II¹ for example (Raden Bagus Mali Gondokusumo 1708-1743) was depicted by Sutherland by “a camouflage violence”. The death of this Bupati on sometimes relieved as the result from unwillingness of helping Surakarta Sunan (Pakubuwono) to resolve the chinese revolt.

Another example is coming from Yudonegoro V² (Raden Bagus Gondokusumo 1788-1816). This Bupati wanted to have more authorization over Keraton. Sutherland wrote that during English era Yudonegoro V proposed Thomas Stamford Raffles to granted his wishes to made new Kasultanan in Banyumas so then it would be freed from its duty collecting taxes and sending tributes. Instead of granting his wishes, English colonial along with Mataram ruler thought that his act was over ambiguous act or an act of too powerful vasal, using Sutherland language. Later, Yudonegoro was sent back to Surakarta and downgraded into Mantri Anom. And even Banyumas was splitted into 2 regions, Kanoman dan Kasepuhan. Bupati Kasepuhan was not coming from family clan as before but directly appointed by Keraton. After Java War was over, Banyumas región even splitted more into smaller factions.

Constructing Identity

Despite from geographical point of view showed that Banyumas region was far from central Keraton. From Historical standpoint showed that Its *Mancanagari* status had made Banyumas was never be a central, politically and certainly culturally. There was a popular term In Banyumas, that people saw themselves as “*Adoh Ratu cedak Watu*”. They are far from central ruler yet closed to the farm as a dominant economic support.

The culture was essentially an expression of the traditional hierarchical structure of feudal society distinct from a dichotomous grouping of a great culture (great tradition) and the common culture (traditions of folks). The great culture developed in the center of the kingdom (the palace or castle) supported by the nobility and the feudal elite. The characteristics of this culture were full of the symbolism, high, complex, well-educated, and the magnificent (*grandeur*) values. While the common culture was the meaning of the tradition taking place in a rural farming community, which was collective, anonymous, limited to a small community, and supported by the majority (cf Redfield, 1985:58; and Kayam, 1991:38).(Sukardi,2015)

Identity as Hall said, involving power as one of the important element in process of its construction. There was pattern of relationship between colonials and Keraton elite on 19th century which later inspired the emergence of palace ritual combining Java and Europe culture. From this combination was born consensus of culture which later known as The real Javanese culture.

The element of power much further explained by Budi Santoso in discussing Identity on identity and Postcolonialism studies in Indonesia, he indicated that there was a different approach played by ruling factions towards history of Javanese art and culture as a whole in the past. Quoting Richards Schechner, art history in Java tend to sinked on big narration called as normative expectation. This view exclude other forms of arts and culture which flourished besides the mainstream culture or in this case high culture as Keraton had. And then labeled those art as folk art, sometimes not representation of Javanese culture or even as included as non art at all. (Santoso dkk., 2003:197).

These alienation, seclusion was more strengthened with another political objectives created by Keraton elite and Colonial ruler in the past. Wayang for instance, was often narrowed its creativity by only allowing told stories as in *Pakem* (standard) to avoided sensitive issue such a as politics, which irritating colonials. “*mengosongkan wayang dari muatan politisnya dan membekukannya dalam keasliannya, ketidakpopulerannya, tetapi juga respon untuk kepentingan kolonial*” (Santoso dkk., 2003: 197)

But somehow it seemed that traditional people including Banyumas had adjusted the restrictions in their own way. As explained by Anderson Sutton on 1986, when he studied the form of Banyumas culture. Wayang Banyumas had developed them selves into something unique towards grand culture from two Keraton central. With the influence of Islamic and Hinduism tradition, Two of the most salient things are creating Bawor character as a part of punakawan and *Tembang Kembang Lembang* as musical accessory in wayang. There were also born two Gagrag (genre and style) of Wayang Banyumas, It was *Gagrag Banyumas Pesisiran* (“*Coastal Banyumas style*”), dan *Gagrag Banyumas Lor Gunung* (“*North of the Mountain*”).

Besides Wayang, Banyumas people used another raw material in creating their local music instruments. Different from Keraton which using

metal as the main raw material, in Calung Banyumasan, local people's music instrument dominated by bamboo and woods as their primary source. Sutton also indicated that there were certain consensus used on Banyumas music repertoire. It called *lancaran* which contained 8 – 16 *ketukan* inside *tembang* (song).

But probably the most dominantly seen from Banyumas culture is their language and the way they communicate each other. Banyumas language commonly known as *ngapak*, is actually similar to *Bandek* or *gandek* mainstream Javanese language. But the pronunciation is rather different, Banyumas people also known from the way they communicate each other. Banyumas people known as open and egalitarian in communication which commonly known as *cablaka* and *blakasuta*.

The way of speaking in Banyumas is commonly known as *Cablaka*. “*Cablaka* is Banyumasan way of speaking which means that a speaker tends to speak frankly based on the actual fact. *Cablaka* is more responsible than *Blakasuta* since people speak directly based on the fact. On the other hand, *Blakasuta* is saying something without considering anything. *Blakasuta* is less responsible than *Cablaka* (Herusatoto, 2008, p.124) (Hadiati, 2014).”

Many considered that Banyumas language was different than any other Javanese “*Gandek*” or “*Bandek*” dialect which used by most of Javanese people. Although Banyumas people commonly adopt the strata in language as mainstream Java had, *Ngapak* dialect itself is actually considered as having lower strata compared to the mainstream Javanese language.

Another Banyumas art such as *lengger*, *Begalan*, *Cowongan*, *Ebeg*, *ujungan* had almost never been acknowledged as higher art or even art compared to similar art developed by *keraton* in the past. Especially prior to Indonesian Independence on 1945, art as a form of culture played by artists inside *Keraton* considered as having higher status compared to another area including Banyumas. As Mancanagari, Banyumas culture described Anderson Sutton, “*subordinate politically and inferior artistically to the great courts*” (Sutton, 1986: 116).

Banyumas character often illustrated as marginal group of people which did not want to be equated with the mainstream Javanese. Traditionally, Banyumas people feel proud about their identity but at the same time they feel inferior especially when compared to Yogyakarta and Surakarta culture. The question arises when in reality, it is often that there

was resistency occurred from Banyumas people towards grand culture in Yogyakarta and Surakarta. Banyumas people tend to resist, doubt, lowered, and even mocked many symbols coming from central Keraton or even Javanese mainstream. It showed in daily life interactions especially when they dealt with *Bandek* language, the sublimity in Keraton rituals, art culture and philosophy and also nobility symbols. This study would like to concentrate into the analogy that inferiority feeling of Banyumas was already developed into inferiority complex as Alfred Adler's theory.

According to Adler, inferiority feeling arise when desire to power and wish for worth were not fulfilled. When people could not tolerate this, they tried to do some efforts to achieved normality. One of its implications was the emergence of new character as compensation (Broh, 1979: 178). These compensation commonly reflected in two ways, first would be elevate own's status and secondly lowering the others. The common attitudes shown on this compensations for example passionately willingness to be superior, insulting, hostile and indifference.

CULTURAL STRATEGY ON CONSTRUCTING POSITIVE IDENTITY

On Anderson Sutton's: *The Crystallization of a Marginal Tradition: Music in Banyumas, West Central Java*, it is told that there were strategies to deal with this inferiority complex in 1980's. This strategy is really important because it could be valid reference of solving the sentiment and vations of a small culture or folk culture towards grand culture or dominant culture which often happens in the era of Americanization and globalization. Sutton gave the term of Chrystallization which consisted from three parts, Objectification, Formalization and Definition. Three of this part of strategy involved important institutions such as, government, popular institution and formal education and society.

Involvement from government institution on this strategy was by constructing *pakem* or standard in some Banyumas art and cultural form. On tactical field, they published a book entitled "Sumbangan Pikiran Tentang Karawitan Banyumas or *Contribution to Thought About the Traditional Music of Banyumas* In 1980. The objective of this book is to create a new mainstream of art and cultural products so then Banyumas art could be acclaimed as high art and equal with art tradition on Yogyakarta and Surakarta.

Secondly involving popular institution which reflected by popular culture products. Some of traditional Banyumas art was recorded on cassettes and marketed commercially such as did by Hidup Baru recording company which founded by Tjem Lien in 1975. . *"Rather, I submit, they began unwittingly with the explosive rise of the cassette industry in the early 1970s. 13 By 1974, companies outside the area began to make recordings of Banyumas musicians to be marketed primarily within the Banyumas area. At that time, a sixty-minute cassette of traditional music could be bought for less than US \$1.00, and the cheapest cassette players sold for around US \$25.00."* (Sutton, 1986: 123). Through this canal, Banyumas culture hopefully would be widely spread and accessed with the more interesting packaging and form.

Thirdly through the establishment of Sekolah Menengah Karawitan Indonesia (SMKI) or High school state of Karawitan in Banyumas which had distinctive curriculum compared with another musical high school in Indonesia, which were included Banyumas local dance and music as one of their subjects.

MODERN FICTIONAL INQUIRY

Many of the modern literature which included Banyumas as their subjects was coming from Ahmad Tohari Works during 70's and 80's. Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk is the most popular fictional works depicted cultural and explored Banyumas characteristics. In the light of reclaiming identity, according to Nancy L. Cooper was a reflection of Banyumas people in struggled with development and modernity which once brought about by new order government. This work is important because it also portrayed the gender status in Banyumas after 1965. This novel also categorized as "Sastra Warna Lokal" or Writings based on local culture which flourished in 1970's. This genre commonly explored the paradox between local culture vis a vis modernism value encouraged by Development program of Soeharto's New order Era. Modernism value on this writing genre pictured as individualistic and secularization in religious life. This novel is also tried to draw attention through "exotic-ation" the ritual and local art, focusing on traditional life style which tends to be superstitious. This work is also tried to change the de-modernisation view towards ancient religiosity in the past.

On Cooper's perspective, Srintil on Dukuh Paruk is a symbol of local values, and Rasmus as protagonist character opposing Srintil is "national symbols of modernization". Srintil much further represented feminist symbol and Rasmus as a masculine symbol. From this point of view, Cooper also thought that this analogy could explain the violence moment after 1965 in Indonesia.

Rasmus as masculine-rational secular-modern symbols, is a representation of better conditions from New Order's modernity. Rasmus, who was a soldier and Srintil's boyfriend, was a man who is spiritually changed and to fix the moral degradation and economic disaster in Dukuh Paruk.

Besides Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk, on millennium era emerged the discourse picturing conflict between local versus modern values, in a deeper level. Surakhmat on *Identitas Pinggiran Sastra Banyumasan* (Kompas, 2010), explored the conflict between rich and poor through the work of Hari Soemoyo's novel entitled "Geger Wong Dekap Macan". This novel represented the fate of most Banyumas people towards economical powerlessness. The high price of pupuk. Permainan harga tenkulak, and limited access of modal, in short this novel criticizes government and capital ruler. According to Surakhmat, this novel could be a representation of Banyumas people whose are tend to be mocked the Keraton nobility or *priyayi* status in their daily life.

CONCLUSION

Character of Banyumas local people is often pictures as marginal group of people who is different with mainstream Javanese culture. Banyumas character seems having a particular character represented in their daily life. Banyumas people are commonly proud of their culture and identity but at the same time they feel inferior towards Keraton or Javanese mainstream culture. Prior to Indonesian Independence in 1945, art, culture and symbols represented by keraton in Yogyakarta and Surakarta considered appraised a higher status compared to Banyumas culture and identity. Banyumas culture according to Anderson Sutton, "*subordinate politically and inferior artistically to the great courts*" (Sutton, 1986: 116).

In general, Banyumas attitudes towards Keraton as representation of center of politics and culture emerged because there were power and politics played by ruling factions in the past.

What happened then in Banyumas culture was inferiority complex based on Adler's thesis. Response coming from Banyumas people is often paradoxical with the inferiority as a general. One of its implications was the emergence of new character as compensation (Broh, 1979: 178). These compensation commonly reflected in two ways, first would be elevate own's status and secondly lowering the others. The common attitudes shown on this compensations for example passionately willingness to be superior, insulting, hostile and indifference.

Although there was a strategic planning to coup with this in the 80's, but it seems there were still these character developed deeply aaround Banyumas people's character. And because identity is a superficially form of selves, a view that cultural identity defines as having a single meaning but shared together within each member of a group or society, here, and there was an important role of the ancestor in defining a cultural identity. But also there is a fluid character on identity. Because its fluidity, identity tend to seek a new form from time to time.

ENDNOTES

¹ Sutherland wroted him as Tumenggung Yudonegoro I, according to "Sejarah Banyumas" Bambang S. Purwoko dan Banyumas" karya Budiono Herusatoto he is Tumenggung Yudonegoro II in 1743.

² Sutherland wrote him as sebagai Yudonogoro IV, Yudhonegoro V refers to "Sejarah Banyumas" Bambang S. Purwoko dan "Banyumas" karya Budiono Herusatoto.

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