

PROBLEMS OF NON - ENGLISH DEPARTMENT STUDENTS
IN COMPREHENDING ENGLISH MATERIALS THROUGH TRANSLATION

A Case Study of the SI 1985 / 1986 third semester Students
of the Anthropology Department of the Faculty of Letters,
Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta



By

Irmina Tjaswati

SI / 822164 / I

YOGYAKARTA, JULY 1987

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of the Requirements for the
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(S1 Programme)

By

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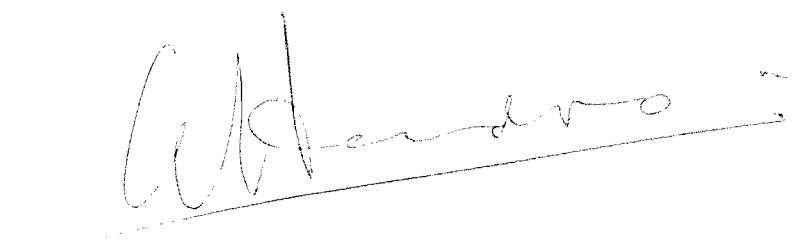
YOGYAKARTA, JULY 1987

for my beloved father, mother
and yudah

a translation must give the words of the original
a translation must give the ideas of the original
a translation should read like an original work
a translation should read like a translation
a translation should reflect the style of the original
a translation should possess the style of the translation
a translation should read as a contemporary of the original
a translation should read as a contemporary of the translation
a translation may add to or omit from the original
a translation may never add to or omit from the original
a translation of verse should be in prose
a translation of verse should be in verse

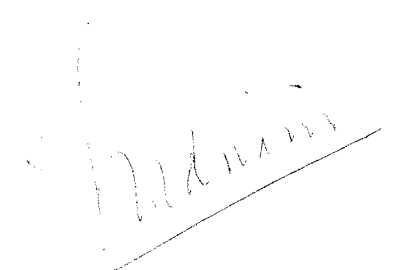
(The Art of Translation, T.H. Savory, Cape, 1968, p. 54)

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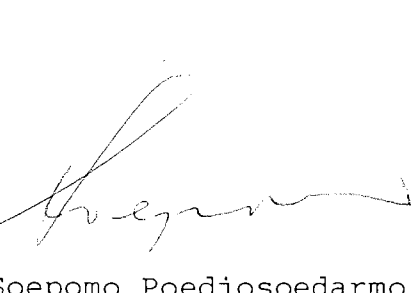
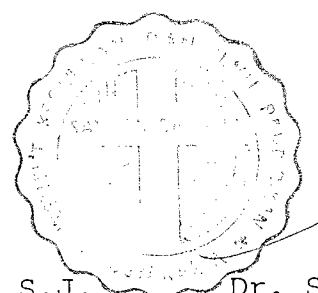
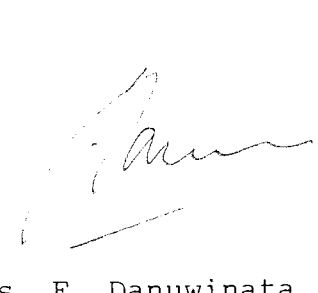
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of study

It is common for new English learners to think in two separate ways : in the source language (mother tongue) and then transfer it in the receptor or target language (in this case : English). The opposite will occur in comprehending materials written in English. Even people who have already been acquainted with the system of the target language will think in this way. This is something unavoidable in learning any new languages.

University students of non-English departments are also facing problems in comprehending, translating, and analysing materials since most of them are written in English : literature, psychology, economics, phylosophy, pedagogy, anthropology, arts, history, technology, biology, medical sciences, political sciences, sociology, and other various kinds. In most universities nowadays students are compelled to read books or references - mostly written in English - dealing with their disciplines to broaden as well as enrich their knowledge. They sometimes have to make a summary of certain English articles to be submitted as compulsory tasks. In fact not all of them submit

the summary as expected by the lecturers. Instead, they make it only for the fulfilment of their tasks. Predictably the result is merely a word-for-word translation with little or no comprehension of the content. It is also an awkward result with many mistranslations.

1.2. Scope of study

Translation is quite a difficult work since in doing this work one should master certain language skills particularly reading and be familiar with some language elements particularly vocabulary and structure, knowledge about linguistics, particular expertise, and some other factors such as : the ability to interpret the content of the material, the accuracy in choosing meanings and terms from the dictionary, the knowledge about the subject being translated, and the carefulness in doing his work. Beside these things and by being a good master of both languages (the source and the receptor language), students of non-English departments still find difficulties in translating a given material although they have enough knowledge background of the source material to be translated. Here we are not talking in terms of students who have ever had chances to go abroad for a certain time or who - at the same time - attend any English institution. The above things

hinder the students of non-English departments in comprehending the content of the material.

Therefore the writer is eager to know about what difficulties found by these students - in this case students of the Anthropology Department - and this eagerness is supported by the students' complaints of the translation tasks in the one hand and the lecturer's concern about the results on the other hand.

In addition to the above reasons the writer also wants to know why these students find difficulties in translating materials written in English. Are they influenced by their language acquisition when they were in the secondary schools? Does the English teaching in the secondary schools not prepare them with enough provisions for the higher level education? Is the English teaching to the university students of non-English departments adequate to help them to comprehend English materials ?

The unavoidable difficulties and the translation tasks still given by some lecturers for the comprehension of foreign works should be taken into these students' consideration. How do these students overcome their difficulties ? Are they successful in solving their problems ?

It is mentioned above that the students often get tasks to comprehend or translate and which consequently causes some difficulties, although they get English for two semesters. With regard to this fact we can observe how far English as a compulsory subject functions and helps the students of non-English departments in comprehending or translating English texts to be analysed as materials for the examination.

The heart of the matter of this thesis is the analysis of the errors made by the students as shown by their translations results. Based on these errors the writer will conclude problems of English-Indonesian translation of the university students of non-English departments. And finally after learning and analysing these errors the writer hopefully suggests some directives to them to decrease their burden in doing translation tasks or comprehending English texts so that it will not arouse mistranslation and misunderstanding of the given texts.

1.3. Aim of study

In the writing of this thesis the writer is eager to give inputs to the readers, especially to the university students of non-English departments, so that they get some descriptions about translation after reading this thesis and to

improve their abilities in translating or comprehending materials written in English

Since the students are the products of the Senior High Schools or the other schools of this level so their difficulties in part are automatically influenced by their English provisions in the Senior High Schools. Therefore in this thesis the writer views and analyses how far the English teaching in the Senior High School equip the students with enough provisions for the higher level education. Thus the writing of this thesis also aims at preparing Senior High School students with enough language skills (reading, writing, speaking, listening) particularly reading, language elements (vocabulary, structure, pronunciation) particularly structure and vocabulary, and certain other abilities for the higher level education particularly in terms of ways to translate or comprehend English texts.

1.4. Hypotheses

Before going on to the following chapter the writer will firstly propose nine hypotheses concerning problem analysis of the research discussed in this thesis.

In a research the presence of a hypothesis is badly needed, or in other words, it is a very important thing in a research report since

hypothesis is a temporary conclusion or tentative proposition about the relationship between two or more variables.¹ Here the writer provides the hypotheses in the form of statements which relate to the problem explicitly and implicitly. A good hypothesis should fulfil two criterias.² The first is, the hypothesis should describe the relationship between variables. The second is, the hypothesis should indicate about the test of that relationship. This means that the variables included in that hypothesis should be measureable and the impression as well as direction of the relationship between the variables should be clear.³

With regard to the above things and the criterias included in the requirements of a hypothesis, the writer consequently and objectively proposes nine hypotheses concerning the problems discussed in this thesis. The hypotheses are as follows :

1. Most errors are caused by the inability of the students to choose the correct meanings

¹) Singarimbun, Masri, et.al., Metode Penelitian Survei, LP3ES, Jakarta, 1981, p.21

²) Singarimbun, Masri, et. al., ed., ibid, p.22

³) Singarimbun, Masri, et. al., ed., loc cit.

or terms from the dictionary (the "lexical errors").

2. The complex structural words puzzle the students in doing their translation. This also leads to misinterpretation of the texts.
3. The problems deal also with the sentence structure in a paragraph. The students are confused by the complex sentence structure so that they cannot correctly gain the content.
4. The students are not yet familiar with the idioms and particular terms in the subject being translated.
5. The complexity of phrases of sentences in the text hinder the students from gaining the sentence idea.
6. The students often are not aware of the figurative expressions contained in the text. Instead they just translate them literally.
7. All of the above things lead to mistranslation of the text by the university students of non-English departments, and since the text also constitutes the material for the examination it will consequently influences the students'

achievements.

8. The English teaching in the university is inadequate to help the students in the comprehension of English materials.

9. The problems of translation faced by the university students of non-English departments are partly caused by lack of provision from the Senior High School. The students are unwilling to do the tasks optimally because of the presupposition that the text is difficult to comprehend. This leads to errors and mistranslations of the given texts.

1.5. Theoretical Framework

This sub-chapter primarily aims at exposing the organization of this study. The first chapter which is the background of study discusses that the university students of non-English departments find difficulties in translating and comprehending materials written in English. This chapter also discusses what difficulties are faced by these students, the reasons of facing the difficulties, the function of English for the students, the aim of the study, and the hypotheses presented by the writer.

Chapter II is the discussion of the research procedure which clarifies the successive steps in collecting and analysing the data.

The following chapter, chapter III, concerns with the identification of the problem. The focus will be on the definition of the key terms, that is the title of this thesis : "Problems of non-English Department Students in Comprehending English Materials through Translation - A Case Study of the SI 1985/1986 third semester Students of the Anthropology Department of the Faculty of Letters, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta."

Chapter IV is the interpretation of the data findings obtained from the questionnaire and interview with some lecturers from the Anthropology Department of the Faculty of Letters, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta and an SMA English teacher from SMAK Stella Duce, Yogyakarta. Some points included in this chapter are : students' background, students' activities in the learning-teaching process, students' levels of English, students' attitudes towards English, English teaching in the Anthropology Department of the Faculty of Letters, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, students' achievements, and the analysis of the total data.

The core of this thesis is in chapter V, since this chapter contains the analysis of the errors made by the students in translating (and comprehending) "Network Analysis" as a compulsory task in the subject "Sistem Organisasi Sosial." The result of the error analysis is then compared to the result of the data analysis in chapter IV. The result of this comparative analysis constitutes the answer to the problems which the writer discusses in this study. The confirmation and rejection of the hypotheses will also be tested here.

Chapter VI would be the conclusion of this thesis, that is the summary of the main points and the results of the study discussed in the earlier chapters. This chapter is not exclusively the summary of this whole thesis writing but more a conclusion the writer obtains from this research.

The final chapter, chapter VII, is concerned with the application for the university students of non-English departments. In this application the writer proposes the approach, method, technique, procedure, and system of evaluation to facilitate them in doing the task of translation.

CHAPTER II
RESEARCH PROCEDURE

2.1. Technique of Collecting Data

In collecting the data the writer executed the following steps :

2.1.1. The writer distributed to the students certain materials to be translated. These materials are taken from a chapter discussing "Social Network." This task was in accordance with the material they were discussing at that time in the subject "Sistem Organisasi Sosial," and hopefully would also benefit the students. In choosing the material the writer had previously consulted the lecturer who up to now teaches that subject. The suitable material was then translated by the students for its further comprehension.

2.1.2. After the submission of the translated material by each student, the writer distributed questionnaires that asked about their experience background in learning English and their attitudes towards English in general and particularly in translating.

2.1.3. The third step was to interview some lecturers at the Anthropology Department, an English lecturer at the Anthropology

Department, and an SMA English teacher.

The writer chose the data from the translated materials and noted some errors made by the students. The errors will be analysed in the following chapter. The next step was to collect the students' answers from the questionnaires and classify them by giving an answer code. The final step of the data collecting was to edit the result of the interview which conformed to the questionnaires distributed to the respondents.

2.2. Technique of Analysing Data

2.2.1. Coding the data

The first step in analysing the data was to collect the results of the answers and responses of the respondents from the questionnaires. These answers were then coded. The writer determined the code system based on the kinds of questions as follows :

2.2.1.1. Closed question

A closed question is a question the answer of which is certain so that it does not give any chances to the respondents to

give another answer.⁴

For example the questions to be answered with : sering, cukup sering, jarang, tidak pernah sama sekali; or selalu, kadang-kadang, jarang, tidak pernah sama sekali; or sangat setuju, setuju, tidak tahu, tidak setuju, and sangat tidak setuju.

The question included in closed questions are questions numbers : 8, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 26, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 38, 40, 41, 42. For these questions the coding is simply to adjust them with the alphabetical sequence, that is, for answer :

"a" the code is 1,

"b" the code is 2,

"c" the code is 3, etc.

The similar coding is also given to numbers 43-57. For these statements about the students' attitudes, the scoring or coding is from 1 to 5.

⁴) Singarimbun, Masri, et. al., ed., ibid, p.170

For positive statements asking about the students' approval the coding is :

SS (Cannot agree more)	- 5
S (Agree)	- 4
TT (Do not know)	- 3
TS (Disagree)	- 2
STS (Very much disagree)	- 1.

For negative statements asking about the students' approval the coding is as follows :

SS (Cannot agree more)	- 1
S (Agree)	- 2
TT (Do not know)	- 3
TS (Disagree)	- 4
STS (Very much disagree)	- 5.

(... see appendix F)

Those students who did not give any answers would be coded 0 (zero).

2.2.1.2. Semi-open-ended-question

A semi-open-ended question is a question the answer of which has been determined but there are still some possibilities for the respondents to give other answers. Usually the given answers already include part of the alternative

answers. However, there are occasionally some other answers which cannot be given a certain code since they include a different answer. Then we need to add some new codes.⁵ For example the coding for number 10 : "Mata pelajaran yang paling anda sukai : (di SMA)

- a. Ilmu Pasti
- b. Biologi
- c. Bahasa Inggris
- c. Bahasa Indonesia
- e. Ilmu Sosial dan Ekonomi
- f. Lain-lain sebutkan"

The coding given to each answer is :

- | | |
|-------|--------|
| a - 1 | d - 4 |
| b - 2 | e - 5 |
| c - 3 | f - 6. |

Thus, the coding in the semi-open-ended questions depends on the amount of the available options.

2.2.1.3. Multi-coded-question

This question includes the closed question or fixed-

⁵) Singarimbun, Masri, et. al., ed., ibid, p.171

alternative question, for the possibility of the answer has been determined in the questionnaire, but since each of the category of the answers are not firmly (exclusively) separated the respondents may choose more than one answer.⁶ For this kind of questions we can give an additional code which is a combination of the determined answers, for example :

"18. Dalam kuliah Bahasa Inggris anda dituntun oleh dosen anda untuk : (boleh lebih dari satu)

- a. memahami teks
- b. menerjemahkan
- c. memahami grammar
- d. menghafalkan kosa kata
- e. lain-lain sebutkan"

The coding for each answer is :

a - 1	
b - 2	d - 4
c - 3	e - 5.

⁶) Singarimbun, Masri, et. al., ed., ibid, p.172

Then, the additional codes are :

ab - 6

ac - 7

ad - 8

ae - 9, etc.

2.2.2. Tabulating the data

When the data were all coded, the next step was to fill the tabulation card with these data. This was done to facilitate the data counting as well as data classification.

The tabulation card contained the data removal from the questionnaire. Each of the respondent got one tabulation card (or more if needed), which contains individual data of the respondent which might be either quantitative or qualitative (which had been changed into quantitative symbols).⁷ The data, which had been moved into the tabulation card, facilitated us when we were to fill them into the table of frequency. In this phase the writer used the intersecting (crosswise) table to separate between male and female respondents, since the sex also influences one's ability.

⁷) Singarimbun, Masri, et. al., ed., ibid, p.194

The table of frequency is composed for all variables although many tables cannot be included in this research. These tables are the basic materials for further analysis.

In the intersecting table the percentage of the respondents for every group is calculated so that the relationship between two variables would be easily noticed. The percentage is always calculated based on the variable of influence, that is, the percentage of the influenced variable distribution which is calculated for each group of variable of influence.⁸

After finishing, the research worker has to give some interpretation for the readers to understand easily. The following are some principles to be considered so that the table's content can be well explained:⁹

1. To observe the included data in the total column (marginal column). This column would be the basic measurement for comparisons in the table.

⁸) Singarimbun, Masri, et. al., ed., ibid, p.221

⁹) Singarimbun, Masri, et. al., ed., ibid, p.225

2. The main relationship that are to be examined with the table is explained briefly by mentioning some figures. Here the writer illuminated that close relationship as well as the form (Is it linear or non-linear? If it is non-linear how will the form be?)
3. The writer will necessarily look for the figures that deviate from the general pattern or from the previous hypothesis, and explains the reasons.
4. If possible, the result of every table is related to the result of other research, as well as to a wider theory or proposition.

CHAPTER III

IDENTIFICATION OF THE PROBLEMS

The title of this thesis is "Problems of non-English Department Students in Comprehending English Materials through Translation - A Case Study of the SI 1985/1986 third semester Students of the Anthropology Department of the Faculty of Letters, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta." There are two sets of terms to be defined in this title. The first is "Problems of non-English Department Students in Comprehending English Materials through Translation," the second is "A Case Study of the SI 1985/1986 third semester Students of the Anthropology Department of the Faculty of Letters, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta." The definition of the key terms below will give a description about the theme and the title of this thesis.

3.1. DEFINITION OF THE KEY TERMS

3.1.1. Problems of non-English Department Students in Comprehending English Materials through Translation

Dealing with languages, especially those which are not of our own, we are faced with a lot of problems which have to be solved. But what is actually meant by problems? From the above subtitle we need also define department, students, comprehending, and translation.

According to the "Dictionary of Education,"
"problem" is defined as :

"Any significant, perplexing, and challenging situation, real or artificial, the solution of which requires reflective thinking."¹⁰

Another definition of "problem" according to the
"Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English" is :

"A (serious) difficulty that needs attention and thought."¹¹

The "Dictionary of Education" defines "department" as follows :

"An administrative subdivision of a school or college giving instruction in a branch of study."¹²

According to the "Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English" "department" is :

"Any of the important divisions or branches of a government, business, school or college, etc."¹³

The third term, "student" according to the
"Dictionary of Education" is defined as :

"One who attends an educational institution of secondary or higher level; or a person engaged in serious study, especially one doing independent study."¹⁴

¹⁰) Good, Carter V., ed., Dictionary of Education, Mc Graw-Hill Book Company, third edition, 1973, p. 438

¹¹) Procter, Paul, Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, Longman Group Limited, Great Britain, Re-printed with correction, 1981, p. 872

¹²) Good, Carter V., ed., op. cit., p. 172

¹³) Procter, Paul, op. cit., p. 294

¹⁴) Good, Carter V., ed., op. cit., p. 561

Whereas the "Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English" defines "student" as :

"People studying at a university or college."¹⁵

The fourth term which needs to be defined is "comprehend." According to the "Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English" "comprehend" is :

"to understand."¹⁶

The "Dictionary of Education" defines "translation" as follows :

"The act of rendering into a given language material in another language, giving the closest possible idiomatic equivalents of the original words and phrases."¹⁷

According to the "Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English" "translation" is :

"A change (speech or writing) from one language into another."¹⁸

So what is meant by "Problems of non-English Department Students in Comprehending English Materials through Translation" is: "Any significant, perplexing, and challenging situations, the solution of which requires reflective thinking of people studying at any

¹⁵) Procter, Paul, op. cit., p. 1107

¹⁶) Procter, Paul, op. cit., p. 222

¹⁷) Good, Carter V., op. cit., p. 623

¹⁸) Procter, Paul, op. cit., p. 1176

important divisions or branches of a university or college of which the main subject is not English. These situations are faced by those people in understanding English materials through rendering into a given language material in another language, giving the closest possible idiomatic equivalents of the English words and phrases."

3.1.2. A Case Study of the SI 1985/1986 third semester Students of the Anthropology Department of the Faculty of Letters, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta

The sample used by the writer in this study is the SI 1985/1986 students of the Anthropology Department of the Faculty of Letters, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta. They are all students of the SI programme (Sarjana Degree). When this research was done they were in the third semester. The writer purposely chose these students firstly because they were from the non-English department. Secondly, they often got tasks to comprehend materials written in English dealt with their subjects. And last but not least, they had just graduated from Senior High Schools (SMA) and were the products of various Senior High Schools - either private schools, public schools, or subsidized schools - who were influenced by various different factors such as: status, conditions or

situations, equipments, and facilities that may affect the results of their study. These varieties will hopefully guarantee the validity and complexity of the research.

Thus, what is meant by the title of this thesis "Problems of non-English Department Students in Comprehending English Materials through Translation - A Case Study of the SI 1985/1986 third semester Students of the Anthropology Department of the Faculty of Letters, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta" is : "Any significant, perplexing, and challenging situations, the solution of which requires reflective thinking of people studying at any important divisions or branches of a university or college of which the main subject is not English. These situations are faced by those people in understanding English materials through rendering into a given language material in another language, giving the closest possible idiomatic equivalents of the English words and phrases - This research is done on the SI 1985/1986 third semester students of the Anthropology Department of the Faculty of Letters, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta."

CHAPTER IV
INTERPRETATION OF DATA FINDINGS

4.1. Students' Background

The third semester 1985/1986 students of the Anthropology Department of the Faculty of Letters, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta are all from SMA. None of them are from Vocational High Schools ("Sekolah Kejuruan"). It means that they are the products of the same curriculum. This can be proved by the total number of the respondents - there were 42 respondents - who stated that they were from SMA. From the 55 questionnaires distributed the writer chose 42 valid questionnaires. These are then used as the samples of this research. More than a half of these samples are females whereas a few years ago this department was dominated by males. It means that there is a change or shift in the students' interest between male and female students in the Anthropology Department. See table 1 in the following page.



SEX	f	%
male	16	38
female	26	62
Total	42	100

f : frequency

Table 1: The quantity of male and female students of the third semester 1985/1986 students of the Anthropology Department of the Faculty of Letters, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta.

When they were in SMA they got on the average sufficient marks for English although only a little part of them were interested in that subject. But at least these sufficient marks on English had equipped them with enough provisions for a higher level of education. However, in comprehending English materials through translation the students need to have particular skill. So, the fact that the students got quite a good score in SMA does not guarantee that they will automatically be able to comprehend those English materials. In comprehending them, most of the students of non-English departments at first translate them, whereas in translating the materials the students should master certain language skills particularly reading, certain language elements especially structure and vocabulary, besides carefulness and alertness in performing the work.

When they were in SMA the students on the average often got homework on : translation, comprehensive questions, reading comprehension, sentence structure, and book reports. Most tasks were about sentence structure whereas the reading tasks were the second rank.

Kinds of task/ homework given by the teacher	male		female		male + female	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
Translation	2	12.50	3	11.54	5	11.90
Comprehensive questions	3	18.75	5	19.23	8	19.05
Reading comprehension	2	12.50	2	7.69	4	9.52
Sentence structure	8	50.00	15	57.69	23	54.76
Summary	1	6.25	1	3.85	2	4.76
Others	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	16	100	26	100	42	100

Table 2: The kinds of task/homework given by the SMA English teacher.

4.1.1. How is the English teaching in SMA?

According to Amien Yitno, Gatut Murniatmo, and Mrs. Ida Rokhani Adi from the Anthropology Department, the English teaching in SMA is not yet adequate for

their provisions to the university. Gatut Murniatmo further stated that this inadequacy was caused by the fact that in the past as well as in the present the English teaching in SMA has been mostly focused on the teaching of grammar or structure. Thus the students still lack the practice of discussing some reading passages. An SMA English teacher from SMAK Stella Duce Yogyakarta, Sr. Rosalima, stated that even the available allocation of time of the 1984 curriculum was still heavily loaded on grammar but it depended on the teacher whether he would emphasize his way of presentation on mere grammar or on grammar in its context (grammar through context).

Sr. Rosalima further stated that the English teaching in SMA had actually already attempted to prepare the students with enough provisions for the higher level education (the university). The 1984 curriculum itself is adequate, the problem is then on how to carry out the curriculum and what materials are to be used which depend on the books or references being used and how the teacher tries to do his best in

clarifying them. Whereas from the point of view of the materials prepared for the EBTANAS or SIPENMARU the teachers indeed have made a great effort to make the students ready for it.

The English teaching for SMA students is oriented merely on structure. This in fact is in accordance with the then prevailing curriculum - the 1975 curriculum. Structure includes 60% of the total percentage and the rest 40% is for other language skills and elements. Therefore the university students as the products of SMA indeed have minimal provisions particularly for reading comprehension skill. It is not surprising that they got comparably sufficient scores on English at the Anthropology Department although 90.48% of them are stated to be successful or to pass the exam.

p.t.o.

Score \ Sex/f	Male		Female		Male + Female	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
A	1	6.25	5	19.23	6	14.29
B	5	31.25	10	38.46	15	35.71
C	7	43.75	10	38.46	17	40.48
D	3	18.75	1	3.85	4	9.52
E	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	16	100	26	100	42	100

Table 3: The score percentage of English of the third semester 1985/1986 students of the Anthropology Department.

The problem still lies in why they make persistent errors in interpreting materials written in English. Do the English materials given in the English classes in the university not yet fulfil the requirements for practising to interpret or to comprehend the content of a given English material through translation, or do the English teaching in SMA not yet equip the students with enough provisions to prepare them for the passive English usage in the university ?

In the questionnaires the students answered that most of them got tasks from the lecturer to discuss a certain reading

passage besides some explanation from the lecturer about the sentence structure as well as vocabulary. The then arising question is on what kind of reading passages the students have to discuss. The English lecturer of the Anthropology Department, Mrs. Ida Rokhani Adi, said that Developing Skills was used as the only compulsory material. This book is composed of the module system and the writer thinks that its level does not yet fulfil the criteria that a university student is already able to comprehend a certain textbook or some other materials in English through translation.

4.2. Students' activities in the learning-teaching process

In the English classes at the Anthropology Department, the lecturer guides the students to comprehend a certain reading passage from Developing Skills by translating it. The lecturer clarifies the sentence structure or grammar in the passage so that the students can comprehend the passage more clearly.

Besides that the lecturer often gives tasks to be done by the students either in class or at home. These tasks are : translation, reading comprehension, comprehensive questions, sentence

structure or grammar, vocabulary, and making summaries. The students have to prepare all these tasks, except the task to discuss about the sentence structure, at home, so that the inclass activities are the evaluation and the explanation of the sentence structure or grammar by the lecturer. But mostly the task is about translation and it is asked by the students themselves since they want to know the content of those reading passages taken from Developing Skills written by L.G. Alexander and published by Longman.

The system of evaluation used to determine the students' success in English is considered from the following points : the submission of the tasks, the students' inclass activities, the midterm exam, the final exam, and the students' presence. The tasks to be done at home are used as the measurement tool of students' activities outside of class. The formal test would be the midterm exam and the final exam. The midterm exam is an essay test or subjective test made by the lecturer. The final test is an objective test the materials of which are made by a team of English lecturers from the Faculty of Letters. Some points to be examined in the objective test or multiple choice test include: reading comprehension, comprehensive questions, structure, translation, and vocabulary. The

students' presence list functions as the assistant tool to measure the students' diligence in attending the lectures, that is, the students are not allowed to take the exam if the percentage of their presence is less than 75%.

In the compulsory subjects for the students of the Anthropology Department that is, the subjects dealing with their disciplines, they often get tasks to comprehend English materials from some of their lectures. Amien Yitno in his subject "Fungsionalisme" often asks the students to comprehend some English materials concerning the subject, since the books that talk about it are mostly written in English. In his subject "Manusia dan Kebudayaan Dayak", most of the books are also in English so that the students are willy-nilly forced to comprehend them. The comprehension of the materials is then expressed in the students' papers which would be discussed later with their classmates. In comprehending or in doing the translation they are allowed to work in groups but the writing of the papers should be done individually.

Gatut Murniatmo in his subject "Sistem Organisasi Sosial" also asks the students to translate freely an English material about "Network Analysis" to be submitted. This task constitutes the material for the final exam and is used as the substitute

for the midterm exam since he never gives a midterm exam. This task is usually followed by another related task such as discussing the concepts of the Indonesian experts - if it talks about concepts. The task to translate or comprehend the English materials is only additional and supportive to the works of the Indonesian experts. The aim of this task is that the students are able to understand the things discussed by the writer. In this free translation some shortages which are not principal are tolerable provided that they are not too far deviate from the original text.

Although many students complain about the task to comprehend or translate the English materials, their average responses are positive. This can be seen from the percentage of the students who did the tasks as shown in table 4.

p.t.o.

Responses	Male		Female		Male + Female	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
Yes, always	8	50.00	15	57.69	23	54.76
Yes, sometimes	6	37.50	11	42.31	17	40.48
Yes, but seldom	2	12.50	0	0	2	4.76
Did not do the tasks	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	16	100	26	100	42	100

Table 4: The responses of the third semester 1985/1986 students of the Anthropology Department towards the translation or comprehension tasks given by the lecturers.

The tasks were done by the students individually and they submitted them individually as well. None of them brought the tasks to the translator. See table 5 in the following page.

How the students did their tasks	Male		Female		Male + Female	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
Individual	10	62.50	22	84.61	32	76.19
In groups	6	37.50	3	11.54	9	21.43
Copying friend's work	0	0	1	3.85	1	2.38
Going to translator	0	0	0	0	0	0
Others	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	16	100	26	100	42	100

Table 5: How the third semester 1985/1986 students of the Anthropology Department did their tasks given by the lecturers.

As for the system of evaluation, both Amien Yitno and Gatut Murniatmo never give a midterm exam but a final exam. Instead they require the compulsory tasks of comprehension, translation, or some other relevant tasks. In addition to that Amien Yitno always makes compulsory to the students to submit papers written in Indonesian to be discussed with their classmates in the panel discussion. These papers are based on the comprehension of certain English materials and books. Amien Yitno added that the final score would be the combination of the total scores of all the given tasks : paper, the students' participation in the

discussion, and the final exam; the scores would then be divided in such a way that the final score was achieved.

4.3. Students' level of English

The third semester 1985/1986 students have enough knowledge of English. This can be seen from their success in doing the English exam (see table 3). Only 9.52% of them fail in the exam. This condition is also influenced by the students' motivation in attending lectures. Mrs. Ida Rokhani Adi commented that the students' responses and their inclass activities during the learning-teaching process were quite positive. But of course there were some who merely seeked the minimal targets.

The positive responses of the students can be seen through their effort in doing the tasks given by the lecturers. See table 6 in the following page.

The students' responses to the given tasks	Male		Female		Male + Female	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
Always did the tasks	10	62.50	18	69.23	28	66.67
Sometimes did the tasks	4	25.00	7	26.92	11	26.19
Seldom did the tasks	2	12.50	1	3.85	3	7.14
Never did the tasks	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	16	100	26	100	42	100

Table 6: The responses of the third semester 1985/1986 students of the Anthropology Department towards the tasks given by the English lecturer.

Less than a half of the total number of students of the third semester 1985/1986 of the Anthropology Department said that they mastered more than enough vocabulary. Their vocabulary mastery, which is above the average, is 47.62% from the total number of 42 students. These students have their own dictionaries, at least one English - Indonesian dictionary. See table 7 in the following page.

The vocabulary mastery of the students	Male		Female		Male + Female	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
Many	0	0	2	7.69	2	4.76
Quite a lot	5	31.25	13	50.00	18	42.86
A few	10	62.50	8	30.77	18	42.86
Very few	1	6.25	3	11.54	4	9.52
Total	16	100	26	100	42	100

Table 7: The vocabulary mastery of the third semester 1985/1986 students of the Anthropology Department.

The English level of the third semester 1985/1986 students of the Anthropology Department is also supported by the students' experiences in attending English courses. Only 35.71% of them have never yet attended any English courses at all.

p.t.o.

The students' experiences in attending English courses	Male		Female		Male + Female	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
Attended regularly and completed the course	0	0	3	11.54	3	7.14
Attended regularly but did not complete the course	4	25.00	8	30.76	12	28.57
Attended irregularly and completed the course	1	6.25	3	11.54	4	9.52
Attended irregularly but did not complete the course	5	31.25	3	11.54	8	19.05
Never attended English courses	6	73.50	9	34.62	15	35.71
Total	16	100	26	100	42	100

Table 8: The experiences of the third semester 1985/1986 students of the Anthropology Department in attending English courses.

The conclusion of this sub-chapter is that the English ability of the third semester 1985/1986 students of the Anthropology Department is sufficient. This is also supported by some points as follows : the vocabulary mastery of the students, the students experiences in attending English courses, sufficient scores in the English subject,

and the fact that each student has his own dictionary - at least the English-Indonesian one.

But all of these things do not guarantee that these students will be able to solve the problems in comprehending materials written in English through translation.

4.4. Students' attitudes to English

The students' attitudes to English is positive. This can clearly be seen from statement number 45 of the questionnaire :

"Mata kuliah Bahasa Inggris di Perguruan Tinggi perlu ditambah."

And the students' responses to this statement is:

Students' attitudes	Male		Female		Male + Female	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
Cannot agree more	3	18.75	10	38.46	13	30.95
Agree	8	50.00	9	34.62	17	40.48
Do not know	5	31.25	1	3.85	6	14.29
Disagree	0	0	6	23.08	6	14.29
Very much disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	16	100	26	100	42	100

Table 9: The attitudes of the third semester 1985/1986 students of the Anthropology Department to the statement that English needs to be added.

In the above table 71.43% of the 42 students

positively agreed to add the allocation of time of English in the university. The reason is that they still need more knowledge about English to solve problems which arise in doing the tasks given by some lecturers so that they would be more capable in comprehending materials written in English through translating them.

To express the positive attitudes to English we need to make a score calculation between those who agreed and those who did not. There are 15 statements in the questionnaire (numbers 43-57) that show the students' attitudes to English particularly in comprehending English materials. The score calculation is :

SS (Cannot agree more)	: score 5, code : a
S (Agree)	: score 4, code : b
TT (Do not know)	: score 3, code : c
TS (Disagree)	: score 2, code : d
STS (Very much disagree)	: score 1, code : e.

So, to achieve the score in fXa; fXb; fXc; fXd; and fXe we use the following formula :

$$fXa = fX \text{ times } 5$$

$$fXb = fX \text{ times } 4$$

$$fXc = fX \text{ times } 3$$

$$fXd = fX \text{ times } 2$$

$$fXe = fX \text{ times } 1,$$

and we obtain the following table : (p.t.o.)

Num- ber	SS		S		TT		TS		STS	
	fa	fXa	fb	fXb	fc	fXc	fd	fXd	fe	fXe
43	7	35	10	40	11	33	13	26	1	1
44	19	95	22	88	0	0	1	2	0	0
45	35	175	6	24	0	0	1	2	0	0
46	13	65	17	68	6	18	6	12	0	0
47	11	55	30	120	1	3	0	0	0	0
48	10	50	25	100	5	15	1	2	1	1
49	4	20	28	112	4	12	5	10	1	1
50	22	110	19	76	1	3	0	0	0	0
51	7	35	25	100	8	24	2	4	0	0
52	8	40	20	80	6	18	6	12	2	2
53	12	60	20	80	6	18	0	0	4	4
54	0	0	4	16	12	36	23	46	3	3
55	10	50	23	92	4	12	2	4	3	3
56	4	20	22	88	10	30	6	12	0	0
57	9	45	22	88	5	15	5	10	1	1
Total	$\Sigma fa = 171$	$\Sigma fXa = 755$	$\Sigma fb = 293$	$\Sigma fXb = 1172$	$\Sigma fc = 79$	$\Sigma fXc = 237$	$\Sigma fd = 71$	$\Sigma fXd = 142$	$\Sigma fe = 16$	$\Sigma fXe = 16$

Table 10: The scores to determine the attitudes of the third semester 1985/1986 students of the Anthropology Department to English.

From table 10 above we can see the positive attitudes of the third semester 1985/1986 students of the Anthropology Department to English, and these positive attitudes will be clearer in the following scores :

p.t.o.

$$SS (fXa) = 755; \quad fa = 171$$

$$S (fXb) = 1172; \quad fb = 293$$

$$TT (fXc) = 237; \quad fc = 79$$

$$TS (fXd) = 142; \quad fd = 71$$

$$STS (fXe) = 16; \quad fe = 16.$$

These scores can be classified into :

$$SS + S = \text{Agree} \quad (\sum fXa + \sum fXb)$$

$$TT = \text{Neutral} \quad (\sum fXc)$$

$$TS + STS = \text{Disagree} \quad (\sum fXd + \sum fXe).$$

Table 11 below is the simplification of the above calculation :

Attitude	$\sum f$	$\sum fX$
Agree	171+293=464	755+1172=1927
Neutral	79	237
Disagree	71+ 16= 81	154+ 16= 170

Table 11: The score amount showing agreement, neutrality, or disagreement of the third semester 1985/1986 students of the Anthropology Department to the addition of the time allocation of English.

We can see from the table that the biggest score is on the column "Setuju" ("Agree") and it is thus clear that the attitudes of the third semester 1985/1986 students of the Anthropology Department to the addition of the time allocation of English are absolutely positive.

4.5. Lecturers' suggestions

In the Anthropology Department the emphasis is certainly on the comprehension of the Indonesian references or books written in Indonesian. However, the use of English references is something unavoidable. As it is said by Amien Yitno and Gatut Murniatmo, in this case we need to understand English to assist our knowledge for example in terms of certain concepts or theories which have not been written by Indonesian experts. These concepts or theories would be used if they conform with and are applicable to the description of the Indonesian society. And by comprehending the core of that foreign concept or theory - if it is about concept or theory - the students will hopefully apply it later in comprehending various social problems which become their main interests in writing scientific works such as papers, theses, and so on.

In the subject "Fungsionalisme" taught in the fourth year or in the Sarjana degree by Amien Yitno, almost all the books are in English since the Indonesian references are still too few. It is likewise in the subject "Manusia dan Kebudayaan Dayak" taught in the second year, since the Indonesian works about that subject or about the Dayak culture are still very limited. As we know the

paper writing in the Anthropology Department is compulsory in almost every subject along with the discussion subject or discussion activities so that from those papers and discussions the lecturers will notice and prove the students who truly comprehend and those who do not.

Besides the task to translate English materials and make their summaries, some lecturers ask the students to comprehend some given English materials : 1) the tasks of making the papers will be based on the comprehension of these materials followed by inclass discussion where students can correct each other. In this discussion each student has the chances to present his paper and the lecturer will help only if needed. The comprehension of the English materials can be done in groups but the paper should be done individually; 2) after comprehending the English materials the lecturer gives some problems based on those materials to be discussed by the students in class, and the students themselves will try to find out the conclusion of the problems discussed. The lecturer will become an observer and will help only if needed; 3) The given English materials are to be comprehended by the students as the materials for the final exam.

Most students complain about the task to comprehend or translate the given English materials, as stated by Amien Yitno and Gatut Murniatmo. Amien Yitno further stated that their complaints were understandable for the students felt their time-span would be doubled besides probably they lacked English comprehension or understanding. Whereas for most cases the primary demand - as emphasized by the two lecturers - is on the comprehension of the materials, not on the translation. The students who had a quite good mastery of English were able to comprehend them directly. But most students who were not good at English firstly translated the materials and presumed that they would get a better understanding of the materials after translating them. In this case the students obviously misunderstood the essence of translation. In order to be able to translate one should at first be able to comprehend certain materials and not the other way around, that is, to do the translation first for gaining a better understanding. Although there were complaints about the task, Amien Yitno stated that there were some tasks which were quite good and these were usually done by those who were quite good at English.

Amien Yitno further added that there was indeed a correlation between the students who understood English and those who did not. Therefore if compared, those who were not good at English usually did not make a good comprehension of the content of the English materials or the core of the theory - if it was about theory. This was due to the fact that the lecturers still found misunderstandings, misinterpretations, or mistranslations done by the students. The following are some reasons which lead to misinterpretation as stated by Amien Yitno : 1) lack of mastery of English; 2) the large amount of the English materials or the fatness of the book to be read often satiate the students that it hinders them from obtaining better comprehension; 3) the discussion of certain English materials - especially the difficult or confusing parts - is often done together in groups so that the comprehension will be more or less similar. Thus, the lack of mastery of English often leads to misunderstanding, misinterpretation, or mistranslation, and this will cause wrong conclusions which are fatal; and 4) there are some students who are not active in attending the lectures because of some reasons or who take leave for a certain time. Their context of thinking might be quite far from the students' milieu and besides there are

still many other tasks from other lecturers so that it becomes too much burden to them. These students' levels of comprehension are predictably low and there is a possibility that they make their tasks only for the fulfilment of the tasks themselves with little or no comprehension of the content. The above reasons namely reasons 1, 2, and 3 are inter-related and support each other whereas reason 4 only occasionally happens.

Talking about students' achievements Amien Yitno states that 50% of the students are able to comprehend or pass the exam and the rest 50% fail. According to Gatut Murniatmo they are on the average quite good that is to say, among about 70 students only 9 or 10 of them fail in the final exam. The students' achievements in English as said by Mrs. Ida Rokhani Adi - an English lecturer at the Anthropology Department since 1983 - are good that is, 90% of them pass the exam.

Amien Yitno comments that the English teaching in SMA is not yet adequate based on the fact that the university students mostly complain and still find difficulties in their comprehension of English materials. Gatut Murniatmo supports this by giving comment that the system of the materials presentation in SMA gives too much emphasis on grammar.

Meanwhile English is a subject to which most students show reluctance and aversion, besides the students do not have interests in language subjects (see table 12). Mrs. Ida Rokhani Adi agrees with the opinion that these students lack English provisions as well as English mastery. She further assumes that this English provisions as demanded by the higher level of education - in this case the university - are absolutely not enough. This lack is proved by the errors made by the students in the English lectures. Amien Yitno also underlines the lack of practice and suggests that SMA students need more practice of reading English articles. In addition to this, an SMA English teacher should understand the importance of language context that is, the language soul and culture. The teacher should also understand the social and cultural situation of the English society, their way of thinking, so that he is hopefully able to give better understandings to his students since he understands the background of the terms being taught - if it is about terms.

According to Sr. Rosalima - an SMA English teacher in SMAK Stella Duce Yogyakarta since 1961 - the materials taught in SMA include reading, listening, speaking, vocabulary, writing, structure, and translation. Translation is not taught specifically whereas writing, because of the time allocation, is not reachable or is only taught very little as a mere intro-

duction. The emphasis, either according to the 1975 or the 1984 curriculum, is actually the same. However up till now the allocation of time is still loaded more on grammar. The problem then depends on the teacher himself whether or not it will be balanced. And when some people say that the English teaching in SMA is too "grammar oriented", Sr. Rosalima views and emphasizes more on how to present the teaching of grammar, whether it is presented and taught as mere grammar or in a particular context. So the English grammar does not stand alone as a separate subject but is taught along with the other language elements and skills. That SMA students should learn English grammar is indeed obvious.

There are not many differences between the 1975 and the 1984 curriculum. The difference is that the 1984 curriculum gives more details that is it states that there should be some reading passages concerning every department, it is up to the teacher what to do in view of the EBTANAS. Another difference is that the 1984 curriculum gives more emphasis on the CBSA (Cara Belajar Siswa Aktif) or the SAL (Student Active Learning) although it has been done since Sr. Rosalima started teaching. The other difference - although not in terms of the materials of the curriculum - is the emphasis on writing. For the social department and the language department there is also more emphasis on writing class because of the available time. If some people say that the 1984 curriculum should be more "reading-oriented"

it cannot be fully agreed upon, but Sr. Rosalima does agree that the reading passages are ready-made. It is to be noted that the 1984 curriculum is announced only a few weeks before the new period of the learning - teaching process starts. Thus the earliest books published are in great demand although they are still very far from being perfect, meaning that the teachers still need time to learn and to correct them.

In terms of the materials the 1984 curriculum is adequate, the problem is then on the application of the curriculum itself and how the teacher tries to explain the best he can. But it is inadequate and can hardly be applied in terms of the time allocation, especially for the A1 department (Physics) and the A2 department (Biology). According to the 1984 curriculum, the time allocation for the language department is 7 hours/week, the social department is 6 hours/week, and the physics or biology department is only 3 hours/week. The 1984 curriculum is not perfect either in its emphasis meaning that the emphasis is still on grammar. So, most of the allocation of time is used for the discussion of grammar. As illustrated by Sr. Rosalima, the discussion of a certain reading passage is supposed to be finished within one hour which is impossible or that only too little will be gained by the students.

Talking about references for the English teaching in SMAK Stella Duce Yogyakarta, Sr. Rosalima states the

use of English for the SLTA - Students Book, English for the SLTA - Supplementary Readings, both are published by the Department of Education and Culture, Balai Pustaka, Jakarta, Structure and Reading Comprehension for SMTA written by Drs. R.A. Iskandar Yahya Dipl. TEFL et. al., published by Orba Shakti, Bandung, and some additions from the teacher which talk about some actual affairs.

Responding to the general concern about the university students' lack of English provisions when they were still in SMA it is understandable that it becomes a serious concern. Sr. Rosalima further states that it partially depends on the materials as what can be achieved in SMA is of course far from being adequate or is not always adequate to fulfil the demands of the university. However, the SMA English teachers have always tried to direct the students towards contextual comprehensions mentioned in the objectives of English teaching, that is, to make the students able to read and learn from the materials written in English. Ideally the selection of the reading passages is the most important thing in determining the adequate provisions of SMA students for higher level education. Many of the SMA English teachers nowadays use Structure and Reading Comprehension for SMTA published by Orba Shakti, Bandung since there is no time "to hunt for" other reading passages which conform to what is considered more

important and appropriate by these teachers for their materials presentation. The reading passages in this book do not match the real purpose of comprehension and lack the proper exercises and practices on comprehension which should be done by the students. The selection of the ideal reading passages should be those which include contextually all domains needed such as reading, structure, vocabulary, etc. The attempt to give a lot of practices is also impossible to be done in the A1 department (Physics) and the A2 department (Biology) because of the time allocation and moreover because English is not their field of concentration. A few years ago the presence of English as a minor subject and the English Laboratory in SMAK Stella Duce still made it possible for the teachers to improve the students' abilities in oral or spoken English, their pronunciation, and moreover in improving the students' knowledge about English idioms, culture, etc. This knowledge about English culture is very important so that the students are able to comprehend the way of thinking of the English society or at least to make them familiar with the description of it. In addition to that, whether or not the inputs gained by SMA students will be in great amount also depends heavily on the teachers since SMA students still need ceaseless encouragements to make them accustomed to the SAL way of thinking. But the NEM (Genuine Final Exam Marks) policy partially influences

the unwillingness of the teachers in encouraging their students that is, it seems that the private SMAs only get the residual NEMs. Sometimes there are some students with very low NEMs who concern their teachers although the NEMs do not really indicate that these students are truly poor ones.

In the previous page Gatut Murniatmo states that English is the subject to which most students show reluctance and aversion, and also that the students do not have interest in language subject. The following table will describe from what department the third semester 1985/1986 students of the Anthropology Department were when they were in SMA :

p.t.o.

Sex Department	Male		Female		Male + Female	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
IPA	9	56.25	11	42.31	20	47.62
IPS	7	43.75	15	57.69	22	52.38
Bahasa	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	16	100	26	100	42	100

Table 12: The total number of the third semester 1985/1986 students of the Anthropology Department that came from IPA (Physics and Biology), IPS (Social), and Bahasa (Language).

The subjects mostly liked by the students in SMA will be described in table 13 below :

Sex The fa- vourite subjects in SMA	Male		Female		Male + Female	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
Physics	3	18.75	1	3.85	4	9.52
Biology	4	25.00	8	30.77	12	28.57
English	0	0.00	3	11.53	3	7.14
Indonesian	1	6.25	0	0	1	2.38
Social and Economical Sciences	5	31.25	13	50.00	18	42.86
Others	2	12.50	1	3.85	3	7.14
Not a single one	1	6.25	0	0	1	2.38
Total	16	100	26	100	42	100

Table 13: The subjects mostly liked by the third semester 1985/1986 students of the Anthropology Department when they were still in SMA.

Table 14 will describe the scores achieved by the students in the English subject in SMA :

Sex Marks	Male		Female		Male + Female	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
Excellent	0	0	1	3.85	1	2.38
Good	2	12.50	10	38.46	12	28.57
Sufficient	12	75.00	14	53.85	26	61.90
Insufficient	2	12.50	1	3.85	3	7.14
Very poor	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	16	100	26	100	42	100

Table 14: The marks in the English subject achieved by the third semester 1985/1986 students of the Anthropology Department when they were still in SMA.

Talking about the English teaching in the Anthropology Department, Amien Yitno emphasizes the need for a change if the main priority is still on grammar as it no longer agrees with the students' needs nowadays. Gatut Murniatmo views that the English teaching in the Anthropology Department should help the students in comprehending English materials or in translating them. The fact is that it has not yet supported the students in doing their tasks. When he was a student of the same department himself, most of the allocation of time was spent on the discussion of grammar and lack of

practising real comprehension of English materials. Agreeably it is almost impossible to learn English well without learning its structure as English is a foreign language for Indonesians. But the fact that English is taught as a compulsory subject starting from junior high school to the tertiary level of education it should be felt adequate to equip the students with enough structure. The university students should then be accustomed to reading and comprehending the English texts more.

In connection with the above matter a team of lecturers from the English Department of the Faculty of Letters has up till now been responsible for the English teaching in the Anthropology Department. The teaching staff of the English Department of the Faculty of Letters who manages the English classes in the Anthropology Department has determined the use of Developing Skills-An Integrated Course for Intermediate Students by L.G. Alexander and published by Longman. Mrs. Ida Rokhani Adi stated that the addition of some other English materials dealing with the discipline is difficult - if not impossible - because of the time allocation. In terms of the reading passages the book is not yet adequate but for the students' basic requirements it is considered adequate that is, there are quite many structural or grammatical

problems which can be developed by the lecturer later. But the reading passages are all from Developing Skills. She further adds that the inclass activities will be as follows : 1) the students and the lecturer discuss a certain reading passage of which the translation is done by the lecturer herself. The lecturer does so because she considers that the passage is too difficult for the students to understand; 2) then the lecturer gives some exercises to be done at home. These exercises can be taken from Developing Skills or can be in the form of some grammar exercises taken from grammar books such as Living English Structure by W. Stannard Allen; 3) the following meeting will be the discussion of the exercises which have been done at home by each student; 4) after that the students and the lecturer will discuss a new reading passage from Developing Skills of which the difficult words or the vocabulary have been prepared by the students at home. The lecturer, as asked by the students, will translate each of the reading passages; 5) the lecturer sometimes gives the students tasks to be submitted and then distributed again after being corrected. The distribution of the corrected tasks is done before the discussion of the new matter but the tasks themselves cannot be given routinely since the large number of the students makes the correction difficult. So the students should be active

practising by themselves. According to Mrs. Ida Rokhani Adi it would be ideal if each faculty elects an English lecturer who is a good master of English and at the same time of the field he teaches, in this case, Anthropology. Such possibility is also suggested by Amien Yitno but it is impossible to apply and it will be a utopian idea.

Inevitably English is one of some important factors that support the students' success since there is a large number of books written in English which need to be read by these students. To enable the students to improve their abilities in their fields Amien Yitno suggests the following : 1) in reading English materials the students need not be afraid of the fatness of the book if they want to make progress in their studies; 2) the students do not have to feel inferior about English for they have to master Indonesian better than English but in this case they need to comprehend English to assist their knowledge; 3) the students' lack of comprehension should be improved by doing a lot of practices and trying to comprehend ceaselessly; 4) despite the complaints, the lecturer keeps giving English literatures to accustom the students to English usage as a requirement to become good scientists; 5) in writing scientific works such as

papers or theses the students are suggested to include in their bibliography the English references which they have read (although the Indonesian edition of those references are already published) so that they become familiar with English which has a wider range. The content of the book written by the foreign writer is more convincing since it is more widely read than a book written by an Indonesian; 6) the students themselves should have the initiative to increase their knowledge about English either by attending English Speaking Associations or courses.

4.6. Analysis of the total data

The data which will be analyzed in this chapter are those obtained from the questionnaires and the result of the interviews with two lecturers from the Anthropology Department and one SMA English teacher from SMAK Stella Duce Yogyakarta.

Most of the third semester 1985/1986 students of the Anthropology Department were female students, who mostly got high marks (A and B) on the English subject. This can be seen in table 15 in the following page.

Sex Marks	Male		Female		Male + Female	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
Good (A+B)	6	36.50	15	57.69	21	50.00
Sufficient (C)	7	43.75	10	38.46	17	40.48
Insufficient (D+E)	3	18.75	1	3.85	4	9.52
Total	16	100	26	100	42	100

Table 15: The marks achieved by the third semester 1985/1986 students of the Anthropology Department on English.

From the above table it can be concluded that 90.48% of the 42 students passed their exam on English and most of them were female students. It can also be concluded that in the compulsory subject in the Anthropology Department which uses English references at least 50% of them are successful. The writer determines the figure 50% since 40.48% of them merely got sufficient marks on English of which the success is still doubtful. This is in accordance with what is stated by Amien Yitno that is, the students' achievements are fifty-fifty.

These students have actually been prepared from the SMA for a higher level of education (the university). However, the English materials are still inadequate to fulfil the target demanded by

the university because of various reasons. It is to be noted that the 1984 curriculum is announced only a few weeks before the new period of the learning - teaching process starts. Thus the earliest books or references published - which conform to the 1984 curriculum - are in great demand although they are still very far from being perfect. Many of the SMA English teachers nowadays use Structure and Reading Comprehension for SMTA published by Orba Shakti, Bandung since there is no time to hunt for other reading passages which conform to what is considered more important and appropriate by these teachers for their materials presentation. According to Sr. Rosalima the selection of qualified reading passages is the most important thing in determining the adequate provisions of SMA students for higher level education. However, most of the allocation of time of the 1984 curriculum is still loaded more on grammar. The problem then depends on the teacher himself that is, how the teacher presents the teaching of grammar, whether it is presented and taught as mere grammar or in a particular context. The 1984 curriculum is adequate in terms of the materials, the problem is then on the application of the curriculum itself and how the teacher tries to explain the best he can. But it is inadequate

and can hardly be applied in terms of the time allocation, particularly in the A1 department (Physics) and the A2 department (Biology) since the allocation of time in both departments is only 3 hours per week; whereas for the A3 department (Social) is 6 hours per week and 7 hours per week for the A4 department (Language). Thus the attempt to give a lot of practices is impossible to be done in the A1 and A2 departments because of the time allocation and moreover English is not their field of concentration. Sr. Rosalima further states that the general concern about the university students' lack of English provisions when they were still in SMA is understandable as what can be achieved in SMA is of course far from being adequate or is not always adequate to fulfil the demands of the university. However, the SMA English teachers have always tried to direct the students towards contextual comprehensions. In addition to that, whether or not the inputs gained by SMA students will be in great amount also depends heavily on the teachers since SMA students still need ceaseless encouragements to make them accustomed to the SAL (Student Active Learning) way of thinking. But the NEM policy partially influences the unwillingness of the teachers in encouraging their students that is, it seems that the private SMAs only get the

residual NEMs. There are sometimes some students with very low NEMs which concern and frustrate their teachers although the NEMs do not really indicate that these students are trully poor ones.

To surmount this situation the writer suggests that the English teaching in the university be improved because the 1984 curriculum has determined and limited the materials which should be taught in SMA. Moreover, the curriculum cannot be changed in terms of its time allocation whereas the improvement of the materials - particularly the reading passages - will need time although the efforts towards it are still going on. The improvement should be done starting from the first semester in the first year since all of the English materials are written in advanced English or even post-advanced English. This sort of "mental shock" will discourage the students in the beginning but they will later gain the huge advantages after they are accustomed to it.

The students of the Anthropology Department have a positive response to English and are beginning to realize the importance of and the needs for English. This can be seen in table 4, that is the students' responses to the translation or comprehension tasks given by the lecturers. The table says that 54.76% of the students always do the

tasks, 40.48% of them sometimes do the tasks, and only 4.76% rarely do them. This is supported by table 5 which shows how the students do their tasks: 76.19% do the tasks individually, 21.43% do them in groups, and only one student (2.38%) copies from his or her classmates.

In English lectures the students also have a positive response which can be seen in table 6. This is a good opportunity and an appropriate moment for the English lecturers to make an immediate improvement on the materials as well as on the materials' presentation. If improvements on these items are not made, a stagnation will arise, that is, the students' levels are intermediate whereas the English materials are all in advanced and post-advanced English. Therefore the English lecturers should select more "difficult" materials which are more "challenging" so that the students' extrinsic motivation¹⁹ will also be improved.

19) "extrinsic motivation" is "the form of motivation in which the learning activity is began and continued on the basis of the inducement which does not absolutely link with the learning activity." Look at Winkel, W.S., Psikologi Pendidikan dan Evaluasi Belajar, P.T. Gramedia, Jakarta, 1984, p.27. The extrinsic motivation canbe improved either by the student or some factors outside the student whereas the intrinsic motivation can only be improved by the student himself.

The advantage in having these "difficult" materials is that the students will be accustomed to reading non-simplified passages and simultaneously improve their mastery of vocabulary since their mastery of vocabulary is still very limited. This is proved in table 7 which shows that 52.38% of the students have a very limited mastery of vocabulary. But, the most important thing in having some "challenging" materials is that the students are expected to get accustomed to English materials with advanced or post-advanced English.

The students' positive responses to English are supported by their positive agreement to add the time allocation of the English subject in the university as shown in tables 9, 10, and 11. The tables show that 71.43% of the students agree on statement number 45 of the questionnaire that says: "Mata kuliah Bahasa Inggris di Perguruan Tinggi perlu ditambah." Thus, it is clear that the improvement - either in quality or in quantity - is really expected.

Ideally the improvement of students' language mastery should include all language skills and elements since they are inseparable and inter-related. So the students cannot be given one separate language aspect only but should be given both aspects all at once.

The conclusion of this data analysis is that the inadequacy of both the students' English provisions and their English mastery is in part influenced by the English teaching in SMA. However, the English teaching in SMA is facing problems concerning the 1984 curriculum in terms of its emphasis - which is still loaded more on grammar - , its time allocation which is inadequate and can hardly be applied particularly to the A1 department (Physics) and the A2 department (Biology) which is only 3 hours per week; problems concerning the selection of suitable materials or matching reading passages in particular which conform to the curriculum; the NEM policy which influences ceaseless encouragement by the teachers upon their students; and the students' motivation that is, the intrinsic as well as extrinsic motivations. So, the only ways to overcome the inadequacy of the students' English provisions and English mastery are as follows :

- 4.6.1. the students attend English courses, English Speaking Clubs, or other English associations;
- 4.6.2. the student, on his own initiative and motivation, reads more and practices more

to comprehend advanced English materials outside the class;

- 4.6.3. the lecturers improve the English teaching in the university in term of quality and quantity, of which the approach, method, technique, procedure, and the system of evaluation is suggested in the application.

CHAPTER V

ERROR ANALYSIS

Drs. H. Oesman Rahman²⁰ (Dean of Translators' College at the National University) in his article "Problems of Translation in Indonesia" mentions that the problems of translation in Indonesia, among other things, are on: linguistic features, form and content, sentence structure (plural and singular forms, word or phrase order, passives and actives, tenses, pronouns), idioms, and figurative expressions. However, after reading the translation tasks done by the students of the Anthropology Department thoroughly, the writer will only discuss the following items :

5.1. Figurative Expressions

5.2. Sentence Structure

5.2.1. Tenses

5.2.2. Pronouns

5.2.3. Complex Sentence Structure

5.2.3.1. Word Order

5.2.3.2. Phrase Order

5.2.3.3. Clause (Main Clause and Sub Clause)

p.t.o.

²⁰) Rahman, H. Oesman, Drs., Problems of Translation in Indonesia, Ilmu dan Budaya, Tahun IX, No. 1, Oktober 1986, P.T. Dian Rakyat, Jakarta, pp.39-47.

5.3. Meanings

5.3.1. the appropriate contextual meanings and
the Anthropological terms

5.4. Interpretation of the contents of paragraphs.

5.1. Figurative Expressions

In the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English edited by Paul Procter, page 408, figurative expressions are words or expressions used in some way other than the ordinary meaning to make a word picture or comparison.

The writer only finds one figurative expression in the passage on the subtitle "The issue of limiting networks", that is a red herring. According to Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English page 529, a red herring means :

"a fact or point of argument which is introduced to draw attention from the main point".

The Indonesian meaning would be :

"fakta atau pokok penjelasan yang diajukan untuk mengalihkan perhatian dari maksud utamanya".

The original sentence which contains this figurative expression is :

"... It may possibly be a red herring dragged across an otherwise relatively simple definitional problem involving aggregates of people connected by series of interpersonal exchanges."

The following are the translations of the above sentence made by some students of the Anthropology Department :

- * Hal ini mungkin karena a red herring menarik melalui cara yang relatif sangat sederhana, definisi masalah itu meliputi keseluruhan dari hubungan orang-orang melalui seri pada hubungan timbal-balik antarpersonal.
(a male and female student)
- * Model Radcliffe-Brown-Barnes lebih tepat dari pada kepunyaan Mayer, karena a red herring menarik melalui cara yang sederhana, definisi masalah itu meliputi keseluruhan dari hubungan orang-orang melalui seri pada hubungan timbal-balik antar personal.
(two male students)
- * Mungkin mereka menyeret melintang dengan cara lain, yakni defisional problem yang pertama dan sederhana, yang membawa serta atau mengumpulkan pendapat orang kemudian mengumpulkannya, dan mempertukarkannya.
(a male student)

There are five students - among the 42 students - who have translated this sentence. This sentence indicates which point of argument of Mayer constitutes his main point and that which does not. The students are expected to make a more accurate judgement in the preceding and the following sentences after comprehending it. Thus, the main point mentioned by Mayer will not be interpreted as the less important one and, on the other hand, his less important point will not be interpreted as the main one. However, those five students do not make a clarification of the figurative expression itself and moreover, their sentences are meaningless.

The suggested translation of this sentence into Indonesian is :

"... Penjelasan Mayer ini mungkin diajukannya untuk mengalihkan perhatian pembaca dari maksud utama - yang ditarik dari masalah mendefinisikan secara relatif sederhana yang sebaliknya - menyangkut sejumlah orang yang masing-masing dihubungkan oleh serangkaian pertukaran antarindividu."

(Note : Mayer's main point will be clear in the following paragraph of the original text)

5.2. Sentence Structure

5.2.1. Tenses

There are quite a number of "time determinators" in English tenses and to cope with this problem the Indonesians use such terms as : "hampir" for "almost", "sedang" for "continuous tense", "sudah/telah" for "perfect tense" (both present and past), "dulu/baru saja" for "past tense", and "tentu sudah" for "past assumption", etc. However, in the process of translating some scientific English materials not all of these "time determinators" need to be translated, otherwise the sentences will be awkward ones.

The followings are some examples from the passage :

5.2.1.1. "Some eight years later Blau was still interested in the phenomena he had begun to adumbrate in 1956, but he had shifted his focus to the mechanisms of informal relations within social systems."

The translation below taken from some students :

- * Delapan tahun yang lalu Blau masih tertarik pada fenomena yang sudah ia mulai membayangkan tahun 1956, tetapi ia merubah fokusnya pada mekanisme hubungan informal dalam sistim sosial."
(a male student)
- * Delapan tahun belakangan, Blau tetap tertarik pada fenomena yang ada sekitar tahun 50-an dan dia membantu memfokuskan mekanisme relasi informal dengan sistem sosial."
(a male student)
- * Delapan tahun kemudian Blau mulai menggeser fokusnya pada mekanisme-mekanisme hubungan informal"

The suggested translation is :

"Delapan tahun kemudian Blau masih tertarik pada fenomena yang mulai dibayangkannya sejak tahun 1956, tetapi ia mengalihkan perhatiannya pada mekanisme hubungan-hubungan informal dalam sistem sosial.'
(Pemikiran Blau tentang mekanisme hubungan informal dalam sistem sosial ini secara jelas diuraikan dalam bukunya "Exchange and Power in Social Life" yang diterbitkan tahun 1964)²¹

- 5.2.1.2. "... and Peter Blau have tried to develop an interpersonal exchange model"
- 5.2.1.3. "They could not know that the scholarly world would be straining to use"
- 5.2.1.4. "... and have introduced modifications"

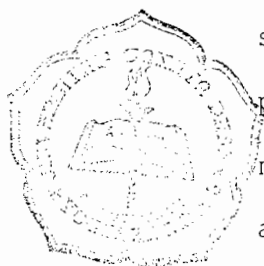
²¹⁾ The sentence between brackets is the continuation of the sentence translated in the original passage.

5.2.1.5. "Other readers have misunderstood what I mean by"

5.2.1.6. "... from whom I had taken this idea."

5.2.1.7. "Too little attention has been given to the problem of", etc.

These examples do not indeed concern the prime importance that is, the understanding of the content, however, the writer believes that keen attention and accuracy on these "small" details will be a great help in comprehending the contents of structurally complex paragraphs. This is particularly true as the students have to make proper adjustments on those contents according to the context of the source language materials.



5.2.2. Pronouns

These items constitute one of the most confusing parts and occur in almost every English sentence. These include personal pronouns (either as subjects or objects), possessive pronouns, and "relative pronouns" - or, "the English relationals" according to Oesman Rahman. In standard written Indonesian we no longer use these relationals such as : where, in which, for which, for whom, to whom, of which, at

which, upon which, from whom, with which, to which, about which, etc. To replace these relationals we just use the word "yang" meaning who, which, or that and then reconstruct the rest of the sentence. To cope with the problems of "subjective personal pronouns" and "objective personal pronouns" we have to be careful in determining the references of those pronouns. This will be clear by some examples from the passage :

5.2.2.1. "Personal networks, when elucidated, provide an inventory of the dyadic roles individuals have accumulated according to the rules, or structure, of their culture and society, and serve to place them in its organization. A personal network should, then, be described in terms of the roles it contains, the roles being studied as roles By tracing personal networks in the field, the structure of a culture can be elucidated and the workings of the society seen in operation."

Some students have translated this paragraph into :

* Jaringan seseorang, diterangkan melengkapi inventaris dari peranan dyadic seseorang telah dikumpulkan sesuai dengan peranan itu, atau struktur dari kebudayaannya dan masyarakat mereka, dan mereka dibuat dalam suatu organisasi. Jaringan sosial seseorang akan melukiskan batas-batas dari peranan yang didapatnya, peranan-peranan dipelajari sebagai peranan rencana seseorang dalam lapangan, susunan sebuah kebudayaan dapat diterangkan dari pe-

kerjaan-pekerjaan masyarakat yang bersangkutan." (a male student)

- * Jaringan-jaringan personal yang dijelaskan, membuktikan sebuah inventarisasi hubungan-hubungan searah (dyadic) peranan-peranan individu diuraikan sesuai peranan atau struktur dari sosial budayanya, dan menempatkannya dalam organisasi." (a male student)

Lawrence Crissman mengemukakan jaringan-jaringan personal, yang dibuktikan, bahwa inventarisasi hubungan-hubungan dyadic peranan-peranan individu yang terhimpun sesuai peranan-peranan individu atau struktur dari sosial budayanya, dan menempatkannya dalam organisasi." (a female student)

- * Jaringan-jaringan personal, yang dijelaskan, membuktikan sebuah inventarisasi hubungan-hubungan dyadic peranan-peranan individu diuraikan yang terhimpun sesuai peranan atau struktur dari sosial budayanya, dan menempatkannya dalam organisasi. Jaringan personal kemudian diuraikan dalam termin yang memuat mengenai peranan, peranan-peranan dipelajari sebagai peranan-peranan dalam saduran bidang jaringan-jaringan personal, struktur budaya dapat dijelaskan dan kerja-kerja masyarakat nampak dalam operasinya." (a female student)

The first sentence of the paragraph will be discussed as follows :

[Personal networks, when elucidated, provide an inventory of the dyadic roles individuals have accumulated according to the rules, or structure, of their culture and society, and serve to place them in its organization.]

In this sentence :

their refers to individuals ,
them refers to individuals , and
its refers to individuals' cul-
ture and society .

The second sentence will be
discussed below :

[A personal network should, then,
be described in terms of the roles
it contains, the roles being studied
as roles]

In this sentence :

it refers to personal network .

In the paragraph translated by
the students there is no
clarification about the references
of the pronouns. Instead they just
use the pronouns "nya" or "mereka"
and do not seem to understand
exactly to which they refer. So it
is doubtful whether or not they
understand it. The writer then
suggests the following alternative :

"Jaringan-jaringan personal apabila
diuraikan akan memberikan suatu
inventarisasi/daftar terperinci
peran-peran diadik yang dihimpun
oleh individu-individu menurut
kaidah atau struktur kebudayaan dan
masyarakat dari individu tersebut,
dan jaringan personal itu juga
membantu menempatkan individu-

individu tersebut dalam organisasi kebudayaan dan masyarakatnya. Maka jaringan personal harus digambarkan menurut peran-peran yang terkandung dalam jaringan personal it sendiri, yang akan dipelajari sebagai seperangkat peran Dengan mempelajari jaringan personal dalam bidang itu maka struktur suatu kebudayaan dapat diuraikan dan cara kerja masyarakat dapat dilihat berlakunya."

(Note : peran diadik²² means "peran yang terwujud karena interaksi antara dua satuan sosial" or, "peran dua arah".)

The above suggested translation might have been felt to overtranslate that is, to be more specific than the original. However, this is one way to avoid vagueness.

5.2.2.2. "We thus note that the formal framework of economic and political power exists alongside or intermingled with various other kinds of informal structure which are interstitial, supplementary, parallel to it I should like to focus on three sets of such parallel structures in complex societies : kinship, friendship, and patron-client relations The informal structures of which I have spoken are supplementary to the system : they operate and exist by virtue of its existence,

²²) The term "diadik" can be found in Koentjaraningrat, et. al., Kamus Istilah Antropologi, Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Jakarta, 1984, p. 62.

which is logically, if not temporally, prior to them"

Two students of the Anthropology Department have interpreted this paragraph as follows :

- * Rencana kerja yang resmi dari kekuatan ekonomi dan politik berada di samping atau bercampur dengan berbagai jenis struktur yang tidak resmi, pelengkap, sejajar dengan itu ... saya lebih suka memusatkan pada tiga rangkaian dari struktur yang sejajar seperti pada masyarakat kompleks: kekerabatan, persahabatan, dan hubungan dengan pelindung ... struktur informal dimana sudah saya katakan sebagai pelengkap untuk sistem: Mereka kerjakan dan ada oleh kebaikan yang ada, di mana secara logika, jika tidak berkala, dulu untuk mereka"

(a female student)

- * Kita dengan demikian mencatat bahwa rencana kerja yang resmi dari kekuatan ekonomi dan politik berada di samping atau bercampur dengan berbagai jenis lain dari struktur tidak resmi yang -, pelengkap, sejajar dengan itu saya lebih suka memusatkan pada tiga rangkaian dari struktur yang sejajar seperti pada masyarakat kompleks : kekerabatan, persahabatan, dan hubungan dengan pelindung struktur informal dimana telah saya katakan pelengkap, sejajar dengan itu lebih suka memusatkan pada tiga rangkaian dari struktur yang sejajar seperti pada masyarakat kompleks hubungan dengan pelindung struktur informal dimana telah saya katakan pelengkap untuk sistem: mereka kerjakan dan ada oleh kebaikan yang ada, dimana secara logika, jika tidak berkala, dulu untuk mereka

(a female student)

The above paragraphs are either confusing or meaningless. Both of them have exactly the same sentences in most parts and are obviously a word-for-word translation while the actual content is not as that complex and confusing.

[We thus note that the formal framework of economic and political power exists alongside or intermingled with various other kinds of informal structure which are interstitial, supplementary, parallel to it]

In this sentence, the objective personal pronoun it refers to "the formal framework of economic and political power".

[The informal structures of which I have spoken are supplementary to the system : they operate and exist by virtue of its existence, which is logically, if not temporally, prior to them]

In the above sentence, the subjective personal pronoun they refers to "the informal structures"; the possessive pronoun its refers to "the system"; and the objective personal pronoun them refers to "the formal structures".

The suggested translation is as follows :

"Dengan demikian kita * mencatat bahwa struktur formal kekuasaan ekonomi dan politik ada bersama-sama atau bercampur baur dengan berbagai macam struktur informal lain yang bersifat selingan, tambahan, atau paralel dengan struktur formal kekuasaan ekonomi dan politik di atas

Kita ** akan memusatkan diri pada tiga perangkat struktur paralel semacam itu dalam masyarakat kompleks, yaitu : hubungan kekerabatan, hubungan persahabatan, dan hubungan tuan-hamba²³ Struktur informal yang telah kita bicarakan bersifat tambahan bagi sistem analisa jaringan : bekerjanya dan adanya struktur informal tersebut adalah karena adanya sistem analisa jaringan yang secara logis (kalaupun tidak secara sementara) lebih penting dari struktur informal itu"

(Note : in the above paragraph the subjective personal pronoun we is translated into kita * since we seeks to identify the writer and the reader as involved in a joint enterprise.²⁴ The subjective per-

²³) "Hubungan tuan-hamba" is termed "hubungan bapak-anak buah" in Koentjaraningrat, et. al., Kamus Istilah Antropologi, Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Jakarta, 1984, p.62; the first term is used for its popularity.

²⁴) Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G., and Svartvik, J., A Grammar of Contemporary English, Longman, sixth impression, 1976, p.208

sonal pronoun I is translated into [kita] * which is prompted by a desire to avoid saya, which is felt to be a little egotistic. [Kita] * here is the so-called "editorial" we, which is used by a single individual, formal, and somewhat old-fashioned.²⁵

- 5.2.2.3. "Unfortunately, not all of those to whom the idea appealed felt a responsibility to provide it with the precise definition that would help to locate it in relation to other general concepts."

(Sayang bahwa tidak semua analisis yang mengajukan gagasan itu merasa bertanggung jawab untuk memberi definisi yang tepat pada gagasan tersebut yang akan membantu menempatkannya sehubungan dengan konsep-konsep umum lainnya.)

- 5.2.2.4. "In considering egocentric sets, however, he argues that an effective analysis, after locating a strategic ego node, must go on to explore the categorical, structural, and personal resources of the node, his personal network, and the broker and patronage relations between his network and those of other strategic and ancillary actors."

(Akan tetapi dalam pertimbangannya mengenai perangkat egosentris Whitten membantah bahwa setelah menempatkan titik pangkal ego yang strategis suatu analisa yang efektif

²⁵) Quirck, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G., and Svartvik, J., ibid.

narus terus menyelidiki sumber-sumber kategorial, struktural, dan personal dari titik pangkal itu; jaringan personal ego, serta hubungan perantara dan hubungan perlindungan antara jaringan ego dan kedua hubungan yang sama dari pelaku-pelaku pelengkap strategis lainnya.

- 5.2.2.5. "Within the latter category Wolfe chooses to separate the theoretical situations in which network characteristics are treated as dependent variables from those in which network characteristics are treated as independent variables."

(Dalam kategori yang terakhir inilah Wolfe memilih untuk memisahkan situasi teoritis yang ciri-ciri jaringannya diperlakukan sebagai variabel terikat dari situasi teoritis yang ciri-ciri jaringannya diperlakukan sebagai variabel bebas.)

- 5.2.2.6. 'Network specialists,' Boissevain says, 'provide important links in networks viewed as a series of communication channels. They transmit, direct, filter, receive, code, decode, and interpret messages.' Such 'strategically placed' persons, if fortunate or adept, may turn their skills as brokers in social capital into personal power; their ability to manipulate networks enables them to make social events turn out to their advantage."

The writer is prodded to analyze this paragraph after finding the varieties of the summaries made by the students. To begin with are the summaries of 26 students with exactly the same sentences :

- * Boissevain menyatakan bahwa para ahli analis/analisa network/jaringan menemukan/mendapatkan hubungan-hubungan terpenting/yang penting dalam suatu network/jaringan yang disebabkan oleh/yang terjadi karena arus komunikasi, yaitu/adalah arus yang mentransit/memindahkan/mengganti, mengarahkan, menyaring, dan menginterpretasikan pesan-pesan.

The summaries made by 7 students are varied as follows :

- * Network specialist adalah orang-orang yang menggunakan network sebagai media komunikasi.
- * Boissevain menyatakan, hubungan-hubungan yang terjadi dalam jaringan sosial yang ditemukan para ahli analisa disebabkan karena komunikasi.
- * Specialist network/jaringan khusus : hubungan penting dalam jaringan digambarkan sebagai serangkaian saluran komunikasi, antara lain : mengatur, menyaring, menerima, mengkode, mengeja, menafsirkan pesan-pesan.
- * Jaringan spesialis membuktikan hubungan dalam jaringan yang digambarkan sebagai rangkaian saluran komunikasi. Mereka meneruskan, mengatur, menyaring, menerima, mengkode, membaca sandi, dan menafsirkan pesan-pesan.
- * Hubungan yang terpenting dalam suatu network terjadi karena arus komunikasi yakni : arus yang mentransit, mengarah, menyaring, dan menginterpretasikan pesan-pesan.
- * "Spesialis jaringan" Boissevain mengatakan, "Membuktikan hubungan penting dalam jaringan yang digambarkan sebagai serangkaian saluran komunikasi. Mereka meneruskan, mengatur, menyaring, meneri-

ma, mengkode, membaca sandi, dan menafsirkan pesan-pesan". "Kedudukan orang-orang jika untung atau cakap, mungkin dapat merubah keahliannya sebagai pedagang-pedagang dengan modal sosial menjadi kekuasaan pribadi. Mereka mampu mempermainkan jaringan-jaringan yang memungkinkan untuk membuat peristiwa yang menguntungkan.

- * Boissevain mengatakan bahwa jaringan spesial membuktikan hubungan penting dalam jaringan yang digambarkan sebagai serangkaian saluran komunikasi yang meneruskan, mengatur, menyeleksi, mengkode, membaca sandi, dan menafsirkan pesan.

The resting 9 students have not mentioned anything about this paragraph. The writer considers that all of the above summaries deviate partially, if not totally, from what is actually emphasized by Boissevain. In the preceding sentences Boissevain puts his emphasis to what he calls "social catalysts", defined as "brokers and other manipulators". Therefore the students should also have given a careful attention to these "social catalysts" and not to the communication channels.

[They transmit, direct, filter, receive, code, decode, and interpret message. Such "strategically placed" persons, if fortunate or adept, may turn their skills as brokers in social capital into personal power; their ability to manipulate networks enables them to make social events turn out to their advantage.]

In the above paragraph, either the subjective and objective personal pronouns or the attributive possessive pronouns underlined refer to "network specialists". It is the "network specialists" which Boissevain calls "social catalysts". This will be clearer in the first sentence of the following paragraph says :

"Boissevain uses his concept of network specialist (broker) to bridge the gap in"

Thus, the suggested translation of the paragraph is :

"Menurut Boissevain 'para spesialis jaringan' menetapkan hubungan-hubungan penting dalam jaringan yang dipandang sebagai serangkaian saluran komunikasi. Para spesialis jaringan itu mengirimkan, mengarahkan, menyaring, menerima, menyandi, menjabarkan kembali sandi tersebut, serta menafsirkan pesan-pesan. Orang-orang yang 'ditempatkan secara strategis' semacam spesialis jaringan itu - jika beruntung atau trampil - akan mengubah ketrampilan mereka

sebagai perantara dengan modal sosial menjadi perantara dengan kekuasaan perseorangan. Kemampuan spesialis jaringan untuk menggerakkan jaringan memungkinkan mereka membuat kejadian-kejadian sosial agar menghasilkan keuntungan bagi mereka."

5.2.2.7. "A kin-based network is designed to meet, flexibly, new situations to which role responses are yet uncertain"

(Jaringan berdasarkan kekerabatan dimaksudkan untuk menghadapi situasi-situasi baru secara fleksibel; tanggapan-tanggapan peran terhadap situasi baru tersebut masih belum pasti))

5.2.2.8. "In this respect social network analysis points to the way in which role performance is a part of a system, or a series of systems."

(Dalam hal ini analisa jaringan sosial menunjuk pada cara penampilan peran sebagai bagian dari suatu sistem atau serangkaian sistem.)

5.2.3. Complex Sentence Structure

5.2.3.1. Word Order

The errors most frequently made by the students of the Anthropology Department are those concerning "word order". These errors occur in almost every sentence. The writer assumes that most students merely translate each words without considering whether these words contained in phrases

are nouns, adjectives, verbs, or adverbs. The students are expected to improve their carefulness in considering the word order in the phrases and to pay keen attention to the above parts of speech, otherwise they will not gain the crucial point of the sentence.

The point of a summary is a brief or short account giving only the main points. However, most students often only mention the theoreticians without discussing anything about their ideas or, the ideas are wrongly interpreted because of wrong treatment of the word order. The so many examples presented in a continuing sequence from certain paragraphs below will prove these facts :

- (i) "In its most expansive sense, the network metaphor or model refers to an unbounded mass of relationships of all kinds among an infinite number of persons"

* Masalah ini lebih luas pengertiannya, jaringan metaphor lebih menunjukkan hubungan-hubungan yang luas pada sejumlah orang-orang
(a female student)

its [most [expensive [sense]]]
 the [[network] metaphor] or model
 an [[unbounded [mass]] of [relationships of [all kinds]]]
 an [infinite [number of [persons]]]

The suggested translation is :

"Dalam artinya yang paling luas, metafora atau model jaringan mengacu pada jumlah tak terhingga dari segala macam hubungan di antara sejumlah orang yang tak ada batasnya"

(ii) "One of the issues in network analysis has to do with the ways in which the total, infinite, unbounded, everlasting network can be given some useful focus and limitation."

* Salah satu masalah analisa jaringan dapat dikerjakan dengan cara keseluruhan, tak terhingga, tak terbatas, tetap. Jaringan dapat memberi kegunaan dalam menentukan fokus dan pembatasan.

(a female student)

the total, infinite, unbounded, everlasting network

the [total [infinite [unbounded [everlasting [network]]]]]
 some [[useful] focus] and limitation]

The suggested translation is :

Salah satu dari beberapa masalah dalam analisa jaringan berhubungan dengan cara-cara memberi perhatian dan pembatasan yang bermanfaat pada jaringan menyeluruh, (jaringan) tak terhingga, (jaringan) tak ada batasnya, dan jaringan kekal.

- (iii) "To differentiate Barnes's early concept of 'sets' from those with which he would be dealing, Mayer turned to Chapple and Coon (1947:283) and separated Barnes's 'classificatory sets' from Chapple and Coon's 'interactive sets'."

* Perbedaan konsep Barnes pada sets yaitu akan dihubungkan, Mayer kembali pada Chapple dan Coon (1947:283) dan terpisahkan dari klasifikasinya Barnes dari "interactive sets"nya Chapple dan Coon.

[[Barnes's [early [concept]]] of "sets"]
 [Barnes's ["classificatory [sets] "]]
 [Chapple and Coon's ["interactive [sets] "]]

The suggested translation is :

"Untuk membedakan konsep awal Barnes tentang 'perangkat-perangkat' dari konsep-konsep yang ditanganinya, Mayer kembali kepada Chapple dan Coon (1947:283) dan memisahkan 'perangkat penggolongan'

Barnes dari 'perangkat inter-aktif' Chapple dan Coon."

- (iv) "He suggests a model of a non-group, nonassociational sector of society"

* Dia memberikan contoh sektor nongroup, sektor non perkumpulan masyarakat

a model of [a [nongroup [nonassociational [sector of [society]]]]]

The suggested translation is :

"Mayer menyarankan suatu model sektor masyarakat yang tidak bersifat kelompok dan tidak berkenaan dengan suatu asosiasi"

- (v) "Boissevain (1968:550) defines a quasi group as 'a coalition of persons, recruited according to structurally diverse principles by one or more existing members, between some of whom there is a degree of patterned interaction and organization'."

* Mengikuti A. Mayer dan Pospisil, Ginsberg, Bottomore, Dahrendorf, dan Nadel memberikan batasan quasi group itu sebagai suatu koalisi orang-orang yang dipanggil/digunakan menurut prinsip-prinsip yang secara struktural berbeda. Orang-orang ini dikumpulkan dan diantara mereka ada yang berinteraksi yang berpola dan organisasi.
(a female student)

* Batasan quasi group: Ginsberg, Bottomore, Dahrendorf, Nadel, quasi group adalah suatu koalisi orang-orang yang dipanggil/digunakan me-

nurut prinsip-prinsip yang secara struktural berbeda. Orang dikumpulkan, diantaranya ada interaksi yang berpola dan berorganisasi.

(a female student)

* Kuasi group adalah gabungan dari person-person yang terbentuk oleh pola-pola interaksi. (a female student)

* Kuasi grup adalah gabungan personal yang terbentuk oleh pola interaksi. (a male student)

[structurally [diverse[principles]]]

one or more [existing [members]]

a degree of [patterned [interaction]] and organization]

The suggested translation is :

"Boissevain (1968:550) mendefinisikan kelompok semu sebagai 'gabungan orang-orang yang diterima oleh satu atau lebih anggota-anggota yang ada menurut prinsip-prinsip yang berbeda secara struktural; diantara beberapa anggota yang ada tersebut terdapat tingkat interaksi serta tingkat organisasi yang terpola.'"

(vi) "Then it will be possible to analyze societies in terms of differential features characteristic of the systems of relationships which define them."

- * Kemudian akan lebih mudah untuk menganalisa masyarakat dalam perbedaan-perbedaan istilah yang menandai ciri-ciri sistim hubungan yang mereka definisikan."
(a male student)

[differential[features]] characteristic of [the systems of[relationships]]

The suggested translation is :

"Kemudian suatu analisa masyarakat perihal keistimewaan yang berbeda dan merupakan ciri khas sistem hubungan yang membatasi masyarakat tersebut dapat dilakukan."

- (vii) 'He himself has used a measure he calls density, 'the number of lines present in the vicinity of any given point as a fraction of the maximum possible number.'"

- * Barnes mengatakan bahwa banyaknya garis yang terdapat dalam zone merupakan kemungkinan maksimal dalam jumlah anggota network.
(a male student)

a[fraction]of the [maximum [possible [number]]]

The suggested translation is :

"Barnes sendiri menggunakan ukuran yang disebutnya kepadatan, yaitu 'banyaknya garis yang ada di sekitar batas tertentu manapun sebagai bagian kecil dari jumlah maksimum yang mungkin.'"

(viii) "For any set, the density index represents the percentage of potential links that are actualized."

* Untuk beberapa set, indeks ketebalan/kepadatan menggambarkan persentase kemungkinan mata rantai yang aktual.
(a male student)

[the percentage of [potential[links]]] that are actualized]

The suggested translation is :

"Untuk perangkat manapun indeks kepadatan mewakili persentase hubungan yang mungkin yang dinyatakan."

(ix) "Exchange theory in anthropology is grounded in attempts to relate the material and social life of people in natural settings."

* Teori ini dalam Antropologi dirumuskan dalam upaya mencari hubungan timbal balik kehidupan sosial dan material masyarakat dalam suatu lingkungan tertentu.
(a male student)

* Teori ini dibuat dalam rangka mencari hubungan antara materi dan kehidupan sosial masyarakat tertentu.
(a male student)

* Teori ini dalam Antropologi didasarkan atas usaha untuk menghubungkan kehidupan material dengan sosial seseorang dalam suatu lingkungan tertentu.
(a male student)

[the [material and [social [life]]] of people] in [natural [settings]]

The suggested translation is :

"Dalam antropologi, teori pertukaran didasarkan pada usaha-usaha untuk menghubungkan kehidupan materi dan kehidupan sosial masyarakat dalam latar alami."

(x) "'Descent theory' in kinship analysis seems to be social anthropology's analogue to bureaucratic theory in sociology. Such theory, which focuses attention on models of perpetuating, definable, discrete, 'corporate' groups is under fire by those espousing exchange or 'alliance' theory."

* "Teori Keturunan" dalam analisa sistem kekerabatan pada antropologi sosial sejalan dengan teori birokrasi dalam sosiologi. Beberapa teori, yang inti perhatiannya pada model-model dari pengkalan, dapat ditentukan ciri-ciri khusus dari kelompok-kelompok yang bersifat badan hukum, lihat di bawah garis oleh dukungan dari teori Tukar menukar atau teori penggabungan. (a female student)

[[models of] [perpetuating [definable [discrete ["corporate" [groups]]]]]]]

The suggested translation is :

"'Teori keturunan' dalam analisa kekerabatan merupakan analog antropologi sosial terhadap teori birokrasi dalam sosiologi. Teori semacam itu,

yang memusatkan perhatian pada model-model kelompok 'bersama' yang dilestarikan, dapat ditegaskan, dan mempunyai ciri-ciri tersendiri dikritik oleh mereka yang mendukung teori pertukaran atau teori 'persekutuan.'"

- (xi) "Unfortunately, debates over the relative merits of descent and alliance theory in kinship have not yet moved in the direction indicated by the work of Blau in sociology."

* Sungguh malang, membantah kebaikan-kebaikan yang relatif dari teori penggabungan dan keturunan dalam sistem kekeluargaan yang kemudian tidak berakutik oleh petunjuk Blau dalam sosiologi.

(a female student)

the [relative [merits]] of [[descent] and [alliance] theory]

The suggested translation is :

"Sayangnya perdebatan tentang manfaat relatif teori keturunan dan teori persekutuan dalam kekerabatan belum mendorong ke arah yang ditunjukkan oleh karya Blau dalam sosiologi."

- (xii) "Rather the core of debate is still frequently centered on the identifiable mechanisms for the perpetuation of definable, discrete groups."

* Agaknya inti dari persoalan itu masih sering dipusatkan pada mekanisme yang dapat diidentifikasi untuk pengekalan yang dapat ditentukan, ciri-ciri khusus kelompok.

the [identifiable [mechanisms]] for
 the [perpetuation of [definable [discrete [groups]]]]

The suggested translation is :

"Sebaliknya, inti pembahasan masih sering dipusatkan pada mekanisme pelestarian kelompok-kelompok yang dapat ditegaskan dan mempunyai ciri-ciri tersendiri yang dapat diidentifikasi."

(xiii) "Recognition of some inadequacies in group structural theories has been a source of discomfort in the social sciences for some years. Some, like S.F. Nadel and Robert K. Merton have felt that answers lie largely in improvement of theories of roles and role relationships. Others, such as George M. Foster and Eric Wolf have sought to correct the imperfections of group theory by elaborating our understanding of dyadic, patron-client, and brokerage contracts."

* Pengakuan dari keterbatasan dalam teori struktur kelompok telah menjadi sumber-sumber gangguan dari ilmu sosial selama beberapa tahun. Seperti S.F. Nadel dan Robert K. Merton merasa sebagai peletak teori peranan dan peranan kekeluargaan. Yang lain seperti George M. Foster dan Eric Wolf telah mencoba memperbaiki teori kelompok dari perluasan pemahaman tentang dyadic, patron-client, dan brokerage contract.

improvement of [[theories] of roles] and [role [relationships]]
 the [imperfections of [group [theory]]
 [dyadic [[patron-client] and [brokerage [contracts]]]]

The suggested translation is :

"Diakainya beberapa kekurangan dalam teori-teori struktural kelompok telah menjadi sumber kegelisahan dalam ilmu pengetahuan sosial selama beberapa tahun. Menurut S.F. Nadel dan Robert K. Merton jawaban bagi kegelisahan tersebut terutama terdapat pada perbaikan teori peran dan teori hubungan peran. Antropolog lainnya seperti George M. Foster dan Eric Wolf berusaha memperbaiki ketidaksempurnaan teori peran dengan mengembangkan pengertian kita tentang kontrak diadik, kontrak tuan-hamba, dan kontrak pedagang perantara."

5.2.3.2. Phrase Order

The errors in treating the word order will lead to those in phrase order.

(i) Network variables as dependent

[network [variables] as dependent]

[[network [variables]] as [dependent [variables]]]

This subtitle is translated into several ways such as : "Jaringan sebagai variabel dependen", "Network sebagai variabel dependen", "Jaringan sebagai variable tergantung", "Jaringan sosial sebagai variabel dependen", "Jaringan sosial sebagai variabel tergantung", "Jaringan sebagai variabel bebas", etc. The suggested translation of this phrase order is : Variable jaringan sebagai variabel terikat.

(ii) kin-based and association-based network

The original sentence which contains this phrase order is :

"... I have tried to point to a distinction between a kin-based and association-based networks."

[kin-based and [association-based [network]]]
 [kin-based [network]] and [association-based [network]]

* Dalam hal ini iapun membedakan antara kin-based dan association-based dalam network. (a male student)

* Perbedaan antara dasar keluarga (kin-based) dengan dasar gabungan (association-based network), (a male student)

The suggested translation is :

"... Penulis (Peter Gutkind) mencoba menunjuk pada perbedaan antara jaringan berdasarkan kekerabatan dan jaringan berdasarkan asosiasi."

(iii) super-tribal cultural types

The sentence that contains this phrase order is :

"... in a comparison of the cultural characteristics of two 'super-tribal cultural types' of populations, both of which have taken up residence in Kampala, Uganda."

[[super-tribal] cultural] types]

The students' interpretations of this phrase order are varied :

* Parkin menyatakan bahwa network adalah tipe kebudayaan suku (tribal) yang super (a male student)

* Parker menyatakan, bahwa jaringan adalah tipe kebudayaan suku (tribal) yang kompleks (a male student)

* Parkin juga menyatakan bahwa suatu jaringan adalah tipe dari kebudayaan suku yang tinggi. (a male student)

All of these three interpretations totally deviate from what is actually stated by Parkin. The phrase order "super-tribal cultural types" does not refer to network at all. It actually supports and exemplifies the view mentioned in the preceding sentence :

"Not far removed from the evolutionary view is the one that sees network characteristics as differing according to 'culture.'"

The last sentence of the same paragraph confirms this :

"This sort of reasoning (and it is fairly common) suggests that differences in network forms are the results of general cultural differences."

Thus, the suggested translation is :

"Sehubungan dengan pandangan ini Parkin memberikan suatu pernyataan yang teliti dengan membandingkan ciri-ciri kebudayaan dari dua 'tipe kebudayaan supra-suku' rakyat yang menetap di Kampala, Uganda."

(iv) network characteristics as
differing according to
"culture"

The complete sentence of
 this phrase order is :

"Not far removed from the
 evolutionary view is the one
 that sees network
 characteristics as differing
 according to 'culture.'"

[network [[characteristics]] as differing] according to "culture"

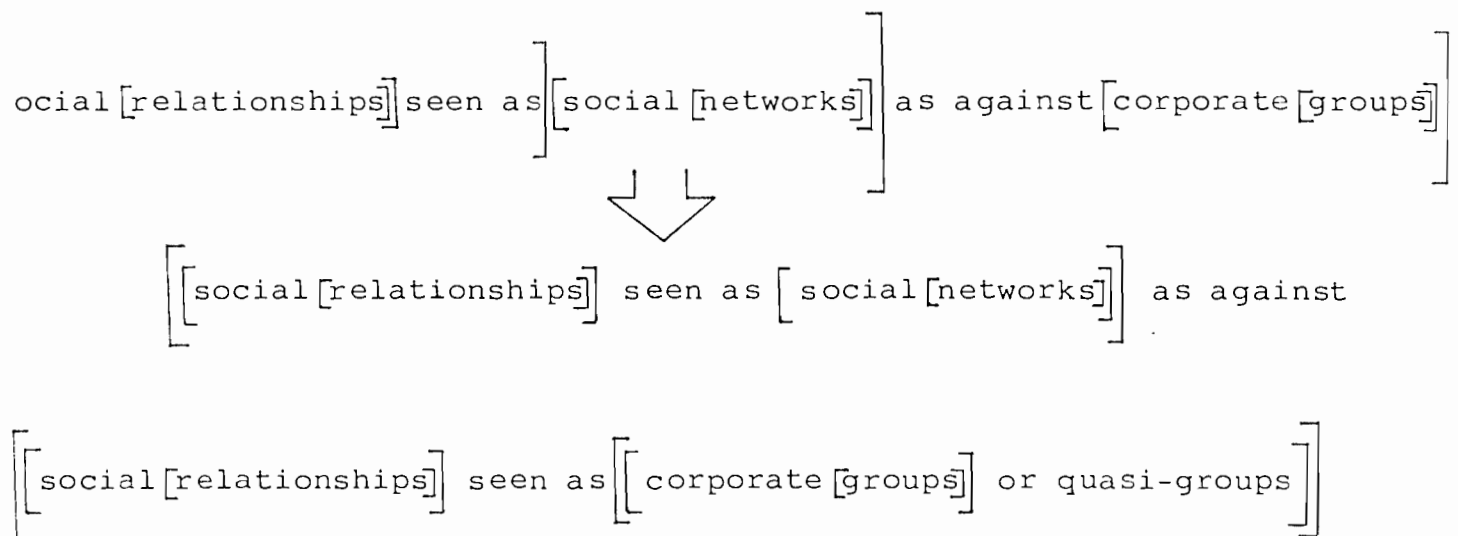
This sentence is interpreted
 in various ways :

- * Beberapa ahli menerangkan bahwa adanya network karena terdapat "culture" atau dengan kata lain "culture" suatu kolektif sangat mempengaruhi networknya.
 (a male student)
- * Tidak jauh dari maksud evolutioner, bentuk ini menunjukkan karakteristik yang berbeda maksudnya dengan kebudayaan. (a male student)
- * Karakteristik jaringan sosial hanya sebagai penyesuaian terhadap kebudayaan.
 (a female student)
- * Karakteristik network hanya sebagai penyesuaian hidup terhadap kebudayaan.
 (a female student)
- * Karakteristik network hanyalah merupakan penyesuaian terhadap kebudayaan.
 (a male student)

If these students intend to paraphrase the original sentence into the above varied ways, then, they misinterpret it. It seems that they simply choose some familiar words such as "network", "characteristics", and "culture" and pay little attention to the whole sentence. The suggested translation is :

"Tidak jauh bergeser dari tinjauan evolusioner adalah tinjauan yang melihat ciri-ciri khas jaringan sebagai ciri-ciri yang berbeda menurut 'kebudayaan.'"

(v) social relationships seen as social networks as against corporate groups (or quasi-groups)



The original sentence that contains this phrases order is :

"The upshot of my argument then must be that the distinction between social relationships seen as social networks as against corporate groups (or quasi-groups) is primarily a matter of the level of abstraction at which we are able to operate in summarizing the regularities that we can discern in social relationships as a whole."

* Perbedaan antara hubungan sosial sebagai jaringan sosial melawan kelompok-kelompok yang bekerja sama (atau sebagai setengah kelompok) secara utama sebuah persoalan dari tingkat yang tak berwujud dimana kita mampu beroperasi dalam meringkas peraturan-peraturan yang bisa kita bedakan dalam hubungan sosial sebagai keseluruhan.
(a male student)

* Perbedaan antara hubungan sosial tampak seperti yang terdapat dalam network dalam kaitannya dengan group yaitu keterikatan dalam tabel abstrak dimana setiap konsep harus dapat diterapkan dalam berbagai hubungan sosial.
(a male student)

The suggested translation is :

"Maka kesimpulan uraian saya adalah bahwa perbedaan antara hubungan-hubungan sosial yang dilihat sebagai jaringan sosial dengan hubungan-hubungan sosial yang dilihat sebagai kelompok bersama (atau sebagai kelompok semu) terutama hanyalah masalah tingkat abstraksi

yang mampu kita usahakan dalam mengikhtisarkan keteraturan yang dapat kita lihat dalam hubungan sosial secara keseluruhan."

(vi) to see network as residual
rather than focal

The complete sentence of this phrase order is :

"The tendency, initiated by Barnes and fostered by so many others, to see network as residual rather than focal, must have turned away many potential analysts of network processes."

$$\left[\left[\left[\text{to see} [\text{network}] \text{ as} [\text{residual}] \right] \text{ rather than focal} \right] \right]$$

$$\left[\text{to see} [\text{network}] \text{ as} [\text{residual}] \right] \text{ rather than } \left[\text{to see} [\text{network}] \text{ as} [\text{focal}] \right]$$

* Kecenderungan ditandai oleh Barnes dan dipelihara oleh yang lain untuk melihat ja-
ringan sebagai sisa daripada focal harus ditolak untuk beberapa analisa yang berpotensi dari proses jaringan.
(a female student)

* Kecenderungan ditandai oleh Barnes dan dipelihara oleh beberapa yang lain untuk melihat jaringan sebagai sisa daripada focal sehingga harus ditolak beberapa analisa yang berpotensi dari proses jaringan.
(a female student)

The suggested translation is :

"Kecenderungan yang diprakarsai oleh Barnes dan diikuti oleh

begitu banyak analisis lainnya untuk melihat jaringan lebih sebagai sisa daripada sebagai inti telah membuat para analisis yang potensial berpaling dari proses-proses jaringan."

(vii) to view networks as residual categories

The complete sentence of this phrase order is :

"Peter Gutkind appears to have been less inclined than most to view networks as residual categories"

* Peter Gutkind (orang Afrika) memiliki kecenderungan daripada kebanyakan untuk memandang jaringan sebagai kategorisasi (a female student)

* Peter Gutkind memandang jaringan sebagai kategorisasi (a female student)

* Peter Gutkind mendukung pendapat dalam networks sebagai kategori residual (a male student)

* Peter Gutkind memandang jaringan sebagai residual kategori (a female student)

[networks] as [residual [categories]]

The suggested translation is :

"Dibandingkan dengan sebagian besar analisis lainnya, Peter Gutkind nampaknya cenderung kurang begitu memandang jaringan sebagai kategori sisa"

(viii) Network Analysis based on Role, Exchange, and Action Theory

- * Dasar analisa jaringan dalam peranan tukar-menukar dan teori aksi (a female student)
- * Analisa jaringan didasarkan pada peranan, teori perubahan, dan teori tindakan (a female student)

[Network[analysis]] based on [role, [exchange, and[action[theory]]]]

The suggested translation is :

"Analisa Jaringan berdasarkan Teori Peran, Teori Pertukaran, dan Teori Tindakan"

(ix) Toward a Synthesis of Role, Exchange, and Action Theories

There are 26 students - among the 42 students - who have translated this subtitle into Teori Sintesa. Two students have not translated this subtitle and four students have not mentioned anything about it. The rest, 10 students, have translated it in various ways :

- * Teori Sintesis dari Peranan, Pertukaran, dan Tindakan
- * Sintesis : Peran, Pertukaran, dan Tindakan

- * Arah Sintesa dari Peranan, Tukar-menukar, dan Teori-teori Tindakan
- * Terhadap Sintesa Peranan, Pertukaran dan Tindakan
- * Sintesa dari Teori Peranan, Perubahan, dan Tindakan (Teori Sintesis)
- * Arah Sintesa Teori Peranan, Penukaran, dan Aksi/Tindakan
- * Arah Sintesa Teori Role, Teori Pertukaran, dan Teori Action (two students)
- * Kearah Suatu Sintesis Teori Peran, Tindakan, Pertukaran
- * Arah Sintesa Teori Peranan, Teori Tukar-menukar dan Teori Tindakan

Toward a Synthesis of $\left[\text{Role}, \left[\text{Exchange, and} \left[\text{Action} \left[\text{Theories} \right] \right] \right] \right]$

The suggested translation of this subtitle is :

"Ke Arah Sintesa Teori Peran, Teori Pertukaran, dan Teori Tindakan"

5.2.3.3. Clause

According to Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, a clause is "a group of words containing a subject and finite verb, forming a sentence or part of a sentence, and often doing the work of a noun,

adjective, or adverb."²⁶ Clauses exist in compound as well as complex sentences. They can be divided into coordinate and subordinate clauses. A compound sentence has two or more clauses linked by co-ordination in the same way as the separate parts of a single clause can be. A complex sentence has two or more clauses, at least one of which is subordinate to a main clause. A main clause is one that can stand alone, that is, is not dependent on another clause.²⁷

- (i) "They could not know, as each worried over his own particular problem - conjugal roles and social networks (Bott 1957), migration and social network (P. Mayer 1961, Phillpott 1968), urbanization and social network (Epstein 1961), music and networks (Whitten 1968), politics and network (A. Mayer 1962), the nature of 'horizontal segments' (Steward et. al. 1956) - that the scholarly world would be straining to use the concept much more

²⁶) Procter, Paul, ed., Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, Longman, 1978, London, p. 192

²⁷) Close, R.A., A Reference Grammar for Students of English, Longman, 1977, London, pp. 40-43

generally, in an expansion of specific propositions."

The main sentence of this paragraph is :

"They could not know, as each worried over his own particular problem, that the scholarly world would be straining to use the concept much more generally, in an expansion of specific propositions."

In the sentence above, "they" is the subject of the main sentence with "could not know" as the predicate. "as each worried over his own particular problem" modifies the predicate, "that the scholarly world would be straining to use the concept much more generally" is the object of the main sentence, and "in an expansion of specific propositions" modifies the object or, it is the object modifier of the main sentence. So, the phrases between the dashes that is, "conjugal roles and social networks (Bott 1957) the nature of 'horizontal segments'

masalah-masalah istimewa dan jaringan sosial (Bott 1957), masalah migrasi dan jaringan sosial (P. Mayer 1961, Phillpott 1968), urbanisasi dan jaringan sosial (Epstein 1961), politik dan jaringan sosial (Mayer 1962), "alam segmen-horisontal" (Steward et. al. 1956) bahwa dunia sarjana akan berusaha menggunakan konsep yang lebih umum, dalam suatu perluasan proporsi yang spesifik.
(a male student)

- * Soal yang khusus - peranan suami-isteri dan jaringan sosial saling mengganggu (Bott 1957), migrasi dan jaringan sosial (P. Mayer 1961, Phillpott 1968), urbanisasi dan jaringan sosial (Epstein 1961), musik dan jaringan sosial (Whitten 1968), politik dan jaringan sosial (A. Mayer 1962), sifat horizontal segments (Steward et. al. 1956), biasanya secara ilmiah terpaksa menggunakan konsep lebih banyak lagi, dalam suatu pengembangan dalil yang khusus.
(a female student)

The suggested translation is :

"Para analis tersebut tidak mengetahui bahwa dunia ilmiah berusaha keras menggunakan konsep secara lebih umum untuk mengembangkan dalil-dalil khusus, karena masing-masing mengkhawatirkan persoalan mereka sendiri mengenai peran keluarga batih dan jaringan sosial (Bott 1957), migrasi dan jaringan sosial (P. Mayer 1961, Phillpott 1968), urbanisasi dan jaringan sosial (Epstein 1961), musik dan jaringan-jaringan (Whitten 1968), politik dan jaringan (A. Mayer 1962), sifat 'segmen-segmen horisontal' (Steward dkk. 1956)"

- (ii) "The unit of observation at the first level of abstraction out of which first of all the sets, and subsequently the fields, are constructed is the role, and the sort of data which Barnes and Epstein present could be cast in terms of roles and role-performance."

The sentence above contains two clauses : the main clause and the sub clause. The main clause is :

"The unit of observation at the first level of abstraction out of which first of all the sets, and subsequently the fields, are constructed is the role,"

In this clause the subject is "The unit of observation." The dependent clause "at the first level of abstraction out of which first of all the sets, and subsequently the fields, are constructed" functions as subject modifier which constitutes the adjective clause. The predicate of this main clause is "is" whereas the subject complement is "the role."

The sub clause is :

"the sort of data which Barnes and Epstein present could be

cast in terms of roles and role-performance."

"the sort of data" constitutes the subject of the sub clause which is modified by the predicate "could be cast", "in terms of roles and role-performance" functions as the subject complement.

These two clauses - the main clause and the sub clause - are linked by a co-ordinate conjunction "and." This conjunction is the one underlined in the following construction :

p.t.o.

S

↓

The unit of observation at the first level of abstrac-

tion out of which first of all the sets, and subsequent-

ly the fields, are constructed ^P is ^{PC} the role, and 2

S ↙──────────────────┐
the sort of data [REDACTED] which Barnes and Epstein present [REDACTED] could
 3

P PC
be cast in terms of roles and role-performance.

Notes :

- 1 = Main Clause
2 = co-ordinate conjunction
3 = Sub Clause
S = Subject
P = Predicate
PC = Predicate Complement

Some students translate this sentence into :

- * Unit dari observasi itu pada tingkat pertama terpisah keluar dari yang pertama dari kumpulan itu. (a male student)
- * Unit dari observasi pada tingkat pertama ke kumpulan dan kemudian dasar paham dari pesan yang abstrak. (a female student)

- * Unit pengamatan pada tingkat abstraksi pertama, yang hasil pertamanya dari semua set, dan berikutnya medan disusun adalah peran, dan jenis data yang dihadirkan oleh Barnes dan Epstein dapat berubah sehubungan dengan peran dan hasil peran.
(a female student)
- * Unit dalam observasi itu pada tingkat pertama terpisah keluar dari yang pertama ke yang berikutnya.
(a female student)
- * Unit dari observasi pada tingkat I terpisah keluar ke kumpulan, kemudian dasar faham peranan yang abstrak dan jenis data, dimana Barnes dan Epstein dapat memberikan peristilahan dari peran dan dalam melaksanakan peran.
(a female student)

The suggested translation is :

"Kesatuan pengamatan adalah peran, dan macam data yang disajikan oleh Barnes dan Epstein dapat dimasukkan dipandang dari segi peran dan penampilan peran."

- (iii) "Categorical relationships are those in which persons meet in an informal context yet without knowing one another very well, and consequently begin to act on the basis of intuitively assigning one another to various type categories as an empirical approach towards appropriate behavior."

In this paragraph, "categorical relationships" functions as the subject (S), "are" as the

predicate (P), whereas the whole clause after the predicate functions as the subject complement (SC) that is :

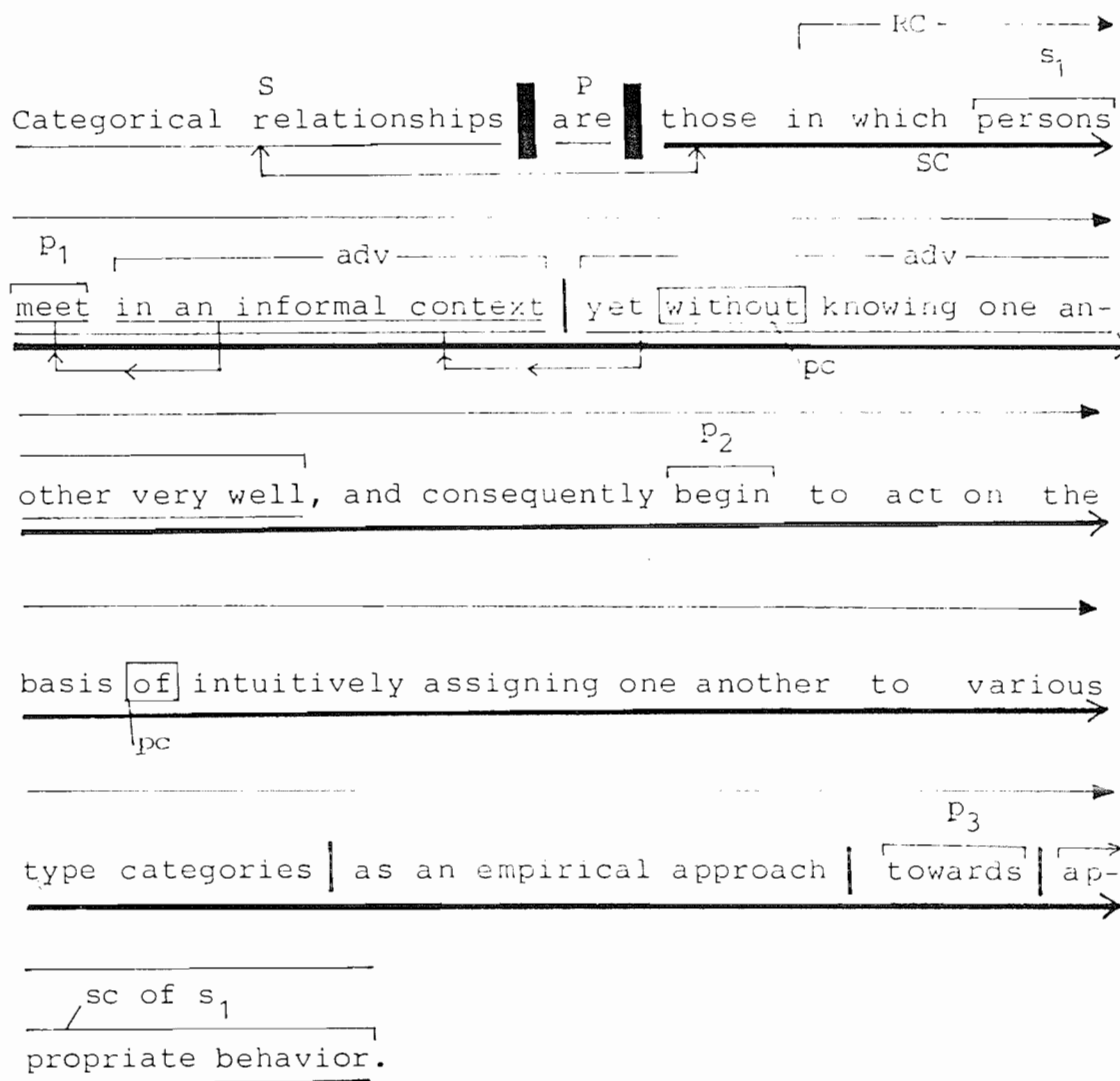
"those in which persons meet in an informal context yet without knowing one another very well, and consequently begin to act on the basis of intuitively assigning one another to various type categories as an empirical approach towards appropriate behavior."

This clause constitutes a restrictive clause, that is "those in which persons ... behavior." In this restrictive clause, "persons" functions as the subject (s_1). There are three predicates : "meet" is predicate 1 (p_1), "begin" is predicate 2 (p_2), and "towards" is predicate 3 (p_3). The adverb "in an informal context" modifies "meet" (p_1) whereas the adverb "yet without knowing one another very well" modifies "meet in an informal context."

"appropriate behavior" is the
subject complement of persons"
(s_1).

p.t.o.

The following construction will give a clear splitting of the explanation :



Notes :

S = Subject
P = Predicate
SC = Subject Complement
RC = Relative Clause
s₁ = subject 1
p₁ = predicate 1
p₂ = predicate 2
p₃ = predicate 3

adv = adverb
pc = prepositional complement
sc of s₁ = subject complement of subject 1
* For p₂ and p₃ with the subject is the same with the subject for predicate 1 that is subject 1 (s₁).

The students translate this paragraph into :

- * Kekeluargaan yang dikategorikan adalah dimana orang-orang bertemu dalam sebuah hubungan tidak resmi dan tanpa mengetahui satu dan lainnya dengan baik, dan sebagai akibatnya mulai bertindak di atas berdasarkan kalbunya menunjuk satu dan lainnya ke bermacam-macam tipe kategori sebagai satu pendekatan berdasarkan pengalaman terhadap tingkah laku yang benar dan sesuai.
- * Dalam hubungan categorical, person-personnya bertemu dalam situasi yang informal dan fleksibel serta setiap person belum mengenal satu sama lain secara baik.

The suggested translation is :

"Dalam hubungan kategorial orang-orang bertemu dalam suasana informal namun belum kenal baik satu sama lain, dan oleh karenanya mulai bertindak atas dasar menentukan berbagai tipe kategori yang dilakukan satu sama lain secara intuitif sebagai pendekatan empiris ke arah perilaku yang tepat."

- (iv) "We arrive at the structure of a society through abstracting from the concrete population and its behavior the pattern or network (or 'system') of relationships obtaining 'between actors in their capacity of playing roles relative to one another.'"

The subject of this paragraph is "we" and the predicate is "arrive." The prepositional phrase, which is a complementation of the verb "arrive" (the "predicate complement"), is :

"at the structure of a society through abstracting from the concrete population and its behavior the pattern or network (or 'system') of relationships obtaining between actors in their capacity of playing roles relative to one another."

"relative" modifies "their capacity." This will be clearer in the following construction :

p.t.o.

We **arrive** at the structure of a society ^{pc} through abstract-
 S P PC

ing from the concrete population and its behavior | the

pattern or network (or 'system') of relationships | obtain-

ing | 'between actors | in [their capacity] ^{pc} of playing roles
 relative to one another.'

Notes :

S = Subject
 P = Predicate
 PC = Predicate Complement
 pc = prepositional complement

This paragraph is translated
 by the student in varied ways :

- * Kami berada pada suatu struktur masyarakat yang abstrak dari penduduk konkret dan mencontoh tingkah laku itu atau sistim hubungan perilaku dari pelaku dalam kapasitas mereka dalam kerelatian peranan dari yang satu ke yang lain.
- * Kami tiba pada suatu susunan masarakat abstrak dari penduduk konkret dan mencontoh

tingkah laku itu atau jaringan dari hubungan yang berlaku antara pelaku dalam kapasitas mereka bermain peranan relatif dari yang satu ke yang lain.

* Kita dapat sampai pada struktur suatu masyarakat hanya lewat abstraksi dari penduduk konkrit dan pola tingkah lakunya atau network (atau sistim) yang berlaku diantara aktor-aktor dalam kapasitasnya melakukan tindakan yang sesuai dengan rolenya.

The suggested translation is :

"Kita sampai pada struktur suatu masyarakat melalui abstraksi*28 dari populasi*29 yang konkrit serta peri lakunya suatu pola atau jaringan (atau 'sistem') hubungan yang berlaku 'diantara pelaku-pelaku yang relatif cakap memainkan peran mereka satu sama lain.'"

5.3. Meanings

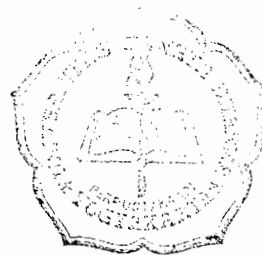
According to "Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English" "meanings" are "the ideas which are intended to be understood." As the students of the Anthropology Department often merely give meanings

*28) "abstraksi" is "proses pembentukan konsep mengenai ciri-ciri berbagai hal atau gejala yang sifatnya lebih umum daripada ciri-ciri khusus masing-masing hal atau gejala yang bersangkutan." Look at Koentjaraningrat, et. al., ibid, p.1

*29) "populasi" is "jumlah keseluruhan kasus dengan ciri-ciri tertentu atau seluruh jumlah anggota dalam suatu kesatuan sosial yang diteliti." Look at Koentjaraningrat. et. al., ibid, p.152

taken from the dictionary ("the lexical meanings") without considering the appropriate meanings according to their contexts, the writer will discuss these items in terms of the appropriate contextual meanings and some Anthropological terms. The Anthropological terms are included here since "terms" are a part of "meanings." It is stated in the dictionary that a "term" is "a word or expression with a special meaning or used in a particular activity, job, profession, etc."³⁰ The following is a list of the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms :

p.t.o.



³⁰) Procter, Paul, ed., Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, Longman, 1978, London, p. 1114

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- <u>network</u> analysis	analisa <u>jaringan</u>	analisa <u>network</u> ; <u>jaringan sosial</u>
- rule	kaidah	hukum, peranan, aturan, peraturan
- <u>fixed social institution</u>	<u>pranata sosial</u> yang <u>mapan</u>	<u>adat sosial</u> yang <u>pasti</u> ; <u>kebiasaan tertentu</u> ; <u>menentukan/mendirikan lembaga sosial</u>
- adaptation	adaptasi	menyesuaikan diri
- adaptability	kemampuan beradaptasi	yang dapat menyesuaikan
- the theoretical <u>watershed</u>	<u>titik peralihan</u> teoritis	<u>batasan/titik penemuan</u> secara teoritis
- <u>persistence or repetition of behaviour</u>	<u>kesinambungan</u> atau pengulangan <u>peri laku</u>	<u>keajegan</u> dan pengulangan <u>kebiasaan</u>
- the <u>element of continuity</u>	<u>unsur kontinyuitas</u>	<u>hal yang kontinyu</u>
- <u>validation of past experience</u>	<u>validitas pengalaman</u> waktu lampau	<u>eksperimen</u> yang lalu <u>berlakunya sama</u> (dengan ...)
- general <u>validity</u>	<u>validitas</u> ³¹ umum	-

³¹) "validitas" is "sifat benar menurut bahan bukti yang ada, logika berpikir, atau kekuatan hukum." Look at Koentjaraningrat, et. al., Kamus Istilah Antropologi, Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Jakarta, 1984, p. 192

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- a precedent	sesuatu yang dapat dijadikan contoh	hal yang memimpin
- variability	variabilitas	yang bervariasi
- the future structural alignment	<u>keterlibatan</u> struktural yang akan datang	struktur yang akan datang
- <u>perpetuated</u> structural relations	hubungan-hubungan struktural yang <u>dilestari-</u> <u>kan</u>	<u>pengekalan</u> hubungan struktural
- <u>groups, offices, institutions</u>	kelompok, jabatan, pranata	kelompok pegawai negeri, kantor/perkantoran/pegawai resmi, lembaga
- idiosyncratic	bersifat <u>janggal</u>	merupakan <u>ketidak-</u> <u>wajaran</u>
- formal <u>blueprint</u>	<u>denah</u> formal	<u>aturan-aturan</u> yang sifatnya resmi; <u>a-</u> <u>turan</u> formal yang <u>pasti</u>
- <u>descent</u> theory	teori <u>keturunan</u>	-
- <u>kinship</u> analysis	analisa <u>kekerabatan</u>	analisa <u>sistem</u> kekrabatan
- " <u>corporate</u> " groups	kelompok-kelompok "bersama"	kelompok-kelompok yang bersifat <u>ba-</u> <u>dan hukum</u> (<u>korpo-</u> <u>rasi</u>)

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- <u>exchange or "alliance" theory</u>	teori <u>pertukaran</u> atau teori " <u>persekutuan</u> "	teori <u>tukar menukar</u> atau teori <u>penggabungan</u> ; <u>penukaran</u> ; <u>lingkungan yang berbeda-beda</u> dan " <u>kumpulan</u> " teori
- " <u>categorical relationships</u> "	hubungan <u>kategorial</u>	hubungan yang <u>pasti</u> ; hubungan <u>kategori</u> ; " <u>hubungan kategoris masyarakat</u> "
- " <u>personal networks</u> "	jaringan <u>personal</u>	jaringan <u>perorangan</u> ; jaringan <u>perorangan</u>
- the <u>cliques-in-classes studies</u>	studi <u>klik-dalam-kelas</u> 32	<u>pelajaran kelompok dalam kelas-kelas</u> ; <u>pelajaran pengelompokan pada suatu golongan</u>
- the <u>interaction studies</u>	<u>studi interaksi</u>	<u>pelajaran interaksi</u> ; <u>pengamatan interaksi</u>

32) In Koentjaraningrat, et. al., Kamus Istilah Antropologi, Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Jakarta, 1984, p. 95 the term "klik" is "subkelompok dari kelompok yang lebih besar, yang warganya berinteraksi secara erat serta dengan tatap muka atas dasar saling menyukai dan adanya kepentingan bersama. Klik adalah kelompok primer yang bersifat tak resmi."

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- <u>inert individuals</u>	<u>perorangan yang kurang aktif</u>	<u>individu-individu yang kaku; kelambanan seseorang; individu-individu yang kurang tertarik</u>
- <u>active individuals</u>	<u>perorangan yang aktif</u>	<u>aktivitas individu; keaktifan seseorang</u>
- the <u>intricacies</u> of social structural relationships	<u>kerumitan hubungan sosial struktural</u>	<u>kesulitan-kesulitan hubungan struktur sosial; kesusilaan-kesusilaan hubungan struktural</u>
- <u>particular society</u>	<u>masyarakat khusus</u>	<u>masyarakat tertentu</u>
- many <u>players</u>	<u>para pelaku</u>	<u>banyak subyek</u>
- conceptualization	<u>konseptualisasi</u>	-
- <u>transformation possibilities</u>	<u>kemungkinan-kemungkinan perubahan</u>	<u>kemungkinan berubah; transformasi</u>
- a static <u>phenomenon</u>	<u>gejala statis</u> 33	<u>fenomena statis</u>
- <u>self-perpetuation</u>	<u>pelestarian diri</u>	<u>kekekalannya sendiri; pengekalan diri; keabadian diri</u>

33) "phenomenon" is termed "gejala" and "phenomena" is termed "fenomena." Look at Koentjaraningrat, et.al., ibid, p.53 & p.49

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- <u>synchronically and diachronically</u>	<u>secara sinkronis</u> maupun <u>diakronis</u>	<u>ada persamaan dan perbedaannya</u>
- relationships of <u>reciprocity</u>	hubungan <u>timbang-balik</u>	hubungan <u>resiprositas</u>
- transformations	transformasi	-
- <u>relational systems</u>	sistem <u>hubungan</u>	-
- kinship <u>corporation</u>	lembaga <u>kekerabatan</u>	<u>badan-badan hukum kekerabatan</u>
- formal <u>apparatus</u>	<u>aparatus</u> formal	<u>aparatur</u> formal
- <u>dyadic, patron-client, and brokerage contracts</u>	kontak <u>diadik</u> , kontrak <u>tuan-hamba</u> , dan kontrak <u>perantara</u> 34	<u>dyad, patronklien dan brokerage contracts; dyadic, patron-client, dan kontak-kontak perdagangan</u>
- <u>action theory</u>	teori <u>tindakan</u>	teori <u>aksi</u> ; teori <u>action</u> ; teori <u>perbuatan</u> ; <u>kumpulan aksi</u> ; teori <u>aktivitas</u>
- <u>a common concern</u>	<u>keprihatinan umum</u>	<u>perhatian bersama</u> ; <u>perhatian umum</u>

34) "hubungan diadik" is "jaringan sosial yang terwujud karena interaksi antara dua satuan sosial"; "hubungan tuan-hamba"/"hubungan bapak-anak buah" is "jaringan sosial yang terwujud karena interaksi seorang dengan kedudukan sosial tinggi dengan orang-orang dengan kedudukan sosial lebih rendah; dalam hal itu pihak yang kedua memberi jasa-jasa kepada pihak pertama yang telah memberi perlindungan." Look at Koentjaraningrat, et.al., ibid, p.62

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- <u>group-oriented theory</u>	teori yang berorientasi pada kelompok	teori orientasi kelompok
- the <u>dyadic link</u>	<u>hubungan diadik</u> ³⁵	<u>mata rantai dyad</u> ; <u>hubungan diadic</u> ; <u>ikatan darah</u>
- the <u>nature of the problem</u>	<u>sifat masalah</u>	<u>masalah dasar</u> ; <u>sifat dasar problem</u> ; <u>problem dasar</u> ; <u>wujud masyarakat</u>
- domains	domain	masalah; daerah
- <u>dimensions of cognition</u>	<u>dimensi kognisi</u> ³⁶	<u>dimensi dari pengamalan</u> ; <u>dimensi dari pengamatan</u>
- the concepts of " <u>center</u> " and " <u>ego</u> "	konsep " <u>pusat</u> " dan " <u>ego</u> "	konsep " <u>center</u> " dan " <u>ego</u> "
- concepts of " <u>connectedness</u> "	konsep " <u>keterkaitan</u> "	konsep " <u>penggunaan</u> "; konsep " <u>connected</u> "; konsep " <u>konekcted</u> "; konsep " <u>connectedness</u> "; konsep " <u>tak terbatasnya hubungan</u> "

³⁵) Koentjaraningrat, et. al., ibid.

³⁶) "kognisi" is "proses dimana suatu organisme menjadi sadar atau memperoleh pengetahuan mengenai suatu obyek. Proses ini mencakup proses melihat (perceiving), mengenal (recognizing), mengerti (conceiving), menimbang (judging), dan menyimpulkan (reasoning). Look at Koentjaraningrat, et.al., ibid, p.96

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- <u>ego-centeredness</u>	<u>sifat egosentris</u>	<u>pemusatan ego; kepusatan ego; keterpusatan ego; perhitungan ego</u>
- <u>cognatic kinship systems</u>	sistem kekerabatan <u>seasal</u>	sistem kekerabatan <u>kognatie (berdasarkan keturunan)</u> ; sistem kekerabatan; sistem kekeluargaan; kekerabatan
- <u>small control groups</u>	kelompok-kelompok dengan <u>wewenang kecil</u>	group <u>kontrol</u> yang kecil; kelompok-kelompok kecil; kelompok kontrol yang kecil; kelompok-kelompok <u>pengawasan</u> yang kecil
- charts	bagan pohon	grafik; tabel; peta
- From <u>residue</u> to <u>phenomenon</u>	Dari <u>residu</u> ke <u>gejala</u>	Dari <u>sisa</u> menuju <u>kejadian</u>
- "... gave the concept of network <u>graphic</u> meaning ..."	"...memberi <u>arti yang jelas</u> pada konsep jaringan"	"...memberikan konsep arti dari <u>grafik</u> jaringan"; "... memberikan konsep pengertian <u>grafik</u> jaringan (network)"; memberikan konsep arti dari <u>grafik</u> jaringan
- <u>conjugal roles</u>	<u>peran keluarga batih</u>	<u>peran-peran suami isteri; peranan suami isteri; masalah-masalah istimewa</u>

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- the <u>nature</u> of " <u>horizontal segments</u> "	sifat " <u>segmen-segmen horison-tal</u> "	"alam <u>segmen-hori-zontal</u> "; sifat <u>ho-rizontal segments</u> ; sifat <u>dasar seg-men-segmen hori-sontal</u>
- " <u>total network</u> "	"jaringan <u>menye-luruh</u> "	jaringan <u>total</u> ; jaringan <u>keselu-ruhan</u> ; <u>kesatuan jaringan</u>
- " <u>partial network</u> "	"jaringan <u>parsi-al</u> "	<u>bagian-bagian ja-ringan</u> ; jaringan <u>partial</u> ; jaringan <u>sebagian</u>
- <u>graph theory</u>	teori <u>grafik</u>	-
- <u>ego-centered social sets</u>	<u>perangkat sosial berpusat pada ego</u>	<u>ego-centre</u> dari <u>tata sosial</u> (so-cial set); ego centre
- "stars"	" <u>bintang-bintang</u> "	"star"
- a "first order"	"tata urutan per-tama"	"orde (tatanan) awal"
- a "star sub-graph"	"subgrafik bin-tang"	.....
- density	kepadatan	densitas; kerapat-an; ketebalan
- "alpha"	"alpha"	"alfa"
- a "contact" (alter)	"kontak" (alter ego)	orang lain (kon-tak)
- <u>adjacent</u> in the star	<u>berdekatan</u> dalam bintang	" <u>adjacent</u> " (berde-katan)
- a <u>given</u> ego	ego <u>tertentu</u>	-

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- a "zone"	zona	"zone"
- residual (categories)	(jaringan) sisa	sisa kekeluargaan
- excerpts	kutipan	-
- pervasiveness	mudah menyebarnya	.....
- ties of <u>friendship</u> and <u>acquaintance</u>	ikatan <u>persahabatan</u> dan <u>kenalan</u>	ikatan <u>persahabatan</u> dan <u>perkenalan</u>
- the imagined primitive isolate	masyarakat primitif terpencil yang dibayangkan	gambaran primitif yang terpencil
- the " <u>country-wide network</u> "	"jaringan <u>seluruh negeri</u> "	"jaringan <u>country-wide</u> "
- (face-to-face) <u>relationship</u>	<u>hubungan (langsung)</u>	(<u>wajah ke wajah</u>) <u>kekeluargaan</u>
- structural (face-to-face) relationship	hubungan langsung struktural	kekeluargaan yang berhadapan dengan sebuah tipe struktural
- categorical (face-to-face) relationship	hubungan langsung kategorial	kekeluargaan yang dikategorikan
- egocentric (face-to-face) relationship	hubungan langsung egosentris	-
- <u>interstitial</u> , <u>supplementary</u> , <u>parallel</u>	bersifat <u>selingan</u> , <u>tambahan</u> , atau <u>paralel</u>	<u>tidak resmi</u> , <u>pe-lengkap</u> , <u>sejajar</u>
- <u>patron-client relation</u>	hubungan <u>tuan-hamba</u>	hubungan <u>dengan pelindung</u>

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- social <u>phenomena</u>	<u>fenomena</u> sosial	<u>gejala</u> sosial
- <u>interacting</u> individuals	individu yang <u>berinteraksi</u>	<u>ineraksi</u> individual
- formal <u>corporate</u> groups	kelompok <u>bersama</u> yang resmi	kelompok <u>kerjasama</u> formal
- the networks of <u>relatives</u> , <u>friends</u> , and <u>acquaintances</u>	jaringan <u>sanak saudara</u> , <u>teman</u> dan <u>kenalan</u>	hubungan <u>jaringan</u> , <u>teman</u> , <u>kenalan</u>
- coalitions	koalisi	kesatuan
- cliques	klik	komplotan
- <u>interest</u> groups	kelompok-kelompok <u>interes</u>	kelompok yang <u>menarik</u>
- factions	golongan	partai politik
- focal	inti	focal; fokal
- <u>potential</u> analysts	para analis yang <u>potensial</u>	beberapa analisa yang <u>berpotensi</u> ; <u>banyak</u> analisis
- "From <u>metaphor</u> to model"	"Dari <u>metafora</u> ke model"	"Dari <u>metaphor</u> ke model"
- the <u>phenomena</u> of primary <u>concern</u>	<u>fenomena</u> <u>perhatian</u> utama	<u>pengertian</u> sebagai <u>gejala</u> dari <u>hubungan</u> yang <u>utama</u>
- social <u>leftovers</u>	<u>sampah/sisa</u> sosial	<u>kelebihan</u> sosial
- interstices	celah-celah	-
- tendency	tendensi/kecenderungan	-

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- a set of <u>inter-locking networks</u>	perangkat jaringan yang <u>berpautan satu sama lain</u>	suatu rangkaian dari jaringan yang <u>selagi mengisi</u>
- the <u>structural</u> , the <u>categorical</u> , and the <u>personal relationships</u>	hubungan <u>struktural</u> , <u>kategorikal</u> , dan <u>personal</u>	<u>bentuk</u> , <u>kategori</u> , dan <u>pribadi</u>
- analyst	analisis	konseptor
- <u>structural and personal links</u>	hubungan <u>struktural</u> dan <u>personal</u>	(pertentangan) <u>struktural</u> dan <u>hubungan personal</u>
- regularities	keteraturan	-
- <u>residual categories</u>	<u>kategori sisa</u>	<u>kategorisasi</u>
- a network of <u>contacts and associations</u>	jaringan <u>kontak</u> dan <u>asosiasi</u> 37	jaringan dari <u>kontak-kontak</u> dan <u>gabungan-gabungan</u>
- <u>kin-based rural environment</u>	<u>lingkungan pedesaan yang berdasarkan kekerabatan</u>	<u>dasar kekeluargaan seperti lingkungan di desa</u>
- <u>kin-based and association-based networks</u>	jaringan <u>berdasarkan kekerabatan</u> dan jaringan <u>berdasarkan asosiasi</u>	<u>dasar kekeluargaan dengan dasar gabungan jaringan sosial; dasar keluarga dan dasar gabungan</u>

37) "asosiasi is "perkumpulan atau kolektif manusia yang mengorganisasikan diri sebagai kesatuan sosial yang bersifat resmi dengan sistem kepemimpinan formal untuk tujuan bersama yang tertentu." Look at Koentjaraningrat, et.al., ibid, p.13

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- documentation	dokumentasi	pendokumentasian
- role performance	penampilan peran	peranan
- kin role	peran kekerabatan	bagian kekeluargaan
- recreational role	peran rekreasio- nal	bagian rekreasi
- microanalysis	mikroanalisa	analisa mikro
- categorical terms	istilah-istilah kategorial	bentuk kategori
- role systems	sistem peran	sistem role (peranan)
- <u>interpersonal relationship</u>	hubungan <u>antarin-</u> <u>dividu</u>	hubungan <u>interper-</u> <u>sonal</u>
- <u>total social network</u>	jaringan sosial <u>menyeluruh</u>	jaringan sosial
- taxonomy	taksonomi	-
- a dichotomy	pengkotakan	.....
- personal or egocentric sets or networks	perangkat atau jaringan personal atau perangkat atau jaringan egosentris	personal atau ego-sentris; hubungan personal atau ego-sentris set atau jaringan
- a strategic ego <u>node</u>	<u>titik pangkal</u> ego yang strategis	.....
- <u>broker</u> and <u>patronage</u> relations	hubungan <u>peranta-</u> <u>ra</u> dan hubungan <u>pelindung</u>	<u>pedagang</u> dan hubungan dengan <u>langganan</u>

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- <u>ancillary actors</u>	pelaku-pelaku <u>pe-lengkap</u>	pelaku <u>pendukung/tambahan</u>
- <u>limited network (set)</u>	jaringan (atau perangkat) <u>terbatas</u>	jaringan <u>batas (set)</u>
- personal set	perangkat perso-nal	set personal; set perseorangan
- categorical set	perangkat katego-rial	katagori set; set kategori
- action set	perangkat tindak-	set aksi; action set
- role-system set	perangkat sistim peran	set sistem peranan
- field set	perangkat bidang	set lapangan; set lokasi; medan
- unlimited net-work	jaringan tak ter-batas	jaringan tak ber-batas
- Set <u>limited to links with a certain content</u>	Perangkat <u>terba-tas</u> pada <u>hubungan dengan isi ter-tentu</u>	Set yang <u>dibatasi</u> pada <u>hubungan yang pasti</u> ; <u>batas-batas hubungan</u> ; <u>set ter-batas untuk meng-hubungkan dengan kepuasan tertentu</u>
- kindreds	hubungan kekelu-argaan	keluarga-keluarga
- parameter	parameter 38	paramatar

38) "parameter" is "ukuran seluruh populasi dalam penelitian yang harus diperkirakan dari data yang terdapat dalam sampel." Look at Koentjaraningrat, et.al., ibid, p.128

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- Some issues in network analysis	Beberapa <u>pokok persoalan</u> dalam analisa jaringan	Beberapa <u>perencanaan/issue</u> dalam analisa network
- <u>total</u> network	jaringan <u>menyeluruh</u>	(... dengan cara yang) <u>total/keseluruhan</u> , ...
- <u>infinite</u> network	jaringan <u>tak terhingga</u>	(... dengan cara yang) <u>tidak terbatas</u>
- <u>unbounded</u> network	jaringan <u>tak ada batasnya</u>	(... dengan cara yang) <u>tak terbatas</u>
- <u>everlasting</u> network	jaringan <u>kekal</u>	(... dengan cara yang) <u>tetap</u>
- classificatory	bersifat penggolongan	mengklasifikasikan; classificatory
- (Mayer) separated Barnes's " <u>classificatory sets</u> " from Chapple and Coon's " <u>interactive sets</u> "	(Mayer) memisahkan " <u>perangkat penggolongan</u> " Barnes dari " <u>perangkat interaktif</u> " Chapple dan Coon.	... dan terpisah dari <u>klasifikasi-nya</u> Barnes/ <u>klasifikasi set-nya</u> Barnes dari " <u>interactive sets</u> "nya Chapple dan Coon.
- intermediaries	perantara	-
- <u>terminal</u> individuals	individu-individu <u>terakhir</u>	terminal pribadi; batas pribadi
- <u>bounded set</u>	<u>perangkat yang ada batasnya</u>	<u>jaringan bounded (set)</u> ; merupakan <u>loncatan</u>

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- <u>unbounded set</u>	<u>perangkat yang tak ada batasnya</u>	<u>tidak merupakan loncatan (peralihan); jaringan "unbounded"</u>
- the <u>informant</u> (ego)	<u>informan</u> (ego) 39	<u>informasi</u> (ego)
- classifies and <u>stereotypes</u> people as similar to or different from himself	menggolongkan dan menentukan <u>stereotype/menerapkan sifat-sifat tertentu</u> kepada orang-orang yang sama atau berbeda dengan diri sendiri 40	menggolongkan <u>stereotype/mengklasifikasikan</u> atau <u>memilah-milah</u> (membagi-bagi) manusia sebagai bentuk yang sama atau berbeda dengan dirinya
- a <u>given ego locus</u>	<u>tempat ego tertentu</u>	<u>tempat ego yang diamati</u>
- acknowledged ambiguity	kedwitarian yang diakui	.....
- ... but of their <u>common connection</u> to the <u>central ego</u> .	... tetapi dari <u>hubungan umum</u> mereka ke <u>ego pusat</u> .	tetapi <u>umumnya untuk hubungan pusat ego; tetapi umumnya hubungan untuk pusat ego</u> .
- unit <u>entities</u>	<u>wujud-wujud</u> kesatuan	unit; unit sungguh-sungguh

39) "informan" is "warga yang menjadi sumber keterangan bagi peneliti masyarakat yang sedang diteliti." Look at Koentjaraningrat, et.al., ibid, p.69

40) "stereotype" is "konsepsi mengenai sifat-sifat suatu golongan berdasarkan prasangka yang subyektif dan tak tepat." Look at Koentjaraningrat, et. al., ibid, p.176

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- a <u>partial</u> network	jaringan <u>parsial</u>	jaringan <u>partial</u>
- a <u>politic</u> network	jaringan <u>politik</u>	-
- the <u>cognatic web</u> of kinship	jaringan <u>seasal</u> kekerabatan	jaringan <u>yang a-</u> <u>salnya sama pada</u> <u>bentuk</u> kekerabatan
- Network (Total Network)	Jaringan (Jaringan Menyeluruh)	Network (Total Network)
- classificatory	bersifat penggolongan	classificatory
- egocentric	egosentris	egocentric
- interactive	interaktif	interactive
- extract	kutipan	.....
- <u>paradigmatic representation</u>	<u>gambaran paradigmatik</u>	<u>paradigma</u>
- <u>partial</u> network	jaringan <u>parsial</u>	jaringan <u>sebagian</u> ; <u>partial network</u>
- <u>total</u> network	jaringan <u>menyeluruh</u>	jaringan <u>keseluruhan</u> ; <u>total network</u>
- <u>finite</u> network	jaringan <u>terhingga</u>	jaringan <u>terbatas</u> ; <u>finite network</u>
- <u>infinite</u> network	jaringan <u>tidak terhingga</u>	jaringan <u>tidak terbatas</u> ; <u>infinite network</u>
- <u>bounded</u> network	jaringan <u>ada batasnya</u>	jaringan <u>dibatasi</u> ; <u>jaringan terikat</u> ; <u>jaringan loncatan</u>

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- <u>unbounded network</u>	<u>jaringan tidak ada batasnya</u>	<u>jaringan tidak dibatasi; jaringan tidak terikat; jaringan tidak loncatan</u>
- <u>the mapping of transformation possibilities</u>	<u>membuat kemungkinan perubahan</u>	.....
- Barnes's three network characteristics are <u>distinct, orthogonal, and important dimensions</u> .	tiga ciri khas jaringan Barnes adalah <u>berdimensi jelas, ortogonal, dan penting</u> .	tiga jaringan karakteristik Barnes adalah <u>jelas, ortogonal, dan sebagai ukuran penting</u>
- <u>personal set</u>	<u>perangkat personal</u>	<u>kumpulan perorangan; kumpulan orang-orang</u>
- <u>categorical set</u>	<u>perangkat kategorial</u>	<u>kumpulan kategorial</u>
- <u>role-system set</u>	<u>perangkat sistem peran</u>	<u>kumpulan sistem peranan</u>
- <u>action set</u>	<u>perangkat tindakan</u>	<u>kumpulan perbuatan</u>
- <u>field set</u>	<u>perangkat bidang</u>	<u>kumpulan lokasi/lapangan</u>
- quasi group	kelompok semu	kuasi group; kelompok buatan; setengah kelompok; emosi group

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- when a <u>core</u> begins to <u>coalesce</u> around a <u>particular ego</u>	apabila suatu <u>inti</u> mulai <u>bergabung</u> di <u>sekitar ego khusus</u>	.....
- node	titik pangkal	pusat susunan
- hiatuses	kekosongan	ruang kosong
- continuum	kontinuum	kelanjutan
- structural time	waktu struktural	.....
- developmental cycle	lingkaran perkembangan	.....
- codebook	buku kode 41	.....
- <u>differentiating phases</u>	tahap-tahap yang <u>membedakan</u>	.....
- <u>intimacy</u> and <u>extension</u>	<u>keintiman/keakraban</u> dan <u>jarak</u>	<u>kemesraan/hubungan dekat</u> dan <u>perluasan; kerukunan</u>
- <u>sosial distance</u>	<u>jarak sosial</u> 42	-
- " <u>intimate</u> " <u>component</u>	bagian " <u>intim/keakraban</u> ."	<u>keintiman; keakraban; kemesraan</u>
- <u>ego's intimate network</u>	<u>jaringan intim ego</u>	<u>ego's intimate network; jaringan keintiman</u>

41) "buku kode" is "pedoman yang dibuat oleh seorang peneliti yang berisi makna tanda-tanda kode yang dipergunakan dalam pemrosesan dan analisis datanya." Look at Koentjaraningrat, et. al., ibid, p.23

42) "jarak sosial" is "keadaan jauh dan tak sesuai yang timbul dalam interaksi antarmanusia dalam masyarakat." Look at Koentjaraningrat, et. al., ibid, p.73

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- <u>ego's effective network</u>	<u>jaringan efektif ego</u>	<u>ego's effective network</u>
- <u>ego's extended network</u>	<u>jaringan luas ego</u>	<u>jaringan yang diperluas</u>
- <u>relatives, friends, and acquaintances</u>	<u>sanak saudara, teman dan kenalan</u>	.....
- <u>heuristic</u>	<u>bersifat praktis</u>	<u>heuristic</u>
- <u>generalization</u>	<u>generalisasi</u>	yang secara umum
- "intimate" part of an egocentric network	bagian jaringan egosentris yang "intim/karib"	-
- "effective" (close) part of an egocentric network	bagian jaringan egosentris yang "efektif" (dekat)	-
- "extended" (distant) part of an egocentric network	bagian jaringan egosentris yang "luas" (jauh)	-
- <u>connectedness</u>	<u>keterkaitan</u>	<u>tak terbatasnya hubungan; keterhubungan; kebebasan hubungan; ketidakterbatasnyahubungan</u>
- <u>close-knit/ loose-knit</u>	<u>hubungan erat/hubungan longgar</u>	<u>close-knit/loose-knit</u>
- <u>large mesh/small mesh</u>	<u>tautan besar/tautan kecil</u>	<u>matajala besar/kecil</u>

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- connectivity	sifat yang memperlihatkan pola keterkaitan	.....
- an <u>authoritative</u> glossary of terms	daftar istilah yang dapat di- <u>percaya</u>	daftar istilah yang bersifat <u>otorotatif</u>
- <u>in the vicinity of</u>	<u>sekitar</u> (=about)	.....
- <u>ramifying</u> relationships	hubungan yang bercabang-cabang	relasi-relasi
- <u>reciprocity</u>	<u>proses timbal balik</u>	<u>resiprositas</u>
- concept of <u>"dyadic contract"</u>	konsep " <u>kontrak diadik</u> "	<u>dyadic contract</u>
- concept of <u>"patronage"</u>	konsep " <u>pelindung</u> "	<u>"patronage"</u>
- concept of <u>"clientage"</u>	konsep " <u>perham-baan</u> "	<u>"clientage"</u>
- <u>theoretical underpinnings</u>	<u>penyokong teori-tis</u>	<u>tiang pondasi teoritis</u>
- abstraction	abstraksi 43	-
- <u>role performance</u>	<u>penampilan peran</u>	.....

43) "abstraksi" is "proses pembentukan konsep mengenai ciri-ciri berbagai hal atau gejala yang sifatnya lebih umum daripada ciri-ciri khusus masing-masing hal atau gejala yang bersangkutan." Look at Koentjaraningrat, et. al., ibid, p.1

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- <u>the material and social life of people</u>	<u>kehidupan materi dan kehidupan sosial masyarakat</u>	<u>material dan kehidupan sosial dari orang-orang</u>
- natural setting	latar alami	lingkungan alam; lingkungan tertentu; lingkungan alamiah; rangkaian alamiah; setting kebudayaan; setting yang natural
- <u>connection</u>	<u>hubungan</u>	<u>koneksi</u>
- social <u>relations</u>	<u>hubungan-hubungan sosial</u>	<u>relasi-relasi sosial</u>
- by the same token	dengan cara yang sama	sebaliknya; dengan bukti sama
- actor	pelaku	aktor
- <u>opposition</u>	<u>pertentangan</u>	<u>persaingan; perlawanan; oposisi</u>
- <u>cooperation</u>	<u>kerja sama</u>	<u>koperasi</u>
- "exchange torts"	"saling salah paham/saling terbentur karena kesalahan-kesalahan"	"tukar menukar kesalahan/saling bersaing/melakukan pertukaran yang tidak adil"
- exchange some acceptable torts	tukar menukar hadiah/tanda-tanda persahabatan yang cocok/sesuai	.....
- the concept of <u>reciprocity</u>	<u>konsep timbal-balik</u>	<u>resiprositas; repositas</u>

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- <u>generalized reciprocity</u>	<u>proses timbal balik umum</u>	<u>timbang balik umum; menyamaratakan timbal balik</u>
- <u>balanced reciprocity</u>	<u>proses timbal balik seimbang</u>	<u>timbang balik/resiprositas perimbangan; timbal-balik stabil</u>
- <u>negative reciprocity</u>	<u>proses timbal balik negatif</u>	<u>timbang-balik/resiprositas negatif</u>
- altruistic	altruistik 44	mementingkan kepentingan orang lain
- "pure gift"	"pemberian murni"	-
- impunity	tanpa sangsi	karena tidak ada hukumannya; karena hukumnya
- appropriation	dana	.....
- <u>net advantage</u>	keuntungan <u>bersih</u>	keuntungan; keinginan atau keuntungan
- "haggling" or "barter"	"tawar menawar" atau "barter/dagang tukar menukar"	"jual beli" atau "barter"; penawaran
- "gambling"	"berjudi"	"gambling"; "spekulasi"

44) "altruistik" is "bersifat altruis." "altruisme" is "sikap yang ada pada makhluk manusia yang mungkin bersifat naluri berupa dorongan untuk berbuat jasa kepada manusia lain." Look at Koentjaraningrat, et. al., ibid, p.6

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- "chicanery"	"penipuan/ketidakjujuran"	.....
- "theft"	"pencurian"	-
- seizure	perampasan	perebutan
- <u>interpersonal link</u>	<u>hubungan antar individu</u>	<u>hubungan interpersonal</u>
- <u>collective representations</u>	<u>gambaran-gambaran kolektif</u>	<u>tindakan kolektif; kehidupan kolektif</u>
- <u>school of thought</u>	<u>mazhab</u> 45	.....
- Weberian 'action theory	teori tindakan ala Weber	.....
- 'political man'	'manusia politik'	'manusia politis'
- action theorists	para teoretikus tindakan	teori action
- a socially significant ego	ego yang penting secara sosial	ego kepentingan sosial; kepentingan ego sosial
- the political economy of a given system	sistem politik ekonomi tertentu	politik, ekonomi dari yang diberikan; politik ekonomi dari sistem yang diberikan

45) "mazhab" is "segolongan pemikir yang sepaham dalam teori-teori dan ajaran-ajaran tertentu, dan yang berusaha untuk memajukan teori dan ajaran itu." Look at Koentjaraningrat, et. al., ibid. p.113

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- <u>particular sub-cultures</u>	<u>subkebudayaan</u> khusus 46	<u>cabang budaya</u> yang khusus
- <u>fieldwork</u>	<u>studi lapangan</u> (studi ilmiah atau studi sosial yang dilakukan di lapangan)	<u>kerja lapangan</u>
- <u>such polarity as significant</u>	<u>sifat berlawanan</u> semacam itu sebagai hal yang penting	sifat kepentingan yang berbalikan
- <u>social catalysts</u>	<u>katalisator sosial</u>	-
- broker	perantara	pedagang; makelar
- fieldworker	peneliti lapangan	pekerja lapangan
- <u>to transmit messages</u>	<u>mengirimkan</u> pesan	mentransit/memin-dahkan/mengganti/meneruskan pesan
- <u>to direct messages</u>	<u>mengarahkan</u> pesan	mengatur/mengarah pesan
- <u>to filter messages</u>	<u>menyaring</u> pesan	menyeleksi pesan

46) "subkebudayaan" is "kebudayaan khas yang dianut oleh golongan sosial, komunitas, kelompok, atau perkumpulan dalam suatu masyarakat yang lebih luas. Kebudayaan khas itu merupakan bagian dari kebudayaan masyarakat yang lebih luas dan mengandung beberapa unsur khas di samping unsur-unsur lain yang sama dengan kebudayaan yang lebih luas itu." Look at Koentjaraningrat, et. al., ibid, p.178

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- <u>to receive</u> messages	<u>menerima</u> pesan	-
- <u>to code and decode</u> messages	<u>menyandi dan menjabarkan kembali sandi</u> dari pesan	<u>mengkode dan mengeja/membaca sandi</u> pesan
- <u>to interpret</u> messages	<u>menafsirkan</u> pesan/ <u>menginterpretasikan</u> pesan	-
- <u>personal power</u>	<u>kekuasaan</u> per-seorangan	<u>kekuatan</u> pribadi
- <u>social events</u>	<u>kejadian-kejadian</u> sosial	<u>peristiwa</u>
- clique	klik	-
- faction	golongan	faksion; faktion
- gang	geng ⁴⁷	gang
- (other) <u>grouplike, short-run, nonperpetuating cluster</u>	<u>semacam kelompok, kelompok yang ada dalam jangka pendek, dan kelompok yang tidak abadi (lainnya)</u>	.....
- groupness	kekelompakan (sifat yang menjadikan itu suatu kelompok)	.....

⁴⁷) "geng" is "kelompok orang yang bersatu untuk mencapai tujuan atau memenuhi hasrat tertentu secara bersama-sama." Look at Koentjaraningrat, et. al., ibid, p.54

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- sticky theory	teori yang dapat menyesatkan	.....
- <u>corporate</u> group	kelompok <u>bersama</u>	kelompok <u>berbadan hukum</u> ; kelompok <u>kerja sama</u>
- "network broker"	perantara jaringan	.....
- "leader"	"pemimpin"	"pimpinan"
- an alter broker	perantara kedua	perantara
- a developmental perspective	perspektif yang berkembang	perkembangan perspektif
- factional studies	studi tentang golongan	studi faksi/faction
- <u>mobility</u> strategies	strategi <u>mobilitas</u> ⁴⁸	-
- personal kindreds	persamaan personal	persaudaraan-persaudaraan seseorang; perseorangan yang sejenis
- stem kindreds	persamaan garis keturunan keluarga	tangkai persaudaan

⁴⁸) "mobilitas" is "gerak perubahan antara warga masyarakat yang terjadi baik secara fisik maupun secara sosial." Look at Koentjaraningrat, et. al., ibid, p.118

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- <u>an ambilineal ramage</u>	<u>percabangan asas ambilineal</u> 49	<u>suatu ramage yang ambilineal</u>
- a social <u>order</u>	<u>tatanan sosial</u>	<u>kelas sosial</u>
- <u>formal settings</u>	<u>latar formal</u>	<u>setting yang formal</u>
- <u>corporate groups</u>	<u>kelompok bersama</u>	<u>korporasi kelompok</u>
- <u>ego-centered networks</u>	<u>jaringan yang berpusat pada ego</u>	<u>ego-centered met-works</u>
- <u>extant formal groups</u>	<u>kelompok formal yang masih ada...</u>	<u>bentuk formal kelompok</u>
- natural social <u>order</u>	<u>tatanan sosial alami</u>	<u>susunan sosial yang wajar</u>
- the <u>ramifying ego-centered networks</u>	<u>jaringan yang berpusat pada ego yang bercabang-cabang</u>	-
- economic, political, and social <u>groupings</u>	<u>pengelompokan ekonomi, politik, dan sosial</u>	.....
- social <u>fields</u>	<u>bidang-bidang sosial</u>	<u>lapangan sosial</u>

49) "asas ambilineal" is "prinsip yang menentukan bahwa seseorang dapat memilih hubungan keturunan melalui garis kerabat pria atau garis kerabat wanita." Look at Koentjaraningrat, et. al. ibid, p.12

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- <u>quasi-group rubric</u>	<u>perangkat kaidah</u> <u>kelompok semu</u>	kuasi group; <u>rubrik</u> emosi group (kelompok buatan)
- <u>purposive creations by an ego</u>	<u>ciptaan yang di-</u> <u>maksudkan oleh</u> <u>seorang ego</u>	<u>digunakan untuk</u> <u>ciptaan-ciptaan</u> <u>dengan satu ego</u>
- <u>the moves of a strategic figure (a candidate for office)</u>	<u>langkah-langkah</u> <u>tokoh strategis</u> <u>(seorang calon</u> <u>bagi suatu ja-</u> <u>batan)</u>	<u>gerakan dari suatu</u> <u>bentuk strategi</u> <u>(seorang calon un-</u> <u>tuk kantor); ge-</u> <u>rakan satu figur</u> <u>strategi</u>
- <u>specific actors</u>	<u>pelaku-pelaku</u> <u>spesifik</u>	<u>pelaku-pelaku</u> <u>khusus</u>
- <u>a set of interpersonal ties ramifying in and out of groups, categories, and brokerage nodes</u>	<u>perangkat per-</u> <u>talian antar</u> <u>individu yang</u> <u>berpengaruh</u> <u>ke dalam dan</u> <u>ke luar titik</u> <u>pangkal ke-</u> <u>lompok, katego-</u> <u>ri, dan peran-</u> <u>tara</u>	<u>suatu perkumpulan</u> <u>talian interper-</u> <u>sonal yang berca-</u> <u>bang baik di dalam</u> <u>maupun di luar</u> <u>group, kategori</u> <u>perantara perda-</u> <u>ngan</u>
- <u>reliance</u>	<u>ketergantungan</u>	<u>kepercayaan</u>
- <u>"carry transactions"</u>	<u>"carry transac-</u> <u>tions"</u>	<u>"menerima tran-</u> <u>saksi"</u>
- <u>to subclassify</u>	<u>membuat klasifi-</u> <u>kasi sekunder</u>	<u>mensubklasifika-</u> <u>sikan</u>
- <u>patronage role</u>	<u>peran pelindung</u>	<u>peranan langganan</u>
- <u>brokerage role</u>	<u>peran perantara</u>	<u>perantara perda-</u> <u>ngan</u>

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- a <u>broker</u> is a <u>middle-man</u>	seorang pedagang perantara adalah perantara	perantara perdagangan adalah seorang makelar
- the <u>patron</u>	<u>tuan</u>	<u>langganan</u> ; <u>makelar</u>
- <u>transacting</u> nodes	titik pangkal yang mengadakan transaksi	<u>transacting</u> nodes
- <u>applications</u> of network concepts	penerapan/aplikasi konsep-konsep jaringan	pemakaian/penggunaan konsep-konsep jaringan; <u>peranan</u> konsep jaringan sosial
- the <u>provision</u> of services and the circulation of goods and information in <u>unstructured social environment</u>	ketentuan jasa dan sirkulasi barang serta informasi dalam lingkungan sosial yang tidak teratur	<u>persediaan</u> jasa dan sirkulasi barang dan informasi di lingkungan bukan struktur sosial
- <u>classificatory</u>	bersifat penggolongan	<u>penggolongan</u> ; <u>klasifikasi</u>
- <u>interpersonal</u>	antar pribadi/antar individu	<u>interperson</u> ; <u>interpersonal</u>
- <u>corporate</u>	bersama	berbadan hukum; korporasi
- <u>classificatory</u> sets	perangkat penggolongan	set klasifikasi; kumpulan penggolongan
- <u>unbounded personal networks</u>	<u>jaringan personal yang tidak ada batasnya</u>	<u>jaringan sosial yang tidak dibatasi</u>

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- <u>bounded sets</u>	<u>perangkat yang ada batasnya</u>	<u>kumpulan yang di-batasi</u>
- <u>brokerage nodes</u>	<u>titik pangkal perantara</u>	<u>pusat susunan permakelaran</u>
- <u>patronage nodes</u>	<u>titik pangkal pelindung</u>	<u>pusat susunan perlindungan</u>
- <u>action-set formation</u>	<u>pembentukan perangkat tindakan</u>	<u>bentuk sekumpulan tindakan/aksi; formasi set tindakan</u>
- <u>social activators</u>	<u>penggerak-penggerak sosial</u>	<u>aktivator-aktivator sosial</u>
- <u>may transform to ...</u>	<u>dapat berubah menjadi ...</u>	<u>dapat dipindah ke ...; perubahan bentuk ke ...</u>
- <u>... in action and exchange theory</u>	<u>... dalam teori tindakan dan teori pertukaran</u>	<u>dalam aksi atau tindakan dan teo-pertukaran</u>
- <u>collective nodes</u>	<u>titik pangkal kolektif</u>	<u>collective nodes; pusat susunan kolektif</u>
- <u>the tracing through</u>	<u>penelusuran menyeluruh</u>	<u>kolom rencana; turunan/jiplakan; gambaran; tiruan</u>
- <u>dependent variables</u>	<u>variabel terikat</u> 50	<u>variabel tergan-tung; variabel de-pendent; variabel yang bersifat de-pendent; variabel pengaruh</u>

50) "variabel terikat" is "faktor-faktor yang diakibatkan pengaruh variabel-variabel lain." Look at Koentjaraningrat, et. al., ibid, p.192

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- <u>independent variables</u>	<u>variabel bebas</u> 51	<u>variabel indepen-</u> <u>dent</u>
- ... when viewed <u>ex post facto</u>	... jika ditinjau <u>sesudah klasifikasi itu dibuat</u>	bila dipandang secara <u>expost fakto</u>
- <u>conjugal role</u>	<u>peran keluarga batih</u> 52	<u>peranan suami isteri; aturan dalam perkawinan</u>
- <u>close-knit network leads to conjugal role segregation</u>	<u>jaringan hubungan erat</u> menimbulkan <u>pemisahan</u> peran keluarga batih	<u>hubungan yang akrab</u> menunjukkan peranan suami isteri yang <u>terpisah</u> ; network "close-knit" menentukan aturan perkawinan seseorang
- stance	pendirian	-

51) "variable bebas" is "faktor-faktor yang dapat mempengaruhi suatu gejala." Look at Koentjaraningrat, et. al., ibid, p.192

52) "keluarga batih" is "kelompok kekerabatan yang terkecil, terdiri atas ayah, ibu dan anak atau anak-anak yang belum menikah. Fungsi utama sebuah keluarga batih antara lain memberi perlindungan, afeksi, perasaan aman, pengasuhan, pendidikan kepada anggota keluarga. Keluarga batih dapat merupakan rumah tangga ataupun kesatuan produksi." Look at Koentjaraningrat, et. al., ibid, p.87

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- "The degree of segregation in the role-relationship of husband and wife <u>varies directly with the connectedness</u> of the family's social network"	"Tingkat pemisahan dalam hubungan peran suami isteri <u>berbeda secara langsung dengan keterkaitan jaringan sosial keluarga</u> "	"Tingkat-tingkat dari pemisahan dalam hubungan peranan suami isteri <u>secara langsung bermacam-macam dengan koreksi jaringan keluarga</u> "; "Tingkat-tingkat pemisahan hubungan peranan antara suami dan istri <u>bervariasi dengan menghubungkan jaringan sosial keluarga</u> "
- <u>deviancy</u> (= deviance)	<u>penyimpangan</u> 53	-
- " <u>incest offenders</u> "	" <u>pelanggar-pelanggar inses</u> "	" <u>pelangar-pelanggar</u> "
- the <u>segregated patterns</u>	pola-pola yang <u>terpisah</u>	pola-pola yang <u>dipisahkan</u>
- relative <u>isolation</u>	<u>isolasi</u> relatif 54	<u>pengasingan</u> relatif

53) "penyimpangan" is: (1) "kecenderungan bermotivasi seseorang untuk menentang suatu norma yang berlaku"; (2) "keadaan seorang individu yang jauh berbeda dibandingkan dengan watak bangsa (modal personality).\" Look at Koentjaraningrat, et. al., ibid, p.140

54) "isolasi" ("isolation") is "usaha untuk membuat hal terpisah dari hal lain, atau usaha untuk memencilkan manusia dari manusia lain." Look at Koentjaraningrat et. al., ibid, p.72

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- <u>incestuous behaviour</u>	<u>perilaku inses</u> 55	.....
- a sense of <u>alienation</u>	<u>pengertian pengasingan</u> 56	rasa <u>pengasingan diri</u>
- <u>friendship set</u>	<u>perangkat persahabatan</u>	.....
- <u>advisory set</u>	<u>perangkat petunjuk</u>	set yang bersifat <u>nasehat</u> ; set <u>penasehat</u>
- <u>discussion set</u>	<u>perangkat diskusi</u>	.....
- <u>close-knit networks</u>	<u>jaringan hubungan erat</u>	<u>close-knit networks</u> ; jaringan <u>tertutup</u>
- <u>loose-knit networks</u>	<u>jaringan hubungan longgar</u>	<u>loose-knit networks</u> ; jaringan yang <u>bebas</u>
- simultaneity	keserempakan	-
- "encapsulating them in <u>city enclaves</u> "	"yang mengurung diri mereka di <u>daerah-daerah kantong di kota</u> "	" <u>penyingkatannya</u> " di <u>daerah kantong</u>

55) "perilaku" is "segala tindakan manusia yang disebabkan baik karena dorongan organismenya karena tuntutan lingkungan alam, karena dorongan organisme serta hasrat-hasrat psikologinya, maupun karena pengaruh masyarakat dan kebudayaannya." Look at Koentjaraningrat, et. al., ibid, p.142

56) "pengasingan" ("alienation") is: (1) "pemencilan terhadap segala aktivitas masyarakat"; (2) "penolakan atau ketidaktentuan seseorang terhadap norma-norma atau nilai-nilai yang berlaku dalam masyarakat." Look at Koentjaraningrat, et. al., ibid, p.137

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- the <u>diffusion process</u>	<u>proses penyebaran/difusi</u>	<u>studi difusi</u>
- <u>comprehensive documentation</u>	<u>dokumentasi menyeluruh</u>	<u>melengkapi dokumen</u>
- to postulate	mengandaikan	menunjukkan; dibuktikan
- two "super-tribal cultural types" of populations	dua " <u>tipe-kebudayaan supra suku</u> " dari masyarakat	<u>tipe dari kebudayaan suku yang super/tinggi; tipe kebudayaan super tribal</u>
- an effective " <u>brotherhood</u> " network	jaringan " <u>persaudaraan</u> " efektif	jaringan " <u>brotherhood</u> " yang efektif
- <u>geographic mobility</u>	mobilitas <u>geografis</u>	mobilitas <u>geografi</u>
- network <u>connectedness</u>	<u>keterkaitan jaringan</u>	<u>tidak berhubungan dengan jaringan</u>
- <u>original affinity</u>	<u>keturunan asli</u>	<u>afinitet yang asli</u>
- physical <u>propinquity</u>	<u>keakraban fisik/keadaan dekat secara fisik</u>	<u>persamaan fisik</u>
- sociometry	sosiometri 57	-

57) "sosiometri" is "metode dalam ilmu sosiologi untuk mengukur, menganalisis, dan mengkaji hubungan antara manusia dalam interaksi sosial dengan banyak mempergunakan bagan sosiogram." Look at Koentjaraningrat, et. al., ibid, p.175

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- <u>social groupings</u>	<u>pengelompokan sosial</u> 58	<u>kelompok sosial; group sosial</u>
- <u>norms, rules, representations</u>	<u>norma, kaidah/aturan, gambaran</u>	- , <u>peraturan, representasi</u>
- <u>disorganization model</u>	<u>model disorganisasi</u>	<u>model-model tanpa organisasi</u>
- <u>... are not apparent or are unintelligible</u>	<u>... tidak jelas atau tidak dapat dipahami</u>	<u>tidak terbukti atau tidak dipahamkan</u>
- <u>power</u>	<u>kekuasaan</u>	<u>kekuatan</u>
- <u>interpersonal linkages</u>	<u>hubungan antar individu</u>	<u>lingkaran usia antar person</u>
- <u>categorical contrasts</u>	<u>perbedaan-perbedaan kategorial</u>	<u>kategori yang kontras</u>
- <u>a political-economic matrix</u>	<u>induk ekonomi politik</u>	<u>matrik/matriks politik perekonomian</u>
- <u>... through strategic social and economic exchanges</u>	<u>melalui pertukaran sosial dan ekonomi yang strategis</u>	<u>menembus strategi sosial dan pertukaran perekonomian</u>
- <u>various folk models</u>	<u>berbagai model rakyat</u>	<u>variasi model folk</u>
- <u>a "paramount chief"</u>	<u>"pemimpin tertinggi"</u>	<u>"pemimpin utama"</u>
- <u>"kula" ring</u>	<u>jaringan "kula"</u>	<u>lingkaran "kula"</u>

58) "pengelompokan sosial" is "proses penggabungan banyak manusia menjadi kolektif-kolektif yang berfungsi dan beridentitas dalam suatu masyarakat." Look at Koen-tjaraningrat, et. al., ibid, p.138

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- <u>antagonistic corporate groups</u>	<u>kelompok bersama yang antagonis</u>	<u>hubungan sosial yang antagonistik dalam kelompok-kelompok yang bekerja sama; garis group korporasi</u>
- ... has <u>exploded</u> this "Pilt-down myth"	<u>... membuktikan ketidakbenaran "mitos di Pilt-down"</u>	<u>menemukan "hikayat Piltdown"</u>
- the <u>wideflung</u> political economy of ...	<u>masa bebas politik ekonomi yang luas di ...</u>	<u>politik ekonomi yang luas</u>
- the <u>counterforce of segmentary, corporate, matrilineal clans</u>	<u>kekuatan tandingan klen yang terdiri atas segmen-segmen, klen bersama, dan klen matrilineal</u> 59	<u>bertentangan dengan perhitungan kekuatan dari segmen, korporasi, klen matrilineal</u>
- <u>jurally</u>	<u>secara hukum</u>	<u>jural</u>
- an <u>ideal precipitate of ramifying, crosscutting networks</u>	<u>perwujudan ideal dari jaringan bercabang-cabang yang saling menyilang</u>	<u>ide yang tergesa-gesa bercabang, jaringan memotong silang</u>
- an <u>authority figure</u>	<u>angka yang dapat dipercaya</u>	<u>figur otoritas</u>
- <u>corporate holdings</u>	<u>saham bersama</u>	<u>holding korporasi</u>

59) "klen" is "kelompok kekerabatan yang berdasarkan asas keturunan unilineal." Look at Koentjaraningrat, et. al., ibid, p.94

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- cultural <u>capacity</u>	<u>kapasitas</u> <u>kebudayaan</u>	-
- series of <u>crosscutting trade networks</u>	serangkaian jaringan perdagangan yang <u>menyilang</u>	rangkaian jaringan perdagangan yang <u>memotong silang</u>
- the perspective of an ideology of <u>descent</u>	perspektif ideologi <u>keturunan</u>	perspektif <u>penerusan</u> ideologi
- the concept of <u>chief</u>	konsep <u>pemimpin</u>	konsep yang <u>utama</u>
- <u>game</u> theory	teori <u>permainan bertanding</u> 60	teori <u>game</u>
- concrete <u>population</u>	<u>populasi</u> 61 konkrit	<u>penduduk</u> konkret

60) "permainan bertanding" (game) is "kegiatan manusia yang dilakukan oleh lebih dari satu orang terorganisasi, bersifat perlombaan atau pertandingan, mempunyai kriteria untuk menentukan siapa yang menang dan siapa yang kalah, dan mempunyai peraturan yang telah diterima bersama oleh para peserta. Selanjutnya permainan bertanding dapat dibagi menjadi tiga golongan yaitu: yang bersifat ketrampilan fisik (game of skill), yang bersifat siasat (game of strategy). Akhirnya permainan bertanding dapat pula digolongkan pada yang bersifat sekuler dan yang sakral. Look at Koentjaraningrat, et. al., ibid, p.145

61) "populasi" is "jumlah keseluruhan kasus dengan ciri-ciri tertentu atau seluruh jumlah anggota dalam suatu kesatuan sosial yang diteliti." Look at Koentjaraningrat, et. al., ibid, p.152.

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms	the errors
- "We arrive at the <u>structure</u> of a society through <u>abstracting</u> from ..."	"Kita sampai pada <u>struktur</u> ⁶² suatu masyarakat melalui <u>abstraksi</u> ⁶³ dari ..."	"Kami berada pada/ Kami tiba pada/ Kita dapat sampai pada suatu <u>susunan</u> masyarakat yang <u>abstrak</u> dari ..."
- <u>apical</u> control	kontrol <u>dari atas</u>	sebuah kontrol
- <u>apical</u> figure	tokoh <u>apikal</u>	<u>bentuk apical</u>
- a <u>cognitive, jural model of matrilineal kinship</u>	model <u>hukum kognitif dari kekerabatan matrilineal</u>	<u>sebuah pemikiran model kekerabatan matrilineal</u>
- <u>linked trading partners</u>	<u>sekutu dagang</u> yang berhubungan	<u>mata rantai partner</u> perdagangan
- the <u>reciprocal flow of goods</u>	<u>arus barang timbal balik</u>	barang-barang
- <u>kinship domain</u>	<u>domain kekerabatan</u>	<u>daerah milik kekerabatan</u>
- <u>exchange partner domain</u>	<u>domain sekutu pertukaran</u>	<u>milik partner pertukaran</u>
- <u>ramifying and overlapping exchange networks</u>	<u>jaringan pertukaran yang bercabang dan tum-pang tindih</u>	<u>batas cabang dan menutup sebagian jaringan pertukaran</u>

⁶²) "struktur" is "hubungan berkaitan antara unsur-unsur dan bagian-bagian suatu hal." Look at Koentjaraningrat, et.al., ibid, p.177.

⁶³) "abstraksi" is "proses pembentukan konsep mengenai ciri-ciri berbagai hal atau gejala yang sifatnya lebih umum daripada ciri-ciri khusus masing-masing hal atau gejala yang bersangkutan. "Look at Koentjaraningrat, et.al., ibid, p.1.

the original words/phrases	the appropriate contextual mean- ings and the An- thropological terms	the errors
- <u>manipulate ju- ral rules</u>	<u>memainkan ka- idah-kaidah hukum</u>	<u>memakai peraturan jural</u>
- <u>corporate descent groups</u>	kelompok-kelom- pok kekerabatan <u>bersama</u>	kelompok kekera- batan <u>korporasi</u>

5.4. Interpretation of the contents of paragraphs

The main objective of students of non-English departements in reading English materials is to comprehend them or, in other words, to gain the contents of those materials. However, in order to get at this phase the students should at first pay keen attention on some crucial details which have already discussed in the preceding pages. The writer believes that the students' carefulness is the most important thing in determining their success to interpret the materials' contents. The writer will present eight examples about this item :

5.4.1. "At least three important ranges or zones can be distinguished within which the relations are qualitatively different. They form concentric zones which centre on ego. The first is composed of those persons, whether relatives or friends, with whom ego is on closest terms. These persons form what may be called ego's intimate network. The second range may be called the effective network. It consists of persons whom ego knows less well and from whom he can expect less (and

who expect less or nothing of him) than from the members of his intimate networks. These may include relatives, friends, and other acquaintances of various sorts. The third zone is made up of persons whom ego does not know personally but of whom he knows and whom he very easily can get to know. These are for the most part members of the intimate networks of the persons in his own intimate network. These persons constitute ego's extended networks."

One student translate this into :

"Ada tiga zona yang bisa dibedakan di mana hubungan-hubungan itu secara kualitatif berbeda. Ketiga hubungan tersebut berpusat pada ego. Pertama, sekelompok orang, keluarga atau teman dengan mana ego bergaul secara dekat, orang-orang tersebut membentuk suatu ego yang disebut jaringan keintiman. Kedua, disebut effective network (jaringan dekat), terdiri dari orang-orang ego terkenal tetapi tidak sebegitu intim sebagaimana dalam intimate network. Ketiga, terbentuk oleh orang-orang ego yang tidak mengenal dengan baik (personal) tetapi mengetahui ego dengan mudah, ini disebut extended network."

The writer suggests to translate this into :

"Paling tidak ada tiga bidang atau zona penting yang dapat dibedakan yang hubungan-hubungannya secara kualitatif berbeda. Ketiga hubungan tersebut membentuk zona-zona konsentris yang berpusat pada ego. Zona pertama terdiri dari orang-orang, baik keluarga atau sahabat, yang paling dekat dengan ego. Orang-orang ini membentuk jaringan intim ego. Zona ke dua disebut jaringan efektif. Jaringan ini terdiri dari orang-orang yang kurang dikenal secara baik oleh ego dan ego juga kurang dapat berharap dari mereka daripada berharap dari anggota-anggota jaringan intimnya (orang-orang tersebut kurang atau tidak mengharap apapun dari ego). Orang-orang ini termasuk keluarga, teman, dan berbagai macam kenalan lainnya. Zona ke tiga terdiri dari orang-orang yang tidak dikenal secara pribadi oleh ego

tetapi yang diketahui oleh ego dan yang dengan mudah dapat dikenalnya. Orang-orang ini sebagian terbesar adalah anggota-anggota jaringan intim dari orang-orang dalam jaringan intim ego sendiri. Orang-orang ini merupakan jaringan luas ego."

- 5.4.2. "He finds 'stars' of a 'first order' radiating from any ego, anywhere, with whom he chooses to begin. He represents the ego by a dot, and with lines radiating from this dot he forms an analogue of a 'star subgraph' (Ore 1962:12). Drawing subsequent concepts from graph theory, he derives a notion of density from the abstract concept that 'alpha' (any ego) in interaction with a 'contact' (alter) may find that his 'contact' is also in interaction with another of his contacts. In that case, the two contacts (or alters) are said to be adjacent in the star. All of the relationships among a given ego and his alters, adjacent and nonadjacent, make up what he calls a 'zone' (Barnes 1969b:58-60); and by logical extension, zones are conceived of as being 'first order,' 'second order,' and so on."

A student translate this as follows :

"Barnes memakai istilah 'stars' dan 'first order' dalam menggambarkan network. Dia menggambarkan ego dengan suatu titik tersebut untuk membentuk 'star sub graph'. Dengan menggambarkan sebuah jaringan hubungan, dia menentukan konsep 'alpha' (ego tertentu) dalam hubungannya dengan orang lain, kedua kontak tersebut juga berinteraksi dengan kontak yang lain, kedua kontak tersebut dikatakan sebagai 'adjacent' (berdekatan) atau juga 'non adjacent' atau seluruh hubungan antara ego tertentu dengan alternya (adjacentnya). Disini muncul konsep 'zone' karena hasil radiasi ego tadi dalam network. Dengan demikian ada yang dikatakan sebagai unsur utama, kedua, dan selanjutnya."

Another student translate this into :

"Dengan menarik konsep-konsep dari teori grafik, maka Barnes menurunkan suatu gagasan densitas dari suatu konsep abstrak bahwa 'alfa' (tiap ego) dalam interaksinya dengan

suatu kontak (alter) mungkin akan menemukan bahwa 'kontak'nya juga sedang berinteraksi dengan kontak-kontaknya yang lain. Semua hubungan diantara suatu ego tertentu dan alter-alternya, akan membentuk apa yang ia sebut sebagai 'zone'."

The suggested translation is :

"Untuk memulai mengembangkan konsepnya Barnes memilih 'bintang-bintang' dari suatu 'tata urutan pertama' yang memancar dari ego manapun dan dimanapun. Ia melambangkan ego tersebut dengan sebuah titik dan membentuk suatu analog dari 'subgrafik bintang' dengan garis-garis yang memancar dari titik tersebut (Ore 1962:12). Dengan menarik konsep-konsep berikutnya dari teori grafik ia memperoleh pengertian kepadatan dari konsep abstrak bahwa 'alpha' (ego manapun) yang berinteraksi dengan 'kontak' (alter ego) mungkin mendapati bahwa 'kontak'nya juga berinteraksi dengan kontak-kontak yang lain dari si ego. Dalam kasus tersebut dikatakan bahwa kedua kontak (atau alter ego-alter ego) berdekatan dalam bintang. Semua hubungan antara ego tertentu dengan alter-alternya - baik yang berdekatan maupun tidak - merupakan suatu 'zona' (Barnes 1969b:58-60); dan dengan pembentangan yang logis zona-zona tersebut dibayangkan sebagai 'tata urutan pertama,' 'tata urutan ke dua,' dan sebagainya."

- 5.4.3. "The unit of observation at the first level of abstraction out of which first of all the sets, and subsequently the fields, are constructed is the role, and the sort of data which Barnes and Epstein present could be cast in terms of roles and role-performance. A role, however, pertains to behaviour in a structural position. Thus while we may speak of the role of a person A vis-a-vis, say, a person B in his personal network and of B's role towards C in B's network, we cannot speak of A's role vis-a-vis C because he is not in A's network. Since we need to delineate the mechanism whereby behavior between people in one set of roles may affect the behavior of a different set of people in another set of roles ... it seems that we need the concepts of 'field' and 'network' as well as role."

Two students translate this paragraph into :

- * Unit dari observasi itu pada tingkat pertama terpisah keluar dari yang pertama dari kumpulan itu. Di dalam jaringan B, terhadap A dan C, didalam jaringan B kami tidak dapat bicara, dalam peranan A berhadapan-hadapan dengan C sebab dia tidak terdapat dalam jaringan A, sejak kami melukiskan mekanisme itu untuk tingkah laku diantara orang didalam suatu kumpulan peran mungkin mempengaruhi tingkah laku yang berbeda dari kumpulan orang dalam peran itu Hal ini tampak bahwa kami membutuhkan konsep dasar dan jaringan sebaik peran.
- * Unit pengamatan pada tingkat abstraksi pertama, yang hasil pertamanya dari semua set, dan berikutnya medan disusun adalah peran, dan jenis data yang dihadirkan oleh Barnes dan Epstein dapat berubah sehubungan dengan peran dan hasil peran. Tapi peran berhubungan dengan perilaku dalam suatu posisi struktural. Jadi suatu peran person A, berhadapan dengan B dalam jaringan personalnya dan dari peran B kearah C dalam jaringan B, maka kita tidak dapat mengatakan peran A yang berhadapan dengan C karena ia tidak berada dalam jaringan A. Karena kita perlu menggambarkan mekanisme dengan mana perilaku antara orang dalam satu set peran mungkin mempengaruhi perilaku satu set orang yang berbeda dalam set peran lainnya ... kita perlu konsep-konsep "medan", "jaringan" dan juga peran.

The translation of this paragraph should be :

"Kesatuan pengamatan adalah peran dan macam data yang disajikan oleh Barnes dan Epstein dapat dimasukkan dipandang dari segi peran dan penampilan peran. Pada tahap pertama abstraksi, dari kesatuan pengamatan tersebut mula-mula disusun perangkat dan kemudian bidang. Akan tetapi dalam posisi struktural suatu peran adalah mengenai perilaku. Dengan demikian, sementara kita berbicara mengenai peran seseorang A - katakanlah - sebagai lawan bicara seorang B dalam jaringan personal A serta peran B terhadap C dalam jaringan personal B, kita tidak dapat

berbicara mengenai peran A sebagai lawan bicara C karena C tidak berada dalam jaringan personal A. Tetapi karena kita perlu menggambarkan mekanisme dengan jalan manakah perilaku antara masyarakat dalam satu perangkat peran mungkin mempengaruhi perilaku perangkat masyarakat yang berbeda dalam perangkat peran yang lain ... maka nampaknya kita memerlukan konsep-konsep 'bidang,' 'jaringan,' maupun peran."

- 5.4.4. "It has been suggested that ... (face-to-face) relationships may usefully be distinguished as structural, categorical, or egocentric according to the basis upon which persons intuitively classify one another on meeting. Face-to-face relationships of a structural type are aspects of roles defined within the structure of an institution Categorical relationships are those in which persons meet in an informal context yet without knowing one another very well, and consequently begin to act on the basis of intuitively assigning one another to various type categories as an empirical approach towards appropriate behavior. Egocentric relations are those in which people know one another sufficiently intimately as persons to base their mutual expectations of one another's behavior directly on this personal knowledge."

Three students translate this paragraph into three different ways :

- * Telah diingatkan bahwa ... (wajah ke wajah) kekeluargaan mungkin berguna untuk dibedakan menjadi struktural, golongan atau diri sendiri menurut dasar dimana setiap orang dengan menuruti kalbunya mengatur satu dan lainnya dalam pertemuan. Kekeluargaan yang berhadapan dengan sebuah tipe struktural adalah letak dari pembatasan peran sepanjang struktur adatnya kekeluargaan yang dikategorikan adalah dimana orang-orang bertemu dalam sebuah hubungan tidak resmi dan tanpa mengetahui satu dan lainnya dengan baik, dan sebagai akibatnya mulai bertindak di atas berdasarkan kalbunya menunjuk satu dan lainnya ke bermacam-macam tipe kategori sebagai satu pendekatan berdasarkan pengalaman terhadap tingkah laku yang benar dan sesuai. Hubungan egosentris

adalah hubungan dimana orang mengetahui/mengenal satu dengan yang lainnya secara cukup akrab jika seseorang mendasari pembagian harapan dari tingkah laku satu dengan yang lainnya secara langsung pada pengetahuan perseorangan ini.

- * Diingatkan bahwa ... (wajah ke wajah) kekeluargaan mungkin berguna untuk dibedakan dari struktur, golongan atau diri sendiri menurut dasar dimana setiap orang menuruti kalbunya mengatur satu dan lainnya dalam pertemuan. Kekeluargaan dari wajah ke wajah sebuah tipe struktural adalah letak peran dibatasi sepanjang struktur dari sebuah adat ... Kekeluargaan dikategorikan dimana orang-orang bertemu dalam sebuah hubungan tak resmi dan tanpa mengetahuinya dengan baik, hubungan egosentris adalah orang mengenal satu dengan yang lain secara cukup akrab jika seseorang mendasari pembagian harapan dari tingkah laku satu dengan yang lainnya secara langsung pada pengetahuan perseorangan ini.
- * Southall, ed. (1961:29-30) menerangkan bahwa hanya dengan hubungan "face to face" dapat membedakan antara tipe struktural, categorical dan egosentris. Dalam tipe struktural yang berperan adalah aturan main yang definitif (formal). Dalam hubungan categorical, person-personnya bertemu dalam situasi yang informal dan fleksibel serta setiap person belum mengenal satu sama lain secara baik. Dalam hubungan egosentric personnya akrab dalam rangka suatu harapan mutual dari setiap perilaku personnya yang sesuai dengan pengetahuannya.

The suggested translation of this paragraph

is :

"Diusulkan bahwa hubungan langsung dapat dibedakan atas hubungan struktural, kategorial atau egosentris menurut suatu dasar yang atas dasar tersebut orang-orang menggolongkan diri mereka satu sama lain secara intuitif pada pertemuan. Hubungan langsung tipe struktural adalah aspek-aspek peran yang ditentukan dalam struktur suatu lembaga Dalam hubungan kategorial orang-orang bertemu dalam suasana informal namun belum

kenal baik satu sama lain, dan oleh karenanya mulai bertindak atas dasar menentukan berbagai tipe kategori yang dilakukan satu sama lain secara intuitif sebagai pendekatan empiris ke arah peri laku yang tepat. Hubungan egosentris adalah hubungan orang-orang yang mengenal satu sama lain secara cukup baik sebagai sesama yang mendasarkan harapan bersama mereka mengenai peri laku satu sama lain langsung pada apa yang mereka ketahui secara perorangan ini."

- 5.4.5. "In the first (patronage roles), the transactor has the power to give some benefit which the respondent desires; upon fulfillment of the latter's part the benefit is made available Patronage is unambiguous transaction, in which the responsibility for any failure to redeem a promise can be clearly put down to the patron. A broker is a middle-man, and the transaction is one in which he promises to obtain favours for the respondent from a third person ... the broker can enter into more transactions, in relation to his resources of power, than can the patron."

There are only three students - among the total 42 students - who have translated this paragraph. The translation is as follows :

"Di dalam peranan langganan (patronage roles), transaktor mempunyai kekuasaan untuk memberikan keuntungan yang diinginkan responden; dalam pemenuhan keuntungan terakhir yang ada ... Langganan adalah satu transaksi yang sudah jelas (unambiguous), dalam pertanggungjawaban terhadap kerusakan-kerusakan untuk menebus satu perjanjian yang dengan jelas diletakkan pada langganan. Perantara perdagangan adalah seorang makelar, dan transaksi merupakan sesuatu yang ia harapkan untuk mendapatkan kemurahan-kemurahan bagi responden dari orang ke tiga ... Perantara perdagangan (makelar) dapat memasukkan lebih banyak lagi transaksi, di dalam hubungannya dengan sumber-sumber kekuasaan yang didapat melalui langganan."

The suggested translation is :

"Pada peran-peran pelindung, pelaksana transaksi mempunyai kekuasaan memberikan keuntungan yang diinginkan responden; keuntungan itu diadakan atas pemenuhan perantara Pelindung adalah transaksi yang jelas. Dalam transaksi ini tanggung jawab bagi setiap kegagalan untuk menepati janji dengan jelas dapat diletakkan pada tuan. Seorang pedagang perantara adalah perantara dan transaksi tersebut adalah satu yang dijanjikannya untuk memperoleh kemurahan hati bagi responden dari orang ke tiga ... perantara tersebut dapat mengambil bagian dalam lebih banyak transaksi sehubungan dengan sumber-sumber kekuasaannya, dibandingkan si tuan."

- 5.4.6. "... Boissevain (1968:550) defines a quasi-group as 'a coalition of persons, recruited according to structurally diverse principles by one or more existing members, between some of whom there is a degree of patterned interaction and organization.'"

This paragraph is translated into :

- * Kuasi group adalah gabungan dari person-person yang terbentuk oleh pola-pola interaksi.
- * Yang memberikan batasan emosi group itu sebagai koalisi orang-orang yang dipanggil atau digunakan menurut prinsip-prinsip yang secara struktural berbeda. Orang-orang ini dikumpulkan oleh seorang anggota atau lebih sedang diantara mereka itu ada sedikit interaksi yang berpola (ada sedikit pola interaksi) dan organisasi.
- * Boissevain mengartikan kelompok buatan ini sebagai suatu koalisi dari orang-orang yang digunakan menurut prinsip-prinsip yang bentuknya berbeda. Orang-orang ini dikumpulkan oleh satu orang atau lebih sedangkan diantara mereka ada sedikit interaksi yang berpola atau pola interaksi yang sedikit dan juga organisasinya.

This paragraph should be translated into :

"... Boissevain (1968:550) mendefinisikan kelompok semu sebagai 'koalisi/gabungan orang-orang yang diterima oleh satu atau lebih anggota-anggota yang ada menurut prinsip yang berbeda secara struktural; diantara beberapa anggota yang ada tersebut terdapat tingkat interaksi dan tingkat organisasi yang berpola.'"

- 5.4.7. "There are a limited number of persons in a finite network, and this fact is significant for the flow of interaction going on in the network Second, the network is either bounded or unbounded If it is unbounded, everyone in the social universe is in the network and there are no persons outside it."

A student translate this into :

"Batas jumlah orang-orang di dalam jaringan terbatas, dan kenyataan ini penting untuk meneruskan interaksi di dalam jaringan kedua jaringan baik loncatan maupun tidak loncatan jika tidak loncatan maka setiap orang di dalam bidang sosial adalah di dalam jaringan dan tidak ada satupun yang ada di luar jaringan."

It should be translated into :

"Ada sejumlah terbatas orang dalam jaringan sehingga dan kenyataan ini penting bagi arus interaksi yang terjadi dalam jaringan Ke dua, jaringan itu merupakan jaringan yang ada batasnya atau yang tidak ada batasnya. Jika jaringan tersebut tidak ada batasnya maka setiap orang dalam alam semesta yang bersifat sosial termasuk dalam jaringan dan tak ada orang-orang lain di luarnya."

- 5.4.8. "The eight types of sets defined analytically vary all the way from a set composed of certain kinds of links only (partial), connecting a limited number of people (finite), in a universe in which some persons exist who are not included in the network (bounded), to a set composed of all kinds of links (total), connecting an unlimited number of persons (infinite), in

a universe in which everyone is included in the network and there are no persons outside it (unbounded)."

Two students translate this paragraph into :

- * Dari delapan tipe memberi definisi analitik merubah semua cara dari susunan kumpulan pada macam hubungan yang pasti, hubungan orang dalam jaringan terbatas, di suatu bidang ada orang yang tidak termasuk di dalam jaringan, untuk menyusun semua macam hubungan dengan orang dari dalam jumlah yang tidak terbatas, dalam suatu bidang seseorang masuk dalam jaringan dan di sana tidak ada seorangpun yang keluar.
- * Tipe itu memberikan definisi analitik yang merubah semua cara dari susunan kumpulan pada macam hubungan yang pasti (partial) didalam suatu bidang ada beberapa orang yang tidak termasuk dalam jaringan (bounded), untuk menyusun kumpulan semua macam hubungan (total), hubungan orang didalam jumlah yang terbatas (finit), didalam seseorang dimasukkan kedalam jaringan dan disana tidak ada seorangpun yang keluar.

This paragraph should be translated into :

"Kedelapan tipe perangkat yang didefinisikan secara analitis bervariasi sepenuhnya dari perangkat yang hanya tersusun atas macam hubungan tertentu (parsial), perangkat yang menghubungkan sejumlah terbatas orang (terhingga), dan perangkat di alam semesta dimana beberapa orang ada tetapi tidak termasuk dalam jaringan (ada batasnya), ke perangkat yang terdiri dari segala macam hubungan (menyeluruh), perangkat yang menghubungkan sejumlah tak terbatas orang (tak terhingga), dan perangkat dimana setiap orang di alam semesta termasuk dalam jaringan dan tak ada orang-orang lagi di luar jaringan tersebut (tak ada batasnya)."

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The aim of this study is firstly to give inputs to the readers, especially to the university students of non-English departments, so that they get some descriptions about translation after reading this thesis and to improve their abilities in translating or comprehending materials written in English.

Secondly it is to equip Senior High School students with enough language skills (Reading, Writing, Speaking, Listening) particularly Reading, language elements (Structure, Vocabulary, Pronunciation) particularly Structure and Vocabulary, and certain other abilities for the higher level education especially in terms of ways to translate or comprehend English texts.

Through various steps of analysing the errors, the writer has finally discovered the problems faced by the university students of non-English departments in comprehending English materials through translation that is : the figurative expression, the sentence structure which includes tenses, pronouns, and complex sentence structure (word order, phrase order, clause : main clause and sub clause), the appropriate contextual meanings and the Anthropological terms ("the lexical errors"). All of these problems lead to misinterpretation of the contents of paragraphs.



The background of these problems can be classified into : the influence of the English teaching in SMA and the influence of the English teaching in the university which are interrelated. The English teaching in the university is influenced by that in Senior High Schools whereas the English teaching in Senior High Schools is also influenced by that in Junior High Schools. This is in line with the spiral syllabus which indicates that the levels of education are a continual and inseparable process.

The English teaching in SMA is facing some possible reasons for students' errors that is : the 1984 curriculum, the materials, the teacher, and the learners (the students) themselves. In view of the 1984 curriculum, Fuad Hassan states that the pre-university curricula (from the kindergarten up to the university) used nowadays in Indonesia are felt to be either burdensome, vague, or confusing. (See appendix E)

The English teaching in the university is also facing the same possible reasons for students' errors that is : the syllabus, the materials, the lecturer, and the students themselves besides partly influenced by the English teaching in SMA. Loekman Soetrisno views that the new generation on campus has a very poor mastery of foreign language. With this sort of condition he is apprehensive whether internationally qualified works will be produced since language (in this case English)

constitutes the only invulnerable weapon. (See appendix F)

Thus the hypotheses proposed by the writer are all proved and confirmed. The proofs and confirmations can be seen through some facts : the data, the analysis of the data, and the errors made by the students in their translation tasks.

To overcome these problems the students do their tasks in groups, this is proved by the fact that the errors made by the students are nearly the same or sometimes even exactly the same in some parts.

The mentalists view that a learner must make errors as an unavoidable and necessary part of the learning process, so errors are not the bad thing once thought but a visible proof that learning is taking place. The insight that errors are a natural and important part of the learning process itself, and do not all come from mother tongue interference, is very important.* However, the writer suggests that the English teaching to non-English departments need to be improved. In addition to that the students themselves should improve their motivation and should realize that English obviously plays an important role in their studies. This awareness, supported by their needs of English, will be of greatest importance to guarantee the success of their study.

*) As quoted from Broughton, G., et. al., Teaching English as a Foreign Language, British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., London, 1978, p.135

To improve the university students of non-English departments in comprehending English materials the writer presents some directives to be considered - as quoted from Teaching English as a Foreign Language written by Geoffrey Broughton et. al., page 93 :

- 1) they need to be able to understand the patterns of relationships between words, that is the semantic patterns of lexical items;
- 2) they must have a clear understanding of the grammatical relationships which hold between the lexical items, and they need to grasp the semantics of a particular grammatical item in a particular context;
- 3) they need to be familiar with the precise meaning of the particular grammatical devices used, structure words, word order, word forms and broad patterns of sentences;
- 4) they need to be familiar with the patterns of logical relationship within the texts to gain an understanding of what the text is really about.

As for non-English departments, where English is not the major subject of study, the English teaching should be English for Academic Purposes (EAP) which is a growing branch of ESP (English for Special Purposes) peculiar to Higher Education.

To end this thesis the writer concludes that there is a correlation between students with a good mastery of English and their achievements in their particular discipline of university study.

CHAPTER VII

APPLICATION

In this chapter the writer will discuss the application of English teaching to non-English Departments in the university. This is in accordance with the case study done in this research. Besides, the writer considers that English teaching in the university undoubtedly has a great influence on the development of the students' studies. This is obviously true since through English teaching they are accustomed to reading, comprehending, reviewing, analysing, summarizing, or explicating the huge sum of English literature if they are to keep abreast of the rapid progression of science and modern technology.

In this application the writer suggests five phases of the implementation of English teaching to non-English Departments in the university :

- 7.1. Approach
- 7.2. Method
- 7.3. Technique
- 7.4. Procedure
- 7.5. System of Evaluation

7.1. Approach

According to Edward M. Anthony, "approach" is :

"a concept or a set of assumptions of Foreign Language Learning Teaching. It is abstract and axiomatic in nature. It cannot necessarily be proved. Approach answers the questions of what (foreign) language is and what learning is."64

It is mentioned in the introduction of this chapter that the topic is English. Therefore the target of the approach is English and the materials in this learning-teaching process are also concerning English. This subtopic is primarily about reading. Why is the emphasis on reading? It is already mentioned that through English teaching the students are expected to get accustomed to English literature, so the main subject to be taught should be reading. This, of course, includes vocabulary, sentence structure, and analysis of paragraphs that will help the students in the process of reading comprehension.

Since what is primarily taught is reading, the approach is through : (p.t.o.)

64) Bismoko, J., Approaches, Methods, Techniques II, English Department IKIP Sanata Dharma Yogyakarta, 1982, p.4

7.1.1. Comprehensive Reading or Reading with Understanding

The main purpose of comprehensive reading is that the reader understands the content of the text being read.⁶⁵ This activity can be done in class as it is done in SMA. The passages can be taken from compulsory books selected by the lecturer. The writer suggests Fluency in English written by L.G. Alexander. This book is indeed composed for advanced English learners. The lecturers should not consider that this book is too difficult to be given to the students in the first year. The English literature or books written in English to be read by the students are all written in advanced English therefore, the lecturers should consider that they are ready to do it, otherwise they will never feel ready. Thus, the success in doing comprehensive reading firstly depends much on the lecturer himself and secondly on the participation of the students.

7.1.2. Intensive Reading

Intensive reading includes almost all kinds of reading activities. It includes

⁶⁵) Bismoko, J., ibid, p.6

oral reading, comprehensive reading, structure, and vocabulary. In advanced classes it includes sentence, paragraph, and text analysis, and finding implication (reading between the lines). Most reading done in school is intensive reading.⁶⁶

Broughton says that

"... intensive reading indicates that it is not the nature of the skills involved that is of most interest but the results, in this case a deep and thorough understanding of the black marks on the paper. The concern is for detailed comprehension of very short texts. Intensive reading is typically concerned with texts of not more than 500 words in length. The objective is to achieve full understanding of the logical argument, the rhetorical arrangement or pattern of the text, of its symbolic, emotional and social overtones, of the attitudes and purposes of the author, and of the linguistic means that he employs to achieve his ends."⁶⁷

Intensive reading constitutes the implementation of comprehensive reading. Here the students are prompted to discuss sentence structure as well as vocabulary contained in the passages either from the textbook (Fluency in English) or from

⁶⁶) Bismoko, J., ibid, p.6

⁶⁷) Broughton, G., et. al., Teaching English as a Foreign Language, British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1978, p.93

supplementary readings the materials of which are taken from articles which conform to their disciplines. The students are asked to discuss the reading passages in the textbook and in the selected articles. They are also asked to discuss and analyse those passages in terms of sentence structure and paragraphs. If there is time the students are asked to discuss the contents in groups.

7.1.3. Extensive Reading

Extensive reading is essentially reading as much as possible, hardly paying any attention to detail. The text is relatively longer, often a book, and the reading is usually done outside classroom hours. The learner is normally required to make a report from what he has read.⁶⁸

Broughton states in his book that survey reading, skimming, and superficial reading are sometimes grouped together and called extensive reading. The object of such reading is to cover the greatest possible amount of text in the shortest possible time.⁶⁹

⁶⁸) Bismoko, J., loc. cit.

⁶⁹) Broughton, G., et. al., op. cit., p.92

In this phase the students are required to make and submit a book review in Indonesian of a scientific book written in English. Thus, every semester the students will willy-nilly read one scientific English book. The book review to be submitted is written in Indonesian since what is measured is merely the students' passive ability, that is, the ability to comprehend scientific books or articles written in English (or "the English performance") but on the English competence.

7.2. Method

According to Edward M. Anthony, "method" is :

"the application of approach. It is 'an overall plan for the orderly presentation of language material.' If approach is axiomatic, method is procedural."⁷⁰

So there can be many methods in one approach.⁷¹ In language teaching we do not merely follow one single method since every method has its own advantages and disadvantages. So the method usage should be adjusted to the situation and

⁷⁰) Bismoko, J., Approaches, Methods, Techniques I, English Department IKIP Sanata Dharma Yogyakarta, 1982, p.2

⁷¹) Bismoko, J., ibid.

condition. Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo suggests that every language teaching needs the following⁷² :

1) the material exposure; 2) the explanation involving the form of grammatical rule and meaning; 3) the exercises towards mastery of skills; 4) the stimulation towards a positive attitude.

Therefore a good way of teaching is the one which can give⁷³ : 1) quite a lot of material exposure; 2) a clear explanation; 3) a well intended exercises; 4) stimuli which allure the students and which can foster the students' positive attitudes towards the lesson.

The methods used in the application of English teaching to the students of non-English departments should not exclusively use either one of the following methods such as : translation method, grammar method, direct method, language control method, or any others.

Since every method has its advantages and disadvantages the writer emphasizes on the use of eclectic method. This method is composed based on the combination of the best aspects of direct method, indirect method, and other methods. By using this method the lecturer can adjust the

⁷²⁾ Poedjosoedarmo, Soepomo, Pembinaan Pengajaran Bahasa dan Kebudayaan Masyarakat, Basis, 1971, p.392.

⁷³⁾ Poedjosoedarmo, Soepomo, ibid.

materials to the situation and condition so that he can select the appropriate materials to be taught.

The eclectic method is essentially a compromise between the direct method, with its many demands on the teacher coupled with its alleged inaccuracy for the learner, and the more formal methods based on grammar rules and translation. In this method the language skills are introduced in the following order : speaking, writing, understanding, and reading. There is a certain amount of translation, with some deductive grammar, and some audio-visual aids.⁷⁴ However, for students of non-English departments the emphasis will be on understanding, reading, and exercises on translation, since the main target is on how the students are capable of comprehending books or materials written in English which they have read. In this case grammar is thus given deductively.

7.3. Technique

Technique is what actually takes place in a classroom and it is always consistent with method. It is to accomplish an immediate objective. Technique is implementational.⁷⁵

⁷⁴) Bismoko, J., op. cit., p.15

⁷⁵) Bismoko, J., op. cit., p.5

In the teaching technique, there are usually followed by some steps which are called the procedure. In this procedure there is the explanation of every phase done in class, that is the learning-teaching activities.

In presenting the materials the lecturers determine their own techniques which are varied.

For the implementation of English teaching to the university students of non-English departments the writer suggests the following technique, i.e. by giving as many exercises as possible to the students. These exercises which constitute students' comprehension towards certain reading passages are done in class as well as outside the class. The objective here is to make the students accustomed to passages or literature written in English. Some problems about the vocabulary - which are already prepared by each student at home - as well as grammatical problems will be discussed in class.

7.4. Procedure

Procedure is the steps made by the lecturer in presenting or clarifying the materials in the learning-teaching process or in the implementation of the learning-teaching activities.

To determine this procedure a syllabus which is conformed to the department curriculum is composed. This syllabus contains a clarification

of number of meeting hours in which there is an explanation of the topics discussed and the tasks that should be done by the students either inside or outside the classroom. The syllabus also clarifies the references. For the compulsory references the writer suggests that every student be required to have :

1. L.G. Alexander, Fluency in English, An Integrated Course for Advanced Students, New Concept English, Longman, Kanisius Yogyakarta.

This book is used as compulsory reading for all students because besides the reading passages this book also contains exercises on reading comprehension, vocabulary, sentence structure, paragraphs, etc.

2. John M. Echols dan Hassan Shadily, Kamus Inggris-Indonesia, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, P.T. Gramedia, Jakarta.

Every student should have at least one qualified English-Indonesian dictionary to solve problems and difficulties concerning the vocabulary and at the same time to increase their vocabulary level.

3. A dictionary which contains specific terms dealing with their disciplines. For example Kamus Istilah Antropologi written by Koentjaraningrat c.s. for students of the Anthropology Department.

4. Their own scientific articles which deal with their disciplines as selected by the lecturers for the supplementary readings.

The writer presents an example of a general procedure :

L : Lecturer

S : Students

A week before discussing a passage from Fluency in English the lecturer gives a take-home task to look for the difficult words (the vocabulary) including their meanings. The vocabulary and the reading passage will be discussed the following week.

a. L : Reads the English passage correctly per sentence or per phrase.

S : Imitate the lecturer.

L : Asks each student to translate each sentence.

S : Translate each sentence.

L : Explains and corrects the errors made by the students in translating and choosing the vocabulary.

S : Pay attention and make notes.

L : Asks the students to answer comprehensive questions.

S : Answer comprehensive questions.

L : Gives homework, that is to ask the students to read certain English articles that deal with their disciplines for the following week's discussion. This is done purposely to make a variation and to avoid satiation.

b. In the following class the lecturer will be the leader of the discussion. To make the discussion work smoothly the lecturer stimulates the students to respond to some problems he presents. The students are divided into several groups consisting of 4-5 students each. Each group discusses a certain problem in a given time. The discussion is in Indonesian whereas the material discussed is in English. The lecturer is required to master the content of the materials. After the group discussion each group is required to express the result of the group discussion in Indonesian. As for the homework the students are asked to prepare the vocabulary of the reading passage in the following chapter for the following week.

Dick Hartoko suggests some general directives to improve the students' ability in translating⁷⁶ :

1) read the whole book or article; 2) find the subject and the predicate (the object and the

⁷⁶) Hartoko, Dick, Seluk Beluk Menerjemahkan Buku, Basis XXX, 13 Oktober 1981, Yogyakarta, pp. 396-397

verb), then the elements such as the 3 WH words : where, when, why, how; 3) find the main clause and the sub clause. It is better to split the complex or compound sentences (or complex compound sentences) into short sentences to facilitate the comprehension. Discuss the connection between the sub clause and the main clause : parallel, causal, temporal, or concessive; 4) it is sometimes more appropriate to translate a certain English noun into the closest equivalent of a certain Indonesian verb; 5) do not translate "Genetive Possessivus" into "daripada". The English word "of" does not always indicate that genetivus form; 6) the sub clause preceded by "to which" (or "whom"), "from which" etc. should not be translated into "yang daripadanya."

The following directives are proposed by Geoffrey Broughton⁷⁷ : 1) the efficient reader needs to be able to understand the patterns of relationships between words - the semantic patterns of lexical items; 2) the efficient reader must have a clear understanding of the grammatical relationships which hold between the lexical items, and he needs to grasp the semantics of a particular grammatical item in a particular context; 3) the good reader also needs to be familiar with the

⁷⁷) Broughton, G., et. al., op. cit., pp. 94-96

precise meaning of the particular grammatical devices used, structure words, word order, word forms and broad patterns of sentences; 4) the good reader also needs to be familiar with the patterns of logical relationships within texts to gain an understanding of what the text is really about.

The writer suggests that the time allocation of the English teaching of non-English departments should cover four semesters. The aim is to make the students accustomed to reading English materials. Besides, the addition of the time allocation is to cover the large amount of the materials and exercises.

For semesters 3 and 4 the discussion on Fluency in English is continued. Besides that, the materials that is, some scientific books or articles written in English which deal with their disciplines will be increased in terms of its difficulty level. If the challenge is increased the students are supposed to learn more seriously. For example the article about "Network Analysis" written by Norman E. Whitten, Jr. And Alfin W. Wolfe is given to the students of the Anthropology Department.

7.5. System of Evaluation

This evaluation aims at measuring the students' performance concerning what they have

learned. Tests may be constructed primarily as devices to reinforce learning and to motivate the student, or primarily as a means of assessing the students' performance in the language.⁷⁸

The system of evaluation is done twice that is the midsemester test and the semester test. The midsemester test is a multiple choice and completion test. The materials tested are: vocabulary, sentence structure, and word order. This is a close book test. The semester test is an open book test, the materials tested include the ability to translate several sentences, phrases, and paragraphs. In this test the use of a dictionary is allowed.

The final score is the average score of all the tests, the tasks, the inclass participation, the submission of book reviews, and the students attendance.

⁷⁸⁾ Heaton, J.B., Writing English Language Tests, Longman Group Limited, Fifth impression, London, 1979, p.3

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LAMPIRAN

A P P E N D I C E S



DEPARTEMEN PENDIDIKAN DAN KEBUDAYAAN
FAKULTAS SAstra UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
DULAKSUMUR, YOGYAKARTA - TELEPON 3090

Nomor :
Lampiran :
Hal :

APPENDIX A

S U R A T I Z I N
No.: UGM/ST/981 /M/01/01

Dekan Fakultas Sastra Universitas Gadjah Mada memberi izin
kepada :

IRMINA TJASWATI

mahasiswa Jurusan Pendidikan Bahasa Inggris, Fakultas Pendidikan
Bahasa dan Seni IKIP Sanata Dharma Yogyakarta, dalam rangka pe-
nyusunan skripsi untuk mengadakan penelitian dalam bentuk kuesio-
ner yang ditujukan kepada mahasiswa tingkat Sarjana Muda dan be-
berapa dosen Jurusan Antropologi.

Surat izin ini diberikan terhitung tanggal 1 November 1986 s.d.
selesai.

Apabila sudah menyelesaikan penelitian tersebut yang bersangkutan
dimohon memberi laporan.



Yogyakarta, 1 November 1986

D e k a n

Tembusan

- Ketua Jurusan Antropologi.

Prof. Dr. T. Ibrahim Alfian, M.A.
N I P 130109446

CHAPTER 16. NETWORK ANALYSIS

Norman E. Whitten, Jr.
Alvin W. Wolfe

From Rules to Strategies

Social network analysis in the 1970s is one important expression of a theoretical trend in all the social sciences since the 1940s, a trend away from concepts implying relatively static cultural patterns or fixed social institutions and toward concepts implying adaptation and adaptability. Nothing could express the theoretical watershed in social anthropology better than Raymond T. Firth's (1951:39-40) contrast of the concept of social organization with the then prevalent conception of social structure :

There are structural elements running through the whole of social behaviour, and they provide what has been metaphorically termed the social anatomy, the form of a society. But what is this form? It consists really in the persistence or repetition of behaviour; it is the element of continuity in social life. The social anthropologist is faced by a constant problem, an apparent dilemma - to account for this continuity, and at the same time to account for social change. Continuity is expressed in the social structure, the sets of relations which make for firmness of expectation, for validation of past experience in terms of similar experience in the future At the same time there must be room for variance and for the explanation of variance.

This is found in the social organization, the systematic ordering of social relations by acts of choice and decision. Here is room for variation from what has happened in apparently similar circumstances in the past. Time enters here. The situation before the exercise of choice is different from that afterwards Time enters also as a factor in the development of the implications of decision and consequent action.



Structural forms set a precedent and provide a limitation to the range of ... alternative that makes for variability. A person chooses, consciously or unconsciously, which course he will follow. And his decision will affect the future structural alignment.

In sociology as well as in anthropology, post-World War II scholars called for a redressing of earlier structural concepts. Peter Blau argued in Bureaucracy in Modern Society (1956:35) that the then prevailing view of bureaucracy was misleading. "Weber's decision to treat only the purely formal organization of bureaucracy implies that all deviations from these formal requirements are idiosyncratic and of no interest for the student of social organization." Blau properly interpreted such theory (see Weber 1947, 1958) as asserting a primacy of perpetuated structural relations (groups, offices, institutions). In his general critique of Weber's work, Blau (1956:19) notes the obvious, that "actual operations [of people in formal organizations] do not exactly follow the formal blueprint. To understand how bureaucracy functions we must observe them in action" (emphasis added).

Like Firth in anthropology, Blau (1956:53) turned his attention to the "patterns of activities and interactions that cannot be accounted for by the official structure," but "which find expression in a network of social relationships and in prevailing practices." Some eight years later Blau was still

interested in the phenomena he had begun to adumbrate in 1956, but he had shifted his focus to the mechanisms of informal relations within social systems. His thinking is clearly spelled out in Exchange and Power in Social Life (1964; see especially pages 88-114).

Social anthropology, we submit, has entered a phase of development analogous to that of industrial sociology in the 1950s, illustrated here by the work of Blau (for more recent surveys, see Caplow 1964, Turk 1970). "Descent theory" in kinship analysis seems to be social anthropology's analogue to bureaucratic theory in sociology. Such theory, which focuses attention on models of perpetuating, definable, discrete, "corporate" groups (see Fortes 1953; Goody, ed., 1962, 1969; Gluckman 1950; M.G. Smith 1956; Mair 1965), is under fire (see Schneider 1965) by those espousing exchange or "alliance" theory (Levi-Strauss 1969, Needham 1962, Dumont 1961, Maybury-Lewis 1967, Leach 1962). Unfortunately, debates over the relative merits of descent and alliance theory in kinship (Schneider 1965, Levi-Strauss 1969, Josselin de Jong 1952, Harris 1968:501-13) have not yet moved in the direction indicated by the work of Blau in sociology. Rather, the core of debate is still frequently centered on the identifiable mechanisms for the perpetuation of definable, discrete groups (see Schneider's comment, 1965:73-74).

With increasing frequency the analysis of structural relationships and of the models of their perpetuity is being undertaken together with analyses of "categorical relationships" and "personal networks" (for general statements, see Mitchell 1966; Wolf 1966; Southall, ed., 1961; Boissevain 1968; and Banton 1967). Those who are now interested in and contributing to social network analysis owe greater debts to earlier writers, and certainly we recognize the relevance of work done in the 1930s: the analysis of observations in the Western Electric plant reported by Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939), the sociometry of Moreno (1934), the interaction studies of Chapple and Arensberg (1940), the cliques-in-classes studies of Warner and Lunt (1941). But Firth, Blau, and the others serve as useful markers for a sort of tipping of the balance, from concern with group or "formal" structure and inert individuals to concern with active individuals generating patterns by their own decisions in all contexts of interaction.

In the 1940s the keen analyses of both Fortes (1949a, 1949b) and Levi-Strauss (1969), different as they were, put such emphasis on the intricacies of social structural relationships that some adumbration of network theory can be discerned in them. Concerned about the variability that was too often overlooked in structural studies, Fortes, in "Time and Social Structure" (1949b:84), presented a dynamic conception

of structure as "an arrangement of parts brought about by the operation, through a period of time, of principles of social organization which have general validity in a particular society." Fortes is but a step from describing social structure as the complex outcome of the strategies of many players subject to some common ground rules. And in a totally different mode, Levi-Strauss led the trend away from the conceptualization of groups as fixed structures and toward a view of social structure as transformation possibilities inherent in certain crucial exchange and alliance relationships. Like Fortes, Levi-Strauss (1967:45) recognized that even "kinship is not a static phenomenon; it exists only in self-perpetuation ... thus, even the most elementary kinship structure exists both synchronically and diachronically." Neither Levi-Strauss nor other alliance theorists have themselves contributed concepts or methods to network analysis, but they have certainly helped to increase the awareness of relationships of reciprocity, of strategies of relationships, and of transformations in relational systems. "But as soon as the various aspects of social life - economic, linguistic, etc. - are expressed as relationships, anthropology will become a general theory of relationships. Then it will be possible to analyze societies in terms of differential features characteristic of the systems of relationships which

define them" (Levi-Strauss 1967:95-96).

We have deliberately mentioned some of the literature in organizational anthropology and sociology by specific reference to the study of formal groups (kinship corporations and modern bureaucracies) to make the point that networks, or informal social relations, are not excluded by the existence of any formal apparatus. Rather, network analysis provides the investigator with pathways into the heart of social systems, whether or not the social systems have pronounced formal, perpetuating structural arrangements with corporate, exclusive characteristics. (For an early demonstration that this is so, see Fortes 1949a, 1953.) We shall have more to say about this later.

Recognition of some inadequacies in group structural theories has been a source of discomfort in the social sciences for some years. Some, like S.F. Nadel (1957) and Robert K. Merton (1949, 1957), have felt that answers lie largely in improvement of theories of roles and role relationships. Others, such as George M. Foster (1961, 1963, 1969) and Eric Wolf (1966), have sought to correct the imperfections of group theory by elaborating our understanding of dyadic, patron-client, and brokerage contracts. And others, like Thibault and Kelly (1959), George Homans (1961), and Peter Blau (1964), have tried to develop an interpersonal exchange model that sees most, if not all, social behavior as

subject to the principles of marginal economic theory. Responding to this same uneasiness over structural analysis, some, like J. Van Velsen (1964), have developed what they call "situational analysis," while others, such as Barth (1963, 1966), Bailey (1968), Boissevain (1968), Nicholas (1965), and A. Mayer (1966), have generated what Abner Cohen (1969) calls "action theory." These approaches arise from a common concern about the insufficiency of group-oriented theory, but they may differ from network analysis in that they sometimes focus on the individual in interaction, while network analysis follows the interaction as it ramifies throughout the social context. Indeed, the subject of network analysis is the social context, not individual behavior per se, or even the dyadic link per se.

The Nature of the Problem in 1970

Current attempts by many social, economic, and political anthropologists to conceptualize networks, to do network analyses, and to construct network theory and network models often seem to represent deliberate efforts to cut across domains of politics, kinship, formal groups, economics, ethnic categories, and even dimensions of cognition in order to get at a relevant series of linkages existing between individuals which may form a basis for the mobilization of people for specific purposes, under specific conditions.

Since linkages in any network must be focused if analysis is to have a concrete basis, the concepts of "center" and "ego" necessarily arise. Since a link is not a link unless it connects something to something else, concepts of "connectedness" (the frequency with which members of one person's network interact independently of that person) sometimes creep in (e.g., Luce 1950, Bott 1957, Boissevain 1968:457). Because of ego-centeredness, paths of linkages "charted" by an investigator may have at least a superficial resemblance to models developed to deal with cognatic kinship systems or with small control groups. Some investigators pay much attention to their charts (Barnes 1954:43, 1969a, 1969b) while others scarcely mention charts at all (Whitten 1970a, 1970b).

From Residue to Phenomenon

In the course of regular ethnographic research, anthropologists have described many segments of the networks of social relations of the peoples they have studied. Still, the concept of network remained for some time a rather vague notion. For example, Radcliffe-Brown (1965:190) wrote in the early fifties that "human beings are connected by a complex network of social relations. I use the term 'social structure' to denote this network of actually existing relations." J.A. Barnes (1954:43) gave the concept of network graphic meaning in his study of "Class and Committees in a Norwegian Island Parish":

The image I have is of a set of points some of which are joined by lines. The points of the image are people, or sometimes groups, and the lines indicate which people interact with each other. We can, of course, think of the whole of social life as generating a network of this kind.

The concept, so defined, was picked up shortly by Robert Redfield (1956) and by Elizabeth Bott (1955), whose studies of the family and social network were not only widely read but also widely reprinted (Bott 1955, 1957, 1960, 1964). The meanings Bott gave to social network varied among her own writings and differed somewhat from the meaning Barnes (1954) had intended, and several subsequent analysts did still more to widen the range of meaning. Unfortunately, not all of those to whom the idea appealed felt a responsibility to provide it with the precise definition that would help to locate it in relation to other general concepts. They could not know, as each worried over his own particular problem - conjugal roles and social networks (Bott 1957), migration and social network (P. Mayer 1961, Phillpott 1968), urbanization and social network (Epstein 1961), music and networks (Whitten 1968), politics and network (A. Mayer 1962), the nature of "horizontal segments" (Steward et al. 1956) - that the scholarly world would be straining to use the concept much more generally, in an expansion of specific propositions.

Barnes (1969b:53) recently responded to pressures resulting from what he took to be growing confusion in

the literature:

I must take some of the responsibility for this, for what I wrote seems not to have been clear I did not distinguish between the distinctive features of all networks (in contrast to dyadic relationships, groups, categories, and the like) and those features that happened to be present in the Norwegian network I described. Some readers assumed that these specific and local features must be present in all networks, and have introduced modifications to fit empirical situations where these features are absent. Other readers have misunderstood what I meant by the total network, perhaps because I did not give any reference to Radcliffe-Brown, from whom I had taken this idea.

Barnes proceeds to clarify the language of discussion about networks by drawing heavily on mathematical concepts from graph theory. Descending in abstract space, as represented by diagrams on a piece of paper, Barnes (1969b:57) moves from the total network of social relationships to the partial network, which he defines as "any abstract of the total network based on some criterion applicable through the whole network" (emphasis added). This criterion could be based in economics, kinship, marriage system, politics, or some other domain of society and culture. Because he defines "total network" as coincident with "society" and "partial network" as coincident with a particular domain of society, Barnes must develop further concepts to refer to ego-centered social sets.

He finds "stars" of a "first order" radiating from any ego, anywhere, with whom he chooses to begin. He represents the ego by a dot, and with lines radiating

from this dot he forms an analogue of a "star subgraph" (Ore 1962:12). Drawing subsequent concepts from graph theory, he derives a notion of density from the abstract concept that "alpha" (any ego) in interaction with a "contact" (alter) may find that his "contact" is also in interaction with another of his contacts. In that case, the two contacts (or alters) are said to be adjacent in the star. All of the relationship among a given ego and his alters, adjacent and nonadjacent, make up what he calls a "zone" (Barnes 1969b:58-60); and by logical extension, zones are conceived of as being "first order," "second order," and so on.

If this sort of mathematical presentation sometimes seems overly abstract, the situation is in no way improved by another tendency found in Barnes (1954) and in too many works since then: the tendency to view social networks as somehow residual - the relationships that remain after the major structural relationships are dealt with. A short series of excerpts, chronologically ordered to provide perspective, will give some idea of the pervasiveness of the notion of network as residual, a notion that we feel has actually hindered development of network analysis. First, Barnes again (1954:42-43):

The third social field has no units or boundaries; it has no coordinating organization. It is made up of the ties of friendship and acquaintance which everyone growing up in Bremnes society [the total network of the Norwegian community where he conducted his study] partly inherits and largely builds up for himself I find it convenient to

talk of a social field of this kind as a network.

Redfield (1956:50):

Barnes ... thinks in particular of that part of the total network that is left if the relationships of the territorial and the industrial systems are removed. To distinguish this residual part of the network, and to give it a name suggestive of its presence in every society that is more than the imagined primitive isolate, let us call it the "countrywide network."

Southall, ed. (1961:29-30):

It has been suggested that ... [face-to-face] relationships may usefully be distinguished as structural, categorical, or egocentric according to the basis upon which persons intuitively classify one another on meeting. Face-to-face relationships of a structural type are aspects of roles defined within the structure of an institution Categorical relationships are those in which persons meet in an informal context yet without knowing one another very well, and consequently begin to act on the basis of intuitively assigning one another to various type categories as an empirical approach towards appropriate behavior. Egocentric relations are those in which people know one another sufficiently intimately as persons to base their mutual expectations of one another's behavior directly on this personal knowledge.

Wolf (1966:2):

We thus note that the formal framework of economic and political power exists alongside or intermingled with various other kinds of informal structure which are interstitial, supplementary, parallel to it I should like to focus on three sets of such parallel structures in complex societies: kinship, friendship, and patron-client relations The informal structures of which I have spoken are supplementary to the system: they operate and exist by virtue of its existence, which is logically, if not temporally, prior to them

Boissevain (1968:542):

There is a range of social phenomena which have received little attention from social anthropologists and even less from cultural anthro-

pologists and sociologists. These are the forms of social organization that lie somewhere between interacting individuals, on the one hand, and formal corporate groups, on the other I refer of course to the networks of relatives, friends, and acquaintances, and to the more intimate but often temporary coalitions which are formed out of these; the cliques, interest groups, and factions of which all persons are members.

The tendency, initiated by Barnes and fostered by so many others, to see network as residual rather than local, must have turned away many potential analysts of network processes. Who wants to study mere residues? Fortunately, the full story is more positive and less simplistic.

From Metaphor to Model

If network analysis is to be developed, networks must be conceptualized as the phenomena of primary concern, not simply as social leftovers after the groups are extracted or as links that fill the interstices between formal structures. Boissevain (1968) intended something like this, but he was distracted by several other issues at the same time and ultimately failed to produce a clear statement of his focus. He did, however, delineate a number of salient issues, to which we shall return. Adrian Mayer came closer to an appropriate view in his "System and Network" (1962) than he did in his more recent paper on "quasi-groups" (1966), although the latter is a remarkable synthesis of several perspectives. Srinivas and Beteille (1964) refer to the possibility of conceptualizing the whole social system

as a set of interlocking networks, and in recent statements J. Clyde Mitchell (1969; ed., 1969) demonstrates an appreciation of the problem.

On the one hand, Mitchell (1969:7) writes that the three orders of relationship that he (1959, 1966), Southall (ed., 1961), and Epstein (1962) had separated independently (the structural, the categorical, and the personal) "should not be looked upon as three different types of actual behavior, but rather as three different ways of making abstractions from the same actual behavior so as to achieve different types of understanding and explanation." He continues, "By this argument, therefore, there can be no opposition of structural and personal links but only different ways of subsuming the data into explanatory frameworks." And in his conclusion he states (1969:22) :

The upshot of my argument then must be that the distinction between social relationships seen as social networks as against corporate groups (or as quasi-groups) is primarily a matter of the level of abstraction at which we are able to operate in summarizing the regularities that we can discern in social relationships as a whole.

Yet, on what must be the other hand, Mitchell (ed., 1969:41) writes in the same year, "But people who have lived in a town for any period build up relationships with people in many different social contexts and these people may become part of a social network" (emphasis added).

Peter Gutkind (1965:59-60) appears to have been less inclined than most to view networks as residual categories:

For the Ganda [of Africa], urbanism as a way of life has not resulted in an abrupt break with the past. For urban Ganda, the model of the desirable society continues to be the traditions of the main features of Ganda life and culture. The urban non-Ganda, however, must construct for himself a pattern of social life and organization designed specifically for urban, and thus non-traditional, conditions. To achieve his ends he must participate in a network of contacts and associations which are radically different from those of his kin-based rural environment. As he progressively stays for longer periods in town, urban life presents itself as a more desirable social model and, presumably, a more clearly structured social order.

... I have tried to point to a distinction between kin-based and association-based networks. These two models of social organization should not, however, be seen as mutually exclusive. They meet and overlap at numerous points. They are designed to meet different conditions. A kin-based network is designed to meet, flexibly, new situations to which role responses are yet uncertain

I believe that the social network concept allows for the documentation of how in practice the individual and the group manipulate various roles both simultaneously and separately. In this respect social network analysis points to the way in which role performance is a part of a system, or a series of systems. To achieve a better understanding of how participation in various types of networks determines and structures specific roles, i.e. ethnic, kin, political, economic or recreational roles, microanalysis is likely to point the way.

In working toward the development of a theory of social networks, Wolfe (1970:229) focuses directly on networks per se :

On theoretical grounds, we are persuaded that relationships structured in categorical terms and those structured in role systems can profitably be dealt with in the same mode as interpersonal relationships that are not so structured. Links that persons have as members of groups or

categories are certainly a part of their total social network. The differences among various kinds of "sets," as we call limited portions of networks (personal sets, categorical sets, action sets, role system sets, field sets) should become fully evident in the process of network analysis as we envision it.

He also presents what he calls a "taxonomy of network concepts," a modified version of which is presented in Figure 1.

Wolfe, then, does not conceptualize a dichotomy between "structures" and "networks," but sees the infinite network of social relations as structured in sets of various kinds. When networks are viewed in this way, one seeks to understand the relationships among these sets and to understand the consequences of operating in one kind of set or another. Methods for such descriptions and comparisons are discussed especially by J.A. Barnes (1969a, 1969b) and Wolfe (1970).

Whitten (1970a, 1970b), building upon A. Mayer (1966) and Boissevain (1968), does find it convenient to contrast structural relations, categorical relations, and personal or egocentric sets or networks. In considering egocentric sets, however, he argues that an effective analysis, after locating a strategic ego node, must go on to explore the categorial, structural, and personal resources of the node, his personal network, and the broker and patronage relations between his network and those of other strategic and ancillary

actors. Obviously, network analysts of the 1970s, while agreeing not to treat interpersonal linkages as residual phenomena, have still not agreed on any specific path on which to proceed. (see figure 1)

We shall return to these issues after we have considered more of the relevant contemporary and historical literature. Here it should be sufficient to note a difficulty that has long plagued analysis of kindreds in kinship systems (see Murdock 1949, Davenport 1959, Freeman 1961, Whitten 1965, Schneider 1965, Douglass 1969): every person in every social system can, from some perspectives, be regarded as an egocentric system unto himself; at the same time, some egocentric networks in the same social order may teach us little or nothing. Network analysis implies that something about a natural social order can be learned by an analysis of strings of associations (or transactions), but it does not (and cannot) tell us where to begin. Upon what egocentric network should an investigator focus? The question has been raised by a number of investigators, and we shall return to this too.

Some Issues in Network Analysis

Whether or not one is interested in the morphological characteristics of networks (or portions of networks) themselves, considerable precision is called for in describing the social phenomena with which an investigator will work. The metaphor alone is not

SOCIAL NETWORK

A model in which links are seen as relating persons in social situations

Limited Network (Set) Any extract of the total network based on some criterion applicable throughout the whole network					Unlimited Network
Personal Set Set limited to the links of one person	Categorical Set Set limited to links involving persons of a certain type or category	Action Set Set limited to links purpose- fully used for a specific end	Role-System Set Set limited to links involved in an organized role-system or group	Field Set Set limited to links with a cer- tain con- tent (e.g., economic, political, etc.)	The Social network con- ceived with- out applica- tion of lim- iting crite- ria

Figure 1. Taxonomy of social network concepts. (Adapted from Wolfe 1970)

sufficient; some parameters must be defined.

So much is being written right now on the subject, and so much revision is taking place simultaneously, that we cannot expect to summarize it all in this brief paper. We shall discuss only certain issues that have been particularly troublesome or which are, in our view, crucial to current understanding or for future development of network analysis. For the rest, we recommend several publications that help to review the field: Jay (1964), Mitchell (1966, 1969; ed., 1969), Boissevain (1968), Barnes (1969b), Wolf (1966), Y.A. Cohen (1969), Crissman (1969), Emerson (1969), Aronson (ed., 1970).

The Issue of Limiting Networks

In its most expansive sense, the network metaphor or model refers to an unbounded mass of relationships of all kinds among an infinite number of persons stretching back to the beginning and forward into the future. But nobody has tried to make statements that apply to network in this largest sense. One of the issues in network analysis has to do with the ways in which the total, infinite, unbounded, everlasting network can be given some usefull focus and limitation.

Adrian Mayer (1966) is one of those who have found it convenient and efficient to suggest limiting criteria for network analysis. In so doing he turned to Radcliffe-Brown (1965:190) and to Barnes (1954), and so

defined a network as synonymous with "social structure." A "set" then became the first limitation: a personal network - any system of ties radiating from an identifiable ego locus (see A. Mayer 1966:98-99). However, he notes that Barnes's sets were "classificatory" - that is, related to people's concepts of the class framework of Bremnes. This makes the reader again wonder if the Radcliffe-Brown-Barnes model is the most appropriate for Mayer's own work. It may possibly be a red herring dragged across an otherwise relatively simple definitional problem involving aggregates of people connected by series of interpersonal exchanges.

To differentiate Barnes's early concept of "sets" from those with which he would be dealing, Mayer turned to Chapple and Coon (1947:283) and separated Barnes's "classificatory sets" from Chapple and Coon's "interactive sets." He writes (1966:99), "... both types of set are similar in that they are ego-centered and may contain intermediaries between ego (the originator) and the terminal individuals." What he seems to mean by ego-centeredness is that, in the realm of classificatory sets, the anthropologist studies social structure by learning how the informant (ego) classifies and stereotypes people as similar to or different from himself, at various degrees, according to various categorical criteria. With the interactive set the anthropologist studies the exchanges that take place around a given ego

locus, together with those exchanges that take place between alters that are connected in some manner to a particular ego. Mayer is obviously interested in the latter process, as is Boissevain (1968), but perhaps the definitional problem involved in using Barnes as interpreter of Radcliffe-Brown led to some confusion.

Mayer makes clear progress, though, pointing to acknowledged ambiguities in usage, and thereby providing a firm basis for reexamination. He suggests a model of a nongroup, nonassociational sector of society which might be diagrammed as in Figure 2. In this scheme, "bounded" refers to the finite extent of known interaction from the standpoint of a given ego or network nucleus, such as a family (see Bott 1957, A. Mayer 1966), and "unbounded" refers to unlimited series of possible interaction strings. Most significantly, Mayer (1966:100) refers to bounded networks (sets) as those known to ramify from a given ego:

... at any given time the component units of a set have a known boundary; it is not one of group membership ... but of their common connection to the central ego. It is this common link which enables Bott to treat her networks as unit entities which can be analysed and compared.

In an attempt to clarify what he took to be misunderstanding of his earlier position, Barnes (1969b:68) wrote:

There are a limited number of persons in a finite network, and this fact is significant for the flow of interaction going on in the network Second, the network is either bounded or unbounded.... If

it is unbounded, everyone in the social universe is in the network and there are no persons outside it.

But Barnes (1969b:57) sees another way of limiting the total number of relationships that must be considered in a network: a "partial" network is "any extract from the total network based on some criterion applicable throughout the whole network." Thus, he says, the cognatic web of kinship forms a partial network, and a political network would also be a partial network.

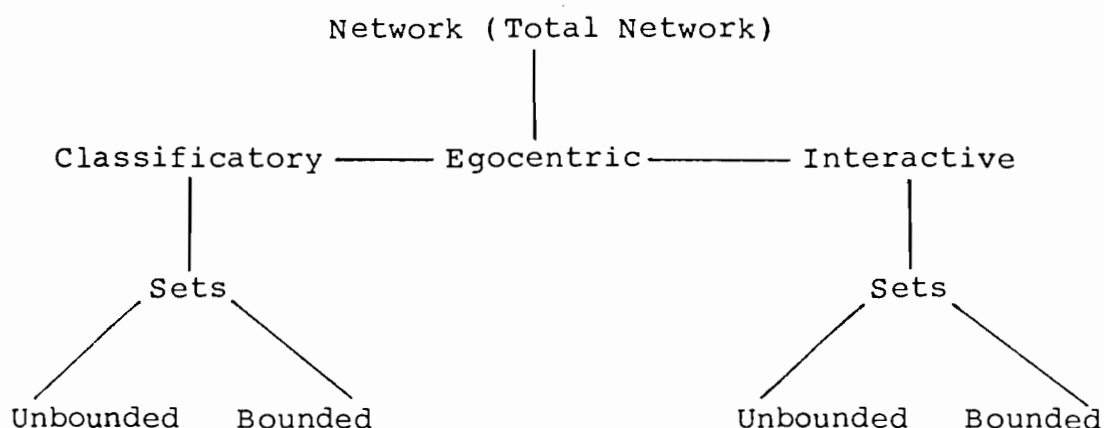


Figure 2. Paradigmatic representation of
A. Mayer's network schema

Thus any network about which we can make statements is qualified by some combination of characteristics. It is either bounded or unbounded, finite or infinite, partial or total. Figure 3 is a paradigmatic representation of Barnes's types of "networks".

The eight types of sets defined analytically vary all the way from a set composed of certain kinds of links only (partial), connecting a limited number of

people (finite), in a universe in which some persons exist who are not included in the network (bounded), to a set composed of all kinds of links (total), connecting an unlimited number of persons (infinite), in a universe in which everyone is included in the network and there are no persons outside it (unbounded). Each of these theoretically possible types appears also to be an empirical possibility. A problem of importance would be the mapping of tranformation possibilities among the types. Perhaps one needs to be reminded that each of the three contrasts is relative in the sense that sets are more or less bounded depending on the criteria used, that sets are finite or infinite depending on where one decides to stop counting, and that the more narrowly one defines a "kind of link," the more "partial" the set can be.

There can be no doubt that Barnes's three network characteristics are distinct, orthogonal, and important dimensions. The scheme is analytically more elegant than the related "taxonomy of network concepts" (Figure 1) suggested by Wolfe (1970). Wolfe, after deciding to call any extract of the total network a "set," classified sets according to the nature of the linkages to which they are limited: links of one person only (personal set), links involving persons of a certain type (categorical set), links involved in a role system or group (role-system set), links purposefully used toward

a specific end (action set), and links with a certain content (field set).

Wolfe's inifinite network would be, in Barnes's terms, total, infinite, unbounded: Wolfe's personal and categorical sets would be total, finite, and bounded, except that the category involved might be such that the set would be infinite. A field set would be partial, but could be finite or infinite and bounded or unbounded. A role-system set and an action set are both partial (but to different degrees), both finite, and both bounded (but again to different degrees). There is little advantage to be gained from arguing about these details at the moment, in the abstract. As empirical work proceeds, that which is useful will become clear.

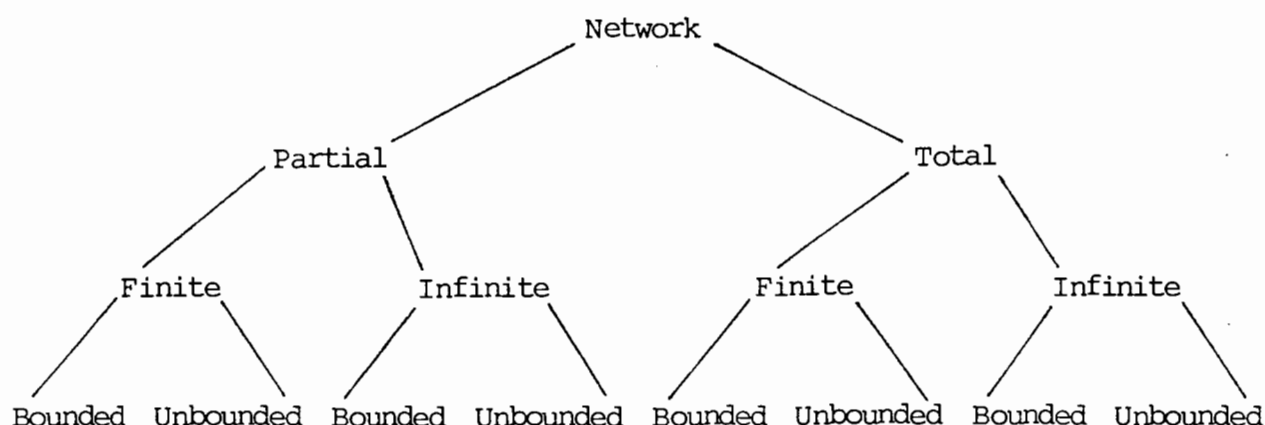


Figure 3. Paradigmatic representation of Barnes's types of networks

As the analyst begins to work with real data rather than abstractly conceived relationships, he discovers once again that relationships exist in time and change through time. For theory, then, one must add time as a

fourth dimension by which the total network is limited, for as we noted at the beginning of this section, social relationships link us backward in time and ultimately forward into the future.

Adrian Mayer (1966:116) suggests a dynamic view of a sequence from quasi-group to group: "... when the more constant members of an action set are at the same time those directly linked to ego, one can characterize them as the 'core' of the quasi-group. This core may later crystallize into a formal group" By bringing his notion of "core" to bear on specific action sets, Mayer (1966:115-17) attempts to link group theory with nongroup theory and to a large degree is successful. He carefully points out that when a core begins to coalesce around a particular ego, the core itself may become a group or clique, and then the node in a network or set; the individual ego locus then becomes obscure, and the set radiates from what is now a "group." Such analytical skill should help bridge the group-nongroup hiatuses and move toward the more sophisticated theory of society for which Boissevain has recently called, a theory based on a continuum from individual to group. Whitten's scheme of the relationships of groups, categorical sets, networks, and cores, which will be discussed in the following section, draws directly and heavily upon the work of both Mayer and Boissevain.

Wolfe attempts to deal with the problem of structural time, or developmental cycle, by differentiating "phases" for any link in a set of links. His "codebook" appended to Wolfe (1970:240) reads, in part:

Neither a set as a portion of a network nor a link as a constituent of a set can be considered invariant through time. As a relationship between two persons, a link is established, develops through experiences of the individuals, adapts to all sorts of conditions, and ends (at least when death does them part), and it is easy to conceive of these changes as differentiating phases. Even in the absence of specific hypotheses about regularities in the developmental cycles of links or in the developmental histories of sets, recognition of phases is appropriate.

Too little attention has been given to the problem of delimiting networks chronologically, although some efforts have been made in that direction (Leeds 1964; Foster 1969; Whitten 1965, 1969; Whitten and Szwed, eds., 1970a). If network analysis is to make some contribution to the understanding of adaption and adaptability, this issue must be high on the agenda.

The Issue of Intimacy and Extension

If one is talking about a personal network, an egocentric set of links focusing on one person, then one must decide how far outward from that ego the set extends, and must distinguish among members of the set according to some measures of social distance. Epstein (1961) differentiated "effective" (close) and "extended" (distant) parts of an egocentric network. Boissevain



(1968:546-47) adds another component, which he labels "intimate."

At least three important ranges or zones can be distinguished within which the relations are qualitatively different. They form concentric zones which centre on ego. The first is composed of those persons, whether relatives or friends, with whom ego is on closest terms. These persons form what may be called ego's intimate network. The second range may be called the effective network. It consists of persons whom ego knows less well and from whom he can expect less (and who expect less or nothing of him) than from the members of his intimate network. These may include relatives, friends and other acquaintances of various sorts. The third zone is made up of persons whom ego does not know personally but of whom he knows and whom he very easily can get to know. These are for the most part members of the intimate networks of the persons in his own intimate network. These persons constitute ego's extended network.

It seems quite unlikely to us that consensus could ever be reached on any set of criteria that could universally discriminate among intimate, effective, and extended relationships or intimate, effective, and extended zones. This being the case, we need hardly do more here than identify the issue. There must be some quite different approach to its resolution. If the analyst keeps this problem always in mind, then distinctions will be made only when they are heuristic; for example, when they permit the investigator to reach a level of generalization allowing for comparison of adaptive strategies or styles (or both).

The Issues of Connectedness

"Connectedness" or something like it (density, close-knit/loose-knit, large mesh/small mesh, etc.) has

been more frequently cited as a significant characteristic of networks than any other type of measure or limitation. (For example, see the section on "Applications," below.) It is one of those variables that many talk about though few have measured. Barnes (1969a, 1969b) has recently given the subject systematic treatment. He reviews the use of such concepts not only in social science, but in mathematics as well. One of his observations (1969a:224) shows the gravity of the problem:

... in five papers, derived over a period of fifteen years in sequence from one another as shown by their footnote references, the term "connectivity" is applied to six distinct measures, each writer apparently introducing changes to suit his own convenience without reference to contemporary common usage in his own and related fields of inquiry.

Barnes's aim is not to provide an authoritative glossary of terms or typology of related measures, but rather to caution against loose usage and to encourage attention to the measures other analysts are using. He himself (1969a:225) has used a measure he calls density, "the number of lines present in the vicinity of any given point as a fraction of the maximum possible number." Charles Tilly (n.d.a) and Wolfe have used a very similar measure. Wolfe (1970:18) writes, "For any set, the density index represents the percentage of potential links that are actualized."

We wholeheartedly endorse Barnes's warnings, and are optimistic that once analysts appreciate the magnitude of variance around such issues as connectedness and density, greater care will be exercised.

Network Analysis: Other Theoretical Bases

During the decade of the 1960s, what agreement there was among interested scholars centered around notions of "action sets" (A. Mayer 1962, 1966; Jay 1964; Boissevain 1968; Barnes 1968). Whitten puts emphasis on network analysis as a strategy for studying social systems by focusing on ramifying relationships. One can justifiably focus on personal interaction, on characteristics of reciprocity or exchange, instead of on characteristics of sets. Instead of trying to develop network theory as such, one can seek the theoretical bases for network analysis in role theory or exchange theory or action theory. We have already referred to Blau (1956, 1964), Homans (1961), and Thibault and Kelly (1959), all important contributors toward a theory of social behavior as exchange.

If we accept the proposition that exchange is at least implicit in the notion of social network (see Heider 1969), then it behooves us to examine closely the relationships between network analysis and theoretical models. It is interesting to find that those scholars who have delineated such crucial concepts as the "dyadic

contract" (Foster 1961, 1963), "patronage" (Campbell 1964, Wolf 1966), and "clientage" (Nadel 1935, 1942) have often not explicitly noted that series of exchanges can define a network (notable exceptions are Boissevain 1966 and, to a lesser extent, Foster 1969). Whitten feels that the theoretical underpinnings for network analysis not often specified by writers on the subject seem to derive from three sources: role theory, exchange theory, and action theory. Of these three, the position of role theory has yet to be effectively used as a theoretical basis (for an argument that it should serve in this capacity, see Crissman 1969).

Role Theory

Many of the authors we have mentioned, and others we shall discuss below, refer to role theory in their discussions of network analysis (see especially Barnes 1954, Bott 1957, A. Mayer 1966:101-102, Epstein 1958, Boissevain 1968, Mitchell 1966, Crissman 1969). Usually, however, the way in which role theory can establish a conceptual foundation for the analysis of social networks is nuclear. This is probably because role theory is commonly applied in situations where the analysis of groups is a productive way to study social relations. For example, in commenting on the analyses of Epstein (1958) and Barnes (1954), J. Clyde Mitchell (1966:57-58) writes :

The unit of observation at the first level of abstraction out of which first of all the sets, and subsequently the fields, are constructed is the role, and the sort of data which Barnes and Epstein present could be cast in terms of roles and role-performance. A role, however, pertains to behaviour in a structural position. Thus while we may speak of the role of a person A vis-a-vis, say, a person B in his personal network and of B's role towards C in B's network, we cannot speak of A's role vis-a-vis C because he is not in A's network. Since we need to delineate the mechanism whereby behavior between people in one set of roles may affect the behavior of a different set of people in another set of roles ... it seems that we need the concepts of "field" and "network" as well as role. [Emphasis added.]

Because of Mitchell's insistence on refining concepts such as field and network in addition to the concept of role, we shall seek theoretical constructs for a basis of network analysis elsewhere, leaving to others the task of appropriately linking role theory with the underpinnings of network analysis. In passing, however, it should be noted that the most common work on role theory cited by writers on networks is S.F. Nadel's The Theory of Social Structure. Early in this book (1957:12) Nadel makes this statement: "We arrive at the structure of a society through abstracting from the concrete population and its behavior the pattern or network (or 'system') of relationships obtaining 'between actors in their capacity of playing roles relative to one another.'" (Nadel is quoting from Parsons 1949:34.) Suffice it here to note that this is not the sense in which most writers use the concept of network, though references to this statement creep into a number of

otherwise divergent approaches. It is with exchange and action theory that we find the theoretical basis for network analysis.

Exchange Theory

Exchange theory in anthropology, though not in sociology, is grounded in attempts to relate the material and social life of people in natural settings. Marshall Sahlins (1965:139) reviews the literature from Mauss (1954) in the twenties to the 1960s, and specifies the core of the theory at the outset of his paper: "... the connection between material flow and social relations is reciprocal. A specific social relation may constrain a given movement of goods, but a specific transaction - 'by the same token' - suggests a particular social relation. If friends make gifts, gifts make friends."

Exchanges may symbolize opposition, as when two actors "exchange torts," or cooperation, as when people compliment one another or exchange some acceptable tokens. Structurally speaking, exchanges between individuals may merely link the individuals into a dyadic relationship, or they may symbolize ramifying cooperation and/or competition between groups or aggregates of individuals. The concept of reciprocity is at the heart of exchange theory, and this concept has been conveniently treated by Sahlins (1965:147-48), developing ideas from Mauss (1954) and Malinowski (1922), Firth (1951) and Gouldner (1960), as a continuum

from "generalized reciprocity" through "balanced reciprocity" to "negative reciprocity":

"Generalized reciprocity" refers to transactions that are putatively altruistic, transactions on the line of assistance given and, if possible and necessary, assistance returned. The ideal type is Malinowski's "pure gift." ... "Balanced reciprocity" refers to direct exchange ... and "negative reciprocity" is the attempt to get something for nothing with impunity, the several forms of appropriation, transactions opened and conducted toward net advantage. Indicative ethnographic terms include "haggling" or "barter," "gambling," "chicanery," "theft," and other varieties of seizure.

For network analysis, the important aspect of exchange theory, with its concept of reciprocity, is its demonstration that any exchange can forge an interpersonal link, and interpersonal links can connect individuals in series of communicative, economic, manipulative, and other types of strands. Without exchange theory the notion of network would appear quite abstract, divorced from the realities of human life in specific social and cultural settings. From the vantage point of exchange theory, a social network may also be viewed as a mechanism of distribution. Its functioning provides a means of moving goods and services from person to person, both horizontally and vertically (Greenfield 1966:7, Heider 1969). Another theoretical position, called "action theory," usefully employs exchange theory to summarize the specific aspects of a particular network in a stated context.

Action Theory

Action theory in anthropology, according to Abner Cohen (1969:223), may be regarded as "a reaction against the emphasis placed by earlier anthropological studies on 'collective representations' ... This school of thought tends to sweep the theoretical pendulum towards an orientation emanating from Weberian 'action theory.'" Cohen goes on to describe as "action theory" a developing approach in anthropology which eschews analysis in terms of group and group symbols, and sees instead social (or political) life as a game involving continuous "scheming, struggling, and making decisions." Among works representing this school of thought he cites Bailey (1968), Barth (1963, 1966), Boissevain (1968), A. Mayer (1966), and Nicholas (1965). This school concentrates, according to Cohen (1969:223), on "the activities of 'political man' who is ever impelled to the pursuit of power." He takes no action without contemplating the relative gains and losses in a transaction.

Although Cohen exaggerates the picture painted by action theorists, and inaccurately implies that action theory imputes to all individuals in a social order the sort of behavior dealt with by game theory, he nevertheless correctly identifies many of the theoretical positions that adhere to those who propose to carry out network analysis of a social system. It is

not necessary to assume that all men are following the model of Cohen's "political man," however. All we need assume is that so long as some people in any particular system do behave as Cohen describes, then the ramifications of their behavior vis-a-vis others may require us to study the interpersonal, minimaxing exchanges that take place between individuals linked to one another in effective personal networks owing to their common relationship to a socially significant ego. The more the socially significant ego maneuvers for social position, the more important becomes an analysis of his exchanges and their ramifying consequences on individuals caught up in his maneuvers. A convenient way of identifying socially significant egos is to analyze the political economy of a given system. Work along such lines has been carried out by Whitten (1965, 1970a), Adams (1966), and Phillpott (1968), among many others. Although Whitten (1970a) feels justified in generalizing about cultural content and action styles, and in inferring general properties of particular subcultures on the basis of research into a few strategic networks, there are others who do not. For example, Swift (1967:311) writes :

The field worker will form impressions based on the networks of his closest informants, but when he wishes to translate these impressions into general statements about the nature of networks in the society it seems to me he faces research problems more difficult than those arising from the essentially normative analysis of role and group.

individuals to groups with a halfway step of "quasi-groups." Following A. Mayer (1966) and Pospisil (1964), and in specific opposition to Ginsberg (1934:40), Bottomore (1962:92), Dahrendorf (1959:236), and Nadel (1951:188f), who use "quasi-group" in the sense of categorial social relationships, Boissevain (1968:550) defines a quasi-group as "a coalition of persons, recruited according to structurally diverse principles by one or more existing members, between some of whom there is a degree of patterned interaction and organization."

Although personal networks centered on a socially, economically, or politically important ego may coalesce into a clique, faction, gang, action set, or other grouplike, short-run, nonperpetuating cluster, the ego-centeredness of such a cluster may begin to disappear as the groupness appears. This is sticky theory, and at the moment we can consider it only a useful device in structuring Boissevain's concept of a continuum of social forms from the individual to the corporate group. Studies of a quasi-group forming out of a personal network, and even of a group forming out of a quasi-group, would seem necessary to illustrate the value of some of these concepts. This underscores, once again, the need for a developmental, temporal perspective in such studies.

The relationship between fieldwork, informant relationship, measures of consistency, and theoretical bases for generalization need much more careful examination before we take such polarity as significant, however. Freilich (ed., 1970) recently has pointed up the value of such examination.

Toward a Synthesis of Role, Exchange, and Action Theories

An important aspect of Boissevain's (1968:549-50) review concerns the careful attention given to what he calls "social catalysts," defined as "brokers and other manipulators." Such brokers wheel and deal through interpersonal linkages, forming, transforming, and using interpersonal relationships for some perceived advantage, and in the process affect the social relationships within the direct and indirect spheres of their maneuvers. "Network specialists," Boissevain says, "provide important links in networks viewed as a series of communication channels. They transmit, direct, filter, receive, code, decode, and interpret messages." Such "strategically placed" persons, if fortunate or adept, may turn their skills as brokers in social capital into personal power; their ability to manipulate networks enables them to make social events turn out to their advantage.

Boissevain uses his concept of network specialist (broker) to bridge the gap in his continuum from

One way of gaining a developmental perspective is through the study of factions that form as a result of conflict between "leaders" (see Bailey 1965, Nicholas 1965, Schwartz 1969, Boissevain 1964). If we substitute "network broker" for "leader" and assume that a network broker's skill in organization may be used to muster social capital in opposition to similar actions on the part of an alter broker, then we can see how the analysis of social conflict can be furthered through factional studies, and how network analysis can perhaps give us a more dynamic view of complementary and contrastive conflict and solidarity in social systems.

Another way to study the relationship of individuals to quasi-groups and of quasi-groups to group formation is through developmental sequence studies such as those of Goody (ed., 1958) on family and household, Leeds (1964) on Brazilian careers, and Whitten (1965, 1969) on Colombian-Ecuadorian mobility strategies. Whitten suggests that action sets in the form of personal kindreds become stem kindreds, and that stem kindreds can evolve into an ambilineal ramage over four or more generations of socio-economic mobility.

By reviewing and suggesting directions for study of dynamic linkages that can account for the coalescing and dispersing of action sets in times of conflict, Boissevain clearly demonstrates the methodological value of network analysis as a means of understanding a social

order. We suggest, however, that the strategy of network analysis is as important in formal settings as in settings where corporate groups do not exist. Although we agree with Boissevain (1968:553) that analyses of individual brokers, ego-centered networks, and quasi-groups are of great importance in the analysis of a social structure, we cannot agree with his conclusion that they are more important than analyses of extant formal groups in a particular social system. If one is to understand the nature of the social capital brought into an exchange relationship in a natural social order, then it is imperative to comprehend something of the formal system of economic, political, and social groupings, as well as the ramifying ego-centered networks.

By analyzing political process in the Dewas district of the state of Madhya Pradesh in India, A. Mayer (1966:102-108) shows the value of action concepts. Taking a candidate for political office as his ego, Mayer shows how such a strategic locus in the political economy initiated action series in the development of an action set. The generation of the concept of action set brings us to the heart of Mayer's contribution (1966:108): "... action sets ... are formed of links derived from many social fields; but because they are purposive creations by an ego, this purpose gives all the links a common feature, without which the

action set could not be classed under the quasi-group rubric." But Mayer is careful not to oppose quasi-group formation to the existence of groups. When he analyzes quasi-groups in the form of action sets, he is analyzing the moves of a strategic figure (a candidate for office) who is in the process of mobilizing his set (network) for action. Any such analysis must include the social functions of mobilization, involving a wide range of brokerage, group, and dyadic relationships. If an anthropologist can begin "anywhere" in a social order to study networks, still he must begin somewhere, and the decision is not always easy to make. By talking about specific actors who are mustering social help by building or activating a set of interpersonal ties ramifying in and out of groups, categories, and brokerage nodes, Mayer avoids the problem.

A. Mayer sees the action set as bounded, but denies its existence as a "group," for the basis of membership is specific to each linkage, and there are no rights or obligations that bring all these members into relationships with each other. Moreover, "the action-set could not exist without the ego around whom it is formed" (A.Mayer 1966:109). For Mayer, one must study the action set only while the social relationships of which it is composed are being activated by the (then) central ego.

In considering the comparison of action sets, Adrian Mayer stimulates a number of possibilities for the study of social change through the methodology of network analysis. For example, within a society an investigator can focus on the differential patterns of linkage of complementary and contrasting sets and tie such patterns to "campaign strategy" (see A. Mayer 1966:110-11). Reliance on action theory leads Mayer (1966:111) to an important consideration: "We must distinguish between the potential material of network links, and those links which are actually used [i.e., "carry transactions"] in the action-set's constitution" (emphasis added). By subclassifying "transactions" in terms of ethnographically induced roles, Mayer (1966:113-14) distinguishes patronage and brokerage roles:

In the first [patronage roles], the transactor has the power to give some benefit which the respondent desires; upon fulfillment of the latter's part the benefit is made available.... Patronage is an unambiguous transaction, in which the responsibility for any failure to redeem a promise can be clearly put down to the patron. A broker is a middle-man, and the transaction is one in which he promises to obtain favours for the respondent from a third person... the broker can enter into more transactions, in relation to his resources of power, than can the patron.

The problem with such classification is that, as Mayer himself notes (1966:114), such transactions may overlap in practice, making differentiation of patronage and brokerage roles difficult. It would seem preferable

to note the exchange mechanisms between transacting nodes rather than to impose (or even infer) analytical types unless the types themselves can be described as contrastive or complementary within particular sociocultural environments.

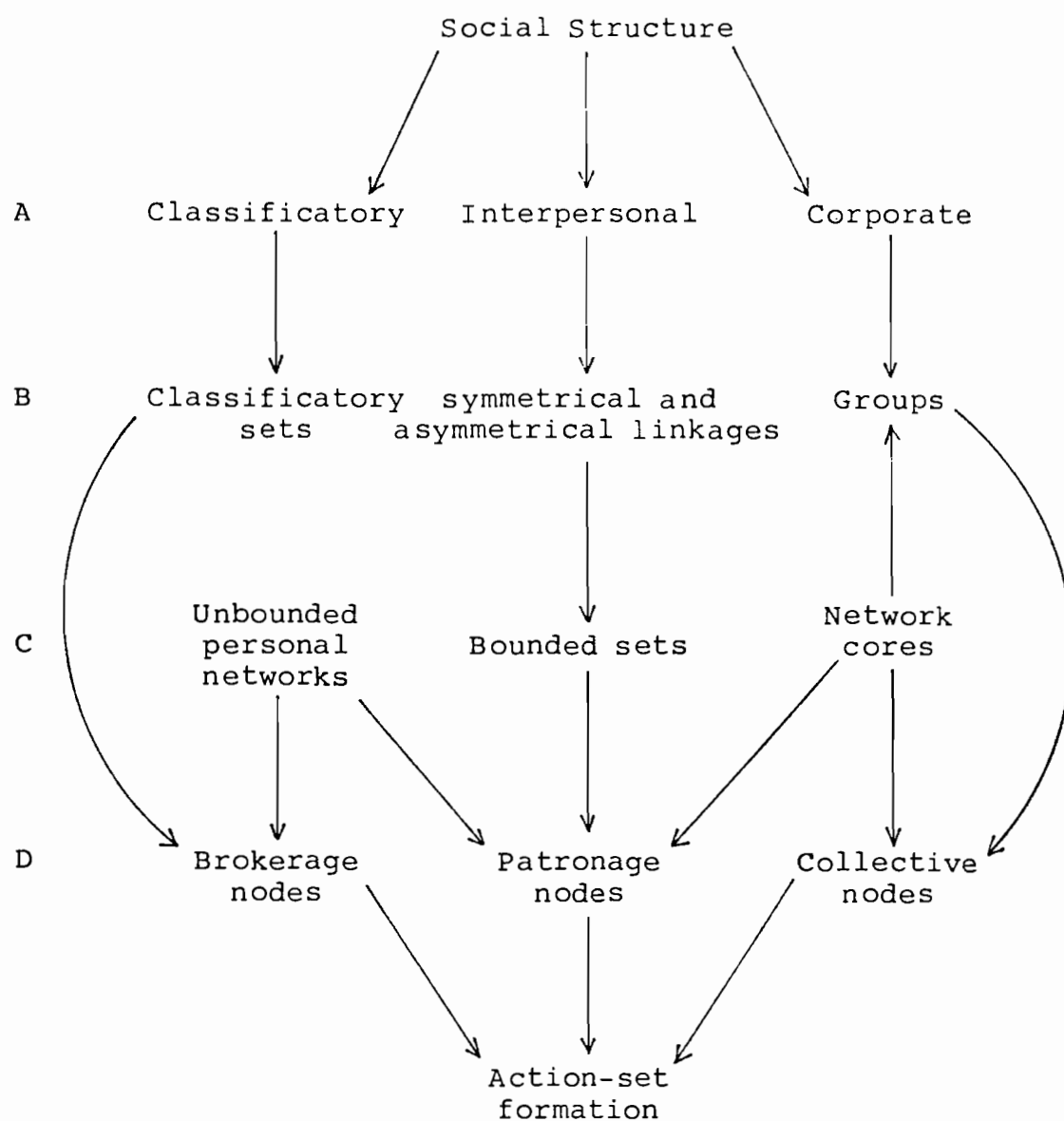
The definitions and concepts sketched here and in the preceding section may be seen to form certain relationships, which Whitten conceptualizes in the model shown in Figure 4.

Applications of Network Concepts

We are not in full agreement about how far we should go in thinking of developing a set of statements that might become, formally, "network theory." Barnes (1968), the principal network theoretician, has some comments on uses of network concepts. After referring to his own work in Bremnes (Barnes 1954), Bott's use of network (1955, 1957), and Adrian Mayer's review and application (1966), Barnes writes (1969b:52):

These and other reports show that the concept is useful in describing and analyzing political processes, social classes, the relationship of a market to its hinterland, the provision of services and the circulation of goods and information in unstructured social environments, the maintenance of values and norms by gossip, structural differences between tribal, rural, and urban societies, and so on.

A decade earlier, in reviewing social anthropological contributions to the study of complex societies, Eisenstadt wrote (1961:209):



KEY: A = bases for social organization
 B = forms of social relationship
 C = social relations described by network analysis
 D = social activators
 → = may transform to

Figure 4. A paradigm of network concepts in action and exchange theory

It is perhaps only the concept of network that to some extent provides a potentially new analytical tool. It clearly describes or points out the existence of some differential interrelation between different people who are not organized in corporate groups; and it may help in the analysis of the relation of different persons, acting in such a network, to different types of social roles and institutional frameworks.

The tracing through of networks of people involved in diverse activities has always gone on in the analysis of social systems, but such tracing is now becoming more specific as a technique and more fashionable as a subject for discussion. In many studies (Fortes 1949a, 1969; Whyte 1953; Fallers 1956; Leeds 1964; Whitten 1965) network analysis is implicit, while in some monographs and articles (Aronson, ed., 1970); Barnes 1954; Bott 1957; Greenfield 1966; Plotnicov 1967; Mitchell, ed., 1969; Whitten 1970a) pains are taken to explicate a working concept of network, and to define classes of network phenomena for analytical scrutiny. A few authors write about network theory, but some of these mean an elaboration of role theory. Lawrence Crissman (1969:80), for example, says:

Personal networks, when elucidated, provide an inventory of the dyadic roles individuals have accumulated according to the rules, or structure, of their culture and society, and serve to place them in its organization. A personal network should, then, be described in terms of the roles it contains, the roles being studied as roles By tracing personal networks in the field, the structure of a culture can be elucidated and the workings of the society seen in operation.

In Crissman's statement we can clearly see a yearning toward synthesis of field strategy and theoretical foundation, a yearning in which we share.

It would probably be helpful to have a more systematic description of the range, actual and possible, of network analysis tendencies. For a beginning, we can separate the situations in which network characteristics are considered from the standpoint of role theory, exchange theory, and action theory from those in which network characteristics themselves are part of the theoretical model. Within the latter category Wolfe chooses to separate the theoretical situations in which network characteristics are treated as dependent variables from those in which network characteristics are treated as independent variables. This tripartite classification may appear more systematic than the literature warrants; nonetheless, the writings of various network analysts seem to support it, when viewed ex post facto.

Let us turn our attention first to those who use network characteristics as part of their theoretical model - or would do so if they developed a formal model. And within that broad category, let us look first at those who see network characteristics as affecting something.

Network Variables As Independent

Bott hypothesizes quite straightforwardly that the kind of network in which a family is involved affects in a very direct manner the conjugal role relations in that family: close-knit network leads to conjugal role segregation. There is, of course, criticism of Bott's definition, of her measures, of her sample, of her findings, and of the general validity of the hypothesis (Turner 1967, Platt 1969). But from the theoretical perspective we take here there can be no doubt about the stance Bott takes (1957:60): "The degree of segregation in the role-relationship of husband and wife varies directly with the connectedness of the family's social network."

Network characteristics are also conceptualized as independent variables in models intended to explain individual behavior. One such study, by Robert P. Scheurell and Irwin D. Rinder, deals with deviancy, specifically "incest offenders" (n.d.:8-9):

From this analysis, the following process seems to occur in incest cases. The offender's values or orientation toward household tasks is one of relative isolation, which means the offender cannot rely on external sources to maintain the segregated pattern. Instead, the segregation of household tasks is maintained through the use of children with neither spouse assuming some of the tasks. This process [and its results] ... [increases] the probability of incestuous behavior.

The issue here is not the validity of the analysis but the fact that network characteristics are directly

involved as independent variables in the model.

We can see Adrian Mayer conceptualizing a model with network characteristics (in his case action-set characteristics) as independent variables affecting outcomes. After differentiating "hard" and "soft" election campaign strategies as appropriate in different situations, Mayer says (1966:111): "Now it is possible to argue that an action-set with shorter paths will be more appropriate to a harder campaign The long-pathed set, on the other hand, would seem to be better for a softer campaign." A similar perspective using other network characteristics is found on the succeeding page of his paper.

Another theoretical situation in which network characteristics are clearly used as independent variables is a study of the diffusion of a medicinal drug through the medical profession. Coleman, Katz, and Menzel (1957:253) concerned themselves with the effectiveness of networks of interpersonal relations at each stage of the diffusion process. Friendship sets, advisory sets, and discussion sets, they found (1957:266), "did not behave indentially. The discussion network and the advisor network showed most pair simultaneity [the presumed effect of network characteristics] at the very beginning and then progressively declined. The friendship network shows initially less pair simultaneity than the other two, but

... appears to reach its maximum effectiveness later."

A significant number of studies have tended to demonstrate effects of networks or network characteristics on migration or adaptation of migrants (P. Mayer 1961, 1964; Abu-Lughod 1961; Phillpott 1968; Gans 1962; Tilly n.d.b; Parkin 1969). Philip Mayer (1961, 1964) sees the close-knit networks of certain Xhosa urban migrants (called the "Reds") "encapsulating" them in city enclaves, protecting them from extensive change and reinforcing tribal values even in the city. These contrast with another category of Xhosa in town (the "School Migrants"), whose loose-knit networks encourage modernization both in town and in the rural areas. Similarly, in recent work in the United States, Mark Granovetter (n.d.) has argued that close-knit networks inhibit the movement of people into large-scale social systems and thereby help to maintain a sense of alienation, whereas loose knit networks of social relations permit the establishment of an elaborate communication system that furthers the integration of individuals within the wider social order. Comparing two kinds of newcomers to Kampala, Uganda, David Parkin (1969) arrives at a general conclusion not far removed from Philip Mayer's and Granovetter's. Network characteristics are, then, being suggested as independent variables to help explain phenomena of migrant adaptation. They are invoked as independent in

other contexts as well (such as participation in voluntary associations), but our purpose here is to illustrate this use of network variables, not to provide comprehensive documentation.

Network Variables As Dependent

Other investigators present network characteristics as dependent variables in their theoretical models. There are those (Lesser 1961, Wirth 1938) who see a general evolutionary trend from one form of network to another - usually from a narrow, close-knit form to a loose-knit form of wider scale. The point here is only that one can easily postulate that network form is the result, not the cause, of some general active forces in social life.

Not far removed from the evolutionary view is the one that sees network characteristics as differing according to "culture." Parkin (1969:145-47) provides a neat statement along these lines in a comparison of the cultural characteristics of two "super-tribal cultural types" of populations, both of which have taken up residence in Kampala, Uganda. The people he calls "Migrants" (e.g., Luo, Luhya, Acholi, Lango) are involved in an effective "brotherhood" network, which, while sometimes imposing onerous obligations on individuals, can be easily mobilized to resolve domestic crises, and proves effective in the cities as well as in the villages. In contrast, the culture of those he

calls "Hosts" (e.g., Ganda, Soga, Nyoro, Toro) does not include the ideology of brotherhood and the kind of network that goes along with it, so that a "Host" network "may thus be highly extended without being effective." This sort of reasoning (and it is fairly common) suggests that differences in network forms are the results of general cultural differences.

In numerous studies specific social conditions have been identified as independent variables that affect network characteristics. Turner (1967:126-29), reexamining Bott's ideas about social network, finds that his data from a Pennine parish suggest that geographic mobility affects network connectedness. Such a finding is compatible with a theoretical model used in sociometry, although its strictest theoreticians speak of groups and cliques rather than networks. J.L. Moreno (1953:715-17) suggests a number of hypotheses relevant to a model of network characteristics as dependent on other social conditions, such as "original affinity" and "physical propinquity." Also, Festinger, Schachter, and Back (1950:151f) present conclusions about the ways in which social and housing conditions affect "what friendships will develop and what social groupings will be formed." These could be translated directly into network terms.



Network Analysis Based On Role, Exchange, And Action Theory

Finally, we again call attention to those situations in which the field investigator (as network analyst) sees the social network in terms of other theoretical models, and uses ramifying series of exchanges and role relationships to gain deeper understanding of the workings of a social or cultural system (see Whitten 1968, 1970a). The concern of such network analysis is to deal with observable human interaction (not merely the norms, rules, representations, etc.) and to avoid the "disorganization model" of social systems, in which bounded, corporate, interactive sets (groups) either are not apparent or are unintelligible to the investigator (see Liebow 1967; Hannerz 1969, 1970; Gerlach and Hine 1970). The active elements in such theoretical models are not network characteristics per se, but the data that can be gained by effecting a network analysis.

We discussed three theoretical bases for network analysis in the previous section, and noted tendencies suggested by Boissevain (1968) and A. Mayer (1966) as particularly fruitful. The contributions to several recent symposia, in particular "Urban Social Networks: International Comparisons" at the 1969 meetings of the Central States Anthropological Society in Milwaukee and the "Experimental Session on Patronage, Clientage, and

Power in Latin America" at the meetings of the American Anthropological Association in New Orleans, also in 1969, indicate that much current interest in network analysis is of this nature. The argument on which such work is based is that network analysis is the product of general ethnographic concerns, and that an analytic approach based on action and exchange theory will therefore yield a more dynamic and relevant view of the lifeways of particular peoples than can be achieved by models that employ network characteristics as merely a means to an understanding of networks themselves.

In natural settings, people have their own ideas about strategy, power, and interpersonal linkages. They place themselves in their own system through categorical contrasts, and in a politiceconomic matrix through strategic social and economic exchanges. Network analysis conducted from this perspective demands a technique that cuts through such models, and suggests a socioeconomic reality that may give rise to various folk models.

A folk model of Trobriand social structure, long held by Trobrianders and by anthropologists, for example, included a "paramount chief" (Malinowski 1922). Singh Uberoi (1962) has exploded this "Piltown myth" of social anthropology by demonstrating, by means of Malinowski's own writing, that networks of exchanges in the famous kula ring link individuals together. These

individual linkages cut across antagonistic corporate groups, and give father and son a strategic advantage (father helps son establish his kula exchange partners) in the wideflung political economy of the Massim area. This series of exchanges between trade partners (which Malinowski described, but which his theoretical stance was inadequate to explicate) binds the region together, socially and economically, against the counterforce of segmentary, corporate, matrilineal clans, the linkages within which ideally and jurally separate father and son. The paramount chief of Omarakana becomes, according to this analysis, merely a local officeholder in a village that has fortuitously become a strategic point in its ecosystem because the highest number of exchange relationships often cluster there.

The concept of chief becomes, then, an ideal precipitate of ramifying, cross-cutting networks, not an authority figure in corporate holdings. Another way of explaining this is to suggest that the Trobriand folk model of "paramount chief" represents a cultural capacity of the Trobriand exchange system to adhere via series of cross-cutting trade networks. Adherence, from the perspective of an ideology of descent, generates an image of apical control, which becomes crudely translanted as "paramount chief." When it is clear that the apical figure of the folk model lacks power, then his role and status are projected into the past. People

simply suggest he used to have such power, or that his predecessors had such power. Exchange theory suggests that he need never have had power. The power view fits a cognitive, jural model of matrilineal kinship. According to exchange theory, the system adheres through a series of linked trading partners and the reciprocal flow of goods.

This system, which integrates the kinship domain and the exchange partner domain, is best described in terms of ramifying and overlapping exchange networks, with internal clusters of people who manipulate jural rules based on membership in corporate descent groups. Group structural and network relationships complement one another, so that both descent theory and exchange theory are necessary for a clear statement of Trobriand de jure and de facto social relationships.

Where Do We Begin?

We began this essay with tendencies in organizational anthropology and industrial sociology, and we conclude with a few remarks on network analysis in large-scale and small-scale societies. We have referred to research undertaken in the field, and to research that reexamines published literature from a previous era. The message is obvious: network analysis provides a convenient, efficcient, and, most importantly, productive way of penetrating to the heart of various social orders.

This brings us back to an original question: Where do we start in a network analysis? For personal networks, the question is: What ego do we choose? One strategy is to begin with an ego strategic to action in a particular natural setting. Finding the ego is dependent on the resources of the ethnographer, the nature of the particular culture, and that culture's setting within the broad economic, political, and cultural pressures of the contemporary world. Questions then of social capital, human and economic resources, the nature of activation of social capital, and the exchanges that maintain a pool of capital in times of nonactivation loom large to the ethnographer who undertakes network analysis. This is particularly true when, by his very presence, the ethnographer himself becomes a significant ego locus, around whom ties begin to form, cluster, and have sociopolitical effect.

No one has suggested that the task is simple, or that the most strategic starting point is easily identified, or that the analyst will necessarily be able to begin at this point even if he succeeds in identifying it, or that it will retain its strategic character after he has made a promising start. Situations change, groups form and dissolve, interrelationship shift; networks remain. The important thing is to begin.

BAB 16. ANALISA JARINGAN

Norman E. Whitten, Jr.
Alvin W. Wolfe

Dari Kaidah ke Strategi

Analisa jaringan sosial pada tahun 1970-an merupakan satu pernyataan penting dari kecenderungan teoritis dalam seluruh bidang ilmu sosial semenjak tahun 1940, suatu kecenderungan yang bergeser dari konsep-konsep yang menunjukkan pola kebudayaan yang relatif statis atau pranata sosial yang mapan ke arah konsep yang secara tidak langsung menyatakan adaptasi serta kemampuan beradaptasi. Tak satupun dapat mengungkapkan titik peralihan teoritis dalam antropologi sosial dengan lebih baik daripada konsep organisasi sosial Raymond T. Firth (1951:39-40) yang dibandingkan dengan konsep struktur sosial yang berlaku pada waktu itu :

Ada unsur-unsur struktural yang mencakup seluruh tingkah laku sosial, dan unsur tersebut memberikan bentuk dari suatu masyarakat apa yang secara metaforik diberi istilah anatomi sosial. Namun apakah bentuk ini? Bentuk ini sesungguhnya terdapat dalam kesinambungan atau pengulangan tingkah laku; dan merupakan unsur kontinuitas dalam kehidupan sosial. Antropolog sosial dihadapkan pada masalah yang tetap yaitu dilema yang nyata untuk mempertanggungjawabkan kontinuitas ini dan pada saat yang sama mempertanggungjawabkan perubahan sosial. Kontinuitas dinyatakan dalam struktur sosial, yaitu perangkat hubungan yang dibuat untuk meneguhkan dugaan, untuk mengesahkan pengalaman waktu lampau perihal pengalaman yang sama di masa yang akan datang Pada saat yang sama harus ada tempat untuk perbedaan dan penjelasan perbedaan tersebut.

Hal ini ditemukan dalam organisasi sosial, yaitu penyusunan hubungan sosial secara sistematis

melalui tindakan memilih dan memutuskan. Di sinilah tempat bagi perbedaan dari apa yang telah terjadi dalam keadaan serupa di waktu lampau. Di sini faktor waktu masuk. Situasi sebelum pelaksanaan pilihan berbeda dengan sesudahnya Waktu masuk pula sebagai suatu faktor dalam pengembangan implikasi keputusan dan tindakan berikutnya. Bentuk-bentuk struktural menetapkan sesuatu yang dapat dijadikan contoh dan menyediakan batas-batas bagi jajaran ... alternatif yang mendatangkan variabilitas. Seseorang memilih secara sadar atau tidak jalan mana yang akan diikutinya. Dan keputusannya akan mempengaruhi keterlibatan struktural yang akan datang.

Dalam bidang sosiologi maupun antropologi, para sarjana sesudah PD II menghendaki perbaikan dari konsep-konsep struktural yang lebih awal. Dalam bukunya "Bureaucracy in Modern Society" (1956:35) Peter Blau membantah bahwa pandangan yang berlaku pada waktu itu tentang birokrasi menyesatkan. "Keputusan Weber untuk hanya membicarakan organisasi birokrasi yang sepenuhnya formal menunjukkan bahwa semua penyimpangan dari syarat-syarat formal ini bersifat janggal dan tidak menarik bagi mahasiswa organisasi sosial." Blau secara tepat menafsirkan teori semacam itu (lihat Weber 1947, 1958) sebagai teori yang menegaskan keunggulan hubungan struktural yang dilestarikan (kelompok, jabatan, pranata). Dalam kritiknya yang umum tentang karya Weber, Blau (1956:19) menyebutkan hal yang nyata bahwa "cara kerja yang sesungguhnya (dari orang-orang dalam organisasi-organisasi formal) tidak mengikuti secara tepat denah yang formal. Untuk memahami bagaimana birokrasi berfungsi kita harus mengamati dalam tindakan."

Sebagaimana Firth dalam antropologi, Blau (1956:53) mengalihkan perhatiannya pada "pola-pola aktivitas dan interaksi yang tidak dapat dijelaskan oleh struktur yang resmi," tetapi "yang menemukan pernyataan dalam jaringan hubungan sosial dan kebiasaan-kebiasaan yang berlaku." Delapan tahun kemudian Blau masih tertarik pada fenomena yang mulai dibayangkannya sejak tahun 1956, tetapi ia mengalihkan perhatiannya pada mekanisme hubungan informal dalam sistem sosial. Pemikirannya secara jelas diuraikan dalam bukunya "Exchange and Power in Social Life" (1964; lihat khususnya halaman 88-114).

Penulis berpendapat bahwa antropologi sosial telah masuk pada fase perkembangan yang sejalan dengan tahap perkembangan sosiologi industri pada tahun 1950-an, yang di sini dijelaskan oleh karya Blau (untuk penelitian-penelitian yang lebih mutakhir lihat Caplow 1964, Turk 1970). "Teori keturunan" dalam analisa kekerabatan nampaknya merupakan analog antropologi sosial terhadap teori birokrasi dalam sosiologi. Teori semacam itu, yang memusatkan perhatian pada model-model kelompok "bersama" yang dilestarikan, dapat ditegaskan, dan mempunyai ciri-ciri tersendiri (lihat Fortes 1953; Goody, ed., 1962, 1969; Gluckman 1950; M.G. Smith 1956; Mair 1965), dikritik (lihat Schneider 1965) oleh mereka yang mendukung teori pertukaran atau teori "persekutuan" (Levi-Strauss 1969, Needham 1962, Dumont 1961, Maybury-Lewis 1967, Leach 1962). Sayangnya perdebatan tentang manfaat rela-

tif teori keturunan dan teori persekutuan dalam kekerabatan (Schneider 1965, Levi-Strauss 1969, Josselin de Jong 1952, Harris 1968:501-13) belum mendorong ke arah yang ditunjukkan oleh karya Blau dalam sosiologi. Sebaliknya, inti pembahasan masih sering dipusatkan pada mekanisme pelestarian kelompok-kelompok yang dapat ditegaskan dan mempunyai ciri-ciri tersendiri yang dapat diidentifikasi (lihat komentar Schneider, 1965:73-74).

Dengan analisa yang meningkat, analisa hubungan struktural dan model-model pelestariannya dilakukan bersama-sama dengan analisa "hubungan kategorial" dan "jaringan personal" (untuk pernyataan umum lihat Wolf 1966; Mitchell 1966; Southall, ed., 1961; Boissevain 1968; dan Banton 1967). Mereka yang saat ini tertarik dan memberikan sumbangan pada analisa jaringan sosial sangat berhutang budi pada para pengarang yang lebih awal, dan tentu saja kita mengakui relevansi karya yang ditulis pada tahun 1930-an yaitu : analisa pengamatan di pabrik "Western Electric" yang dilaporkan oleh Roethlisberger dan Dickson (1939), sosiometri Moreno (1934), studi interaksi Chapple dan Arensberg (1940), studi klik-dalam-kelas Warner dan Lunt (1941). Tetapi Firth, Blau dan yang lain-lain bertindak sebagai penanda yang berguna bagi semacam petunjuk keseimbangan; dari perhatian pada kelompok atau struktur "formal" dan perorangan yang kurang aktif ke perhatian pada perorangan yang aktif yang membentuk pola menurut keputusan mereka sendiri dalam selu-

ruh konteks interaksi.

Pada tahun 1940-an analisa yang mendalam dan berbeda dari Fortes (1949a, 1949b) maupun Levi-Strauss (1969) memberi tekanan yang sedemikian pada kerumitan hubungan sosial struktural yang di dalamnya dapat kita lihat dengan jelas beberapa bayangan teori jaringan. Karena prihatin mengenai variabilitas yang sering diabaikan dalam studi-studi struktural, maka Fortes dalam bukunya "Time and Social Structure" (1949b:84) menyajikan konsep yang dinamis tentang struktur sebagai "suatu susunan bagian-bagian yang dihasilkan oleh usaha selama kurun waktu tertentu, susunan prinsip-prinsip organisasi sosial yang mempunyai validitas umum dalam suatu masyarakat khusus." Studi Fortes hanya selangkah dari deskripsi struktur sosial sebagai hasil kompleks strategi para pelaku yang tunduk pada beberapa peraturan dasar umum. Dan dengan cara yang sama sekali berbeda Levi-Strauss menuntun kecenderungan dari konseptualisasi kelompok sebagai struktur yang mapan ke arah pandangan struktur sosial sebagai kemungkinan-kemungkinan perubahan yang sudah merupakan sifatnya dalam pertukaran penting tertentu dan dalam hubungan-hubungan persekutuan. Sebagaimana Fortes, Levi-Strauss (1967:45) mengakui bahwa bahkan "kekerabatan bukanlah gejala yang statis; kekerabatan itu ada hanya dalam pelestarian-diri ... dengan demikian, bahkan struktur kekerabatan yang paling dasar ada secara sinkronis dan diakronis." Baik Levi-Strauss maupun para te-

oretikus persekutuan lainnya belum menyumbangkan konsep atau metode bagi analisa jaringan, tetapi mereka tentu saja telah membantu meningkatkan kesadaran hubungan timbal-balik, strategi hubungan, dan transformasi dalam sistem hubungan. "Tetapi segera setelah berbagai aspek kehidupan sosial - ekonomi, linguistik, dan sebagainya - dinyatakan sebagai hubungan, maka antropologi akan menjadi teori umum mengenai hubungan. Kemudian suatu analisa masyarakat perihal keistimewaan yang berbeda dan merupakan ciri khas sistem hubungan yang membatasi masyarakat tersebut dapat dilakukan" (Levi-Strauss 1967:95-96).

Penulis dengan sengaja menyebutkan beberapa tulisan dalam antropologi organisasi dan sosiologi dengan referensi khusus pada studi kelompok-kelompok formal (lembaga kekerabatan dan birokrasi modern), membuat kesimpulan bahwa jaringan atau hubungan sosial informal tidak ditiadakan oleh adanya aparat formal manapun. Sebaliknya, analisa jaringan memperlengkapi peneliti dengan jalan-jalan kecil menuju inti sistem sosial, apakah sistem sosial telah dinyatakan susunan struktural formal yang lestari dengan ciri-ciri khas eksklusif bersama atau tidak. (Untuk pembuktian yang lebih awal lihat Fortes 1949a, 1953). Kita akan banyak membicarakan tentang ini kemudian.

Diakuinya beberapa kekurangan dalam teori-teori struktural kelompok telah menjadi sumber kegelisahan da-

lam ilmu pengetahuan sosial selama beberapa tahun. S.F. Nadel (1957) dan Robert K. Merton (1949, 1957) berpendapat bahwa jawabannya terutama terdapat pada perbaikan teori peran dan teori hubungan peran. Antropolog lainnya seperti George M. Foster (1961, 1963, 1969) dan Eric Wolf (1966), berusaha memperbaiki ketidaksempurnaan teori kelompok dengan mengembangkan pengertian kita tentang kontrak diadik, kontrak tuan-hamba, dan kontrak perantara. Dan yang lain-lainnya seperti Thibault dan Kelly (1959), George Homans (1961) dan Peter Blau (1964) mencoba mengembangkan suatu model pertukaran antarindividu yang melihat sebagian besar tingkah laku sosial sebagai subyek bagi prinsip-prinsip teori ekonomi marginal. Menanggapi kegelisahan yang sama tentang analisa struktural ini J. van Velsen (1964) mengembangkan "analisa situasional", sementara Barth (1963, 1966), Bailey (1968), Boissevain (1968), Nicholas (1965), dan A. Mayer (1966) menghasilkan teori yang oleh Abner Cohen dinamakan "teori tindakan." Beberapa pendekatan ini timbul dari keprihatinan umum mengenai ketidakcukupan teori yang berorientasi pada kelompok, tetapi pendekatan itu mungkin berbeda dari analisa jaringan karena kadang-kadang dipusatkan pada individu yang berinteraksi, sementara analisa jaringan mengikuti interaksi selagi interaksi tersebut bercabang di seluruh konteks sosial. Tentu saja subyek dari analisa jaringan pada hakekatnya adalah konteks sosial, bukan tingkah laku individu atau bahkan hu-

bungan diadik.

Sifat Masalah pada Tahun 1970

Usaha-usaha mutakhir oleh banyak antropolog bidang sosial, ekonomi, dan politik untuk mengkonseptualisasikan jaringan, menganalisa jaringan, dan menyusun teori serta model jaringan sering seolah-olah mewakili usaha-usaha yang disengaja untuk melibatkan domain politik, kekerabatan, kelompok-kelompok formal, ekonomi, kategori-kategori etnik dan bahkan dimensi kognisi untuk mencari serangkaian hubungan yang relevan yang ada diantara individu yang mungkin membentuk suatu dasar bagi mobilitasi orang-orang untuk tujuan-tujuan spesifik pada kondisi yang spesifik pula.

Karena hubungan dalam jaringan manapun tentunya difokuskan apabila analisisnya harus mempunyai dasar yang konkrit, maka konsep "pusat" dan "ego" perlu timbul. Dan karena suatu hubungan bukanlah hubungan kecuali jika hubungan tersebut menghubungkan sesuatu ke sesuatu yang lain, maka konsep "keterkaitan" (yaitu frekuensi yang menunjukkan interaksi secara bebas dari anggota-anggota jaringan satu orang dengan orang tersebut) kadang-kadang timbul secara perlahan-lahan (misalnya Luce 1950, Bott 1957, Boissevain 1968:457). Karena sifat egosentris, lajur-jalur hubungan yang "direncanakan" oleh seorang peneliti paling tidak mempunyai persamaan semu dengan beberapa model yang dikembangkan untuk menghadapi sistem kekerabatan seasal atau kelompok-kelompok dengan wewe-

nang kecil. Beberapa peneliti banyak memberi perhatian pada bagan pohon mereka (Barnes 1954:43, 1969a, 1969b) sementara peneliti lainnya hampir tidak menyebut bagan sama sekali (Whitten 1970a, 1970b).

Dari Residu ke Gejala

Dalam riset etnografi yang diadakan secara teratur para antropolog menggambarkan banyak bagian jaringan hubungan sosial masyarakat yang mereka pelajari. Namun untuk beberapa waktu konsep jaringan masih tetap merupakan gagasan yang kabur. Misalnya Radcliffe Brown (1965:190) yang pada awal tahun 50-an menulis bahwa "manusia dihubungkan oleh jaringan hubungan sosial yang kompleks. Penulis menggunakan istilah 'struktur sosial' untuk menunjukkan jaringan hubungan yang sebenarnya ada ini." J.A. Barnes (1954:43) memberi arti yang jelas pada konsep jaringan dalam penyelidikannya tentang "Kelas dan Komite pada Jemaah Pulau Norwegia" :

Gambaran yang penulis peroleh berupa seperangkat titik yang beberapa diantaranya dihubungkan oleh garis-garis. Pokok gambaran itu adalah orang-orang, atau kadang-kadang kelompok-kelompok, dan garis-garis tersebut menunjukkan orang-orang manakah yang berinteraksi satu sama lain. Tentu saja kita dapat menganggap seluruh kehidupan sosial sebagai yang menghasilkan jaringan semacam ini.

Konsep tersebut, sebagaimana didefinisikan di atas, segera dipelajari oleh Robert Redfield (1956) dan Elizabeth Bott (1955) yang penelitiannya tentang keluarga dan jaringan sosial tidak hanya dibaca tetapi juga dicetak ulang secara meluas (Bott 1955, 1957, 1960, 1964). Dalam

tulisan-tulisannya sendiri Bott mengartikan jaringan sosial secara berbeda-beda dan agak berbeda pula dari arti yang dimaksudkan Barnes (1954); beberapa analisis berikutnya masih memberikan lebih banyak arti lagi yang semakin memperluas jajaran arti. Sayang bahwa tidak semua analisis yang mengajukan gagasan itu merasa bertanggungjawab untuk memberi definisi yang tepat pada gagasan tersebut yang akan membantu menempatkannya sehubungan dengan konsep-konsep umum lainnya. Para analisis tersebut tidak mengetahui bahwa dunia ilmiah berusaha keras menggunakan konsep secara lebih umum untuk mengembangkan dalil-dalil khusus, karena masing-masing mengkhawatirkan persoalan mereka sendiri mengenai peran keluarga batih dan jaringan sosial (Bott 1957), migrasi dan jaringan sosial (P. Mayer 1961, Phillpott 1968), urbanisasi dan jaringan sosial (Epstein 1961), musik dan jaringan-jaringan (Whitten 1968), politik dan jaringan (A. Mayer 1962), sifat "segmen-segmen horisontal" (Steward dkk. 1956).

Barnes (1969b:53) baru-baru ini menanggapi tekanan-tekanan yang diakibatkan oleh kebingungan yang semakin meningkat dalam sastra :

Penulis merasa bertanggungjawab atas hal ini karena apa yang ditulis tampaknya belum jelas Penulis tidak membedakan antara ciri-ciri khusus dari semua jaringan (yang berbeda dengan hubungan diadik, kelompok, kategori, dan yang semacam itu) dengan ciri-ciri yang kebetulan ada dalam jaringan orang Norwegia yang penulis gambarkan. Beberapa pembaca mengira bahwa ciri-ciri spesifik dan setempat ini harus ada dalam semua jaringan dan mengadakan beberapa perubahan untuk menyesuaikannya dengan ciri-ciri yang sama yang tidak dijumpai dalam situasi-

situasi empiris. Pembaca lainnya salah mengerti tentang apa yang penulis maksud dengan jaringan menyeluruh, hal ini mungkin karena penulis tidak memberi acuan apapun pada ide yang penulis ambil dari Redcliffe-Brown.

Barnes beralih menjelaskan bahasa diskusi tentang jaringan dengan banyak sekali mengambil konsep-konsep matematis dari teori grafik. Turun pada tempat yang abstrak, sebagaimana diwakili oleh diagram-diagram pada sehelai kertas, Barnes (1969b:57) bergerak dari jaringan menyeluruh hubungan sosial ke jaringan parsial yang didefinisikannya sebagai "ikhtisar manapun dari jaringan menyeluruh berdasarkan pada beberapa kriteria yang berlaku di sepanjang jaringan menyeluruh." Kriteria ini mungkin didasarkan pada domain ekonomi, kekerabatan, sistem perkawinan, politik, atau beberapa domain masyarakat dan kebudayaan lainnya. Karena mendefinisikan "jaringan menyeluruh" serupa dengan "masyarakat" dan "jaringan parsial" serupa dengan domain khusus masyarakat, maka Barnes harus mengembangkan konsep-konsep lebih lanjut yang mengacu pada perangkat-perangkat sosial yang berpusat pada ego.

Untuk memulai mengembangkan konsepnya Barnes memilih "bintang-bintang" dari suatu "tata urutan pertama" yang memancar dari ego manapun dan dimanapun. Ia melambangkan ego tersebut dengan sebuah titik dan membentuk suatu analog dari "subgrafik bintang" (Ore 1962:12). Dengan menarik konsep-konsep berikutnya dari teori grafik ia memperoleh pengertian kepadatan dari konsep abstrak

bahwa "alpha" (ego manapun) yang berinteraksi dengan "kontak" (alter ego) mungkin mendapati bahwa "kontak"-nya juga berinteraksi dengan kontak-kontak yang lain dari si ego. Dalam kasus tersebut dikatakan bahwa kedua kontak (atau alter ego-alter ego) berdekatan dalam bintang. Semua hubungan antara ego tertentu dengan alter-alternya - baik yang berdekatan maupun tidak - merupakan suatu "zona" (Barnes 1969b:58-60); dan dengan pembentangan yang logis zona-zona tersebut dibayangkan sebagai "tata urutan pertama," "tata urutan ke dua," dan sebagainya.

Jika penyajian matematis semacam ini kadang seolah-olah terlalu abstrak, kecenderungan lain yang ditemukan pada karya Barnes (1954) serta pada begitu banyak karya sesudahnya sama sekali tidak memperbaiki situasinya yaitu : kecenderungan menganggap jaringan sosial bagaimanapun juga sebagai sisas - yaitu hubungan-hubungan yang tetap ada setelah hubungan struktural utama ditangani. Serangkaian kutipan pendek yang disusun secara kronologis untuk melengkapi perspektif akan memberikan beberapa gagasan tentang mudah menyebarnya pengertian jaringan sebagai sisa, suatu pengertian yang benar-benar menghalangi perkembangan analisa jaringan. Barnes (1954:42-43) menulis sebagai berikut :

Bidang sosial ke tiga tidak mempunyai kesatuan maupun batas-batas; juga tidak mempunyai organisasi yang terkoordinir. Bidang tersebut terdiri dari ikatan-ikatan persahabatan dan kenalan yang setiap orangnya menjadi dewasa dalam masyarakat Bremnes

(jaringan menyeluruh komunitas Norwegia dimana Barnes mengadakan penelitiannya) yang sebagian mewarisi dan sebagian besar lainnya membangun untuk dirinya sendiri Saya kira tepat membicarakan bidang sosial macam ini sebagai suatu jaringan.

Redfield (1956:50) :

Barnes ... berpendapat khususnya pada bagian tersebut dari jaringan menyeluruh yang masih tetap ada jika hubungan sistem wilayah dan sistem industri digeser. Untuk membedakan bagian sisa dari jaringan ini serta memberinya nama yang menyatakan kehadirannya dalam setiap masyarakat lebih daripada bayangan masyarakat primitif terpencil, baiklah kita menyebutnya "jaringan seluruh negeri."

Southall, ed. (1961:29-30) :

Diusulkan bahwa ... hubungan (langsung) dapat dibedakan atas hubungan struktural, kategorial, atau egosentris menurut suatu dasar yang atas dasar tersebut orang-orang menggolongkan diri mereka satu sama lain secara intuitif pada pertemuan. Hubungan langsung tipe struktural adalah aspek-aspek peran yang ditentukan dalam struktur suatu lembaga Dalam hubungan kategorial orang-orang bertemu dalam suasana informal namun belum mengenal baik satu sama lain dan oleh karenanya mulai bertindak atas dasar menentukan berbagai tipe kategori yang dilakukan satu sama lain secara intuitif sebagai pendekatan empiris ke arah perilaku yang tepat. Hubungan egosentris adalah hubungan orang-orang yang mengenal satu sama lain secara cukup baik sebagai sesama yang mendasarkan harapan bersama mereka mengenai perilaku satu sama lain langsung pada apa yang mereka ketahui secara perorangan ini.

Wolf (1966:2) :

Dengan demikian kita mencatat bahwa struktur formal kekuasaan ekonomi dan politik ada bersama-sama atau bercampur baur dengan berbagai macam struktur informal lain yang bersifat selingan, tambahan, atau paralel dengan struktur formal kekuasaan ekonomi dan politik di atas Kita akan memusatkan diri pada tiga perangkat struktur paralel semacam itu dalam masyarakat kompleks, yaitu : hubungan kekerabatan, hubungan persahabatan, dan hubungan tuanhamba Struktur informal yang telah kita bicarakan bersifat tambahan bagi sistem analisa jaringan : bekerjanya dan adanya struktur informal tersebut adalah karena adanya sistem analisa jaringan

yang secara logis (kalaupun tidak secara sementara) lebih penting dari struktur informal itu

Boissevain (1968: 542) :

Terdapat serangkaian fenomena sosial yang hanya mendapat sedikit perhatian dari para antropolog sosial dan bahkan sangat kurang diperhatikan oleh antropolog kebudayaan serta para sosiolog. Fenomena sosial ini adalah bentuk-bentuk organisasi sosial yang terletak di suatu tempat diantara individu yang berinteraksi di satu pihak dan kelompok bersama yang resmi di pihak lain Kita tentu saja mengacu pada jaringan sanak saudara, sahabat, dan kenalan, serta pada koalisi yang lebih intim meskipun seringkali hanya bersifat sementara yang terbentuk di luar fenomena-fenomena ini yaitu klik-klik, kelompok-kelompok interest, dan golongan-golongan yang anggotanya adalah semua orang.

Kecenderungan yang diprakarsai oleh Barnes dan diikuti oleh begitu banyak analisis lainnya untuk melihat jaringan lebih sebagai sisa daripada sebagai inti telah membuat para analisis yang potensial berpaling dari proses-proses jaringan. Siapa yang mau mempelajari sisa-sisa belaka? Untunglah kisah selengkapnya lebih positif dan kurang begitu sederhana.

Dari Metafora ke Model

Jika analisa jaringan akan dikembangkan maka jaringan harus dikonsepsikan sebagai fenomena perhatian utama, tidak hanya sebagai sampah sosial setelah kelompok-kelompok diperas atau sebagai hubungan-hubungan yang mengisi celah-celah di antara struktur-struktur formal. Hal yang seperti inilah yang dimaksudkan oleh Boissevain (1968), tetapi pada waktu yang sama perhatiannya dialihkan oleh beberapa masalah lain dan akhirnya ia gagal membuat pernyataan yang jelas sesuai dengan pusat perha-

tiannya. Akan tetapi ia menggambarkan sejumlah masalah penting yang akan kita tengok kembali. Dalam karyanya "System and Network" (1962) Adrian Mayer telah lebih mengarah pada pandangan yang tepat daripada yang ditulisnya dalam papernya yang lebih akhir tentang "kelompok semu" (1966), meskipun yang terakhir merupakan sintesa beberapa perspektif yang baik sekali. Srinivas dan Be- teille pada tahun 1964 menunjuk pada kemungkinan meng- konseptualisasikan seluruh sistem sosial sebagai perang- kat jaringan yang berpautan satu sama lain, dan dalam pernyataannya baru-baru ini J. Clyde Mitchell (1969; ed., 1969) menunjukkan pengertian tentang masalah terse- but.

Di satu pihak Mitchell (1969:7) menulis bahwa keti- ga macam hubungan yang dipisahkannya secara bebas (1959, 1966) bersama-sama Southall (ed., 1961) dan Epstein (1962) berupa hubungan struktural, kategorial, dan per- sonal "seharusnya tidak dianggap sebagai tiga tipe ting- kah laku nyata yang berbeda, tetapi lebih sebagai tiga cara membuat abstraksi yang berbeda dari tingkah laku nyata yang sama untuk memperoleh tipe pemahaman dan pen- jelasan yang berbeda." Mitchell melanjutkan, "Dengan uraian ini oleh karenanya tidak akan ada lagi pertent- angan mengenai hubungan struktural dan hubungan perso- nal tetapi hanya cara memasukkan data ke dalam kerangka penjelasan saja yang berbeda." Dalam kesimpulannya dia menyatakan (1969:22) :

Maka kesimpulan uraian saya adalah bahwa perbedaan antara hubungan-hubungan sosial yang dilihat sebagai jaringan sosial dengan hubungan-hubungan sosial yang dilihat sebagai kelompok bersama (atau sebagai kelompok semu) terutama hanyalah masalah tingkat abstraksi yang mampu kita usahakan dalam mengikhtisarkan keteraturan yang dapat kita lihat dalam hubungan-hubungan sosial secara keseluruhan.

Namun sebaliknya, Mitchell (ed., 1969:41) pada tahun yang sama menulis, "Tetapi orang-orang yang telah tinggal di kota selama masa tertentu mengembangkan hubungan dengan sesamanya dalam banyak konteks sosial yang berbeda dan orang-orang ini mungkin menjadi bagian dari jaringan sosial."

Dibandingkan dengan sebagian besar analisis lainnya, Peter Gutkind (1965:59-60) nampaknya cenderung kurang begitu memandang jaringan sebagai kategori sisa :

Bagi masyarakat Ganda di Afrika, urbanisme sebagai cara hidup belum berakhir dengan suatu perubahan mendadak dari masa lampau. Bagi penduduk Ganda yang tinggal di kota, model masyarakat yang diinginkan berlanjut menjadi tradisi dari ciri khas utama kehidupan Ganda dan kebudayaannya. Akan tetapi penduduk non Ganda yang juga tinggal di kota harus membentuk suatu pola kehidupan sosial dan pola organisasi yang dirancang khusus untuk orang yang tinggal di kota bagi diri mereka sendiri, dan dengan demikian juga kondisi-kondisi non tradisional. Untuk mencapai tujuan-tujuannya mereka harus berpartisipasi dalam jaringan kontak dan asosiasi yang sama sekali berbeda dari jaringan tersebut di lingkungan pedesaannya yang berdasarkan kekerabatan. Karena ia secara progresif tinggal selama periode yang lama di kota, kehidupan desa tampil sebagai model sosial yang lebih diinginkan dan, barangkali, sebagai tatanan sosial yang disusun secara lebih jelas.

... Saya telah mencoba menunjuk pada perbedaan antara jaringan berdasarkan kekerabatan dan jaringan berdasarkan asosiasi. Namun kedua model organisasi sosial ini seharusnya tidak dilihat satu sama lain sebagai model organisasi sosial yang eksklusif. Kedua model tersebut dalam banyak hal bertemu atau tumpang tindih, dan dimaksudkan untuk mengha-

yang khususnya mengganggu atau yang kita pandang sangat penting bagi pengertian mutakhir atau bagi perkembangan analisa jaringan di masa yang akan datang. Untuk yang lainnya kami menganjurkan beberapa terbitan yang akan membantu memberi ulasan bidang tersebut : Jay (1964), Mitchell (1966,1969;ed.,1969), Boissevain (1968), Barnes (1969b), Wolf (1966), Y.A. Cohen (1969), Crissman (1969), Emerson (1969), Aronson (ed.,1970).

Masalah Pembatasan Jaringan

Dalam artinya yang paling luas, metafora atau model jaringan mengacu pada jumlah tak terhingga dari segala macam hubungan diantara sejumlah orang yang tak ada batasnya yang terentang mulai dari periode yang paling awal hingga periode yang akan datang. Tetapi tak seorangpun mencoba membuat pernyataan yang berlaku untuk jaringan dalam artinya yang paling luas ini. Salah satu dari masalah-masalah dalam analisa jaringan berhubungan dengan cara-cara yang bermanfaat untuk memberi perhatian dan membatasi jaringan menyeluruh, jaringan tak terhingga, jaringan tak ada batasnya, dan jaringan kekal.

Adrian Mayer (1966) adalah salah satu dari banyak peneliti yang menyarankan kriteria yang membatasi bagi analisa jaringan. Dalam melakukan hal itu ia kembali kepada Radcliffe-Brown (1965:190) dan Barnes (1954), dan oleh sebab itu mendefinisikan jaringan sebagai sesuatu yang searti dengan "struktur sosial." Kemudian yang pertama dibatasi adalah "perangkat" : jaringan personal ya-

venport 1959, Freeman 1961, Whitten 1965, Schneider 1965, Douglass 1969) yaitu : dari beberapa perspektif, setiap orang dalam setiap sistem sosial dapat dianggap sebagai sistem egosentris bagi dirinya sendiri; pada saat yang sama beberapa jaringan egosentris dalam tatanan sosial yang sama mungkin hanya sedikit atau bahkan tidak memberi pelajaran apapun kepada kita. Analisa jaringan secara tidak langsung menyatakan bahwa sesuatu tentang tatanan sosial alami dapat dipelajari dengan analisa sebarisan asosiasi (atau transaksi), tetapi analisa tersebut belum (dan tidak dapat) memberitahu kita dimana harus memulai. Berdasar jaringan egosentris apakah seseorang peneliti harus memusatkan perhatiannya? Pertanyaan ini telah diajukan oleh sejumlah peneliti dan kita akan kembali kepada masalah ini juga.

Beberapa Pokok Persoalan dalam Analisa Jaringan

Apakah seseorang tertarik atau tidak pada ciri-ciri khas morfologis dari jaringan (atau bagian jaringan) itu sendiri diperlukan ketelitian yang sungguh-sungguh dalam melukiskan fenomena sosial yang akan digunakan peneliti dalam pekerjaannya. Metafora itu sendiri tidaklah cukup; masih harus ditentukan beberapa parameter.

Masih terbatas yang ditulis tentang hal tersebut saat ini, dan masih terbatas pula perbaikan yang dilakukan secara serempak sehingga kita tidak dapat berharap untuk meringkas seluruhnya dalam paper yang singkat ini. Kita hanya akan membicarakan masalah-masalah tertentu

JARINGAN SOSIAL

Suatu model yang hubungan-hubungannya dilihat sebagai hubungan orang-orang dalam situasi sosial

Jaringan (Perangkat) Terbatas					Jaringan tak terbatas
Kutipan jaringan menyeluruh berdasarkan pada beberapa kriteria yang dapat diterapkan di sepanjang seluruh jaringan					
Perangkat personal	Perangkat kategorial	Perangkat tindakan	Perangkat sistem peran	Perangkat bidang	Jaringan sosial yang disusun tanpa penerapan kriteria yang membatasi.
Perangkat terbatas pada hubungan satu orang	Perangkat terbatas pada hubungan yang menyangkut orang-orang dengan tipe atau kategori tertentu.	Perangkat terbatas pada hubungan yang dengan maksud tertentu digunakan untuk tujuan khusus.	Perangkat terbatas pada hubungan menyangkut suatu sistem peran yang terorganisasi atau kelompok.	Perangkat terbatas pada hubungan dengan isi tertentu (misalnya ekonomi, politik, dan sebagainya.)	

Bagan 1. Taksonomi konsep-konsep jaringan sosial.

(Disadur dari Wolfe 1970.)

yang tersusun dalam berbagai macam perangkat. Jika seseorang memandang jaringan dengan cara ini maka ia berusaha memahami hubungan-hubungan antara perangkat-perangkat ini serta konsekuensi penyelenggaraannya dalam satu macam perangkat atau macam perangkat lainnya. Beberapa metode untuk deskripsi dan perbandingan semacam itu terutama dibicarakan oleh J.A. Barnes (1969a, 1969b) dan Wolfe (1970). Whitten membandingkan hubungan struktural, hubungan kategorial, dan perangkat atau jaringan personal, atau perangkat atau jaringan egosentris. Akan tetapi dalam pertimbangannya mengenai perangkat egosentris ia membantah bahwa setelah menempatkan titik pangkal ego yang strategis suatu analisa yang efektif harus terus menyelidiki sumber-sumber kategorial, struktural, dan personal dari titik pangkal itu, jaringan personal ego, serta hubungan perantara dan hubungan pelindung antara jaringan ego dan hubungan yang sama dari pelaku-pelaku pelengkap strategis lainnya. Jelaslah bahwa para analis jaringan pada tahun 1970-an yang sementara itu menyetujui untuk tidak memperlakukan hubungan-hubungan antardinvidu sebagai fenomena sisa rupanya masih belum setuju untuk memulai pada jalur khusus manapun.

Kita akan kembali pada masalah-masalah ini setelah lebih mempertimbangkan tulisan kontemporer dan historis yang relevan. Di sini seharusnya cukup mencatat kesulitan yang telah lama mengganggu analisa hubungan kekeluargaan dalam sistem kekerabatan (lihat Murdock 1949, Da-

dapi kondisi-kondisi yang berbeda. Jaringan berdasarkan kekerabatan dimaksudkan untuk menghadapi situasi-situasi baru secara fleksibel; tanggapan-tanggapan peran terhadap situasi baru tersebut masih belum pasti

Saya percaya bahwa konsep jaringan sosial memperhitungkan dokumentasi bagaimana individu dan kelompok dalam kenyataannya memainkan berbagai peran baik secara serempak maupun secara terpisah. Dalam hal ini analisa jaringan sosial menunjuk pada cara penampilan peran sebagai bagian dari sistem atau serangkaian sistem. Untuk memperoleh pemahaman yang lebih baik mengenai bagaimana partisipasi dalam berbagai tipe jaringan akan menentukan dan menyusun peran-peran khusus seperti peran etnis, kekerabatan, politik, ekonomi, atau rekreasional; maka mikroanalisa mungkin akan menunjukkan jalan.

Dalam mengembangkan teori jaringan sosial Wolfe (1970: 229) langsung memusatkan perhatiannya pada jaringan itu sendiri :

Secara teoritis kita diyakinkan bahwa hubungan-hubungan yang tersusun dalam istilah-istilah kategorial dan hubungan tersebut yang tersusun dalam sistem peran secara menguntungkan dapat diperlakukan dengan cara yang sama sebagaimana memperlakukan hubungan antarindividu yang tidak begitu terstruktur. Hubungan yang dimiliki orang-orang sebagai anggota kelompok-kelompok atau kategori-kategori tentu saja merupakan bagian dari jaringan sosial menyeluruh mereka. Perbedaan antara berbagai macam "perangkat" yang kita sebut bagian-bagian dari jaringan-jaringan terbatas (yaitu perangkat personal, perangkat kategorial, perangkat tindakan, perangkat sistem peran, dan perangkat bidang) seharusnya menjadi sepenuhnya jelas dalam proses analisa jaringan sebagaimana kita ramalkan.

Wolfe juga mengajukan apa yang disebutnya "taksonomi konsep-konsep jaringan," suatu versi yang telah diubah yang diperlihatkan pada diagram 1.

Wolfe kemudian tidak mengkonseptualisasikan pengkotakan antara "struktur" dan "jaringan" tetapi melihat jaringan tak terhingga hubungan sosial sebagai jaringan

itu sistem ikatan manapun yang memancar dari tempat ego yang dapat disamakan (lihat A. Mayer 1966:98-99). Akan tetapi Mayer menyebutkan bahwa perangkat-perangkat Barnes bersifat "penggolongan" - yaitu, berhubungan dengan konsep-konsep orang-orang dari kerangka kelas Bremnes. Hal ini membuat pembaca kembali ragu apakah model Radcliffe-Brown-Barnes adalah yang paling cocok bagi karya Mayer sendiri. Penjelasan Mayer ini mungkin diajukannya untuk mengalihkan perhatian pembaca dari maksud utama - yang ditarik dari masalah mendefinisikan secara relatif sederhana yang sebaliknya - menyangkut sejumlah orang yang masing-masing dihubungkan oleh serangkaian pertukaran antarindividu.

Untuk membedakan konsep awal Barnes tentang "perangkat-perangkat" dari konsep-konsep yang ditanganinya, Mayer kembali kepada Chapple dan Coon (1947:283) dan memisahkan "perangkat penggolongan" Barnes dari "perangkat interaktif" Chapple dan Coon. Ia (1966:99) menulis, "... kedua tipe perangkat itu sama karena keduanya berpusat pada ego dan mungkin mengandung perantara antara ego (si penemu) dengan individu-individu terakhir." Apa yang nampaknya diartikannya dengan sifat egosentris adalah bahwa dalam bidang perangkat-perangkat yang bersifat penggolongan para antropolog mengkaji struktur sosial dengan mempelajari bagaimana informan (ego) menggolongkan dan menerapkan sifat-sifat tertentu kepada orang-orang yang sama atau berbeda dengan dirinya sendiri pa-

da berbagai tingkatan menurut berbagai kriteria kategorial. Dengan perangkat interaktif tersebut antropolog mengkaji pertukaran yang terjadi di sekitar tempat ego tertentu, bersama-sama dengan pertukaran tersebut yang terjadi antara alter-alter yang dihubungkan dengan ego khusus dalam beberapa cara. Mayer tentu saja tertarik pada proses yang terakhir sebagaimana juga Boissevain (1968), tetapi mungkin masalah pendefinisian yang diperlukan jika menggunakan Barnes sebagai pemberi penjelasan mengenai Radcliffe-Brown menimbulkan beberapa kebingungan.

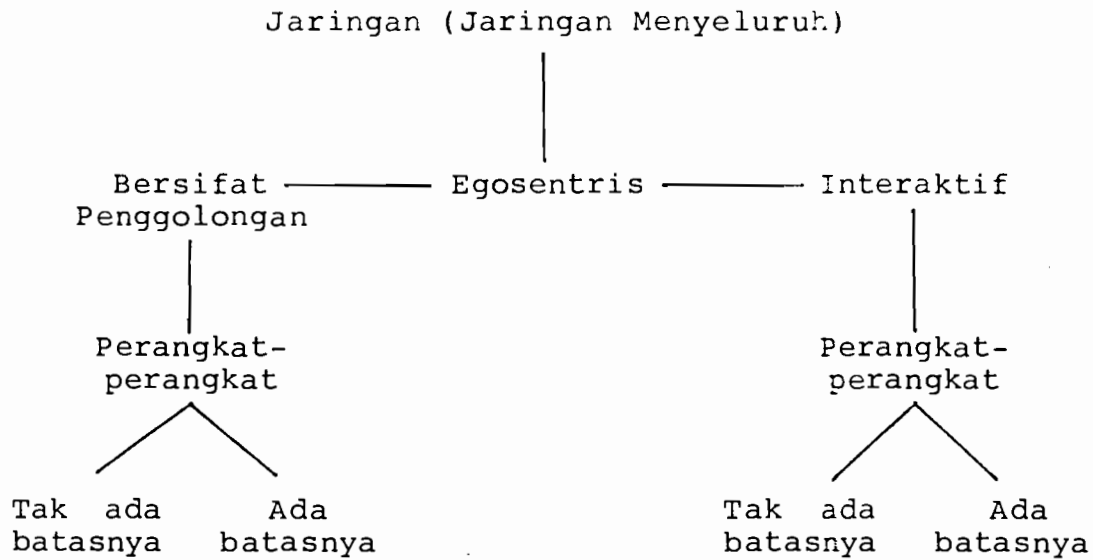
Meskipun demikian Mayer membuat kemajuan yang jelas dengan menunjuk pada digunakannya kedwiarthian yang diakui; dan dengan demikian menyediakan dasar yang tegas bagi diadakannya pemeriksaan kembali. Ia menyarankan suatu model sektor masyarakat yang tidak bersifat kelompok dan tidak berkenaan dengan suatu perkumpulan seperti yang digambarkan pada bagan 2. Dalam skema ini perangkat "yang ada batasnya", mengacu pada tingkat terbatas interaksi yang diketahui dari sudut pandang ego atau inti jaringan tertentu, misalnya keluarga (lihat Bott 1957, A. Mayer 1966), dan perangkat "yang tak ada batasnya" mengacu pada serangkaian tak terbatas jaringan interaksi yang mungkin. Yang terpenting adalah bahwa Mayer (1966:100) menunjuk (perangkat) jaringan yang ada batasnya sebagai jaringan yang bercabang dari ego tertentu :

... pada waktu tertentu manapun kesatuan-kesatuan komponen dari suatu perangkat memiliki batas yang diketahui; batas itu bukanlah satu dari keanggotaan kelompok ... tetapi dari hubungan umum mereka ke ego pusat. Hubungan umum inilah yang memungkinkan Bott untuk memperlakukan jaringan-jaringannya sebagai wujud-wujud kesatuan yang dapat dianalisa dan diperbandingkan.

Dalam usaha menjelaskan apa yang dianggapnya sebagai salah paham atas pendiriannya yang lebih awal Barnes (1969b:68) menulis :

Ada sejumlah terbatas orang dalam jaringan terhingga dan kenyataan ini penting bagi arus interaksi yang terjadi dalam jaringan Ke dua, jaringan itu merupakan jaringan yang ada batasnya atau yang tidak ada batasnya. Jika jaringan tersebut tidak ada batasnya maka setiap orang dalam alam semesta yang bersifat sosial termasuk dalam jaringan dan tak ada orang-orang lain di luarnya.

Tetapi Barnes (1969b:57) melihat cara lain untuk membatasi jumlah keseluruhan hubungan yang harus diper-
timbangkan dalam suatu jaringan : jaringan "parsial" adalah kutipan manapun dari jaringan menyeluruh yang didasarkan atas beberapa kriteria yang berlaku di sepanjang seluruh jaringan." Dengan demikian, lanjutnya, jaringan seasal kekerabatan merupakan jaringan parsial, demikian pula jaringan politik.

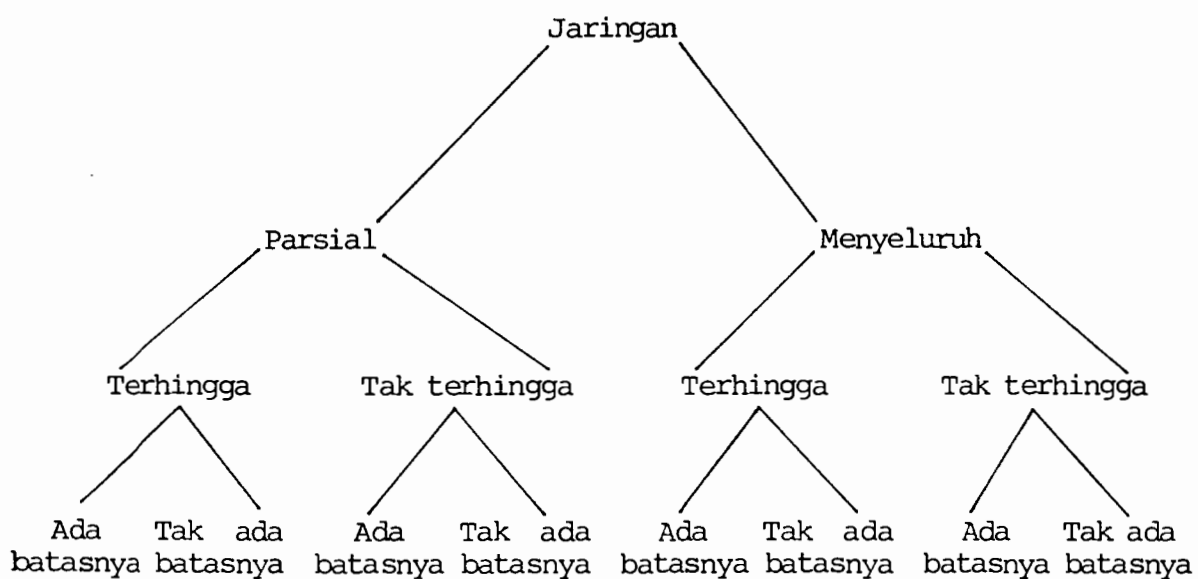


Bagan 2. Gambaran paradigmatik dari skema jaringan A. Mayer.

Dengan demikian pernyataan-pernyataan yang dapat kita buat mengenai jaringan manapun dibatasi oleh beberapa kombinasi sifat yang khas yaitu : ada batasnya atau tidak ada batasnya, terhingga atau tidak terhingga, parsial atau menyeluruh. Bagan 3 adalah gambaran paradigmatik tipe-tipe "jaringan" Barnes.

Kedelapan tipe perangkat yang didefinisikan secara analitis bervariasi sepenuhnya dari perangkat yang hanya tersusun atas macam-macam hubungan tertentu (parsial), perangkat yang menghubungkan sejumlah terbatas orang (terhingga), dan perangkat di alam semesta dimana beberapa orang ada tetapi tidak termasuk dalam jaringan (ada batasnya), ke perangkat yang terdiri dari segala macam hubungan (menyeluruh), perangkat yang menghubungkan se-

jumlah tak terbatas orang (tak terhingga), dan perangkat dimana setiap orang di alam semesta termasuk dalam jaringan dan tak ada orang-orang lagi di luar jaringan tersebut. Masing-masing tipe yang mungkin secara teoretis ini kelihatannya juga merupakan kemungkinan empiris. Masalah yang sangat penting adalah membuat kemungkinan perubahan di antara tipe-tipe tersebut. Mungkin seseorang perlu diingatkan bahwa masing-masing dari ketiga perbedaan itu relatif dalam arti perangkat-perangkat sedikit banyak ada batasnya ("bounded") tergantung pada kriteria yang digunakan, dan bahwa perangkat terhingga ("finite") atau tidak terhingga ("infinite") tergantung pada di mana seseorang memutuskan untuk berhenti menggunakan hitungan-hitungan, dan bahwa semakin sempit seseorang mendefinisikan "macam hubungan" maka perangkatnya akan semakin merupakan perangkat "parsial."



Bagan 3. Gambaran Paradigmatik dari tipe-tipe jaringan Barnes

Tak dapat diragukan lagi bahwa tiga ciri khas jaringan Barnes adalah berdimensi jelas, ortogonal, dan penting. Skemanya secara analitis lebih luwes daripada "taksonomi konsep-konsep jaringan" yang berhubungan (Bagan 1) yang diusulkan oleh Wolfe (1970). Sesudah memutuskan untuk menyebut kutipan manapun dari jaringan menyeluruh sebagai "perangkat," Wolfe mengklasifikasikan perangkat-perangkat itu menurut sifat hubungan-hubungan yang membatasinya : hubungan hanya dengan satu orang (perangkat personal), hubungan menyangkut orang-orang dengan tipe tertentu (perangkat kategorial), hubungan melibatkan sistem peran atau kelompok (perangkat sistem-peran), hubungan yang digunakan dengan maksud tertentu ke arah tujuan spesifik (perangkat tindakan), dan hubungan dengan isi tertentu (perangkat bidang).

Jaringan tak terhingga Wolfe menurut istilah-istilah Barnes menjadi jaringan menyeluruh, tak terhingga, tak ada batasnya; perangkat personal dan perangkat kategorial Wolfe menjadi perangkat menyeluruh, terhingga, dan ada batasnya, kecuali bahwa kategori yang terlibat mungkin sedemikian sehingga perangkatnya menjadi tak terhingga. Perangkat bidang menjadi perangkat parsial, tetapi mungkin menjadi perangkat terhingga atau tak terhingga serta perangkat ada batasnya atau tak ada batasnya. Perangkat sistem-peran dan perangkat tindakan keduanya menjadi perangkat parsial (tetapi untuk tingkat-tingkat yang berbeda), keduanya terhingga, dan keduanya

ada batasnya (juga untuk tingkat-tingkat yang berbeda). Secara teoritis ada sedikit keuntungan yang diperoleh dari perdebatan mengenai hal-hal detil tersebut pada waktu ini. Karena karya empiris maju maka akan menjadi jelaslah detil-detil yang bermanfaat ini.

Karena analisis mulai bekerja dengan data yang nyata daripada dengan hubungan yang disusun secara abstrak, ia sekali lagi mengetahui bahwa hubungan-hubungan berada dalam waktu dan berubah sepanjang waktu. Oleh karenanya untuk teori seseorang harus menambahkan waktu sebagai dimensi ke empat yang membatasi jaringan menyeluruh, karena seperti kita catat pada permulaan bagian ini bahwa hubungan-hubungan sosial menghubungkan kita mundur dalam waktu dan akhirnya maju ke masa yang akan datang.

Adrian Mayer (1966:116) menyarankan suatu pandangan yang dinamis tentang urutan dari kelompok-semu ke kelompok : "... apabila anggota-anggota yang lebih tetap dari perangkat tindakan pada waktu yang sama juga anggota-anggota yang secara langsung dihubungkan ke ego, maka seseorang dapat menggolongkannya sebagai 'inti' dari kelompok-semu. Inti ini nantinya dapat terwujud menjadi suatu kelompok formal" Dengan mengajukan gagasannya tentang "inti" untuk dihubungkan dengan perangkat-perangkat tindakan spesifik, Mayer (1966:115-17) berusaha menghubungkan teori kelompok dengan teori nonkelompok dan sangat berhasil. Ia secara hati-hati menunjukkan bahwa apabila suatu inti mulai bergabung di sekitar ego

khusus, inti itu sendiri dapat menjadi kelompok atau klik, dan kemudian menjadi titik pangkal dalam suatu jaringan atau perangkat; tempat ego perorangan kemudian menjadi tidak jelas, dan perangkatnya memancar dari apa yang sekarang disebut "kelompok." Ketrampilan analitis semacam itu seharusnya membantu mengatasi kekosongan-kekosongan kelompok serta nonkelompok dan mengarah kepada teori masyarakat yang lebih rumit yang disebut Boissevain akhir-akhir ini, yaitu suatu teori berdasarkan pada kontinum dari individu ke kelompok. Skema Whitten mengenai hubungan-hubungan kelompok, perangkat kategorial, jaringan, dan inti yang akan dibicarakan dalam bagian selanjutnya banyak mengutip secara langsung karya Mayer dan Boissevain.

Wolfe berusaha menangani masalah waktu struktural atau lingkaran perkembangan dengan membedakan "tahap-tahap" bagi hubungan manapun dalam suatu perangkat hubungan. Sebagian buku kode Wolfe yang dilampirkan dalam karanya berbunyi sebagai berikut :

Baik perangkat sebagai bagian jaringan maupun hubungan sebagai unsur pokok perangkat tidak dapat dianggap tetap sepanjang waktu. Karena adanya pertalian antara dua orang maka terbentuklah hubungan yang berkembang melalui pengalaman-pengalaman individunya, beradaptasi pada segala macam kondisi dan berakhir (paling tidak pada waktu kematian memisahkan mereka), sehingga akan lebih mudah memahami perubahan-perubahan ini sebagai tahap-tahap yang membedakan. Bahkan dengan tidak adanya hipotesa spesifik tentang keteraturan dalam lintasan perkembangan hubungan atau dalam sejarah perkembangan perangkat maka pengenalan kembali tahap-tahap merupakan hal yang tepat.

Terlalu sedikit perhatian yang diberikan untuk masalah pembatasan jaringan secara kronologis meskipun telah dibuat beberapa usaha ke arah itu (Leeds 1964; Foster 1969; Whitten 1965, 1969; Whitten dan Szwed, eds., 1970a). Masalah ini penting apabila analisa jaringan akan memberikan sumbangan pada pengertian adaptasi dan kemampuan beradaptasi.

Masalah Keintiman dan Jarak

Jika seseorang berbicara tentang jaringan personal - yaitu perangkat egosentris dari hubungan-hubungan yang berpusat pada satu orang - maka ia harus menentukan seberapa jauhkah jarak perangkat (egosentris) itu dari ego tersebut, dan anggota-anggota perangkat tersebut harus dibedakan menurut beberapa ukuran jarak sosial. Epstein (1961) membedakan bagian jaringan egosentris "efektif" (dekat) dan bagian jaringan egosentris "luas" (jauh). Boissevain menambahkan bagian yang lain yang disebutnya bagian "intim (karib)."

Paling tidak ada tiga bidang atau zona penting yang dapat dibedakan yang hubungan-hubungannya secara kualitatif berbeda. Ketiga hubungan tersebut membentuk zona-zona konsentris yang berpusat pada ego. Zona pertama terdiri dari orang-orang, baik keluarga atau sahabat, yang paling dekat dengan ego. Orang-orang ini membentuk jaringan intim ego. Zona ke dua disebut jaringan efektif. Jaringan ini terdiri dari orang-orang yang kurang dikenal secara baik oleh ego dan ego juga kurang dapat berharap dari mereka daripada berharap dari anggota-anggota jaringan intimnya (orang-orang tersebut kurang atau tidak mengharap apapun dari ego). Orang-orang ini termasuk keluarga, teman, dan berbagai macam kenalan lainnya. Zona ke tiga terdiri dari orang-orang yang tidak dikenal secara pribadi oleh ego tetapi yang diketahui oleh ego dan yang dengan mudah dapat

dikenalnya. Orang-orang ini sebagian terbesar adalah anggota-anggota jaringan intim dari orang-orang dalam jaringan intim ego sendiri. Orang-orang ini merupakan jaringan luas ego.

Nampaknya agak tidak mungkin bagi kita bahwa kesepakatan pada perangkat kriteria manapun yang secara umum dapat membedakan antara hubungan intim, hubungan efektif, dan hubungan luas atau zona intim, zona efektif, dan zona luas pernah dapat dicapai. Berhubung ini kasusnya, kita hampir tidak perlu berbuat banyak di sini selain mengenali masalahnya. Pasti ada beberapa pendekatan yang cukup berbeda untuk penyelesaiannya. Jika analisis selalu mengingat masalah ini maka perbedaan hanya akan diadakan apabila perbedaan itu bersifat praktis; misalnya pada waktu perbedaan tersebut memungkinkan peneliti untuk mencapai tingkat generalisasi yang membolehkan perbandingan strategi atau cara adaptif (atau keduanya).

Masalah Keterkaitan

"Keterkaitan" atau yang semacam itu (kepadatan, hubungan erat atau hubungan longgar, tautan besar atau tautan kecil, dan sebagainya) lebih sering disebutkan sebagai ciri khas penting jaringan daripada tipe ukuran atau pembatasan lain manapun. (Misalnya lihat bagian "Penerapan" di bawah.) Satu dari variabel-variabel itulah yang banyak dibicarakan meskipun hanya beberapa saja yang dibandingkan. Barnes (1969a, 1969b) akhir-akhir ini membahas persoalan itu secara sistematis. Ia meninjau

kembali penggunaan konsep-konsep semacam itu tidak hanya dalam ilmu pengetahuan sosial tetapi juga dalam matematika. Satu dari beberapa pengamatannya memperlihatkan kegawatan persoalan itu :

... dalam lima paper yang diperoleh selama masa lima belas tahun yang berurutan satu dengan lainnya sebagaimana diperlihatkan oleh petunjuk catatan kaki, istilah "keterkaitan" ("connectivity") diterapkan untuk enam ukuran yang berbeda, masing-masing penulis rupanya mengajukan perubahan-perubahan yang tidak menyusahkan tanpa menyebut penggunaan umum yang kontemporer menurut penulis itu sendiri dan bidang-bidang penyelidikan yang berhubungan.

Tujuan Barnes tidak untuk menyediakan daftar istilah yang dapat dipercaya atau tipologi ukuran yang berhubungan, tetapi lebih pada peringatan terhadap penggunaan yang kurang tepat dan untuk mendorong perhatian pada ukuran-ukuran yang digunakan oleh para analis lain. Barnes sendiri menggunakan ukuran yang disebutnya kepadatan, yaitu "banyaknya garis yang ada di sekitar batas tertentu manapun sebagai bagian kecil dari jumlah maksimum yang mungkin." Charles Tilly (n.d.a.) dan Wolfe juga menggunakan ukuran yang sangat mirip. Wolfe (1970:18) menulis, "Untuk perangkat manapun indeks kepadatan mewakili persentase hubungan yang mungkin yang dinyatakan."

Kami sepenuhnya mendukung peringatan Barnes dan optimis bahwa sekali para analis menghargai besarnya perbedaan sekitar masalah-masalah itu sebagai keterkaitan dan kepadatan, maka akan memerlukan perhatian yang lebih besar pula.

Analisa Jaringan : Dasar-Dasar Teoritis Lain

Selama dekade 1960-an, persetujuan diantara para sarjana yang berminat dipusatkan sekitar gagasan "perangkat-perangkat tindakan" (A. Mayer 1962,1966; Jay 1964; Boissevain 1968; Barnes 1968). Whitten menekankan pada analisa jaringan sebagai strategi untuk mempelajari sistem sosial dengan memusatkan perhatian pada hubungan yang bercabang-cabang. Seseorang berhak memusatkan diri pada interaksi perorangan, pada ciri-ciri khas proses timbal balik atau pertukaran, dan bukan pada ciri khas perangkat-perangkat. Disamping mencoba mengembangkan teori jaringan atau yang serupa itu seseorang dapat mencari dasar-dasar teoritis untuk analisa jaringan dalam teori peran, teori pertukaran atau teori tindakan. Kita telah menunjuk pada Blau (1956,1964), Homans (1961), dan Thibault serta Kelly (1959), yang semuanya merupakan penyumbang-penyumbang penting ke arah teori tingkah laku sosial sebagai pertukaran.

Jika kita menerima saran bahwa pertukaran setidaknya tidaknya mutlak dalam pengertian jaringan sosial (lihat Heider 1969), maka perlu bagi kita untuk memeriksa lebih dekat hubungan-hubungan antara analisa jaringan dan model-model teoritis. Sangat menarik mendapati bahwa para sarjana tersebut - yang menggambarkan konsep-konsep penting seperti "kontrak diadik" (Foster 1961,1963), konsep "pelindung" (Campbell 1964, Wolf 1966), dan konsep "perhambaan" (Nadel 1935,1942) - sering tidak menyebut-

kan secara eksplisit bahwa serangkaian pertukaran dapat membatasi suatu jaringan (perkecualian penting adalah Boissevain 1966 dan, pada tingkat yang lebih kecil, Foster 1969). Whitten berpendapat bahwa penyokong-penyokong teoritis bagi analisa jaringan yang seringkali tidak diperincikan oleh para penulis tentang masalah itu tampaknya berasal dari tiga sumber : teori peran, teori pertukaran, dan teori tindakan. Dari ketiga teori ini, kedudukan teori peran belum digunakan secara efektif sebagai suatu dasar teoritis (untuk penjelasan yang sesuai dengan fungsi ini, lihat Crissman 1969).

Teori Peran

Banyak dari pengarang yang kita sebutkan dan yang lainnya yang akan kita bicarakan berikutnya menunjuk pada teori peran dalam pembicaraan mereka tentang analisa jaringan (lihat khususnya pada Barnes 1954, Bott 1957, A. Mayer 1966:101-102, Epstein 1958, Boissevain 1968, Mitchell 1966, Crissman 1969). Akan tetapi biasanya cara yang dapat dipakai oleh teori peran untuk menetapkan dasar konseptual bagi analisa jaringan sosial tidaklah jelas. Ini mungkin karena teori peran biasa diterapkan dalam situasi-situasi dimana analisa kelompok merupakan cara produktif untuk mempelajari hubungan-hubungan sosial. Misalnya, dalam memberikan komentar tentang analisa Epstein (1958) dan Barnes (1954), J. Clyde Mitchell (1966:57-58) menulis :

Kesatuan pengamatan adalah peran dan macam data yang disajikan oleh Barnes dan Epstein dapat dimasukkan dipandang dari segi peran dan penampilan peran. Pada tahap pertama abstraksi, dari kesatuan pengamatan tersebut mula-mula disusun perangkat dan kemudian bidang. Akan tetapi dalam posisi struktural suatu peran adalah mengenai peri laku. Dengan demikian, sementara kita berbicara mengenai peran seseorang A - katakanlah - sebagai lawan bicara seorang B dalam jaringan personal A serta peran B terhadap C dalam jaringan personal B, kita tidak dapat berbicara mengenai peran A sebagai lawan bicara C karena C tidak berada dalam jaringan personal A. Tetapi karena kita perlu menggambarkan mekanisme dengan jalan manakah peri laku antara masyarakat dalam satu perangkat peran mungkin mempengaruhi peri laku perangkat masyarakat yang berbeda dalam perangkat peran yang lain ... maka nampaknya kita memerlukan konsep-konsep "bidang," "jaringan," maupun "peran."

Karena desakan Mitchell untuk memperbaiki konsep-konsep seperti konsep bidang dan jaringan disamping konsep peran, kita akan mencari konsepsi teoritis bagi dasar analisa jaringan di lain tempat, mengalihkan bagi yang lain tugas menghubungkan teori peran dengan penyokong analisa jaringan dengan tepat. Akan tetapi dalam menerima haruslah dicatat bahwa karya yang paling umum mengenai teori peran yang dikutip oleh para penulis mengenai jaringan adalah karya S.F. Nadel "The Theory of Social Structure." Pada permulaan bukunya (1957:12) Nadel membuat pernyataan berikut : "Kita sampai pada struktur suatu masyarakat melalui abstraksi dari populasi yang konkrit serta peri lakunya suatu pola atau jaringan (atau 'sistem') hubungan yang berlaku 'diantara pelaku-pelaku yang relatif cakap memainkan peran mereka satu sama lain.'" (Nadel mengutip dari Parsons 1949:34). Cukup dicatat di

sini bahwa ini bukanlah pengertian yang digunakan oleh sebagian besar penulis tentang konsep jaringan, meskipun petunjuk bagi pernyataan ini mulai terjadi dalam sejumlah pendekatan yang menyimpang selain itu. Dengan teori pertukaran dan teori tindakan lah kita menemukan dasar teoritis bagi analisa jaringan.

Teori Pertukaran

Dalam antropologi, meskipun bukan dalam sosiologi, teori pertukaran didasarkan pada usaha-usaha untuk menghubungkan kehidupan materi dan kehidupan sosial masyarakat dalam latar alami. Marshall Sahlins (1965:139) memberi ulasan karya Mauss (1954) dalam tahun-tahun 20-an hingga 60-an, dan menentukan inti teori tersebut pada permulaan papernya : "... hubungan antara arus materi dan hubungan-hubungan sosial adalah hubungan timbal balik. Suatu hubungan sosial spesifik dapat memaksa mekanisme tertentu barang-barang, tetapi suatu transaksi yang spesifik - 'dengan cara yang sama' - menandakan suatu hubungan sosial yang khusus. Sahabat-sahabat tukar menukar hadiah dan tukar menukar hadiah dapat menimbulkan persahabatan."

Pertukaran dapat melambangkan pertentangan, sebagaimana ketika dua pelaku saling salah paham atau saling terbentur karena kesalahan-kesalahan; atau melambangkan kerjasama, sebagaimana ketika orang-orang memuji satu sama lain atau tukar menukar hadiah atau tanda-tanda persahabatan yang sesuai. Secara struktural dikatakan

bahwa pertukaran antara individu-individu hanya dapat menghubungkan individu-individu tersebut ke dalam hubungan diadik, atau dapat melambangkan kerjasama dan/atau persaingan yang bercabang-cabang antara kelompok atau kumpulan individu. Konsep timbal balik merupakan bagian terpenting teori pertukaran dan konsep ini dibicarakan dengan baik sekali oleh Sahlins (1965:147-48), yang mengembangkan gagasan dari Mauss (1954) dan Malinowski (1922), Firth (1951) dan Gouldner (1960), sebagai kontinum dari "proses timbal balik umum" ("generalized reciprocity") melalui "proses timbal balik seimbang" ("balanced reciprocity") ke arah "proses timbal balik negatif" ("negative reciprocity") :

"Proses timbal balik umum" mengacu pada transaksi yang diduga altruistik, yaitu transaksi yang dilakukan sebagai suatu pemberian bantuan dan - jika mungkin atau perlu - penerimaan bantuan. Tipe ideal menurut Malinowski adalah "pemberian murni"... "Proses timbal balik seimbang" mengacu pada pertukaran langsung dan "proses timbal balik negatif" adalah usaha untuk mendapatkan sesuatu dengan cuma-cuma tanpa sangsi, beberapa bentuk sumbangan, serta transaksi yang diadakan dan diatur ke arah perolehan keuntungan bersih. Kegiatan-kegiatan ini menurut istilah etnografis jaman sekarang meliputi "tawar menawar" atau "barter," "judi," "penipuan atau ketidakjujuran," "pencurian," dan berbagai macam perampasan lainnya.

Bagi analisa jaringan, aspek penting dari teori pertukaran dengan konsep timbal baliknya adalah karena teori tersebut dapat mempertunjukkan bahwa pertukaran manapun dapat memalsukan hubungan antarindividu, dan hubungan antarindividu dapat menghubungkan individu-individu dalam serangkaian jaringan komunikatif, ekonomi,

manipulatif, dan tipe-tipe jaringan lainnya. Tanpa teori pertukaran gagasan jaringan nampak cukup abstrak, dipisahkan dari kenyataan hidup manusia dalam lingkungan sosial dan kebudayaan tertentu. Dari sudut pandang teori pertukaran jaringan sosial juga dapat dipandang sebagai mekanisme distribusi. Kegunaan mekanisme tersebut adalah menyediakan alat untuk menggerakkan barang dan jasa dari orang ke orang, baik secara horisontal maupun vertikal (Greenfield 1966:7, Heider 1969). Kedudukan teoritis lainnya yang disebut "teori tindakan" secara bermanfaat mempergunakan teori pertukaran untuk meringkaskan aspek-aspek spesifik dari jaringan khusus dalam konteks yang ditetapkan.

Teori Tindakan

Menurut Abner Cohen (1969:223) teori tindakan dalam antropologi dapat dianggap sebagai "suatu reaksi terhadap tekanan yang ditetapkan oleh studi antropologi yang lebih awal pada 'gambaran-gambaran kolektif'... Mazhab ini cenderung menyapu pendulum teoritis ke arah orientasi yang berasal dari 'teori tindakan' ala Weber." Cohen terus saja menggambarkannya sebagai "teori tindakan," yaitu suatu pendekatan yang berkembang dalam antropologi yang menghindarkan analisa dalam arti kelompok dan lambang-lambang kelompok, melainkan melihat kehidupan sosial (atau politik) sebagai sebuah permainan meliputi "pembuatan skema, perjuangan, dan pembuatan keputusan" yang terus menerus. Diantara karya-karya yang mewakili

aliran ini Cohen menyebutkan Bailey (1968), Barth (1963, 1966), Boissevain (1968), A. Mayer (1966), dan Nicholas (1965). Menurut Cohen (1969:223) kelompok ini memusatkan diri pada "kegiatan-kegiatan 'manusia politik' yang pernah terdorong untuk mengejar kekuasaan." Cohen tentu saja tidak mengambil tindakan tanpa mempertimbangkan perolehan dan kerugian relatif dalam suatu transaksi.

Meskipun Cohen melebih-lebihkan gambar yang dilukis oleh para teoretikus tindakan dan dengan tidak teliti mengatakan bahwa teori tindakan menghubungkan semua individu dalam tatanan sosial dengan macam tingkah laku yang dihadapi oleh teori permainan bertanding, namun ia dengan tepat memperkenalkan banyak pertimbangan teoritis yang mengikuti pendapat yang mengusulkan untuk melaksanakan analisa jaringan sistem sosial. Akan tetapi tidak perlu menganggap bahwa semua orang sedang mengikuti model "manusia politik" Cohen. Yang perlu kita duga adalah bahwa selama beberapa orang dalam sistem khusus manapun benar-benar bertingkah laku seperti yang digambarkan Cohen maka percabangan tingkah laku mereka terhadap yang lainnya dapat memaksa kita untuk mempelajari pertukaran diperkecil antarindividu yang terjadi antara individu-individu yang dihubungkan satu sama lainnya dalam jaringan-jaringan personal efektif yang disebabkan karena hubungan bersama mereka dengan ego yang penting secara sosial. Semakin "ego yang penting secara sosial"

tersebut berusaha memperoleh kedudukan sosial, maka menjadi semakin penting pula analisa dari pertukaran-pertukaran ego dan konsekuensi-konsekuensi yang bercabang dari pertukaran tersebut atas individu-individu yang terlibat dalam usaha-usaha si ego. Karya sepanjang bidang-bidang semacam itu dilaksanakan oleh Whitten (1965,1970a), Adams (1966), dan Phillpott (1968). Meskipun Whitten (1970a) merasa dibenarkan dalam menggeneralisasikan tentang isi kebudayaan serta gaya tindakan, dan dalam mengambil kesimpulan pemilikan umum dari sub-subkebudayaan khusus atas dasar riset ke dalam beberapa jaringan strategis, masih ada pengamat lainnya yang tidak merasa dibenarkan. Misalnya, Swift (1967:311) menulis :

Peneliti lapangan membentuk kesan-kesan berdasar atas jaringan-jaringan informannya yang paling dekat, tetapi apabila peneliti tersebut ingin menerjemahkan kesan-kesan ini ke dalam pernyataan-pernyataan umum tentang sifat jaringan-jaringan dalam masyarakat, nampaknya ia menghadapi masalah-masalah penelitian yang lebih sulit daripada masalah-masalah yang timbul dari analisa peran dan kelompok yang pada dasarnya normatif.

Akan tetapi hubungan antara studi lapangan, hubungan informan, ukuran-ukuran konsistensi, dan dasar-dasar teoritis bagi generalisasi memerlukan lebih banyak pemeriksaan yang teliti sebelum kita menganggap sifat berlawanan semacam itu sebagai hal yang penting. Freilich (ed., 1970) akhir-akhir ini menekankan nilai dari pemeriksaan semacam itu.

Ke Arah Sintesa Teori Peran, Teori Pertukaran, dan Teori Tindakan

Satu aspek penting dari tinjauan Boissevain (1968:-549-50) berhubungan dengan perhatian yang teliti yang diberikan pada apa yang disebutnya "katalisator sosial" yang didefinisikan sebagai "perantara dan manipulator lain." Perantara-perantara semacam itu mengadakan transaksi dalam bidang usaha atau politik dengan agresip dan leluasa melalui hubungan-hubungan antarindividu, membentuk, mengubah, dan menggunakan hubungan-hubungan antarindividu untuk memperoleh keuntungan yang dapat dirasakan, dan dalam proses akan mempengaruhi hubungan-hubungan sosial dalam lingkungan langsung dan tak langsung dari usaha-usaha perantara tersebut. Menurut Boissevain "para spesialis jaringan" menetapkan hubungan-hubungan penting dalam jaringan yang dipandang sebagai serangkaian saluran komunikasi. Para spesialis jaringan itu mengirimkan, mengarahkan, menyaring, menerima, menyandi, menjabarkan kembali sandi tersebut, serta menafsirkan pesan-pesan. Orang-orang yang "ditempatkan secara strategis" semacam spesialis jaringan itu - jika beruntung atau trampil - akan mengubah ketrampilan mereka sebagai perantara dengan modal sosial menjadi perantara dengan kekuasaan perorangan. Kemampuan spesialis jaringan untuk menguasai jaringan memungkinkan mereka membuat kejadian-kejadian sosial agar menghasilkan keuntungan bagi mereka.

Boissevain menggunakan konsepnya tentang spesialis jaringan (perantara) untuk menjembatani gap dalam kontinum dari individu-individu ke kelompok-kelompok dengan setengah tindakan dari "kelompok-kelompok semu." Mengikuti pendapat A. Mayer (1966) dan Pospisil (1964), dan dalam pertentangan spesifik dengan Ginsberg (1934:40), Bottomore (1962:92), Dahrendorf (1959:236), dan Nadel (1951:188f), yang menggunakan "kelompok-semu" dalam arti hubungan-hubungan sosial kategorial, Boissevain (1968:550) mendefinisikan kelompok-semu sebagai 'koalisi orang-orang yang diterima oleh satu atau lebih anggota-anggota yang ada menurut prinsip-prinsip yang berbeda secara struktural; diantara beberapa anggota yang ada tersebut terdapat tingkat interaksi dan tingkat organisasi yang terpola."

Meskipun jaringan-jaringan personal berpusat pada ego yang penting secara sosial, ekonomi, atau politik dapat bergabung menjadi klik, golongan, geng, perangkat tindakan, atau semacam kelompok, kelompok yang ada dalam jangka pendek ("short-run"), dan kelompok yang tidak abadi lainnya, sifat egosentris dari kelompok semacam itu dapat mulai memudar apabila kepadatan kelompok ("groupness") muncul. Ini adalah teori yang dapat menyesatkan, dan pada saat ini kita hanya dapat menganggapnya sebagai suatu alat yang berguna dalam menyusun konsep Boissevain mengenai kontinum bentuk-bentuk sosial dari individu ke kelompok bersama. Beberapa studi tentang ke-

lompok-semu yang dibentuk dari jaringan personal dan bahkan tentang kelompok yang dibentuk dari kelompok-semu nampaknya perlu untuk menjelaskan nilai dari beberapa konsep ini. Studi ini sekali lagi menggarisbawahi perlunya suatu perspektif yang berkembang dan bersifat sementara dalam studi-studi semacam itu.

Satu cara memperoleh perspektif yang berkembang adalah melalui studi golongan-golongan yang terbentuk sebagai hasil konflik antara "pemimpin-pemimpin" (lihat Bailey 1965, Nicholas 1965, Schwartz 1969, Boissevain 1964). Jika kita mengganti "perantara jaringan" dengan "pemimpin" dan menduga bahwa ketrampilan-ketrampilan perantara jaringan dalam organisasi dapat digunakan untuk mengumpulkan modal sosial yang bertentangan dengan tindakan-tindakan serupa pada pihak perantara ke dua ("alter broker"), maka kita dapat melihat bagaimana analisa konflik sosial dapat dimajukan melalui studi tentang golongan dan bagaimana analisa jaringan dapat memberi kita suatu pandangan yang lebih dinamis tentang konflik yang melengkapi serta solidaritas dalam sistem-sistem sosial.

Cara lain untuk mempelajari hubungan individu-individu dengan kelompok-kelompok semu dan hubungan kelompok-kelompok semu dengan pembentukan kelompok adalah melalui studi urutan perkembangan seperti penyelidikan Goody (ed., 1958) atas keluarga dan rumahtangga; Leeds (1964) atas riwayat kerja orang Brazil, dan Whitten

(1965,1969) atas strategi mobilitas rakyat Equador, Columbia. Whitten menyarankan bahwa perangkat-perangkat tindakan dalam bentuk persamaan-persamaan personal menjadi persamaan-persamaan garis keturunan keluarga, dan bahwa persamaan garis keturunan keluarga dapat berkembang secara perlahan-lahan menjadi percabangan asas ambilineal pada empat generasi atau lebih dari mobilitas sosial ekonomi.

Dengan meninjau kembali dan menyarankan arah bagi studi hubungan-hubungan dinamis yang dapat menerangkan bergabungnya dan bubarnya perangkat-perangkat tindakan dalam masa-masa konflik, Boissevain dengan jelas menunjukkan nilai metodologis analisa jaringan sebagai alat untuk memahami tatanan sosial. Akan tetapi kita menyarankan bahwa strategi analisa jaringan adalah sama pentingnya baik dalam latar formal maupun dalam latar dimana kelompok-kelompok bersama tidak ada. Meskipun kita setuju dengan Boissevain (1968:553) bahwa analisa perantara perorangan, jaringan berpusat pada ego, dan kelompok-semu sangat penting dalam analisa struktur sosial, kita tidak dapat menyetujui kesimpulannya bahwa mereka lebih penting daripada analisa kelompok-kelompok formal yang masih ada dalam suatu sistem sosial khusus. Jika seseorang akan memahami sifat modal sosial yang disebabkan mulainya hubungan pertukaran dalam tatanan sosial alami, maka penting sekali untuk memahami sesuatu tentang sistem formal pengelompokkan ekonomi, politik, dan

sosial, dan juga jaringan berpusat pada ego yang bercabang-cabang.

Dengan menganalisa proses politik di wilayah Dewas di negara bagian Madhya Pradesh, India, A. Mayer (1966: 102-108) menunjukkan nilai dari konsep-konsep tindakan. Mengambil seorang calon bagi jabatan politik sebagai egonya, Mayer menunjukkan bagaimana tempat strategis semacam itu dalam ekonomi politik memprakarsai serangkaian tindakan dalam perkembangan suatu perangkat tindakan. Timbulnya konsep perangkat tindakan membawa kita pada inti sumbangan Mayer (1966:108) : "... perangkat-perangkat tindakan ... dibentuk dari hubungan-hubungan yang berasal dari banyak bidang sosial; tetapi karena perangkat tindakan itu merupakan ciptaan yang dimaksud oleh seorang ego maka tujuan ini memberi suatu ciri umum pada semua hubungan, yang tanpa ciri tersebut perangkat tindakan tidak dapat digolongkan ke dalam perangkat kaidah kelompok semu." Tetapi Mayer berhati-hati untuk tidak mempertentangkan pembentukan kelompok-semu dengan keberadaan kelompok-kelompok. Ketika Mayer menganalisa kelompok-semu dalam bentuk perangkat-perangkat tindakan, ia menganalisa langkah-langkah tokoh strategis (seorang calon bagi jabatan) yang sedang dalam proses mengarahkan perangkat (jaringan)nya untuk bertindak. Analisa manapun yang semacam itu harus termasuk fungsi-fungsi sosial mobilisasi yang melibatkan jajaran luas hubungan perantara, hubungan kelompok, dan hubungan diadik. Meskipun se-

orang antropolog dapat memulai "di mana saja" dalam tatanan sosial untuk mempelajari jaringan, namun ia masih harus memulainya di suatu tempat dan tidak selalu mudah untuk mengambil keputusan. Dengan membicarakan tentang pelaku-pelaku spesifik yang sedang mengerahkan bantuan sosial dengan membangun atau menggiatkan perangkat pertalian antarindividu yang bercabang ke dalam dan ke luar kelompok, kategori, serta titik pangkal perantara, Mayer menghindari masalah itu.

A. Mayer melihat perangkat tindakan sebagai perangkat yang ada batasnya tetapi menyangkal keberadaannya sebagai suatu "kelompok," karena dasar keanggotaan untuk masing-masing hubungan adalah spesifik dan tidak ada hak atau kewajiban yang membawa semua anggota ini ke dalam hubungan antara satu dengan yang lainnya. Lagi pula, "perangkat tindakan tidak dapat ada tanpa ego yang di sekitar ego itulah perangkat tindakan dibentuk" (A. Mayer 1966:109). Menurut Mayer seseorang harus mempelajari perangkat tindakan hanya apabila perangkat yang tersusun atas hubungan-hubungan sosial tersebut digerakkan oleh ego pusat (pada waktu itu).

Dalam mempertimbangkan perbandingan perangkat-perangkat tindakan, Adrian Mayer mendorong sejumlah kemungkinan bagi studi perubahan sosial melalui metodologi analisa jaringan. Misalnya, dalam suatu masyarakat seorang peneliti dapat memusatkan diri pada pola-pola hubungan yang berbeda dari perangkat-perangkat yang me-



lengkapi dan yang kontradiktif, dan menghubungkan pola-pola semacam itu dengan "strategi kampanye" (lihat A. Mayer 1966:110-11). Ketergantungan pada teori tindakan membawa Mayer (1966:111) kepada pertimbangan penting : "Kita harus membedakan antara materi hubungan-hubungan jaringan yang mungkin dan hubungan-hubungan jaringan tersebut yang benar-benar digunakan (misalnya "carry transactions") dalam pembentukan perangkat tindakan." Dengan membuat klasifikasi sekunder mengenai "transaksi" dipandang dari segi peran-peran yang disimpulkan secara etnografis, Mayer (1966:113-14) membedakan peran pelindung dan peran perantara :

Pada peran-peran pelindung, pelaksana transaksi mempunyai kekuasaan memberikan keuntungan yang diinginkan responden; keuntungan itu diadakan atas pemenuhan perantara Pelindung adalah suatu transaksi yang jelas. Dalam transaksi ini tanggung jawab bagi setiap kegagalan untuk menepati janji dengan jelas dapat diletakkan pada tuan. Seorang pedagang perantara adalah perantara dan transaksi tersebut adalah satu yang dijanjikannya untuk memperoleh kemurahan hati bagi responden dari orang ke tiga ... perantara tersebut dapat mengambil bagian dalam lebih banyak transaksi sehubungan dengan sumber-sumber kekuasaannya dibandingkan dengan si tuan.

Sebagaimana dicatat sendiri oleh Mayer 1966:114), masalah sehubungan dengan klasifikasi semacam itu adalah bahwa transaksi-transaksi semacam itu mungkin tumpang tindih dalam prakteknya yang membuat diferensiasi peran pelindung dan peran perantara menjadi sulit. Nampaknya lebih disukai untuk melihat mekanisme pertukaran antara titik pangkal yang mengadakan transaksi dari pada mem-

berlakukan (atau bahkan menyimpulkan) tipe-tipe analitis kecuali kalau tipe-tipe itu sendiri dapat digambarkan sebagai tipe yang kontradiktif atau yang melengkapi dalam lingkungan-lingkungan sosiokultural khusus.

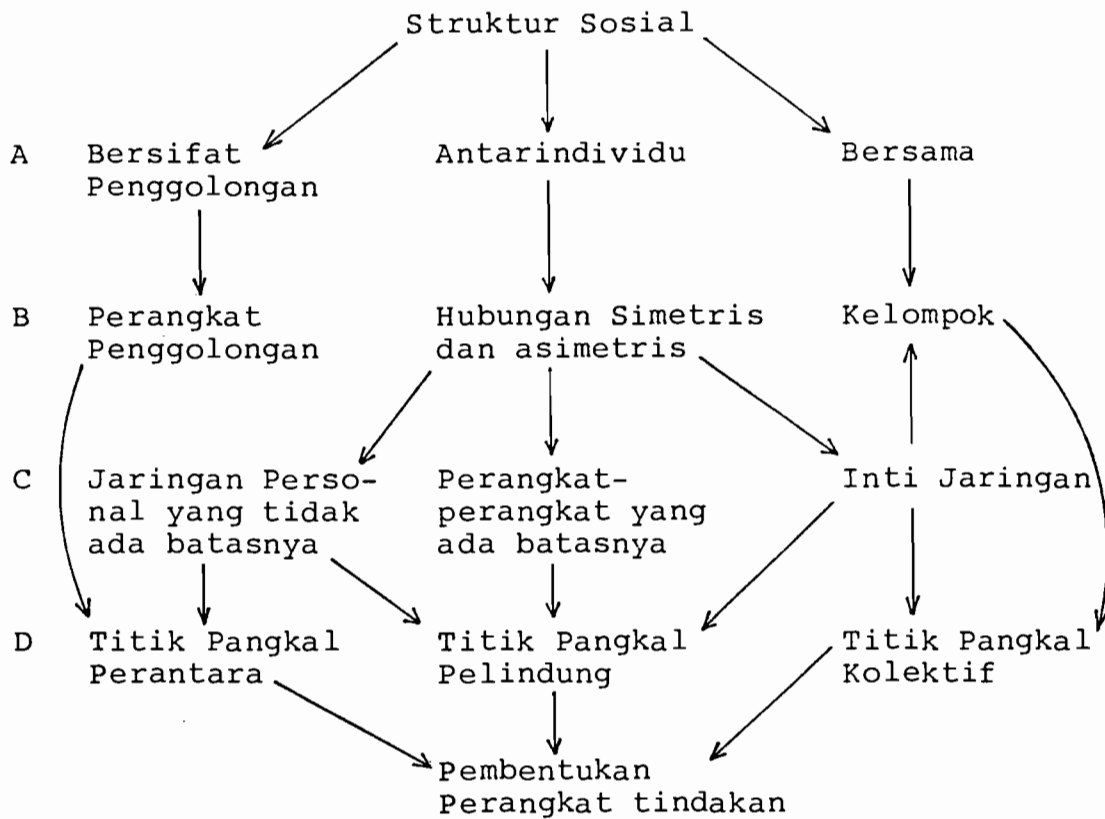
Beberapa definisi dan konsep yang dijelaskan secara singkat di sini dan di bagian yang terdahulu dapat dilihat untuk membentuk hubungan-hubungan tertentu yang dikonsepsikan oleh Whitten dalam model pada bagan 4.

Penerapan Konsep-Konsep Jaringan

Kita tidak sepenuhnya setuju mengenai seberapa jauh kita harus masuk dalam memikirkan pengembangan seperangkat pernyataan yang secara formal mungkin menjadi "teori jaringan." Barnes (1968), teoretikus jaringan yang utama, mempunyai beberapa komentar mengenai penggunaan konsep-konsep jaringan. Setelah menunjuk kepada karyanya sendiri dalam masyarakat Bremnes (1954), penggunaan jaringan oleh Bott (1955,1957), dan tinjauan serta penerapan Adrian Mayer (1966), Barnes menulis (1969b:52) :

Laporan-laporan ini dan yang lainnya menunjukkan bahwa konsep itu bermanfaat dalam mendeskripsikan dan menganalisa proses-proses politik, kelas-kelas sosial, hubungan pasar dan daerah pedalamannya, ketentuan jasa dan sirkulasi barang serta informasi dalam lingkungan sosial yang tidak teratur, pemeliharaan nilai dan norma oleh gosip, perbedaan-perbedaan struktural antara masyarakat suku, desa, kota, dan sebagainya.

Sepuluh tahun sebelumnya, dalam meninjau kembali sumbangan-sumbangan antropologi sosial pada studi masyarakat kompleks, Eisenstadt menulis (1961:209) :



- A = dasar-dasar bagi organisasi sosial
 B = bentuk-bentuk hubungan sosial
 C = hubungan sosial yang digambarkan oleh analisa jaringan
 D = penggerak-penggerak sosial
 → = dapat berubah menjadi

Bagan 4. Sebuah paradigma konsep-konsep jaringan
 dalam teori tindakan dan teori pertukaran

Mungkin hanya konsep jaringan yang sampai pada batas tertentu menyediakan alat analitis yang kemungkinan besar baru. Alat itu dengan jelas menggambarkan atau menunjukkan adanya beberapa hubungan timbal balik yang berbeda antara orang-orang yang berbeda yang tidak terorganisir dalam kelompok-kelompok bersama, dan alat tersebut mungkin membantu dalam menganalisa hubungan orang-orang yang berbeda, memainkan peran dalam jaringan semacam itu dengan tipe peran sosial dan struktur kelembagaan yang berbeda.

Penelusuran menyeluruh dari jaringan orang-orang yang terlibat dalam kegiatan yang bermacam-macam selalu berlangsung dalam analisa sistem-sistem sosial, tetapi pada saat ini penelusuran semacam itu sebagai teknik menjadi lebih spesifik dan sebagai masalah diskusi menjadi lebih modern. Dalam banyak penelitian (Fortes 1949a, 1969; Whyte 1953; Fallers 1956; Leeds 1964; Whitten 1965), analisa jaringan adalah sesuatu yang implisit sementara dalam beberapa risalah dan artikel (Aronson, ed., 1970; Barnes 1954; Bott 1957; Greenfield 1966; Plotnicov 1967; Mitchell, ed., 1969; Whitten 1970a), usaha-usaha diambil untuk mengembangkan konsep yang memberikan dasar jaringan, dan untuk menetapkan kelas-kelas fenomena jaringan bagi pengamatan analitis yang seksama. Beberapa pengarang menulis tentang teori jaringan tetapi ini sudah berarti suatu pengembangan teori peran. Lawrence Crissman (1969:80) misalnya mengatakan :

Jaringan-jaringan personal apabila diuraikan akan memberikan suatu inventarisasi peran-peran diadik yang dihimpun oleh individu-individu menurut kaidah atau struktur kebudayaan dan masyarakat dari individu tersebut, dan jaringan personal itu juga mem-

bantu menempatkan individu-individu tersebut dalam organisasi kebudayaan dan masyarakatnya. Maka jaringan personal harus digambarkan menurut peran-peran yang terkandung dalam jaringan personal itu sendiri, yang akan dipelajari sebagai seperangkat peran Dengan mempelajari jaringan personal dalam bidang itu maka struktur suatu kebudayaan dapat diuraikan dan cara kerja masyarakat dapat dilihat berlakunya.

Dalam pernyataan Crissman kita dapat melihat dengan jelas hasrat ke arah sintesa strategi bidang dan dasar teoritis.

Mungkin akan bermanfaat untuk memiliki suatu gambaran yang lebih sistematis tentang sederetan kecenderungan analisa jaringan yang nyata dan mungkin. Untuk permulaan kita dapat memisahkan situasi-situasi yang ciri khas jaringannya dipertimbangkan dari sudut teori peran, teori pertukaran, dan teori tindakan dari situasi-situasi yang ciri khas jaringannya itu sendiri merupakan bagian dari model teoritis. Dalam kategori yang terakhir inilah Wolfe memilih untuk memisahkan situasi-situasi teoritis yang ciri khas jaringannya diperlakukan sebagai variabel terikat dari situasi teoritis yang ciri khas jaringannya diperlakukan sebagai variabel bebas. Klasifikasi yang terdiri dari tiga bagian ini mungkin tampak lebih sistematis daripada bukti-bukti kepustakaan; sekalipun demikian, tulisan-tulisan oleh berbagai analis jaringan nampaknya mendukung klasifikasi tersebut jika ditinjau sesudah klasifikasi itu dibuat.

Marilah pertama-tama kita mengalihkan perhatian pada analis jaringan yang menggunakan ciri khas jaringan

sebagai bagian dari model teoritis mereka - atau akan melakukan hal yang demikian jika mereka mengembangkan suatu model formal. Dan dalam kategori yang luas tersebut kita pertama-tama akan melihat mereka yang membicarakan ciri khas jaringan sebagai ciri yang mempengaruhi sesuatu.

Variabel Jaringan Sebagai Variabel Bebas

Bott membuat hipotesa yang cukup jujur bahwa macam jaringan yang melibatkan keluarga sangat langsung mempengaruhi hubungan-hubungan peran keluarga batih dalam keluarga itu : jaringan hubungan erat menimbulkan pemisahan peran keluarga batih. Tentu saja terdapat kritik terhadap definisi Bott mengenai ukuran-ukuran, contoh-contoh, serta penemuan-penemuannya, dan mengenai validitas umum dari hipotesa itu (Turner 1967, Platt 1969). Namun dari perspektif teoritis yang kita ambil di sini tidak dapat disangsikan lagi mengenai pendirian Bott (1957: 60) : "Tingkat pemisahan hubungan peran suami dan isteri berbeda secara langsung dengan keterkaitan jaringan sosial keluarga."

Ciri-ciri khas jaringan juga dikonseptualisasikan sebagai variabel-variabel bebas dalam model-model yang dimaksudkan untuk menjelaskan tingkah laku perorangan. Satu studi semacam itu oleh Robert P. Scheurell dan Irwin D. Rinder menguraikan tentang penyimpangan, khususnya "pelanggar-pelanggar inses" (n.d. 8-9) :

Dari analisa ini, proses berikutnya nampaknya terdapat dalam kasus-kasus inses. Nilai-nilai atau orientasi pelanggar ke arah tugas-tugas rumah tangga adalah satu dari isolasi relatif, yang berarti pelanggar tidak dapat mengandalkan pada sumber-sumber eksternal untuk memelihara pola yang terpisah. Malahan pemisahan tugas-tugas rumah tangga dipelihara melalui penggunaan anak-anak dengan tidak ada seorangpun dari suami atau isteri yang harus menanggung beberapa dari tugas-tugas itu. Proses ini (dan akibat-akibatnya) ... (meningkatkan) kemungkinan peri laku inses.

Masalahnya di sini bukanlah validitas analisa tetapi fakta bahwa ciri-ciri khas jaringan terlibat secara langsung sebagai variabel-variabel bebas dalam model itu.

Kita dapat melihat Adrian Mayer mengkonseptualisasikan suatu model dengan ciri-ciri khas jaringan (dalam kasusnya ciri-ciri khas perangkat tindakan) sebagai variabel-variabel bebas yang mempengaruhi hasil-hasil. Setelah membedakan strategi kampanye pemilihan yang "keras" dan "lunak" sebagai strategi yang tepat dalam situasi-situasi yang berbeda, Mayer mengatakan (1966:111): "Sekarang mungkin untuk menyatakan bahwa perangkat tindakan dengan jalur-jalur yang lebih pendek akan lebih sesuai untuk kampanye yang lebih keras Sebaliknya, perangkat berjalur panjang nampaknya akan lebih baik untuk kampanye yang lebih lunak." Perspektif serupa yang menggunakan ciri-ciri khas jaringan lainnya ditemukan pada halaman berturut-turut dari papernya.

Situasi teoritis lainnya yang ciri-ciri khas jaringannya secara jelas digunakan sebagai variabel bebas

adalah studi penyebaran obat-obatan oleh tenaga medis. Coleman, Katz, dan Menzel (1957:253) memperhatikan keefektifan jaringan-jaringan hubungan antar individu pada tiap-tiap tahap proses penyebaran. Mereka menemukan (1957:266) bahwa perangkat persahabatan, perangkat petunjuk, dan perangkat diskusi "tidak menunjukkan reaksi dengan serupa. Pada mulanya jaringan diskusi dan jaringan petunjuk sebagian terbesar memperlihatkan keserempakan (pengaruh yang diduga dari ciri-ciri khas jaringan) namun kemudian semakin lama semakin merosot. Jaringan persahabatan pada awalnya kurang memperlihatkan keserempakan dibandingkan dengan dua jaringan lainnya tetapi ... pada akhirnya nampaknya mencapai keefektifannya yang maksimum."

Sejumlah penelitian penting cenderung memperlihatkan pengaruh jaringan-jaringan atau ciri-ciri khas jaringan pada migrasi atau adaptasi para pendatang (P. Mayer 1961, 1964; Abu-Lughod 1961; Phillpott 1968; Gans 1962; Tilly n.d.b.; Parkin 1969). Philip Mayer (1961, 1964) melihat jaringan-jaringan hubungan erat dari pendatang-pendatang Xhosa tertentu dari kota (disebut "the Reds") yang "mengurung diri" mereka di daerah-daerah kantong di kota, melindungi diri mereka dari perubahan ekstensif dan memperkuat nilai-nilai kesukuan bahkan di dalam kota. Hal ini berbeda dengan kategori Xhosa lainnya di kota (yang disebut "Pendatang-Pendatang Sekolah") yang jaringan-jaringan hubungannya yang longgar mendo-

rong modernisasi baik di kota maupun di daerah-daerah pedesaan. Demikian pula dalam karya baru-baru ini di AS, Mark Granovetter membantah bahwa jaringan-jaringan hubungan erat menghalangi pergerakan orang-orang ke dalam sistem-sistem sosial berskala luas dan dengan demikian membantu mempertahankan pengertian pengasingan, sedangkan jaringan-jaringan hubungan longgar dari hubungan sosial memungkinkan pendirian sistem komunikasi yang terperinci yang memajukan integrasi individu-individu dalam tatanan sosial yang lebih luas. Dengan membandingkan dua macam pendatang baru ke Kampala, Uganda, David Parkin pada tahun 1969 sampai pada suatu kesimpulan umum yang tidak jauh bergeser dari kesimpulan Philip Mayer dan Granovetter. Ciri-ciri khas jaringan kemudian diusulkan sebagai variabel-variabel bebas untuk membantu menjelaskan fenomena adaptasi pendatang. Ciri-ciri khas jaringan tersebut juga diusulkan sebagai variabel bebas dalam konteks-konteks lainnya (seperti partisipasi dalam asosiasi-asosiasi sukarela), tetapi tujuan kita di sini adalah untuk menjelaskan penggunaan variabel-variabel jaringan ini dan tidak untuk menyediakan dokumentasi menyeluruh.

Variabel Jaringan Sebagai Variabel Terikat

Para penyelidik lain mengajukan ciri-ciri khas jaringan sebagai variabel-variabel terikat dalam model-model teoritis mereka. Ada beberapa dari mereka (Lesser 1961, Wirth 1938) yang melihat suatu kecenderungan evolusioner umum dari satu bentuk jaringan ke bentuk ja-

ringan lainnya - biasanya dari bentuk hubungan erat berskala terbatas ke bentuk hubungan longgar berskala lebih luas. Di sini intinya hanyalah bahwa seseorang dapat dengan mudah mengandaikan bentuk jaringan sebagai akibat dan bukan sebagai sebab dari beberapa kekuatan aktif umum dalam kehidupan sosial.

Tidak jauh bergeser dari pandangan evolusioner adalah pandangan yang melihat ciri-ciri khas jaringan sebagai ciri-ciri yang berbeda menurut "kebudayaan." Parkin (1969:145-47) memberikan pernyataan yang teliti sepanjang garis-garis ini dalam suatu perbandingan ciri-ciri khas kebudayaan dari dua "tipe kebudayaan supra suku" penduduk yang masing-masing menetap di Kampala, Uganda. Orang-orang yang disebutnya "Pendatang-pendatang" (misalnya Luo, Luhya, Acholi, Lango) terlibat dalam jaringan "persaudaraan" efektif yang kadang-kadang sementara menjatuhkan kewajiban yang berat pada individu-individu dapat dengan mudah dimobilisasi untuk memecahkan krisis-krisis dalam negeri dan terbukti efektif baik di kota maupun di desa. Sebaliknya, kebudayaan yang disebutnya "Tuan Rumah" (misalnya Ganda, Soga, Nyoro, Toro) tidak memasukkan ideologi persaudaraan dan macam jaringan yang sependapat dengan ideologi itu sehingga jaringan "Tuan Rumah" "mungkin telah sangat diperluas tanpa menjadi efektif." Pemikiran semacam ini (dan ini hampir merupakan pemikiran yang umum) menyarankan bahwa perbedaan-perbedaan dalam bentuk-bentuk jaringan merupakan aki-

bat dari perbedaan-perbedaan kebudayaan umum.

Dalam banyak penelitian kondisi-kondisi sosial spesifik telah dikenali sebagai variabel-variabel terikat yang mempengaruhi ciri-ciri khas jaringan. Turner (1967:126-29) menguji kembali gagasan-gagasan Bott tentang jaringan sosial, menemukan bahwa datanya dari jemaah Penine menyarankan mobilitas geografis yang mempengaruhi keterkaitan jaringan. Penemuan semacam itu cocok dengan model teoritis yang digunakan dalam sosiometri meskipun teoritisnya yang paling teliti lebih berbicara tentang kelompok-kelompok dan klik-klik daripada tentang jaringan. J.L. Moreno (1953:715-17) mengusulkan sejumlah hipotesa yang relevan dengan model ciri-ciri khas jaringan sebagai yang terikat pada kondisi-kondisi sosial lainnya seperti "keturunan asli" dan "keakraban fisik." Festinger, Schachter, dan Back (1950:151f) juga mengajukan kesimpulan mengenai cara-cara dimana kondisi-kondisi sosial dan perumahan mempengaruhi "persahabatan apa yang akan berkembang dan pengelompokan sosial apa yang akan dibentuk." Cara-cara ini dapat langsung diterjemahkan ke dalam istilah-istilah jaringan.

Analisa Jaringan Berdasarkan Teori Peran, Teori Pertukaran, dan Teori Tindakan

Akhirnya kita kembali meminta perhatian pada situasi-situasi dimana peneliti lapangan (sebagai analis jaringan) memandang jaringan sosial dari segi model-model teoritis yang lain dan menggunakan serangkaian pertukar-

an yang bercabang-cabang serta hubungan-hubungan peran untuk memperoleh pemahaman yang lebih mendalam tentang cara kerja sistem sosial atau sistem kebudayaan (lihat Whitten 1968, 1970a). Perhatian atas analisa jaringan semacam itu adalah untuk menghadapi interaksi manusia yang tampak (tidak hanya norma, kaidah, gambaran, dan sebagainya) dan untuk menghindari "model disorganisasi" sistem-sistem sosial, yang bagi peneliti perangkat-perangkat (kelompok-kelompok) ada batasnya ("bounded"), bersama ("corporate"), maupun interaktif salah satunya tidak jelas atau tidak dapat dipahami (lihat Liebow 1967; Hannerz 1969, 1970; Gerlach dan Hine 1970). Unsur-unsur aktif dalam model-model teoritis semacam itu pada hakekatnya bukan ciri-ciri khas jaringan melainkan data yang dapat diperoleh dengan menjalankan analisa jaringan.

Pada bagian sebelumnya kita telah membicarakan tiga dasar teoritis bagi analisa jaringan dan mencatat kecenderungan yang diusulkan oleh Boissevain (1968) dan A. Mayer (1966) sebagai kecenderungan yang terutama sekali bermanfaat. Sumbangan-sumbangan bagi beberapa simposium akhir-akhir ini khususnya "Jaringan-Jaringan Sosial Kota: Beberapa Perbandingan Internasional" pada pertemuan tahun 1969 dari Masyarakat Perhimpunan Antropologi Negara-Negara Amerika Tengah di Milwaukee dan "Sidang Percoobaan mengenai Pelindung, Perhambaan, dan Kekuasaan" di Amerika Latin pada pertemuan Asosiasi Antropologi Ameri-

ka di New Orleans, juga pada tahun 1969, menunjukkan bahwa pada saat ini banyak minat pada analisa jaringan dalam wujud seperti ini. Uraian yang mendasari karya semacam itu adalah bahwa analisa jaringan merupakan hasil dari beberapa keprihatinan umum, dan bahwa pendekatan analitis yang didasarkan pada teori tindakan dan teori pertukaran oleh karenanya akan menghasilkan pandangan yang lebih dinamis dan relevan mengenai cara-cara hidup rakyat khusus daripada yang dapat dicapai oleh model-model yang mempergunakan ciri-ciri khas jaringan hanya sebagai alat untuk memahami jaringan itu sendiri.

Dalam latar alami orang-orang memiliki gagasan mereka sendiri mengenai strategi, kekuasaan, dan hubungan-hubungan antarindividu. Mereka menempatkan diri dalam sistem mereka sendiri melalui perbedaan-perbedaan kategorial, dan dalam induk ekonomi politik melalui pertukaran-pertukaran sosial dan ekonomi yang strategis. Analisa jaringan yang diadakan dari perspektif ini memerlukan teknik yang menembus model semacam itu, dan mengusulkan realitas sosioekonomi yang dapat menimbulkan berbagai model rakyat. Suatu model rakyat dari struktur sosial Trobriand yang lama dipertahankan oleh penduduk Trobriand dan oleh para antropolog misalnya memasukkan seorang "pemimpin tertinggi" (Malinowski 1922). Singh Uberoi (1962) membuktikan ketidakbenaran "mitos di Piltdown" dari antropologi sosial ini dengan mempertunjukkan memakai tulisan Malinowski sendiri bahwa jaring-

an-jaringan pertukaran dalam jaringan kula yang terkenal menghubungkan individu-individu bersama-sama. Hubungan-hubungan perorangan ini melibatkan kelompok-kelompok bersama yang antagonis dan memberi keuntungan strategis kepada ayah dan anak laki-laki (ayah membantu anak laki-laki menentukan partner-partner pertukaran "kula"-nya) dalam masa bebas politik ekonomi yang luas di daerah Massim. Serangkaian pertukaran antara partner-partner dagang ini (yang digambarkan Malinowski namun tidak cukup dikembangkan oleh pendirian teoritisnya), mengikat wilayah itu bersama-sama secara sosial dan ekonomi, melawan kekuatan tandingan klen yang terdiri atas segmen-segmen, klen bersama, dan klen matri-lineal; hubungan-hubungan yang di dalamnya secara ideal dan secara hukum memisahkan ayah dan anak laki-laki. Pemimpin tertinggi Omarakana menurut analisa ini hanya menjadi pejabat pemerintahan setempat di desa yang secara kebetulan menjadi lokasi strategis dalam ekosistemnya karena jumlah terbesar hubungan pertukaran sering berkelompok di sana.

Konsep pemimpin kemudian menjadi perwujudan ideal dari jaringan bercabang-cabang yang saling menyilang dan bukan angka yang dapat dipercaya dalam saham bersama. Cara lain menjelaskan hal ini adalah dengan mengusulkan bahwa model rakyat Trobriand mengenai "pemimpin tertinggi" mewakili kapasitas kebudayaan sistem pertukaran Trobriand untuk mengikuti melalui serangkaian jaringan per-

dagangan yang menyilang. Dari perspektif ideologi keturunan, kesetiaan membentuk kesan kontrol dari atas yang secara sederhana diterjemahkan sebagai "pemimpin tertinggi." Pada saat jelas bahwa tokoh apikal dari model rakyat tidak mempunyai kekuasaan maka peran dan statusnya diproyeksikan ke masa lampau. Orang-orang hanya memberi kesan bahwa pemimpin tertinggi tersebut dahulu mempunyai kekuasaan semacam itu, atau bahwa nenek moyangnya mempunyai kekuasaan tersebut. Teori pertukaran mengusulkan bahwa pemimpin itu tidak perlu pernah mempunyai kekuasaan. Pandangan kekuasaan cocok dengan model hukum kognitif dari kekerabatan matrilineal. Menurut teori pertukaran sistem itu menganut serangkaian partner dagang yang berhubungan serta arus barang timbal balik.

Sistem yang mengintegrasikan domain kekerabatan dan domain partner pertukaran ini paling baik digambarkan dari segi jaringan-jaringan pertukaran yang bercabang dan tumpang tindih, dengan kelompok-kelompok internal orang-orang yang memainkan kaidah-kaidah hukum berdasarkan pada keanggotaan dalam kelompok-kelompok kekerabatan bersama. Hubungan struktural kelompok dan hubungan jaringan melengkapi satu sama lainnya sehingga baik teori keturunan maupun teori pertukaran perlu bagi suatu pernyataan yang jelas mengenai hubungan-hubungan sosial Trobriand de jure dan de facto.

Dari Mana Kita Memulai ?

Kami memulai karangan ini dengan kecenderungan pada antropologi organisasi dan sosiologi industri dan menyimpulkan dengan beberapa komentar pada analisa jaringan dalam masyarakat berskala luas dan berskala kecil. Kami telah mengacu pada riset yang dilakukan dalam bidang itu dan pada riset yang memeriksa kembali karya yang diterbitkan pada masa sebelumnya. Pesannya jelas yaitu : analisa jaringan menetapkan suatu cara yang tepat, efisien, dan yang terpenting "produktif" untuk menembus inti berbagai tatanan sosial.

Hal ini membawa kita kembali pada pertanyaan semula : Dari mana kita memulai dalam analisa jaringan ? Untuk jaringan-jaringan personal pertanyaannya adalah : Ego apakah yang kita pilih ? Satu strategi adalah memulai dengan ego yang strategis terhadap tindakan dalam latar alami khusus. Untuk menemukan ego itu tergantung pada sumber-sumber ahli etnografi, sifat kebudayaan khusus, dan latar kebudayaan tersebut di dalam tekanan-tekanan ekonomi, politik, serta kebudayaan yang luas dari dunia kontemporer. Pertanyaan-pertanyaannya kemudian adalah mengenai modal sosial, sumber-sumber manusia dan ekonomi, sifat pergerakan modal sosial, dan pertukaran-pertukaran yang mempertahankan sekelompok modal pada masa-masa non pergerakan yang dianggap penting bagi etnograf yang melakukan analisa jaringan. Hal ini terutama sekali benar ketika - dengan kehadirannya itu

juga - etnograf sendiri menjadi tempat ego yang penting, yang ikatanikatan di sekitarnya mulai membentuk, mengelompok, dan mempunyai pengaruh sosiopolitik.

Tak seorangpun mengusulkan bahwa tugas itu sederhana, atau bahwa titik permulaan yang paling strategis mudah dikenali, atau bahwa analisis perlu memulai pada titik ini bahkan bila ia berhasil mengenalinya, atau bahwa tugas itu akan tetap mempertahankan ciri strategisnya setelah analisis membuat permulaan yang memberi harapan. Situasi-situasi berubah, kelompok-kelompok terbentuk dan bubar, hubungan timbal balik bergeser; namun jaringan tetap ada. Hal yang penting adalah memulai.

APPENDIX D

Kartu Tabulasi*)

"Tempat kode dalam bentuk kartu ini sangat cocok apabila data diolah secara manual. Setiap responden mendapat satu kartu atau lebih, sesuai dengan banyaknya variabel.

Apabila satu responden membutuhkan lebih dari satu kartu, kartu kedua atau selanjutnya harus tetap mempunyai nomor identitas pada kotak yang sama. Perlu diperhatikan bahwa nomor variabel adalah nomor kelanjutan dari kartu yang sebelumnya. Kalau kartu sebelumnya berakhir dengan variabel nomor 62, maka pada kartu yang berikutnya dilanjutkan dengan variabel 63.**)

Jika jumlah kartu untuk setiap responden lebih dari satu, maka sebaiknya setiap kartu memuat kembali variabel yang akan selalu digunakan dalam tabulasi. Dalam penelitian kependudukan, variabel yang sering digunakan itu misalnya umur, penghasilan, pendidikan, dan lain-lain tergantung kebutuhan. Variabel-variabel tersebut harus ditempatkan pada kotak yang sama pada setiap kartu. Pada kartu berikutnya variabel-variabel itu tidak diberi nomor baru, tetapi tetap memakai nomor lama. Misalnya kalau umur responden terletak pada kolom 2 pada kartu pertama, maka pada kartu selanjutnya variabel itu juga terletak pada kolom 2.

Setiap kartu dapat memuat banyak variabel, dan bila perlu kedua sisi kartu dapat dipakai. Setiap variabel menempati satu kotak tertentu. Sebagai contoh, variabel nomor 2 dalam penelitian adalah umur. Salah satu responden berumur 20 tahun. Maka angka 20 inilah yang ditulis pada kotak nomor 2.

(untuk contoh kartu tabulasi lihat lembaran berikutnya)

*) Kartu Tabulasi adalah tempat kode yang terpisah dari Kuesioner, lihat : Singarimbun, Masri, et. al., ed., op. cit., pp. 180 - 181

**) Dalam Kartu Tabulasi yang dibuat oleh penulis hanya mampu menampung 62 variabel, sedangkan jumlah variabel yang digunakan oleh penulis dalam penelitian ini berjumlah 54, jadi penulis tidak perlu memindahkan ke kartu tabulasi yang lain. (setiap responden cukup dengan satu kartu tabulasi)

KOMPAS
SENIN 27 APRIL 1987

Fuad Hassan: Bingung Melihat Kurikulum Prauniversitas Kini

Pekanbaru, Kompas

Kurikulum untuk prauniversitas (dari TK sampai SMTA) yang digunakan saat ini di Indonesia bukan hanya terasa berat, tapi juga kabur dan membingungkan.

"Saya sendiri bingung melihat kurikulum prauniversitas sekarang. Tidak jelas betul mana mata pelajaran pokok dan mana yang bukan pokok. Dan tidak jarang, mata pelajaran pokok dikalahkan oleh mata pelajaran yang kurang penting," kata Mendikbud Prof Dr Fuad Hassan di hadapan sekitar 1.200 hadirin yang kebanyakan guru dan pejabat teras di Balai Dang Merdu, Pekanbaru, hari Jumat malam (24/4).

Menurut Menteri, kurikulum prauniversitas yang digunakan sekarang di Indonesia menunjukkan kekaburan antara mata pelajaran yang pokok dan tambahan. "Ini tentu akibat peristilahan yang digunakan hampir berdekatan. Misalnya istilah inti, utama, pokok dan penting. Mana di antaranya yang tinggi derajatnya?" tanyanya.

Akibat kekaburan itu, sulit menggeser jam pelajaran jika diperlukan. Tidak jarang pula mata pelajaran yang kurang penting justru mengalahkan mata pelajaran yang sebenarnya pokok. "Ini lah yang perlu dibenahi, ditertibkan kembali secara berangsur-angsur," ujarnya.

Stabilisasi

Selain berusaha meningkatkan pengendalian administrasi dan memperluas serta membentuk fo-

rum-forum kebudayaan, Mendikbud mengaku membenahi kurikulum prauniversitas merupakan tugas pentingnya. Hal ini diistilahkannya sebagai stabilisasi Kurikulum Prauniversitas.

Ia menyatakan menemukan "temuan menarik" dari kenyataan kurikulum prauniversitas saat ini. Pihaknya juga mengamati saran, usul dan kritik yang dilontarkan terhadap kurikulum prauniversitas yang diterapkan sekarang.

Menteri percaya bahwa saran, usul dan kritik terhadap kurikulum dimaksud untuk perbaikan pendidikan di Indonesia. Ia juga mengakui, sudah banyak perubahan kurikulum dilakukan pendahulunya, sehingga menteri menilai sudah waktunya saat ini melakukan "stabilisasi kurikulum untuk prauniversitas". Ini tidak berarti memantapkan kurikulum sebagaimana adanya sekarang, melainkan tetap terbuka kemungkinan dilakukan perubahan dan pembenahan. Apa yang dilakukan pendahulunya tidak ada yang dilakukan dengan iseng. "Namun kita bukan mempertahankan apa yang ada sekarang, sebagaimana adanya. Di mana perlu, dibenahi tanpa menimbulkan keguncangan," kata Mendikbud.

Melakukan perubahan dan pembenahan kurikulum, tentu tidak mudah. Belum tentu usaha ini tidak menimbulkan masalah. Itu sebabnya yang akan dilakukan adalah "stabilisasi kuriku-

lum". Pembenahan diharapkan tidak menimbulkan keguncangan baik bagi anak didik, guru maupun orangtua murid.

Berat

Menurut menteri, itu pula sebabnya mengapa secara pribadi boleh dikatakan ia tidak dan belum menanggapi setiap saran dan kritik terhadap kurikulum prauniversitas kini. "Semua saya sadari benar, janganlah kita melakukan perubahan sekadar untuk berubah, tanpa lebih dulu membuat persiapan sebaik mungkin. Sebaliknya perubahan diatur serta dengan persiapan yang baik.

Tinjauan yang lebih kritis lagi terhadap kurikulum prauniversitas menunjukkan, bahwa tampaknya sebelum ini kurang dicermati perbedaan antara mana mata pelajaran yang pokok dan penting, mana yang bukan atau tambahan, dibandingkan dengan kurikulum sekitar tahun 1950-an. Kurikulum sekolah prauniversitas tahun 1950-an dibagi ke dalam dua golongan saja, mata pelajaran pokok dan tambahan.

Mata pelajaran pokok tidak boleh diganggu gugat, baik jumlah jam maupun jenisnya. Yang bisa diganggu gugat adalah yang bukan pokok atau tambahan. Demikian pula bila jam pelajaran untuk jenis mata pelajaran pokok kurang, bisa diambil jam pelajaran tambahan. Hanya ketika mengambil jam pelajaran tambahan untuk jam mata pelajaran pokok, jam yang diambil adalah yang paling ringan. (zas)

KEDAULATAN RAKYAT
RABU PON 6 MEI 1987

DR LOEKMAN SOETRISNO KECEWA *Tak Bisa Lahirkan 'Soekarno-Hatta'*

SELAMA 10 tahun terakhir ini kehidupan ilmiah di kampus telah tinggal *ritualistik* belaka. Sebab itulah kata Sosiolog Dr Loekman Sutrisno, ide Mendikbud untuk memperbaiki salah kaprah dalam tradisi pengangkatan Profesor dan jabatan akademis lainnya dinilai sebagai angin segar, sangat mendasar dan secara sosiologis dapat menciptakan struktur masyarakat baru di kampus yang bersifat *Mandito*.

"Saya kira langkah yang diambil pak Fuad ini akan merupakan insentif bagi para dosen muda agar lebih banyak bersifat *Mandito* dalam bidangnya". Dimaksudkan sebagai *Mandito* di sini adalah, para dosen itu bersedia menyibukkan dirinya dalam kegiatan berefleksi, membaca merenung dan menulis, di samping kewajiban utamanya mengajar di kampus.

"Ide pak Fuad ini pasti akan mengembalikan kehidupan kampus sedikit lebih akademis" lanjut Sosiolog pedesaan ini kepada KR. Ia diminta komentarnya sehubungan dengan usaha Mendikbud yang ingin meluruskan salah kaprah dalam cara pengangkatan guru besar dan jabatan akademis lainnya di Perguruan Tinggi di Indonesia.

Model Belanda.

Model pengangkatan jabatan akademis yang dikaitkan dengan jenjang kepangkatan sipil, menurut staf P3PK UGM ini adalah gaya pengangkatan model Belanda. Tetapi, model ini sebenarnya hanya cocok bagi bangsa yang masyarakatnya berdisiplin tinggi. Buat Indonesia yang disiplin masyarakatnya lemah, hal ini dampaknya bisa negatif, karena justru melahirkan kultur santai.

Penyebabnya adalah sistem itu sendiri, karena tokoh tanpa harus berkompetisi keras cepat atau lambat para dosen itu akan sampai ke jenjang Guru Besar, sesuai dengan masa kerjanya.

Di Amerika katanya, para dosen



Dr Loekman Soetrisno (KR-Hrn)-b

haruslah PhD dan dengan sendirinya bisa bergelar Guru besar. Titel ini adalah titel akademis dan bukan titel kepangkatan yang dikaitkan jenjang kepangkatan sipil.

"Di Indonesia kerichannya mulai disini, jadi ditinjau dari sudut ini nampak pak Fuad ingin membenahi sesuatu yang lebih cocok untuk kita".

Lalu sekiranya ide itu terlaksana nantinya, maka diharapkan di Indonesia akan muncul generasi guru-besar guru besar baru dari orang muda sehingga diharapkan akan muncul pula tradisi ilmiah baru yang kompetitif.

Soal Pokok.

Persoalannya sekarang, adakah tantangan terbesar di balik usaha raksasa pak Fuad itu?

Dr Loekman melihat tantangan terberatnya adalah faktor bahasa. Generasi baru di kampus sangat lemah penguasaan bahasa asingnya. Oleh sebab itu, meski peluang untuk kompetisi pengangkatan jabatan akademis terbuka lebar, namun kalau itu tidak diimbangi oleh mutu akademis para doktor muda itu,

hal ini, dinilainya akan percuma saja.

Sebab logikanya, bagaimana karya-karya berbobot internasional akan muncul kalau bahasa asingnya sangat lemah? Bahasa itu merupakan senjata pamungkas?

Progresif.

Dr Loekman membayangkan, terlaksananya ide pak Fuad nanti akan menciptakan guru-guru besar muda yang sangat progresif di kampus.

"Dan secara sosiologis, ide pak Fuad itu bisa menimbulkan struktur masyarakat baru karena orang muda bisa lebih cepat diberikan kepercayaan ilmiah tanpa harus menunggu hirarki umur" katanya.

"Bagi sistem baru pak Fuad itu" lanjutnya pula pada bagian lain, "Yang berlaku di kampus Indonesia itu akan seperti di Amerika. Bagi para dosen itu harus menulis dan mempublikasikan karya-karyanya, atau sama sekali mati. Jadi pemenuhnya *Perish or Publish* itulah". Dalam semangat kompetisi inilah diharapkan situasi kehidupan akademis kita bisa menjadi lebih akademis.

Bagi Dr Loekman, langkah Mendikbud ini dinilainya sangat fundamental dan ia percaya, langkah itu barulah langkah gebrakan awalnya karena dibelakang itu Mendikbud pasti melihat tantangan-tantangannya.

Katanya pula berharap, perguruan tinggi di Indonesia nantinya bisa berkembang seperti padepokan-padepokan. Para guru besar, seperti juga di Amerika, memiliki sejumlah massa murid hingga muncul kelompok-kelompok aliran yang bisa mendinamiskan kampus.

Dengan demikian, dalam konteks begini ini, takkan ada tempat bagi para doktor *nyambi*, biarpun ada tawaran jadi penasihat menteri sekalipun. "Tokh mereka dulu dikirim ke luar negeri untuk memperbaiki kampusnya".

Yang jadi soal pula, Dr Loekman mengeluh, tidak saja para dosen, mahasiswa Indonesia juga terkena kompleks penyakit santai. Jadi tantangan pak Fuad itu kompleks, dari soal bahasa sampai kultur santai dan belum bertumbuhnya kultur akademis yang progresif. Tradisi-tradisi yang akademis nampaknya masih harus dibentuk terus, karena 'isi' kampus yang lahir dari Sipenmaru yang pilihan itu, ternyata juga sama penyakitnya.

Tantangan lainnya? Ia juga melihat kampus masih harus berjuang untuk mengubah kebudayaannya, dari kultur *like and dislike* menuju kultur *achievement*, dimana persaingan lebih dipusatkan pada pacuan prestasi.

"Sebagai guru saya selalu kecewa, mengapa tidak pernah melahirkan orang-orang seperti Soekarno-Hatta, *What is wrong?*" baliknya bertanya. Kenapa kampus sekarang hanya melahirkan sarjana-sarjana juklak?.

Sarjana-sarjana ritual yang lulus karena mengikuti arus petunjuk dan pelaksanaan dosen, lahir dan diwisuda setelah itu tenggelam?.

Sedikit sekali pula kampus melahirkan tipe-tipe pribadi dosen yang penuh komitmen pada keilmuannya, berbudaya *mandito* seperti figur Prof Dr Sartono Kartodirdjo yang penuh komitmen dengan profesinya, mandiri, berpikir dan merenung menulis.

"Orang seperti beliau berdua, pak Sartono dan Prof Sardjito adalah pribadi yang tidak repot ter-

hembus arah angin dia penuh ke-
mandirian. Secara sosiologis" katanya pula menambahkan, "Pribadi-pribadi seperti ini penting bagi panutan kita semua".

Dr Loekman menolak anggapan bahwa guru besar yang tak bergelar Doktor dengan sendirinya rendah mutunya. Menurutnya, soalnya bukan doktor tidaknya seorang profesor. Sebab belum tentu Profesor yang doktor lebih baik daripada profesor yang bergelar non doktor. Mutu lebih ditentukan oleh kebulatannya.

Profesor non doktor yang dilahirkan Pendidikan sistem lama, adalah profesor yang meski bergelar non doktor, namun sebenarnya pendidikan sarjananya adalah sarjana bulat.

"Sarjana-sarjana lokal lama itu sarjana bulat, saya masih menemui orang seperti Ir Hasan Purba dari ITB, karena meskipun bukan doktor, namun pemikirannya melebihi pemikiran Doktor".

Tantangannya sekarang justru pada sistem S-1 sekarang ini. Budaya santai dsbnya. Sementara di program Pasca Sarjana, mahasiswa-mahasiswa S-3 itu mereka juga lemah dalam banyak soal, termasuk lemah bahasa.

Tantangan-tantangan ini adalah tantangan nyata yang masih harus dihadapi meskipun sistem pak Fuad telah diterapkan nantinya.

Dr Loekman Soetrisno mengingatkan agar para doktor doktor muda sekarang ini menyambut usaha Mendikbud dengan lebih meningkatkan sikap *manditonya*. Pa-

ra doktor itu agar jangan 'terperangah' oleh gleyarnya tawaran pekerjaan di luar kampus, karena hakikat *mandito* adalah pengabdian pada nilai-nilai, sedang kampus adalah tempatnya melestarikan nilai-nilai luhur itu dan bukan pada kegiatan-kegiatan praktis, jadi penasihat-penasihat menteri.

"Kalau mau jadi kekuatan alternatif tokoh bisa lewat tulisan, tanpa harus mengorbankan kampus yang pernah membiayainya sekolah" katanya pula.

Seorang dosen senior lain yang enggan disebut namanya mengatakan, sistem baru pak Fuad itu diharapkan akan menghilangkan bermunculannya *second class doktor*.

Sekarang ini bisa terjadi profesor yang tak pernah menulis disertasi, diizinkan membimbing disertasi karena jenjang kepangkatannya memenuhi syarat.

"Padahal dia sendiri tak pernah menulis disertasi, lalu bagaimana itu metodologinya juga perangkat teorinya. Nakh, akibatnya muncul bafisan *second class doktor* yang tidalam negeri saja tak laku, apalagi di tingkat internasional" kata dosen senior tadi. (KR Senin kemarin kesalahan mengutip, istilah *Second class profesor* itu sama sekali bukan pendapat Dr Djamaludin Ancok).

Ia berharap, ide Mendikbud itu pasti akan bisa lebih menempatkan jabatan-jabatan akademis pada tempatnya yang proporsional sehingga pada gilirannya akan merangsang kompetisi ilmiah yang sehat.

(Herien Priyono).*

ENGLISH DEPARTMENT
IKIP SANATA DHARMA
YOGYAKARTA

APPENDIX F

Nama :
No. Mahasiswa :
Jurusan :

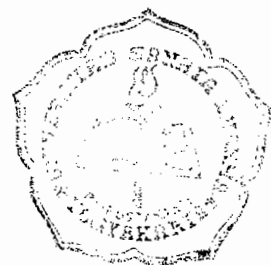
PETUNJUK PENGISIAN

- * Berilah tanda silang (X) pada jawaban yang anda anggap paling sesuai dengan keadaan sebenarnya.
 - * Kejujuran anda sangat menentukan kualitas dan validitas penelitian ini.
 - * Terima kasih atas bantuan dan kerjasama anda.
- Selamat bekerja.

01. Tingkat :
02. Umur :
03. Jenis kelamin :
04. Sebelum masuk ke jurusan Antropologi anda berasal dari jenjang studi :
- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| a. SMA | d. Seminari |
| b. Sekolah Kejuruan | e. lain-lain sebutkan |
| c. Madrasah | ..... |
05. Status SLA yang pernah anda masuki :
- | | |
|------------|----------------------|
| a. Negeri | c. Swasta berbantuan |
| b. Subsidi | d. Swasta penuh |
06. Anda berasal dari jurusan :
- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| a. IPA (A_1 & A_2) | c. Bahasa/Pengetahuan Budaya (A_4) |
| b. IPS (A_3) | d. lain-lain sebutkan |

07. Mata pelajaran yang paling anda sukai :
- a. Ilmu Pasti
 - b. Biologi
 - c. Bahasa Inggris
 - d. Bahasa Indonesia
 - e. Ilmu Sosial dan Ekonomi
 - f. lain-lain sebutkan
08. Nilai mata pelajaran Bahasa Inggris pada saat anda duduk di SLA :
- a. baik sekali
 - b. baik
 - c. cukup
 - d. kurang
 - e. sangat kurang
09. Jumlah jam pelajaran Bahasa Inggris per minggu di SLA anda :
- a. 10 jam per minggu
 - b. 8 jam per minggu
 - c. 6 jam per minggu
 - d. 4 jam per minggu
 - e. kurang dari 4 jam per minggu
10. Apakah guru anda pernah memberi pekerjaan rumah pada mata pelajaran Bahasa Inggris di SLA :
- a. sering
 - b. cukup sering
 - c. jarang
 - d. tidak pernah sama sekali
11. Jenis pekerjaan rumah yang diberikan oleh guru anda berupa : (boleh lebih dari satu)
- a. Translation (terjemahan)
 - b. Comprehensive questions (pertanyaan komprehensif)
 - c. Reading comprehension (pemahaman bacaan)
 - d. Sentence Structure/Grammar (Struktur Kalimat/Tatabahasa)
 - e. Summary (ringkasan)
 - f. lain-lain sebutkan

12. Apakah anda memiliki kamus Bahasa Inggris di rumah
- a. Ya, banyak
 - b. Ya, beberapa
 - c. Ya, hanya satu
 - d. Tidak memiliki sama sekali
13. Jenis kamus Bahasa Inggris yang anda miliki (boleh lebih dari satu)
- a. Kamus Inggris - Indonesia
 - b. Kamus Inggris - Inggris
 - c. Kamus Indonesia - Inggris
 - d. Kamus kantong/kecil
 - e. Kamus bahasa Inggris yang lain (sebutkan)
14. Nilai mata kuliah Bahasa Inggris anda di jurusan Antropologi
- a. A
 - b. B
 - c. C
 - d. D
 - e. E
15. Dalam kuliah Bahasa Inggris anda dituntun oleh dosen anda untuk : (boleh lebih dari satu)
- a. memahami teks
 - b. menerjemahkan
 - c. memahami grammar
 - d. menghafalkan kosa kata
 - e. lain-lain sebutkan ...
16. Dalam kuliah Bahasa Inggris di jurusan Antropologi apakah dosen pernah memberikan tugas :
- a. Ya, sering
 - b. Ya, cukup sering
 - c. Ya, jarang
 - d. Tidak pernah sama sekali



17. Jenis tugas yang diberikan : (boleh lebih dari satu)
- a. Translation (terjemahan)
 - b. Comprehensive questions (pertanyaan komprehensif)
 - c. Reading comprehension (pemahaman bacaan)
 - d. Sentence Structure/Grammar (Struktur Kalimat/Tatabahasa)
 - e. Summary (ringkasan)
 - f. Vocabulary (perbendaharaan kata)
18. Apakah tugas tersebut no. 17 anda kerjakan :
- a. Ya, selalu
 - b. Ya, kadang-kadang
 - c. Ya, tetapi jarang
 - d. Tidak pernah sama sekali
19. Seandainya ya, tugas-tugas tersebut anda kerjakan secara :
- a. perseorangan
 - b. kelompok
 - c. foto copy milik teman
 - d. anda serahkan ke penerjemah
 - e. lain-lain sebutkan
20. Apakah tugas-tugas tersebut anda kerjakan dengan sungguh-sungguh :
- a. Ya, selalu
 - b. Ya, kadang-kadang
 - c. Ya, tetapi jarang
 - d. Tidak mengerjakan sama sekali
21. Cara yang anda gunakan dalam menerjemahkan :
- a. per kata
 - b. per paragraf
 - c. terjemahan bebas
 - d. cara lain sebutkan

22. Apabila anda menemui kesulitan pada kosa kata (vocabulary), bantuan yang anda perlukan : (boleh lebih dari satu)
- a. kamus
 - b. tanya teman
 - c. tanya dosen
 - d. ngawur
 - d. lain-lain sebutkan
 -
23. Apabila anda menemui struktur kalimat bahasa Inggris yang sulit dipecahkan, cara penyelesaian anda :
- a. tanya pada orang yang anda anggap mampu
 - b. anda kerjakan semampu anda
 - c. anda kerjakan secara asal-asalan/ngawur
 - d. anda lewati/tidak anda kerjakan
24. Motivasi anda dalam mengerjakan tugas terjemahan
- a. ingin mengetahui isinya secara benar
 - b. ingin mencoba kemampuan menerjemahkan
 - c. asal mengumpulkan tugas saja
 - d. lain-lain sebutkan
25. Kesulitan-kesulitan yang sering anda temui dalam menerjemahkan :
- a. sentence structure (struktur kalimat)
 - b. vocabulary (kosa kata)
 - c. materi itu sendiri
 - d. ungkapan
 - d. pemahaman isi
 - f. idiom
 - g. frasa
 - h. lain-lain

26. Usaha-usaha anda dalam mengatasi kesulitan-kesulitan tersebut : (boleh lebih dari satu)
- a. menggunakan buku-buku c. tanya pada dosen
 - teori atau kamus d. asal mengerjakan
 - b. tanya pada teman e. pasrah
27. Apakah hasil terjemahan itu anda pelajari lagi sebagai materi ujian :
- a. Ya, selalu c. Ya, jarang
 - b. Ya, kadang-kadang d. Tidak sama sekali
28. Pada saat anda membaca hasil terjemahan yang anda kerjakan, anda merasa :
- a. sangat mudah memahami c. sulit memahami
 - b. cukup mudah memahami d. tidak bisa memahami
29. Jumlah kosa kata yang anda kuasai kira-kira :
- a. banyak sekali c. sedikit
 - b. cukup banyak d. sangat sedikit
30. Apakah anda menguasai materi pelajaran Bahasa Inggris di SLA :
- a. Ya, sangat menguasai
 - b. Ya, cukup menguasai
 - c. Ya, kurang begitu menguasai
 - d. Tidak menguasai sama sekali
31. Apakah anda pernah membaca buku-buku bacaan berbahasa Inggris ?
- a. Ya, sering c. Ya, kadang-kadang
 - b. Ya, cukup sering d. Tidak pernah sama sekali

32. Jenis-jenis bacaan yang anda baca : (boleh lebih dari satu)
- a. novel
 - b. majalah
 - c. buku ilmiah
 - c. buku ilmiah populer
 - e. lain-lain sebutkan
33. Apakah anda mempunyai buku-buku bacaan berbahasa Inggris?
- a. Ya, banyak sekali
 - b. Ya, cukup banyak
 - c. Ya, sedikit
 - d. Tidak mempunyai sama sekali
34. Apabila ya, sebutkan : (boleh lebih dari satu)
- a. novel
 - b. majalah
 - c. buku ilmiah (termasuk buku bacaan wajib)
 - d. buku ilmiah populer
 - e. lain-lain sebutkan ...
35. Pada saat anda membaca buku-buku tersebut (terutama buku bacaan wajib) apakah anda dapat memahami :
- a. Ya, tanpa menemui kesulitan
 - b. Ya, dengan menemui kesulitan
 - c. Kadang-kadang dapat memahami
 - d. Tidak dapat memahami sama sekali
36. Apabila menemui kesulitan, jalan yang anda tempuh :
- a. berusaha menerjemahkan
 - b. pinjam terjemahan milik teman
 - c. anda biarkan saja
 - d. lain-lain sebutkan

SLA perlu ditingkatkan. SS S TT TS STS

- | | | | | | |
|---|----|---|----|----|-----|
| 42. Bahasa Inggris sangat berguna di Perguruan Tinggi. | SS | S | TT | TS | STS |
| 43. Mata kuliah Bahasa Inggris di Perguruan Tinggi perlu ditambah. | SS | S | TT | TS | STS |
| 44. Tugas menerjemahkan adalah baik karena merangsang mahasiswa untuk membaca bacaan berbahasa Inggris. | SS | S | TT | TS | STS |
| 45. Sebaiknya dosen tidak perlu memberikan tugas terjemahan. | SS | S | TT | TS | STS |
| 46. Dosen sebaiknya mewajibkan setiap mahasiswa untuk membaca buku teks berbahasa Inggris. | SS | S | TT | TS | STS |
| 47. Memiliki kamus sangat berguna, terutama kamus Inggris - Indonesia. | SS | S | TT | TS | STS |
| 48. Kesulitan utama dalam menerjemahkan adalah pada struktur kalimat dan kosakata. | SS | S | TT | TS | STS |
| 49. Hal yang terpenting untuk belajar bahasa Inggris adalah memiliki kamus. | SS | S | TT | TS | STS |

50. Mata kuliah bahasa Inggris di Jurusan Antropologi tidak ada faedahnya dalam hubungannya dengan tugas-tugas terjemahan dari dosen. SS S TT TS STS
51. Menurut anda menerjemahkan itu mudah. SS S TT TS STS
52. Untuk meningkatkan kemampuan memahami isi bacaan berbahasa Inggris, mahasiswa perlu mengikuti kursus bahasa Inggris di luar jam kuliah. SS S TT TS STS
53. Buku "Developing Skills" sebagai buku pegangan dalam kuliah bahasa Inggris sangat sulit dipahami. SS S TT TS STS
54. Kesulitan menerjemahkan adalah karena bekal bahasa Inggris dari SLA sangat kurang. SS S TT TS STS

