

# Institutionalization Of Political Parties Perspective Of Talcott Parsons In National Prophetic Culture Transformation

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**Abstract:** Politics has become an endless commodity, people are busy plunging into political ambiguity, either by becoming party managers, legislative candidates, regents, mayors to presidents, all "peddling" self-image with a number of good and personal achievements as a result, political parties as the following institutions the norms and values in it are exceeded, by the dominance of personal political who have financial carrying capacity and capital of popularity. Institutionalization of political parties in such contexts does not see the system as a whole, and therefore a political party is forever "held hostage" by political pragmatism. Talcott Parsons reminded that the action system would face four survival problems, such as; 1) adaptation; 2) goal-attainment; 3) integration; and 4) pattern of maintenance and tension management (latency). Therefore the system with one another must be integrated into a shared pattern for common goals as well. In this paper, the common norms and values that must be upheld are the prophetic of the institutionalization of political parties in the transformation of prophetic national culture with qualifications of institutions capable of combining "logical reasoning" (Knowledge) and "revelation" (Al-Qur'an) which further values by Parsons socialized and internalized actors, the context of this paper, political party institutions disseminate and internalize propheticism in vertical-horizontal mobility to transform prophetic national culture.

**Index Terms:** *Propheticism, political pragmatism, legislative candidates, Talcott Parsons.*

## 1 INTRODUCTION

Indonesia has been "proud in the eyes of the World" as a Nation-State for the greatness and richness of culture that has grown and developed throughout the archipelago since centuries. The culture rests on a variety of cultures and sub-cultures capital such as the belief in the Almighty God (theism), respects fellow human beings, and life orientation to maintain harmony into three angle relationships, where God is at the top, being human, and nature is in its third leg position [1]. Cultural capital in religious teachings form has become an inspiration, as well as inheritance basic strength of national development cultural resilience in the frame of unity in diversity. Based on a view of national identity and awareness that means of forming mental attitudes (mindset) and moral value, which are strategies for national culture. The idea of Indonesian national culture concerning awareness and identity has indeed been designed when our nation is not yet independent. Nearly two decades after *Boedi Oetomo*, the Indonesian Association has instilled awareness about Indonesian identity in its Political Manifesto (1925), which was stated in three facts, that is; 1) popular sovereignty; 2) independence; and 3) Indonesian unity. This idea was immediately responded to with great enthusiasm by the Youth Oath in 1928. At least the first, the prophetic identity and consciousness will be formed based on a strong internal drive, especially the readiness and awareness of the elite and the younger generation as the nation's future reserves in preparing structures and actors (see Duality Anthony Giddens [2-4]) who have a prophetic ethos, which combines reasoning (theoretical-methodological intelligence) with revelation reason (religious values derived from the Scriptures).

Characteristic cultural capital is the integrity of all psychological behavior as a result of the affect of endogenous factors (genetics) and exogenous factors, which distinguish individuals or groups who are determinants of a person's behavior in their adaptation to the environment. Character manifested in good habits and virtues in daily life; good thoughts, good hearts, and good behavior [5]. The character is radiating from within (Inside-Out) in the sense that the habit is good not at the request, or pressure from other people but on awareness and willingness. In the prophetic context, the character emanating from within departs from the belief in the Essence of God that is a prophetic charter process carried out systemically by involving all participatory, its main mission is inheritance of values originating from God's Revelation. Ustad Rahmat Abdullah [5] said, then the human *Bashirah* which smells of earth, must be doused with *Bashirah langit*. He continued, everything has a logic of certainty. Therefore, all complaints must begin with the highest self-awareness, from conscience, *bashirah*, and soul sounds that no one can lie to knowledge that only fills the brain, has often led to famous people but without conscience. Furthermore, from the Qur'an, every human being gets the real light "*humans in darkness who are thick in the course of their destiny, need a true picture and a clear, not misleading view of vision (Holy Quran al-Baqarah: 78), mirage (Holy Quran An-Nur: 39), or confusion of Samiri which is fatal (Holy Quran Thaha: 96)*". Second, character identity and awareness will depend on the objective power that attracts us to respond and something other than ourselves. National identity always runs simultaneously and changes in renewing itself along with objective strength that increasingly runs. When we heroically uproot the New Order regime and go so far as entering reform, then we realize that the foundation of this nation's building is not strong enough to sustain the ever-increasing storm of globalization, to the extent that this generation of nation does not find itself proud children of the nation. When information flows are opened wide, television is not only a media talk show that is increasingly educating. But via television; violence, consumerism-hedonistic culture until political elite fights become drama and telenovela in the family room. The privacy issues of the characters are the spice of infotainment and gossip

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magazines. Finally television transformed into a "mental box" that forced generations to do what was shown, we finally could only become an imitative generation. Through cultural narratives reproduction carried out by the mass media, quickly entering family that are very privacy. In this context, the consumer community grew as a result capitalism transformation work proliferation of shopping centers such as shopping malls, fashion industry, culinary industry, luxury living areas, commercial advertisements of foreign brands, fast food and much more. The media has become the construction arena, deconstruction, and reconstruction of culture. Which then gave birth to new identities. The mass culture of rapid change, in the midst of a fast-paced mass culture that is a number of expressions about values, knowledge, norms and symbols, marking the dynamics of our society. The culture space, in which a lie, which is packed with attractive packaging can turn into a truth, a falsehood that is displayed through perfect sighting and imaging techniques, can appear as authenticity reconstructed through the astonishing complexity of technology and can be accepted as a reality [6]. Therefore, the prophetic paradigm is very urgent for efforts to develop national culture that it is more civilized [7]. There is a need for prophetic emancipatory action towards the national culture character which so far seems to be allowed to run wild without a clear direction. According to him, the appeal of prophetic awareness is likened to a manifestation of the birth of post westernism period, an era that seeks to respond to the failure of a very secularistic Western modernization mission which aims to carry out transformative steps in the field of national culture, namely taking back prophetic spiritualism which was once victorious in the era of traditionalism which was subsequently used to color the national culture which had been contaminated by dehumanize humans values. The hypothesis of the need for this type of technical intervention is at least related to two realities [1]. First, in theory, all the conceptions of culture that we have studied of value-free, neutral, do not have a bias towards the idea of building a religious national culture. Evidence about this statement can be seen about the definition of culture, cultural form, and cultural elements as written in various references. Secondly, practically, there is no mechanism for propheticism to participate in controlling cultural biases at the level and certain cases have actually ruined Indonesia's creativity, taste and national initiative to be like 'Satanic behavior' [1]. Prophetic ideals are derived from (*Holy Quran Al-Imran; 110*). That "*You are the best people who are born for humanity, calling on those who speak and prevent from being denied and believing in God*" By Kunto Wijoyo [8] translated into Humanization, Liberation and Transcendence. [1] Humanization is the process of human humanity, restoring human position to its nature, being the answer to dehumanization caused by advances in technology and information, humanism is a criticism of western humanism (anthropocentric humanism). [2] Liberation, offered by Kunto in the Prophetic Social Sciences is in the fields of economics, social, culture and politics. And [3] Transcendence. in the Prophetic Social Sciences it inspires and becomes the second Spirit of the elements of humanism and liberation. He became a principle in all perennial religions and philosophies. Independence is the key to believing in God. Transformation of these three views into prophetic national cultural identity, Parsons developed functional social and imperative actions theory to could survive [9-11], namely AGIL (Adaptation, Goal attainment, Integration, Latency). Based on

the AGIL, it can be translated as a regeneration function of political parties to carry out pattern maintenance (as an internal tool), integration (as an internal result), achieving objectives (as external results), adaptation (as an external tool). Generally, system components are prophetic national identity which is the final condition regeneration working of political parties. Furthermore, this article to answer the question about how does political parties institutionalization optimize the fundamental function of AGIL Scheme Talcott Parsons cultural system to transform prophetic identity in prophetic national culture transformation.

## 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

*Political Parties in Parsonian Landscapes* Political parties are social organizations that are present to influence; (1) elections to pass candidates in government members through direct placement of candidates by selective institutions, (2) government policies are based on several principles to reach agreement members majority. Party defined in terms of actors, actions, consequences (goals ) and the realm. Party is defined as responsibility exclusively for their functions, structure and both [12]. Political party as an organized group whose members have the same orientation, values and ideals [13]. The aim of this group is to obtain political power and seize the political position (usually) in a constitutional manner to carry out their policies. In implementing this policy, the qualitative stages need to be carried out (political recruitment and regeneration) by political parties in transforming their cadres which depart from an objective-theoretical understanding of Talcott Parsons' socio-cultural system that is "framed" with the prophetic movement as a new identity of national cultural security. This is where the regeneration of political parties develops a theoretical-methodological understanding of socio-cultural and political realities framed by prophetic understanding, namely by combining reason (Liberation-humanism) with revelation (Transcendence). The focus of Talcott Parsons is a theory includes actions and analysis of social systems. Parsons' phenomenal book, *The Structure of Social Action*, and *The Social System*. In his work, Parsons provides analytical differences between social systems and cultural patterns by integrating into these patterns. Parsons agrees to the unity of behavioral sciences, all of which are a study of living systems, Parsons trying to show; 1) that the system lives in and reacts to the environment, and 2) the system maintains organizational patterns and functions which are both different from the environment and in some cases more stable than the environment, therefore, emphasize living systems are open systems experience mutual exchange with their environment. The general characteristics exist in a living system are functional imperatives. There are certain functions or needs must be fulfilled by every living system for their preservation. Two important points included in this functional requirement are; 1) which relates to the internal system needs or system requirements when relating to the environment (internal-external axis); and 2) related to the achievement of the goals or objectives which is necessary to achieve (instrumental-consummatory axis). *Imperative Functional of Talcott Parson* Parsons develops four functional requirements coupled with all living systems [14], that the maintenance process refers to ensuring continuity problem of system actions in accordance with several rules or norms, coordination of integration and conformity of system parts that all functional, the problem of meeting system goals and setting

priorities among those goals depends on the pre-requisite goal attainment. Adaptation refers to system ability to guarantee what is needed from the environment and distribute these resources into the entire system [14] confirms that the four-function scheme is firmly embedded in every living system base at all organizational and developmental levels evolutionaries, from one-celled organisms to high human civilizations. Georg Ritzer [15] translates the functional imperative of AGIL; 1) adaptation, that a system must overcome a severe external situation, the system must adapt to the environment and adjust the environment to its needs; 2) goal attainment, a system must define and achieve its main objectives; 3) integration of a system must regulate the relationship between the parts that are components, the system must also manage the relationships between the three other important functions (A, G, L); 4) latency (or maintenance of patterns), a system must equip, maintain and improve, both individual motivation and cultural patterns that create and sustain motivation. The way Parsons uses the AGIL scheme can be exemplified in the chart as seen in Figure 1 [15].

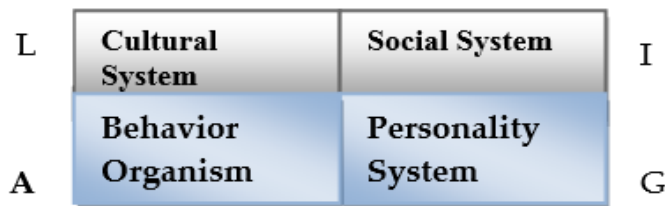


Figure 1. AGIL scheme of Talcott Parson

Behavioral organisms are systems of action that carry out adaptation functions by adjusting to changing the external environment. The personality system carries out the function of achieving goals by setting system objectives and mobilizing existing resources to achieve them. The social system overcomes the integration function by controlling the parts that are its components. And cultural systems carry out the function of maintaining patterns by providing actors and similar values that motivate them to act. Parsons provides a system of social levels analysis as a comprehensive form action system, the following scheme is an outline of the main levels in the Parsons scheme as in Figure 2 [15].

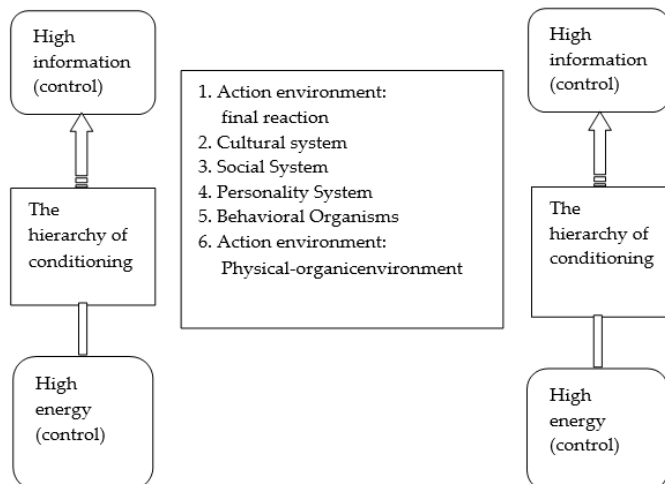


Figure 2. Parsons action scheme

Peter Hamilton [16] argues that the Parsonian Theory is divided into 3 phases; 1) Beginning Phase. This phase contains developmental stages of voluntaristic theory (the willingness) of social action compared to positivistic, utilitarian, and reductionist sociological views; 2) Second Phase. This phase contains his movement to free himself from the whims of social action theory which takes structural functionalism directions into action theory development very important needs; 3) Third Phase. This phase mainly deals with cybernetics (controlling electronics) of social systems and their preoccupation with empirical problems in defining and explaining social change. Thus Parsons's functionalism-structural approach can be assessed through the following basic assumptions; a) Systems have regular property and interdependent parts; b) Systems tend to move towards maintaining self-order or balance; c) Even though social integration can never be perfectly fulfilled, but fundamentally the social system always tends to move towards a dynamic balance; d) The nature of the part of a system affects the shape of the other parts; e) The system maintains boundaries with its environment; f) Allocation and integration are two fundamental processes needed to maintain the balance of the system; g) The system tends towards the maintenance of self-balance which includes maintaining boundaries and maintaining the relationship between parts and the whole system, controlling different environments and controlling the tendency to change the system from within. This assumption causes Parsons to place an order structure analysis of society at the top priority [15].

3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study conducted was using literature review of Talcott Parson perspective to analysis by descriptive method of political parties institutionalization in national prophetic culture transformation.

4. DISCUSSIONS

*Institutionalization of Political Parties; construction of the Prophetic National Cultural Movement* Observing the institutionalization process of political parties currently experiencing serious obstacles both at the center and in the regions, that the problem of institutionalizing parties in Indonesia at least includes aspects; 1) weak levels of competition between parties in a democratic manner; 2) institutionalization of problematic parties on party characters trapped in personal interests (self-interested), cursive, premature, polarized, bankrupt and ineffective; 3) institutionalization is hampered by weak party organizational structures, irregular and transparent funding, not autonomous, parties with a personalistic leadership style and reinforced by party internal factions. These three things, at least make the party trapped in the administrative bureaucracy of political parties and hence stagnate in the implementation of its functions. Pragmatism of this kind political party leads us to a number of critical questions. Is it possible that political parties will succeed in passing at the same time answering the problem of institutionalization and being able to build a new structure and culture of political parties that have a prophetic ethos and movement, the failure of political parties to make changes trapped in interests conflict such widespread political factions. expanded conflict of interest between actors was caused by the stagnation of of political parties institutionalization. Therefore, the idea of propheticism in

political parties institutionalization even though they are fairly new and religious, is deemed necessary in response to political parties pragmatism which are seen as dangerous for social and cultural structures continuity, because after all political parties and cadres have the power of rooting in society. Socialization and internalization of propheticism can be done through a program of prophetic national cultural movements, through political parties institutionalization, which are carried out continuously or systematically with the aim of supporting or opposing certain systems implementation of life - with prophetic values and norms. In the context of political parties, prophetic national cultural movements can be carried out through prophetic socialization, communication, education, and aggregation by optimizing the vertical party cadres. Vertically, the prophetic culture is able to enter the parliamentary space through cadres who have prophetic qualifications. whereas horizontal mobility is directed at empowerment or directly involved in manifestation substance prophetic emancipatory values of humanity. On that basis, propheticism becomes the main axis all party movements. He also became a characteristic behavior his activists in politics. Then the principles that reflect prophetic character are the basis and principle every political policy and its operational steps. Propheticism is not a false consciousness which is usually used by philosophers and social scientists in the form theories that are not truth-oriented but in the interests those who propagate it. Propheticism is not ideology in a neutral sense nor is it an unscientific belief. But propheticism is a movement that is humanized (which is more meaningful to *fitriyah insanियah*), transcendent and exatological. Propheticism as a political, social and cultural movement characterized Prophethood requires us to hold on to the simple rule that, no Prophet has come to establish the status quo, because prophetic motion in history is always a progressive movement for overall social change, especially in dimensions humanity's beliefs and morality. Prophets are humanitarian actors. Prophet *Ibrahim* (in Islamic) was a mirror of the mind revolution defeating blind traditions, the monotheistic revolution against idols (Holu Quran, al-Anbiya: 52-71). *Moses* reflected the liberation revolution against authoritarianism (Holy Quran, al-A'raf: 104-124; Thaha: 56-79). *Isa* is an example of the spirit revolution over the dominance of materialism (Holy Quran, Ali 'Imran: 50). And *Muhammad SAW* is a model for the poor, servants for total social change (overall), especially in the dimensions of faith and morality human. Therefore, propheticism in the context of institutionalization of political parties is absolutely necessary to do, namely by combining the context of humanization- incitement (*fitrah*), liberation and transcendence (*Tu'minunaBillah*). Borrowing *Mujtahid* propheticism can at least be classified into seven characters and described as follows. The *shidiq* character (honest). Prophetic leadership promotes moral integrity, only words and deeds, honesty, attitudes and ethical behavior. Honesty is transedental values that love and refer to the truth that comes from Allah (Siddiq) in thinking, acting, and acting. The behavior of the leader who is "*shiddiq*" (*shadiqun*) always bases on the truth of his beliefs, is honest and sincere, fair, and respects the truth that is believed by others that may differ from his beliefs, not feel himself or his righteous side. Trustworthy character. Prophetic leadership presents values that are responsible, trustworthy, reliable, guaranteed assurance and a sense of security, competence, professionalism in carrying out their leadership

duties. The character of responsibility, trustworthiness is the nature of leaders who always maintain the trust given by others. Trustworthy character can sharpen the inner sensitivity of a leader to be able to separate between personal interests and public/organizational interests. The character of *Tabligh*. Prophetic leadership uses communication skills effectively, has vision, inspiration and motivation far ahead. A leader needs communication and diplomacy with a language that is easily understood, practiced, and experienced by others (*tabligh*). The leader figure (such as the character of the prophet and the apostle) is very weighty, full of vision and inspiring others. *Fathanah* (smart) character. Prophetic leadership has intelligence, both intellectual, emotional and spiritual, creativity, sensitive to existing conditions and creating opportunities for progress. The leader must be smart, competent, and professional (*fathanah*). Leaders who refer to the nature of the prophet's *fathanah* are learner leaders, lessons from experience, confidence, meticulous, innovative but appropriate principles, right on target, committed to excellence, acting with high motivation, and aware that what is being done is to realize an ideal - together we will be achieved in ethical ways. *Istiqamah* character (consistent). Prophetic leadership prioritizes continuous improvement. *Istiqamah* leaders who are obedient (rules), diligent, disciplined, never give up, earnest, and open to change and development. *Mahabbah* character (love, affection). Prophetic leadership prioritizes the teachings of love (*mahabbah*) not hatred and coercion. The character of the prophetic leader always cares for morals and humanity, easily understands others/empathizes, likes to give selflessly (altruistic), loves all beings because of God, and is loved by his followers with very high loyalty. The character is pious (good, wise, wise). Prophetic leadership is a form of obedience to God and dedicates itself to piety, wisdom and virtue for its people. Obedience and piety of the prophets or apostles is guided by revelation and miracles from God. The character of piety/wisdom can give birth to a charismatic charm which is an inspiration from the divine, which radiates on skin surface, speech, radiance, attitude, action, and appearance. A pious leader has a complete quality of individual personality so that it causes others to sympathize, believe and adhere to what he wants. *Salih* leader means a leader who is recognized by followers, because of his obedience to God. *Optimization of AGIL for the Prophetic transformation Institutionalization of Political Parties* In Talcott Parsons's perspective, the action system will face four survival problems that is adaptation, goal-attainment, integration, and pattern of maintenance and tension management (latency). **First**, adaptation includes efforts to save (secure) sources in the environment, and then distribute them through existing systems. Every community is required to have the ability to mobilize every source in their environment so that the system can run well. Regarding the propheticism political parties institutionalization, there is an effort to safeguard the social sources of prophetic culture that exist in the community and then distribute these resources to members of the system so that the adaptation process runs smoothly. Adaptation is a process of externalization of citizens towards prophetic cultural norms and values into the institutions of political parties. In the socio-cultural system of the Indonesian people [1], prophetic cultural sources are still alive which can be reused. These sources include the system of togetherness, collectivism, altruism, mutual cooperation, tolerance (in Javanese tepo seliro), embarrassment of

showing genitals, beliefs about halal-haram, beliefs about the existence of life both in the world and in the hereafter, etc. Second, goal-attainment is related to efforts to set priorities among the objectives of institutionalizing existing political parties, for horizontal-vertical mobilization of all system resources to achieve that goal. Parsons said, The function of goal-attainment is to maximize the ability of the community to achieve their collective goals [9]. Therefore, political parties institutionalization in the context of prophetic national culture initiated here must also have a variety alternative objectives, whose priorities will then be chosen to establish a regeneration culture that is in accordance with prophetic values which are then integrated in national culture context. Furthermore, efforts must be made to mobilize the sources in the context of existing prophetic national culture to achieve the intended purpose. Moreover, the whole system must work to complement each other in the context of the political party's regeneration context, as well as the sub-systems that must coincide with cultural, educational, religious, linguistic, entertainment and mass media sub-systems that all uphold the values of propheticism. Third, integration is related to coordination and maintenance actions between existing system unit relationships. Parsons said, "In interactions there is very likely to be tension and conflict, therefore there needs to be ways of regulating relations between the parts of the existing system [10]. Community and cultural institutions, such as student organizations, education, and mass communication, have a contribution to the integration. Integration in relation political party institutionalization development of the prophetic national cultural context means an internal political party effort for institutions maturity and cadres in line with existing character of prophetic cultural system. Integration sub-systems related to this study, for example, sub-systems of youth organizations, political parties, student organizations (KAMMI, IMM, HMI, PMII, GMNI), and mosque sub-systems. Fourth, Latency, a system must equip, maintain and improve, both individual motivation and cultural patterns that create and sustain motivation. Maintenance of patterns related to efforts convince political party actors within the system to display the right characteristics, both those related to their motives, needs, and roles. The idea of institutionalizing political parties in the context of prophetic national culture will certainly create tensions, both among citizens and between institutional units of existing political parties. Therefore, resolution steps or management of existing tensions are needed, so that they can be optimized into positive things. The transformation of tension or conflict to become something functional for the system is based on the belief that conflict is a necessity that cannot be avoided. Latency can be done by sub-systems such as arts and cultural institutions, multicultural forums, families, etc. Political parties Institutionalization in prophetic national cultural context through *AGIL* Parsons, as described above, may be summarized in the explanation of institutionalization and sub-systems as in Table 1.

**Table 1. Summary of institutionalization and sub-systems explanations (developed from Parsons's *AGIL* concept)**

	<b>INSTRUMENTAL</b>	<b>AS A RESULT</b>
<b>EXTERNAL</b>	<p><b>Adaptation:</b> Regarding the propheticism of the institutionalization of political parties, there is an effort to safeguard the social sources of prophetic culture that exist in the community and then distribute these resources to members of the system so that the adaptation process runs smoothly. Adaptation is a process of externalization of citizens towards prophetic cultural norms and values into the institutions of political parties.</p>	<p><b>Achievement of objectives:</b> <b>Vertical horizontal mobilization of propheticism by maximizing system resources and sub-systems to achieve this goal.</b> <b>Among them: cultural, educational, religious, linguistic, entertainment and mass media sub-systems all of which must uphold the values of prophecy.</b></p>
<b>INTERNAL</b>	<p><b>Latency:</b> <b>Maintenance of patterns related to efforts to convince political party actors within the system to display the right characteristics, both those related to their motives, needs, and roles.</b> <b>Main sub-systems: arts and cultural institutions, multicultural forums, nuclear families, etc.</b></p>	<p><b>Integration:</b> <b>coordination and maintenance actions between relationships in the regeneration process</b> <b>Main sub-systems: youth organization sub-systems Political parties, student organizations (KAMMI, IMM, HMI, PMII, GMNI), mosque sub-systems, and so on.</b></p>

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

In analyzing social system, Parsons did not ignore the problem of relations between actors and social structures. He considered the integration of values and needs trends as dynamic sociological fundamental propositions. Therefore, the prophetic dominant value (Humanization, liberation and transcendence), socialized into a value system along with making indicators which include prophetic politician and prophetic transformation Indicators in horizontal-vertical mobility that work within the framework of *AGIL* regularity Talcott Parsons to form prophetic national culture. A person's desire to become a prophetic politician is an easy situation. It is not learning and intelligence just as a scholar or professor is needed. Like the *Prophet Muhammad*, they often feel conflict and anxiety, upset, and anxious when there are good conditions, which he feels with what is felt by the community. They are able to carry out social transformation, they are self-aware and socially conscious in the midst of a blurred period of their views on the world. They have a concern to raise people's awareness and become a driving force for social change towards a better direction. This kind of prophetic politician has several classifications, including; first, be aware of himself; second, be aware of social reality; third, be sensitive to social reality and can read and describe the structure and groups of interests in reality; fourth, caring about social reality as a follow-up of self-awareness, being aware of reality and sensitive then, a cadre has a concern, has a sense of responsibility as part of reality; fifth, real action as a response to social reality in the framework of a prophetic tradition exemplified by the Prophets to free his people. Action

characters are important nodes and cannot be separated because they are waiting for transformation.

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