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Social Mobility And New Form Of Social Stratification: Study In Sasak Tribe, Indonesia

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Abstract: In every society there is always inequality, and that inequality raises social stratification. So, there is no society without stratification or no classless society. In Sasak society inequality occurs not only in aspects related to economics but also inequality occurs in cultural aspects. In this study, it will be discussed about the imbalance of Sasak people in terms of cultural aspects and patterns of mobility in the community. The in-depth interview method is used to gather information about stratification and mobility in the Sasak community. In-depth interviews were conducted with cultural figures and Sasak community leaders who were well versed in the culture of the community. The results of this study indicate that the Sasak community in terms of culture has three social stratifications; *perwangse*, *triwangse*, and *jajarkarang*. The stratification is identical to the type of social caste (caste) in Indian society, but social mobility in Sasak society is not as rigid/closed as in India. Mobility can occur from the upper classes to the lower classes, but mobility cannot occur from the lower classes to the upper classes. This mobility forms a new layer in Sasak society.

Index Terms: Culture, Sasak tribe, stratification, social mobility.

1 INTRODUCTION

In a society, there is always inequality, and inequality is a necessity. From this inequality, social stratification is formed. Inequality is a cause of social coating "[1], [2], [3], [4]". So, it can definitely be said that there are no equal societies and no unstructured societies "[2]". So far, there have been many studies on social stratification with a different focus of study. At the beginning of the industrial revolution, studies on social stratification were more focused on economic aspects/sources of material inequality, but since the 1990s studies of social class/social stratification have focused more on social and cultural factors as causes of inequality "[5]". Which includes the sources of social and cultural inequality are ethnic and gender "[6]". The study of social stratification of the Sasak community is a study related to the source of inequality derived from cultural factors, especially related to values. The Sasak people are the largest community (90%) who inhabit the island of Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia. The Sasak tribe is a native inhabitant of the island since centuries ago "[7], [8]". Like other tribes in Indonesia, the Sasak tribe has different cultural characteristics from other tribes. The culture of the Sasak tribe contains social values that reflect the social life order in the community. In addition, Sasak culture also describes the social life dimensions of the Sasak tribe, especially those relating to the social status and social stratification of the community. These characteristics are referred to as "cultural identity" (culture identity) "[9]". The difference in status and social stratification in Sasak society can be seen from the use of the titles "Lalu and Raden" for men, "Baiq and Dende" for women which are inherent in the name of someone who is said to be descended from the Sasak aristocrats "[8], [7]".

The use of these titles is the basis for many people classifying the status and social stratification of the Sasak tribe into two major stratifications, there are Lord and Jajarkarang. The division of social stratification of the Sasak people as above is not representative. Therefore, it cannot be said as an appropriate and standard form of social stratification of the Sasak people. The category of stratification of Sasak people like that would be more appropriate when viewed from the cultural aspect because their status is clearly depicted in their performances. Exploring the social stratification of the Sasak people from the cultural aspect will be able to provide an actual, clear and detailed explanation. There are several research results and books that explain the culture of the Sasak tribe, including research conducted by Wadi "[10]", Suparno "[11]", and books written by Suwondo "[12]", and Zakaria "[9]". From some of the results of these studies and books, no one has revealed in detail the social stratification and social mobility of the Sasak people from a cultural perspective. This article will discuss in detail and in full the social stratification and social mobility of the Sasak people from a cultural perspective. This study is important to provide a true explanation of the stratification and patterns of mobility in traditional Sasak society. In addition, this discussion will enrich the scope of social science because it gives rise to a new form of social mobility in caste society that is different from the forms of social mobility that we have encountered so far. The results of studies like this are also important for enriching material in social science learning "[13]".

2 CONTEXT AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Social Stratification

Sorokin "[14]" defines social stratification as a form of grouping population or society into classes hierarchically. The grouping is based on differences that occur in society and becomes the basis for the formation of hierarchy "[4]". Social stratification is a permanent and common characteristic in every society that lives regularly. The coating will occur naturally along with a lot or a little, high or low differentiation found in the community. Differentiation that occurs is caused by social inequality in society which is a universal characteristic in every human

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community "[15]". Inequality gives rise to social class and according to Clark & Lipset "[5]", social class is the key to social stratification. So, there is no society without differences between individuals "[19]". These differences give birth to different statuses and then form stratification in society "[2], [4]". Social stratification is very important because it causes the community to overcome their limitations. If everyone has something in common then the metabolism of social life cannot work, because everyone will walk on their own. Theoretically, according to Soekanto "[17]" the higher the level of differentiation, the more visible the social stratification. Conversely the less the level of differentiation in a society, the simpler its social stratification. The occurrence of social stratification in society is caused by humans clinging to values. Every person who has something of value then that person increasingly is respected the function and position in society. Anything that has value can cause everyone to be respectable. This is called social status. Something that is valued can be in the form of wealth, knowledge, religious piety, and ancestry or lineage "[18]". Social stratification found in society has two characteristics, there are first, close social stratification. Social stratification in this context is rigid and at the same time limits the possibility of a person to move from one layer to another. Stratification like this occurs in caste or feudal society. Second, open social stratification. In this stratification system, it is possible to move social strata from the lower layer to the higher social layer, or vice versa from the high social layer to the lower social layer. This occurs in the factors forming social stratification that can change, such as the economy and position "[18]". Social stratification can be assessed from three approaches, there are social stratification based on economic, socio-cultural, and political criteria "[4], [6]". Viewed from economic criteria, social stratification can be classified into three categories, namely; (1). upper economic class, (2). middle economic class, and (3). lower economic class. Viewed from the social criteria, the formation of social stratification is highly dependent on the socio-cultural aspects of the kinship system of a community. Whereas in terms of political criteria, social strata emphasize more on the power aspect. This means that stratification is determined by position. In general, social stratification can be grouped into three categories, there are; (1). upper class, (2). middle class, and (3). Lower class "[16], [17]". The division of social stratification is then regrouped in more detailed layers; the upper classes are grouped into three levels; (1). upper layer (UCu) (2). intermediate layer (UCm), and (3). lower layer (ACI). The middle class is also classified into three levels; (1). upper layer (MCu), (2). intermediate layer (MCm), and (3). lower layer (MCI). Similarly, the lower class is grouped into three levels; (1). upper layer (LCu), (2). intermediate layer (LCm), and (3). lower layer (LCI). The formation of a social layer into complex stratification is caused by complex variations in society. Sanderson "[19]" explains the more complex the level of a difference the more complex stratification in society. And vice versa, the simpler the level of difference in society, the simpler the social stratification of society. In addition, there are two patterns of acquisition of social status by someone who forms social stratification, namely; achieved social stratification and ascribed social stratification, consisting of caste and ethnic stratification "[15]". In the social layer, mobility can occur, upward mobility and downward mobility "[16]". But in caste and feudal societies, generally, mobility cannot occur as in India and Bali "[20]".

2.2 Sasak Culture

The Sasak tribe is an indigenous tribe inhabiting the island of Lombok, Indonesia and it is the majority ethnic group ($\leq 90\%$) who inhabit the island "[7] [8]". According to Goris "[21] [8]". Etymologically the word "sasak" comes from the words "sah" which means "going" and "saka" which means "ancestor". So "sasak" means to go to the ancestral land of Sasak people. He predicts that the ancestors of Sasak people come from Java. This can be seen from the Sasak writing, called "jejawer", Javanese script which is completely receiptified by Sasak literature. Like other tribes in Indonesia, in the Sasak community also found what is called "adat" or can be called "sasak custom" which is a custom of the Sasak tribe carried on for generations as a form of creations, works, and initiatives from Sasak people. Adat is a habit that is carried from generation to generation in a particular community, maintained, carried out, and adapted to the development of the times "[11]". So, Sasak custom is a habit that has been carried down from generation to generation by the Sasak people, maintained, and held in high esteem by everyone in the Sasak community. Adat covers all aspects of life, such as imagery of cuisine, architecture, fashion, speech, and symbolic trinkets "[7]". One form of Sasak custom is "sorongserah aji krame" which is related to marriage. In the marriage procession in Sasak tribe, we will be found a customary procession that is quite unique and interesting. The series of marriage processions in the Sasak tribe starts from a man running away a woman to be made a wife, *sejati*, *selabar*, marriage contract, *sorongserah* and *nyongkolan* "[11]". *Merarik* means to marry, to take a woman to be legally a wife by a man. *Merarik* is usually only possible after an agreement between a man and a woman to bind themselves in a legitimate family bond. But in the Sasak tribe, *merarik* can also occur on the basis of coercion called "Negok". In Sasak society, *merarik* must be done secretly or stolen, not allowed to ask. The taking of a woman by being stolen is more honorable than being requested. This is caused by the assumption of the Sasak people who consider only objects that can be requested "[7], [8]". After a woman was rushed to be married, one day later, the bridegroom's family went to tell the bride's family that her child had been taken for marriage. This is called "*sejati*". *Sejati* aims to inform the bride's family so that they know with whom their child is marrying. After the *sejati* is done, a few days later the bridegroom family will do "*Selabar*". *Selabar* aims to talk about the follow-up of marriage. In this procession will be discussed about *aji krame*, guarantees, the request of the bride's parents, and the time of the marriage contract. If the bridegroom agrees to all the conditions proposed by the bride, then at that time the marriage contract can be determined "[22]". The stages of *merarik* which are considered the most sacred in the Sasak tradition are *sorongserah* events. *Sorongserah* is a procession that allows the bridegroom's and bride's family to meet, including the bridal couple and the bride's family. If the family of the bride deliberately meets, a customary fine will be imposed. The essence of the *sorongserah* is the delivery of customary rituals by the bridegroom to the bride's family. *Aji krame* which is also called "*aji krame ning ndat*" is given in the form of money and symbols (goods) which indicate the price of the bride who must be paid at the time *sorongserah* takes place. The large *adat aji* given shows the level of the social status of the bride's family. Everyone will have a different *aji krame* and customary procession procedures. This depends

on the social status inherent in his family "[22] [7]". Therefore, through *aji krame* we can find out the social status of someone. This can be used as a basis for classifying social stratification in the community..

3 METHOD

This research is descriptive qualitative because the data are verbalistic taken through interviews and analyzed descriptively. The focus of this research is to uncover the social layer and social mobility in the Sasak tribe in a cultural context, specifically relating to marriage culture. The technique used in determining research informants is snowball sampling "[23]". The informants in this study are traditional leaders and community leaders who understand well about Sasak culture. Data collection in this study was conducted using in-depth interview techniques "[24]". Interview techniques that have been used are unstructured interviews. With this data collection technique, complete and in-depth information about Sasak culture has been obtained. Data analysis techniques that have been used are interactive models proposed by Miles and Huberman "[25]". There are three stages of data analysis that must be carried out in this model, that is; data condensation consisting of selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting and transforming data, data display consisting of organizing and compacting descriptions/installations, and conclusion drawing/Verification "[26]".

4 FINDINGS

To find out the social stratification of the Sasak people from a cultural perspective, it can be traced from class categories, titles/subcategories class, symbols (*aji krame* and custom clothing), and customary processions. From class categories and titles/subcategories, an overview of the stratification of Sasak people can be seen in the table below;

Tabel 1. Class Categories and Titles/Subcategories Class

Class Categories		Titles/Subcategories Class
Perwangse class	(upper)	Raden (nobleman) Lalu (nobleman)
Triwangse class	(midle)	Perbape
Jajarkarang class	(lower)	Buling Bangse Jajarkarang

As for the views of cultural symbols (*aji krame* and custom clothing) and customary processions revealed to share differences that indicate the existence of social coating on the Sasak people. These differences are illustrated in the table below;

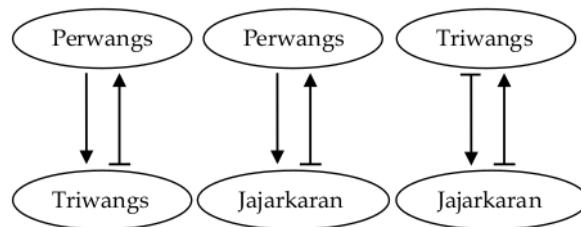
Table 2. Sasak Indigenous Symbols and Processions

Aspect	Status/Social Stratification	Description
Aji krame	1. Raden	1. Aji adat 100, nampak lemah 40, olen 60, pemegat 20.
	2. Lalu	2. Aji adat 66, nampak lemah 33, pemegat selakse samas, olen 33.
	3. Perbape	3. Aji adat 33, nampak lemah 20, pemegat selakse
	4. Buling Bangse	4. Aji adat selakse,

		pemegat doang tali.
	5. Jajarkarang	5. Aji adat 7 samas, pemegat samas
Custom clothing	1. Perwangse	1. Dodotan is used by nobleman (the lower left end is higher than the lower right end)
	2. A man from Perwangse vs a women from Triwangse or Jajarkarang	2. Bebetan (wrap a cloth around the waist).
	3. A man from Triwangse or Jajarkarang vs a women from Perwangse	3. Dodotan straight down the thigh.
	4. Triwangse	4. Dodotan straight down the thigh.
	5. Jajarkarang	5. Beleot (wrap the fabric around the waist at a width smaller than the bebetan).
Customary processions	1. Perwangse	1. Pembayun using Penyolo (representative), Penyorong a minimum of 40 people for Raden and 33 people for Lalu
	2. Triwangse	2. Pembayun using Penyolo, Penyorong 13 or 20 people
	3. Jajarkarang	3. Penyorong enough from government officials (hamlet head, neighborhood association or citizen association)

As for social mobility in the Sasak community, it can only occur from perwangse to triwangse and to jajarkarang groups. Mobility cannot occur from triwangse to perwangse, jajarkarang to triwangse and to perwangse. The mobility model can be illustrated in the scheme below;

Gambar 1: Mobility in Sasak Tribe



Information

→ Mobility occur

⊢→ Mobility can't occur/close

The occurrence of social mobility from the upper layer (perwangse) to the middle layer (triwangse) and to the lower layer (jajarkarang) is caused by several factors, namely; First, if men from the perwangse group marry women from the

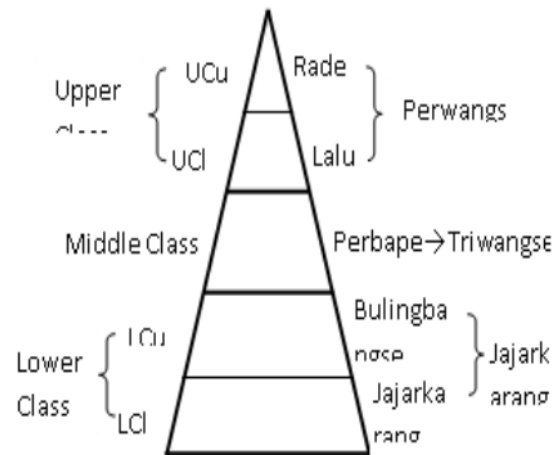
triwangse and jajarkarang classes, their social status and stratification will go down to that level, and their offspring may no longer use the titles used by their parents. Second, if women from the perwangse group are married to men from the triwangse or jajarkarang groups, then their social status and stratification will follow the husband's social status and stratification. Third, if men perwangse groups impregnate women from the same layer or layers below before marriage, then their social status and stratification go down to the ranks of the jajarkarang.

5 FINDINGS

5.1 Social Stratification of the Sasak Community

Social stratification occurs because of the disparity between individuals in society "[19]". These differences give rise to social status for each individual. These statuses, according to Weber "[27]", are a source of inequality and are determinants of social stratification in society. Soekanto "[17]" revealed the occurrence of social stratification is caused by the many differences in society. In Sasak society, there are many inequalities between individuals which indicate social stratification in that society. These differences are related to the use of titles, symbols (traditional clothing and aji krame), and customary processions. The sense of culture is a marker of differences in social status in society "[28]" including in the Sasak community. Judging from the class categories and class titles/subcategories, symbols, and customary processions of the Sasak people, the Sasak people are "caste" communities and their social stratification is fixed and certain. This can be seen from the classification of classes into three layers, namely; perwangse, triwangse, and jajarkarang. Those included in the perwangse layer are "Raden and Lalu" for men and "Dende and Baiq" for women. Those included in the triwangse layer are "Perbape". While those who are included in the jajarkarang layer are "Buling Bangse and Jajarkarang". The title "Perbape, Buling Bangse, and Jajarkarang" is not embedded in the name, while the title "Raden and Lalu" is written as the first name. This class division is synonymous with social coating in India and Bali. In India social stratification consists of 4 layers, namely; Brahmin, Satria, Vaishya, and Shudras. In Bali, social stratification is evident from the use of the title "Ida Bagus, Gusti, Pasek, and Dauh" "[20]". The acquisition of social status in the Sasak community is the same as the acquisition of social status in other caste societies, obtained through descent (birth-ascribed) "[15]". In addition, the social layer configuration of the Sasak community is identical to the configuration of the social layer put forward by experts who divide social stratification into "upper class, middle class, and lower class" "[16], [17]". Each class is divided into smaller layers. The configuration of the social stratification of the Sasak community can be explained as follows; First, the "perwangse" class is the top class which has two layers, Raden (upper class-upper/UCu) and Lalu (upper class-lower/UCI). This social class has a limited number and is the least compared to other classes. Second, the "triwangse" class is an intermediate class consisting of only one layer, Perbape. This social class has more numbers than the Perwangse class. Third, the "jajarkarang" class which consists of two layers, Buling Bangse (lower class-upper/LCu) and Jajarkarang (lower class-lower/LCI). This class has the most amount in social stratification of the Sasak people. The configuration of the

social stratification of the Sasak community above can be illustrated as follows;



Gambar 2: Social Stratification of Sasak

5.2 Social Mobility in the Sasak Society

In Sasak society, new patterns of social mobility are found that are different from the patterns of social mobility that have existed before. During this time it was revealed that in caste and feudal society, mobility could not occur/stiff "[29], [3]". Likewise with the division of types of social stratification, so far only two types of social stratification are known, open social stratification and closed social stratification "[18]". Unlike the theory above, in Sasak society, social mobility is not rigid/social mobility can occur, but it is limited. Mobility can occur only from the upper class (perwangse) to the middle class (triwangse) and lower class (jajarkarang). Mobility cannot occur from the lower class (jajarkarang) to the middle class (triwangse) and to the upper class (perwangse), and mobility cannot also occur from the middle class (triwangse) to the upper class (perwangse). This pattern of mobility by Saunders "[16]" is referred as "downward mobility". Based on this mobility pattern, the type of social stratification in Sasak society is "semi-open stratification". Semi-open stratification is a type of social stratification that allows limited mobility from upper class to middle class and lower class. Thus, social mobility in feudal and caste societies is not always rigid, but limited mobility can occur. Likewise, the nature of social stratification can not only be grouped into two categories, open social stratification and closed social stratification "[18]", but there is a third-social stratification, semi-open stratification. Based on the research findings, mobility in traditional Sasak society is due to unequal inter-class marriages. This is consistent with the explanation put forward by McDoom "[30]" that marriage between classes shows the presence of status mobility. Because of the cultural realities in Sasak society like that, the existence of upper-class groups (perwangse) is threatened. That is why parents from the upper class (perwangse) forbid their children to marry women from lower social classes.

6 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

6.1 Conclusion

Social stratification in the Sasak community can be seen from the categories of classes, titles, symbols and customary processions of the community. From that point of view, social stratification in Sasak society is grouped into three layers; perwangse (upper class), triwangse (middle class), and jajarkarang (lower class). Upper class (perwangse) consists of two layers; the upper layer (Raden) and the lower layer (Lalu). The lower class (Jajarkarang) also consists of two layers; the upper layer (Buling Bangse) and the lower layer (Jajarkarang). The middle class (triwangse) does not have sub-layers. Mobility in the Sasak community can only occur from the upper class to the classes below it, mobility cannot occur from the lower classes to the classes above. This mobility shows that mobility in a caste and feudal society is not always rigid/closed. In addition, from the mobility model, a new nature of social stratification is found, namely "semi-open stratification". Semi-open stratification is social mobility that is limited and unidirectional, only occurs in the Perwangse class. So, the nature of social stratification is not only open and close stratification, but also semi-open stratification.

6.2 Recommendation

From the conclusions above it is necessary to do a deeper study of the patterns and forms of social change in the existing tribes, especially in the Sasak tribe. It is hoped that a deeper study can reveal new facts about social life. In addition, all people need to pay more attention to the culture that exists in each country, so that the nation's culture can be sustainable.

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