

Remo celebration in *Blater* community: traditional ritual communication in Madura cultural transformation

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Abstract This study aimed to find the purpose of communication ritual within *Remo* of the *Blater* community in Madura, which helped to maintain traditions in the Madurese society. *Remo* celebration has existed in Madura for generations, since the Dutch colonisation era until now. This research employed the descriptive qualitative method. The informant of this research was the *Blater* communities in Bangkalan and Sampang districts as *Remo* performers. The methods of analysis were observations, in-depth interviews, and primary data collected from field research. We concluded that *Remo* in Madura, especially in Bangkalan Regency, still exists despite the rapid influence of global culture and information technology. *Remo* as a celebration tradition in Bangkalan Regency is a face-to-face ritual communication with symbolic power and as well as a ritual media for the *Blater* community in Madura. *Remo* celebration exists as a traditional medium of ritual communication to build a good relationship in the Madurese *Blater* community. In terms of local cultural values, *Remo* has a positive impact that contributes to the existence of the local tradition of Madura.

Keywords: *Remo*; *Blater community*; ritual communication

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INTRODUCTION

Madura Island is always in high demand as an object of research by the outside community. It is famous for its unique politics, economy, social-culture, nature, and even culinary. It is evident in several studies that have been conducted on the Madurese customs, including Madura 2020 book on politics, economics, social culture, Madurese women, tourism, and even culinary (Azhar & Surokim, 2018).

On the other hand, there still exist negative stereotypes of Madurese culture and society by outsiders, mainly because of safety and *Carok* culture. In *Carok* there are some people, including *Blater*, who are expected to find the problem solution between two parties. The *Blater* community often holds incidental celebration with diverse objectives. One of the celebrations is *Remo*. *Remo* celebration was chosen as the object of research because it is the Madurese local tradition conducted mostly by men to show off their prestige and social status. Historically, *Remo* has been celebrated before Indonesia's independence. The *Remo* celebration is a mark of the social status and specific class in Madurese society, especially in rural areas. Indeed, the *Remo* celebration is fascinating because of its persistent existence amid modernisation and rapid development of information technology.

A *Blater* is someone who is well-known for his social life or has extensive connections. There are *Blater* communities in Madura which consist of several groups of *Blater* from different regions of Madura, such as Bangkalan, Socah, and Arosbaya. In Madurese society, a *Blater* is a respected individual and is regarded as an influential strongman in his area. *Blater* usually has many friends, both in the villages, districts, or even regency/cities areas. Apart from that, *Blater* is also considered the village elder (Surokim & Allivia, 2018).

A research conducted by Dharmawan & Mutiah (2017) entitled "Madurese Cultural Communication Approach" revealed that Madurese are a tribe whose cultural entities are influenced by ecological and community aspects. Therefore, studies on Madura culture cannot be separated from community relations and ecological aspects that shape the characteristics of Madura culture. Madurese often get negative stereotypes. Some of the popular negative stereotypes given to Madurese include stubbornness and *Carok* or murder as a way of solving problems. For some Madurese, especially those who live in rural areas, death is a better choice than living with shame all their lives. This is in line with one of the famous sayings in Madura, "*etembhang pote mata angó an apotea tolang*" (Rifa'i, 2007). On the positive note, Madurese are also often stereotyped to be inclusive, religious, and hard-working. However, assessing Madurese culture cannot be based on just one event and focusing on aspects of its violence. However, it must be treated as a whole entity to obtain information and perceptions that are more actual related to the characteristics of Madurese people.

In addition, the violence inherent in Madurese culture is also associated with Madurese as 'Carok people' or fighters. In fact, in

researching Madurese culture, it should not ignore the Carok violence that occurred in Madura because Carok is indeed a unique social phenomenon in the Madurese community. However, not everything about Madura must be related to Carok. *Carok* is not a culture, but conflicts are caused by crossings of self-esteem, which are usually related to the election of village chiefs and Remo. Remo celebrations usually include *Ludruk* and Madura dance entertainment (Dharmawan et al., 2018).

Remo is a celebration for *Blater* and at the same time also functions as a social gathering. A guest must give money (*bhubuwan*) to the host. Moreover, vice versa, when the guests become the hosts, they will receive money from the previous hosts and other guests. In this case, *Remo* may have financial benefits for the hosts. However, that does not mean the host will be rich from hosting Remo. In principle, as a guest, a person must give more money to the host (who was a guest at the previous Remo event) than he had previously received (*ngampong*) (Pribadi, 2015).

In Remo celebrations, all guests are men. This is an attraction for researchers to investigate and learn the meaning behind the tradition. It should also be noted that the island of Madura is famous for its majority Muslim population, but it still seems to have practices that demonstrate the wealth and self-worth of the *Blater* community. Similar observations were also discussed in the research titled "*Carok* and Sowing Charisma Reaping Power" (Bustami, 2014; Abdul Rozaki, 2004). The *Remo* celebration in the Madurese community has been practised for a long time for generations. *Remo* celebration is often only held by a particular class, especially among the *Blater*. *Remo* is a reflection that the Madurese society has its own solidarity level. *Remo* celebration is usually carried out by elected village chiefs or influential community leaders.

For Madurese, the *Blater* has several other names in different areas, for example, *bajingan* (strongman) in the Pamekasan and Sumenep areas. *Remo* celebration is also a gathering of Madurese people that shows the existence of a *Blater*. Besides, this tradition is also a reflection of friendship and means of deliberation for people or groups in dispute. *Remo* has different names in different areas in Madura. For example, in the Pamekasan and Sumenep areas, *Remo* is called *Sandur* Madura, while in Bangkalan and Sampang areas it is called *Remo* Madura. Although it has different names, its features and performances remain the same.

Tradition is proof of the existence of a social group. If the traditions carried out by certain social groups begin to fade, then it can be said that these groups are becoming extinct. Because of this, many performers carry out the traditions of certain groups in order to maintain their existence. The tradition that develops among the *Blater* community is a combination of fulfilling personal interests by using the potential in the surrounding environment.

The *Remo* celebration in the *Blater* community has existed since the Dutch colonisation era (at that time, Madurese strongmen were called *Ke' Lesap*) and is a heritage of the Madurese ancestors. The *Remo* celebration is more widely known in western Madura (Sampang and Bangkalan). Such a party is a meeting place for *Blater* from all corners of Madura island or even Java island. The *Remo* celebration that has emerged and is rooted in Madura island is also developing in urban communities. This tradition continues to exist in the heterogeneous Madurese society. Madurese who are migrants or live on other islands often gather in groups or communities to interact and look for another Madurese.

Namiki (2016) conducted dissertation research which argued that the *Maranao* and *Kalingga* dance performances were a form of resistance and compromise from the local community. Furthermore, the research also found that the Philippines dancers performed the ritual to exhibit the identity of the *Maranao* and *Kalinga* regions. The methodology used in Namiki research was ethnography. The research also revealed that local culture and society could survive and control national unity and integration as well as becoming a local cultural identity. *Maranao* and *Kalingga* dance performances show that local culture and the artists' cultural authority succeed in fighting for and regaining nationalism performances (Namiki, 2016).

Remo celebration is expected to foster a sense of brotherhood among the *Blater* champions who have the same background, ancestors, and goals. Therefore, through *Remo*, *Blater* strongmen can strengthen their ties of friendship and brotherhood, both within their own groups and with different groups.

Various interactions observed in *Remo* celebration can measure the closeness between *Blaters* in various groups. How interaction and communication inside or outside *Remo* become a tool to maintain the existence of *Blaters* is worth examining. *Blaters* can never be separated and has become an essential element in the materialistic world. In the *Remo*, there is Sandur show. It is a part of the Madurese celebration. Sandur is a traditional Madurese gamelan group consisting of *Gamelan*, *Saronen*, and *Kejhungan* (Madurese songs), and dancers called *Lengge'*. Sandur is always performed live, never recorded. Uniquely, *Lengge'* is performed by male dancers dressed in women's kebaya (traditional wardrobe).

In the Madurese society, there is a *Blater* community that still survives along with its professions and activities. One of the traditions still routinely held by *Blater* community is *Remo*. It is done for specific purposes. This tradition is intriguing for the researchers to study further because, amid modern and contemporary lifestyle, *Remo* still exists in Madurese society. This research is distinctive from previous researches conducted by other researchers.

The *Remo* cultural phenomenon needs to be investigated because, amid the popular religious community of Madura, such tradition still

exists a form of cultural ritual full of verbal and non-verbal interactions. There are several elements in *Remo*, the hosts, the dancers (*Lengge'*), and the guests (audience). Besides, *Remo* cannot be held by all classes of the community. Only certain classes can hold such ritual in certain areas for specific purposes. Common people would not be able to afford to host *Remo* because, in every other celebration where they are not the host, they have to give a significant amount of money to the host (between two to ten million Rupiah)

Ritual traditions both abroad and in Indonesia have been widely studied before. Among others are Basu (2017) who studied ritual communication and Mulyana (2017) who studied the *Sekaten* tradition. Mulyana's research was entitled "*Sekaten* tradition: The Ritual Ceremony in Jogjakarta as Acculturation Reality of Javanese Culture in Indonesia" published in Journal of Humanities and Social science Studies. Ritual communication is part of interpreting a symbol. It is always associated with habit or routine. Meanwhile, Couldry defined ritual as a habitual action and a formal action containing transcendental values. By considering these views, it can be understood that ritual is related to voluntary performances (based on habits) performed by the community for generations and is concerning patterned behaviour. This ritual aims to interpret the symbols of influence in social life (Manafe, 2011).

In Western culture, existing rituals shift from traditional to dynamic, active, and individualistic space. Therefore according to Wojtkowiak et al. (2018), spirituality is categorised into contemporary and non-religious. The results of this study are a clarification of the term 'non-religious celebrations' and core competencies for rituals in plural societies. It is similar to the ritualization in the *Remo* celebration in Madura. However, *Remo* is a traditional form of ritual in the *Blater* community in Madura.

Dissertation research conducted by (Wiyata, 2002) revealed that *Remo* was held throughout the year, except during the fasting month (Ramadan). The *Remo* culture is different from another Madurese ritual called the *To' Oto'*. *Remo* is associated with rituals surrounding the circle of human life (*rite de part*), for example, marriage, birth, and circumcision. It was held to celebrate the body (*nylameddi* badan). In addition, *Remo* is also aimed to raise money, have fun, or celebrate (Wiyata, 2002).

Wiyata (2002) research put more emphasis on *Remo's* relationship within power relations or the mobilisation of the *Blater* community for local politics. For example, the late Bangkalan regent, Ra Fuad held a *Remo* celebration in 2013. At that time, he invited the *Blaters* throughout Bangkalan in the *Remo* celebration at the front of the Bangkalan Stadium. The purpose of such activity was to celebrate Ra Fuad's son, Ra Momon, marriage and political campaign. Ra Momon ran for the office of Bangkalan Regent in the 2013-2018 period. That *Remo*

celebration invited various Madurese society leaders and the East Java Regional Police Chief at the time.

A research conducted by Amirul (2016) examined the communication patterns of the elite *Blater* community in Klampis District, Bangkalan Regency. *Remo* is one of the Madura traditions that continue to be carried out by the Madurese society, especially the *Blaters*. Aside from being an *abhubu* (gathering) activity, the *Remo* celebration also doubles as a means of communicating and exchanging ideas. The *Remo* celebration includes many performances:

Figure 1. *Remo* in January 2020



Source: Author Documentation (2020)

Figure 2. *Remo* Madura



Source: Author Documentation (2020)

During *Remo* celebration, each *Blater* (the men wearing black and *odheng Madura*) would be summoned one by one to present their money (*abhubu*) to be counted by the note-taker in front of the host (Figure 1). Then, the *Blater* danced (*atandhang*) with *Lengge'* (the two male dancers who wear women kebaya) while tucking the money into the

Lengge's underwear (Figure 2). The richer the *Blater* is, the more money he will give to the host and *Lengge'* dancer.

Several activities are carried out by the *Remo* performer (usually the *Blater* community). The *Remo* celebrations are held at a house and invite guests from various areas. One ritual example in *Remo* is *abubhu*. *Abubhu* is similar to '*arisan*,' but the money (*abubhu*) is gifted to the host who hosts the *Remo*. Later, if the *Remo* is held by someone else, the *abubhu* will be given to the person who issued the invitations. Usually, in the *Remo* celebration, there is music, and a dance called *tandheng*. In essence, *Remo* is held to increase connections and as a gathering.

Community members discussed many things during the *Remo* celebration. The information provided by these members will be taken into consideration in carrying out people's daily lives. Those who convey information in *Remo* are called the communicators. They are the people who have news and deliver it during *Remo*. Other *Blaters* listen to the information and act as communicants. The communicator is not always the community leader or village chief (*klebun*). All members convey information is called communicator. However, all forms of decision-making remain in the hands of the chief *Blater*, *Blater* elders, village elders, and influential members of the community, such as village chiefs.

Rozaki (2004) conducted another research on the power relation between Muslim clerics (*Kiai*) and *Blater* in Madura. His research discussed the social images of the Madurese society as a religious community and the position a *Kiai* takes within such a society. However, it was little known that there was another striving social power in Madurese society, which is the *Blater* tradition (Rozaki, 2004).

From the previous explanations, the researchers noted that there is an issue that has yet to be examined from the perspective of cultural communication. There is a hidden meaning that has not yet been explored, not only the relationship of power in the *Blater* community's identity, the celebration event itself calls for phenomenological studies. *Remo* celebration is not just held unconditionally. There are certain conditions for it, such as the songs played during the event, the *Sabrang*, *Blandaran*, *Malang Leke*, *Tek-tek*, *Puspo*, *Ramba'* and *Mateng* (Bustami, 2014).

There is a hidden purpose of the hosts in *Remo*. This research examined such purpose to study the symbolic and mythology in *Remo* celebration in Madurese society. Among the things studied in this research was how the *Remo* communicates the indigenous culture to the broader society. The *Remo* celebration is unique because all of its elements (the wardrobe, dances, gamelan, songs or '*ngejhung*,' and place setting) has a certain symbolic meaning which would be very interesting to be studied from the culture communication studies perspectives.

The focus of this research is the *Remo* ritual communication held in Bangkalan regency. Bangkalan was chosen because most *Remo*

celebrations could be found in Bangkalan district. Also, in Bangkalan, there are many *Blater* communities, so the *Remo* celebration is often held with various objectives, such as economic. Therefore, the researchers formulated the following research question: How does the meaning of *Remo* ritual communication in *Blater* Madura community maintain community culture?

Ritual communication has been widely studied in previous researches. Some of them were "Ritual Communication" by Basu (2017), and "Public Ritual Apology" by Kadar, Ning, & Ran (2018). However, Pierre (2017) viewed the ritual tradition as a non-verbal ritual communication. Other researches by Blue (2018) stated that communication in the dialogic and culture model has become more common in the past decade.

This ritual underlines the importance of theoretical and humanist approaches as a complement to empirical and instrumental studies of communication science. Peers (2017) explained how ritual theory is placed in this article. Cultural rituals form a cross-cultural examination of the meaning and form of rituals during the repatriation process. The novelty of this research is that the researchers want to show that the *Blater* community in Bangkalan uses *Remo* celebration to maintain traditional communication rituals and make friends through face-to-face interaction.

The purpose of this study was to examine the meaning of the ritual communication in *Remo* celebration by the *Blater* community in maintaining culture in the Madurese society. The researchers wanted to find out what were the influencers of modern socio-cultural transformation in *Remo* celebration tradition in the Madurese community that enables the tradition to survive in the current contemporary society. Many studies have contributed to the study of cultural ritual traditions in several countries, including Indonesia. However, only a small amount of research studies the *Remo* celebration as traditional ritual communication in Madura. In fact, in fact, *Remo* celebrations held by *Blater* communities in West Madura, especially in Bangkalan, have existed since the Dutch colonial era. Therefore, this article contributes to the study of communication of traditional Madurese cultural rituals in the current era of cultural transformation in a society that has been influenced by information and technology.

METHODOLOGY

This research was conducted with the descriptive-qualitative method with Husserl phenomenology approach (Smith, 2007). Data collection was carried out through observation during which the researchers actively participated in community activities at the study site. In this case, the researchers participated in the routines of the research subjects, observed the activities of the research subjects,

listened to stories about *Remo's* celebration traditions, and sought other information around the community for eight months. Then, the researchers conducted an unstructured interview with key informants to explore information and perceptions about the focus of the research to the fullest extent. In the interview, researchers used notebooks and recording tools to ensure smooth the interview process. Then, to support the quality of research results, researchers also conducted documentation studies, especially on books related to Madurese culture as well as various previous studies.

This research was conducted in Bangkalan Subdistrict, Socah Subdistrict, Arosbaya Subdistrict, Labang Subdistrict, Sepulu Subdistrict, and Tanjung Bumi Subdistrict in Bangkalan Regency for approximately ten months. Researchers chose this location because there is still an existing Blater community that carries on the tradition of Remo celebrations to this day.

The informants in this study were the leaders of *Blater* community, village chiefs (*klebun*), *Lengge'* dancers, and also community leaders who could provide information for this research. This research used the observation method with in-depth interviews on five key informants who were all *Remo* performer. The informants were Mr A as a caller, Mr D who owns a borehole business, Mr S who works as a warehouse keeper in Pete'an Surabaya, Mr T as a dancer and *Remo* performer, as well as the Arosbaya village chief (*klebun*).

Table 1. Research informants

Research Subject	Profession	Roles in <i>Remo</i>
Mr A	Occupational work (water gallon business)	Callers and note-takers since 1974
Mr T	Occupational work	Sandur dancers (<i>Lengge'</i>)
Mr D	Owner of a borehole business	Leader of the <i>Remo</i> group in Bangkalan
Mr S	Warehouse keeper in Pete'an Surabaya	Leader of the Bangkalan & Surabaya <i>Remo</i> group
Mr H. S	Village chief (<i>klebun</i>) in Bulung Arosbaya	<i>Remo</i> Activist
Mr M	Village chief (<i>klebun</i>) in Tramok village, Kokop Bangkalan sub-district	<i>Remo</i> Activist

Source: Research data

The researchers obtained the data on table 1 using participant observation methods when attending Remo celebration, as well as through in-depth interviews with research subjects.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Portrayal of Remo

The Madurese have different characteristics from other ethnic groups in Indonesia, especially from a socio-cultural perspective. In the social life of the community, they have various primary figures such as

rato, *priyayi*, and the prominent *Kiai* as the village social elite with a significant influence in the Madurese community. Not only them, but *Blater* is also considered as a social elite. The term *Blater* is ubiquitous, especially in western Madura, namely Bangkalan and Sampang (Graaf et al., 2001). The *Blater* community thrives in these areas, and still influences the social and cultural life of the Madurese community until today.

Blater is a person who has the *kanuragan* ability (magical ability) which is sometimes accompanied by immune and other magical abilities that increase his charismatic power. He also has good religious knowledge but is only limited to his own benefit. In fact, what stands out is his 'social' role as a strongman in the village (Rozaki, 2004).

Remo is a term in the Madurese community, especially the West Madura area, namely in Bangkalan and Sampang Regencies. *Remo* is a binding social gathering carried out by the *Blater* community. Based on our observations, *Remo* celebrations were often carried out, especially on the great month that began after Eid al-Fitr until Eid al-Adha. *Remo* usually begins at 23:00 until midnight, and not infrequently until after dawn. *Remo* celebrations guests consisted of various *Blater* groups in Madura each group represented a particular region or village.

Researchers found out that the *Remo* celebration has long been carried out by the *Blater* community. Many *Remo* actors carry this tradition from generation to generation, such as the village chiefs (*klebun*) in Madura. Only adult men participated in the *Remo*. Even if there were women involved, they only helped in the food catering.

Remo is a kind of social gathering for the *Blater* community in Madura. However, others argued that the event is called 'Aremo' which is a celebration organised by certain people (the strongmen) with a series of events and traditional dances. Meanwhile, the main event is a chain gathering to raise substantial funds in a short time (Maharani, 2015).

Remo is one of Madurese tradition which aims to strengthen the community's friendship ties. *Remo* can be assumed as an activity to mark a situation in the family by bringing in relatives, family, neighbours, and friends. *Remo* and *Blater* are an inseparable unit because one can only get recognition as a *Blater* in a *Remo* event or culture that only exists in the *Blater* community. In addition, *Remo* itself can be interpreted as a celebration event carried out by villagers to commemorate or celebrate certain events from the host by inviting *sandur*. *Remo* usually substitutes wedding receptions, circumcision celebrations, or just as a gathering of the host *Blaters* for a specific purpose. Of course, not everyone can hold this event because only a *Blater* is allowed to hold this event (Abdur Rozaki, 2004).

We also found some opinions which stated that *Remo* celebration is not just a social gathering activity carried out by the *Blater* community. Indeed, there was a dominance of power shown

by the *Remo* performers. This is indicated by the considerable amount of money given to the host (*Remo* organiser). The money ranged from IDR 500.000,00 (USD 34) to IDR 2.500.000,00 (USD 167) in each event. In fact, many *Remo* performers took loans at the Bank just to pay for the social gathering to maintain their honour and dignity.

Remo as a media ritual

Individuals carry out many activities in their social life and community, such as ceremonies, celebrations, social gatherings, marriages and others. Furthermore, many rituals in Indonesian society are related to religion. However, in this study, the researchers only investigated communication rituals, namely the act of communication.

Meanwhile, Bell stated that "ritualization is a way of acting that is designed and orchestrated to distinguish the privilege of what is being done in comparison to others, usually more in the form of activities" (Bell, 2009). Thus, ritualization becomes a tool for certain cultural strategies to distinguish certain activities and make qualitative differences. For example, such as linking rituals with 'holy' and 'violating holiness,' and the reality that transcends human actors. Furthermore, intrinsic ritualization is a strategy for distinguishing oneself at various levels in a particular culture.

According to Bell, ritualization strategies were rooted in the body, explicitly symbolic social body interactions that form spatial and mortal environments (Bell, 2009). He recognised that the "implicit dynamic and 'end of ritualization' as the production of a 'ritualised body'" (Bell, 2009). A ritualised body is a body that invests in this ceremony. Foucault and Bell argued that the body is "a place where minutes and local social practices are linked to large-scale organisations." Furthermore, ritualization is a "middle way of power that operates; it is a political technology of the body" (Bell, 2009).

The relational network in the ritual group is a different type of ritual from conventionalised practices at a broader social level outside a single network (this type of super-ritual network will later be referred to as 'social rituals'). Therefore, network/group size can range from two traditional speaker-listeners to a larger group. In ritual practise groups, there is a relational network if it meets the following criteria: a) everyone is involved in ritual practices in the status group; and b) group members have obtained the necessary boundaries of relational history (Kádár, 2013).

Ritual action is located somewhere between pure internalisation and explicit articulation, emphasis, and exposure. For example, *ceremonial* actions can encourage certain disputes and debates. However, they tend to be within the framework of rituals in organisations which have naturalised the essential category differences. What connects the daily space of ritualization and ritual action is the body that will be passed between them, namely the body ceremony that has been internalised in

organising many doubts related to the lead-ritual of different categories (Couldry, 2003).

Remo as ritual communication

Ritual communication is part of the meaning of symbols. Ritual is always identified with habit or routine. Couldry defined ritual as a habitual action or hereditary action and formal action, which also contains transcendental values. By observing these views, it can be understood that the ritual was closely related to voluntary performances performed by the community for generations (based on custom) regarding patterned behaviour. The celebration aimed to symbolise an influence on social life (Manafe, 2011).

Ritual communication as a unique model of semiotic behaviour can indeed be said to be an artefact full of socio-historical values resulting from a long history of inquiry, anthropology or otherwise, into the nature of human behaviour. It begins with a framework that compares the modes of behaviour and use of European languages with those found among colonised communities throughout the world. Although not always, ritual communication has been a long-standing subject in anthropology. Most importantly, ritual communication emerged through a long history of thinking about one of the core themes of American anthropology, which is the relationship between language and culture.

The use of 'ritual' as a metaphor is closely related to the study by Goffman (1967), about interpersonal movements, including 'speech.' The term served as a figure of speech for social organisation interaction. Goffman's use of 'ritual' emphasised the extent to which ordinary, face-to-face structured daily interactions are carried out. It is not easy to distinguish this daily ritual practice (which might be called 'ritualization') from the large-scale public ritual events.

As a result, over time, Goffman's metaphors have become a source of a greater focus on the participatory, experiential side of ritual events. Ritual is not only something that is done but also experienced. Cultural ritualization has thus come to be treated as a very 'self-oriented', where the human imagination and dialogical configuration of sociality produce important reflexive 'sites' or 'centres' of semiotics, a dialectical segment of a complex network of semiotic pathways (Silverstein, 2009).

Cultural transformation

Value is something that is considered valuable by a person or group and is used as a reference for actions and means of direction of life. General humanists have agreed that collective society is promoted and lived by the dominance of shared values, while individualist society is more lived by the values of personal autonomy and individual creative freedom, where the self is valued for its uniqueness and dignity. These views are responded critically by sociologists and structuralists, who do not believe that humans and their culture determine history. A culture is only an abstract place of escape when the original material crisis about

poverty and ignorance need a scapegoat (which cannot be proven empirically). In other words, the change of collective society into individualism is not due to cultural factors (the crisis), the value of togetherness, or selfish individual, but is caused by material factors such as economic change, for example, from agriculture to the export plantation economy or from the traditional economy to the global capitalist economy.

These critics sharpen the issue of internalisation of cultural values in two discourse directions. The first discourse determines the style of community values or social values that are internalised in its members. The second discourse determine changes in community values, factors of change in the economic, political, and social system (as material bases), or changes in the awareness of the members of the community

On the other hand, the critical theory proposes the role of human consciousness, which is capable of change in social transformation—provided that the communication process is carried out by self-conscious actors openly and continuously by sharpening dialogue and uniting personal interests actively. Communication is carried out to take a consensus of general meeting points. The civilisation will collapse if it fails to bring up creativity in facing challenges. The peak of collapse will occur when there is a disintegration of civilisation where social unity is destroyed and the inability of culture to respond creatively to the challenges of the times. When the process of human consciousness is at the centre, the cultural transformation will emerge when the culturalist explains how changes in the material structure clearly define civilisation.

The present social, economic and political conditions are, in fact, a way of maintaining the status of the *Priyayi* elite which benefits from the existing structure. It is not because people cannot change, but instead, they do not want to change because economic and political structures benefit their survival. Adequate transformation of value will not be possible without structural transformation.

Cultural transformation in the Madurese society was already apparent after the construction of the Suramadu bridge in 2008. The people around Suramadu felt many socio-cultural changes. The changes include social, economic, and cultural changer, the most significant of which is the change in culinary consumer culture and the flow of information and technology. However, this technological change in culture does not affect the *Remo* celebration practised by the *Blater* community in Bangkalan, Madura. This community still exists and holds *Remo* throughout the year, except for the month of Ramadan and during the Prophet's Birthday because the *Kiai* forbids it. This means that *Remo* celebration still has cultural values and benefits that cannot be replaced by time and that *Remo* is still a traditional communication tool for the *Blater* community to show their existence and status in society.

The *Remo* celebration was still held in Bangkalan, amid the flow of technology, information, and others. However, in fact, until now, *Remo* still exists and held among the *Blater* community in Madura.

CONCLUSION

From the observations and the data obtained, it can be concluded that *Remo* in Madura, especially in Bangkalan, continue to exist. *Remo* celebration as Madurese tradition is a ritual communication of the *Blater* community to brag about prestige and social status. Through *Remo*, Madurese can foster the sense of brotherhood among the *Blater* communities. This tradition exists as a traditional medium of ritual communication to build a good relationship in the Madurese *Blater* community. In terms of local cultural values, *Remo* has a positive impact that contributes to the existence of Madurese local tradition.

Therefore, it with *Remo* celebration, *Blaters* can further tighten their ties of friendship and brotherhood both within their groups or with other groups. *Remo* celebration as a traditional ritual communication media can continue to exist in developing communication to strengthen the *Blater* community in Madura.

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