

Social communication relation of Madurese people in Max Weber rationality perspective

Syamsu Budiyanti^{*)}, Hotman M. Siahaan, Kris Nugroho
Airlangga University
Dharmawangsa Dalam Street, Surabaya, Indonesia
Email: syamsu.budiyanti-2015@fisip.unair.ac.id, Phone
+62315034015

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Abstract Obedience has become an ethnic identity for Madurese, expressed in the communicative expression 'Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato.' Thus, the meaning of hierarchical obedience has been structured firmly into daily communication routines and behaviour as a form of self-development. The pattern of patron-client communication is a strong stimulant in the tradition of obedience that forms hegemonic power through patron-client-dominating authority. Interestingly, in Madurese society, such a relationship can actually be classified as exploitative-mutualistic. The study of rationality perspective on the meaning of communication and obedience relations shows that not all Madurese actions follow rational rules in Weber's perspective. Indeed, there has been a reconstruction of the meaning of obedience in Madurese so that the rationality of needs becomes a justification for irrational actions and the relatively long-standing patron-client communication bond in Madurese culture. The phenomenological approach was considered most suitable for this research because it could reveal the natural meaning of Madurese specific obedience behaviour through explanation of phenomena and causes.

Keywords: social communication; obedience; rationality; irrationality

^{*)} Corresponding Author

INTRODUCTION

The meaning of communication and acts of obedience for Madurese is contained in social reference standards (Hefni, 2012) to respect and obey the central figures in Madurese culture in a hierarchical order, '*Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato'* (Father, Mother, Mother, Teacher/Kyai, and formal leader/Rato). These obedience standards have a long history and are inherited and institutionalised simultaneously. Thus, obedience becomes a deep-rooted construction of collective community action. As a result, the construction of this normative tradition binds the Madurese society. Thus, violations or non-obedience with the main figure will result in social and cultural sanctions.

The implications of communication and social action concerning obedience in Madurese culture have caused Madurese people to practice obedience regardless of space, even in public spaces (Wiyata, 2003). For Madurese people, '*Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato'* was carried out without exception as a legacy of the Madurese Kingdom in the past (Hefni, 2012). In the end, the legacy became the teachings of traditional authority in the form of selfless service with faithful feudalism nuances. The implication in social communication is that the words of figures considered as Ghuru and Rato are considered the most correct (Sadik, 2012).

In addition, Madurese people adopt Islam as their Ethnic Identity (de Jonge, 1989) where there is a positive correlation between Islamic teachings and the level of obedience to their leaders (Subekti & Laksmiwati, Hermien, 2019). The Kyai/teacher has the highest position based on the religious symbols justification (Syarif, 2013). This practice of religious obedience was institutionalised through pesantren as the basis of Islamic values education in Madurese society. Furthermore, pesantren culture is considered capable of translating classical culture from the Hindu-Buddhist era or the first Madura Indigenous Kingdom through the encouragement of Islamic universalist teachings (Siraj, 2005). This is in line with Danziger's opinion that the elaboration of local cultural forms is highly dependent on the interrelationship of knowledge, and is influenced by the cultural-historical context (including language and ideology) and the process of community intersubjectivity. So, attention must be conveyed in a universal form (Danziger, 2013).

The hierarchical obedience pattern to '*Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato'* eventually became the way for institutionalisation of domination and legitimacy of power. In addition, this construction is also based on patron-client social communication relations (Hefni, 2012) which are exploitative-mutualistic in nature and have been manifested since the era of the Madura Indigenous Kingdom. In general, patron-client relationships are exploitative (Scott, 1972) and lead to dominance-legitimacy (Depeyrot, 2005). However, the relationships that occur in Madurese society are unique because the communication of superior-

inferior actions takes place in a mutual relationship. Madurese have a specific saying regarding this relationship, '*Rampak Naong Bringin Korong*' or 'the strong will protect the weak, and the weak tend to seek protection from the strong' (Takdir, 2018). It is not surprising, then, that the patron-client communication relationship in Madurese society tends to last long, institutionalised, and is a tradition.

Indeed, there have been many studies related to the relationship between power and leadership in Madurese society. However, in general, existing studies are still dominated by research at the level of the political elite or subjects of power. For example, Kyai -because of their expertise in religious affairs and services fostering communities, are role models in the community (Kuntowijoyo, 2017), *Blater* or village strongman are considered capable of providing physical protection and harmony for the Madurese Society (Rozaki, 2004), Madurese formal leaders; domination of power; the patron-client relationship hegemony; etc. On the other hand, there is still relatively little research that seeks to explore fundamental problems in Madurese society from the perspective of Madurese. Therefore, current research is necessary because it explored Madurese opinions, communication patterns, and actions that are naturally related to their social communication relations with power and leadership from obedience to '*Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato*'.

Substantially, the problem gap is the dominance-legitimacy of leadership authority in the structure of Madurese society to those who are considered to be the central figures of social leadership in the hierarchy of respect. The expression '*Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato*' shows the central role of Ghuru, which refers to Kyai and other elites like *Blater*, and refers to Rato, namely the Government. *Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'* (father and mother) only refers to leadership at the family level. In its development, the role of Kyai (or with *Blater*) in Madurese society occurred through a strong institutionalisation process so that his authority was considered to have included various aspects of life. In fact, its dominance has exceeded formal government institutions (Rato). M. Kosim calls it Local Strongman (Kosim, 2012). This is one of the underlying assumptions why it is difficult for Madurese to integrate nationally because Kiai's leadership is considered to be very ancient and has been separated from the power structure from the start (Touwen-Bouwsma, 1992). This situation was also exacerbated by the support of *Blater's* elite who played a role in politics as the Madurese security ruler called '*Jagoan*' or 'strongman' (Raditya, 2011), Kyai and *Blater* figure finally created a powerful political system as the regime's twin sister in Madurese Society (Khoiri, 2017). In this context, the dominance of Kyai and *Blater's* legitimacy has resulted in a patron-client relationship which gave rise to a special clientelism relationship (Sahab et al., 2012). The social actions and social communication of the Madurese in response to the dominance of the twin regimes shown through the concept of '*Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato*' obedience can

be interesting topics to uncover gaps in the complex problems of patron-client relations in Madurese Society.

Therefore, this research begins with a fundamental question on the meaning of social communication and the Madurese obedience instilled in '*Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato*' concept in the form of deep-rooted patron-client relations concerning the rationality and irrationality of their actions. The problem gap arises from the existence of hegemony in the dominance and legitimacy of the leadership authority that is manifested in Madurese obedience standards that are already entrenched. Meanwhile, from a theoretical perspective, the aspects of rationality and irrationality of their actions are fascinating to observe and study.

This study looks at the relationship of aspects of social communication from the pattern of obedience of Madurese who has transacted with religion as a form of sacred transcendental belief through the theoretical perspective of Max Weber's Rationality. Besides, this debate discussion on the perspective of rationality has invited much criticism about the social action of Madurese obedience as demonstrated through the phenomenon of ethnic obedience (Sica, 2018) Weber's irrationality as a significant problem in human action (Huff, 2017) and boundaries from communication and rational action (Brubaker, 2013). According to Weber, rational people will choose the most appropriate tool to achieve their goals by communicating and implementing them in action (Johnson, 1994), through patterns of communication and social action based on rationality. Therefore, the concept leads to the grouping of 4 types of social actions: traditional rationality, affective rationality, *werkt* rationality and *zwerk* rationality (Carruth et al., 1962; Weber, 2018).

In addition, in the context of Madurese society, there is a relationship between Islam as ethnic identity, the tradition of obedience to '*Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato*' as part of deep-rooted Madurese culture, and social communication by the use of media and preferences. In this context religion and culture are considered to have a strong influence on the use of media, preferences, and satisfaction (Hoynes et al., 1997). In the end, it becomes a reference for the formation of social behaviour.

The strong relationship between religion and culture is bridged through patterns of social communication. Clark and Hoover emphasise that culture and religion cannot be separated because religion is the most crucial consideration in the theory of cultural and community relations (Clark & Hoover, 1997) through social communication. Furthermore, people tend to trust communication media produced by religious or cultural communities (Berger et al., 2008). On the other hand, religion uses communication media to convey religious messages effectively in the form of moral values (Martín-Barbero & Fox, 1993) and shapes religious culture in competition to gain more followers and territories (Croucher et al., 2017).

Current research emphasises the theoretical dilemma and debate between rationality and irrationality and their implementation in eastern rationality which is different from the historical roots of Weber's perspective, namely western rationality. Alan Sica, in his book "Weber, Irrationality and Social Order" (Sica, 2018), revealed that the main problem of Weber's rationality is irrationality. In this context, Weber himself was aware of the concept of irrationality, but he did not clearly accept, reject, or make peace with the concept. In fact, Weber instead ignored the concept of irrationality altogether and dedicated himself to explaining irrationality. He focused his opinion through rationality in the realm of science-supported by the scientific method (Depeyrot, 2005).

Because of this weakness, Sica developed a critique of the concept of irrationality in Weber's rationality. He examines the analysis of the concept of Weber's rationality and compares it with Vilfredo Pareto's coherence theory to analyse the motivations of action and incorporate an understanding of hermeneutic interpretation into the concept of Weber (Sica, 2018). Sica's critics reap the pros and cons. One of the researchers who defended Weber was Seligman. He said that Sica had denied the concept of Weber's charisma of reason (the core of western rationality) as well as the role of social values in rational action (Seligman, 1992). This opinion was also corroborated by (Tukhvatulina, 2019), and Poggi, who defended Weber, Pareto, and Parson, who also regarded irrationality as a threat (Poggi, 1990).

On the other hand, (Proctor, 1989) and (Walsh, 1990) agree with Sica's opinion about irrationality in the concept of Weber's rationality. However, (Guseinov, 2012) revealed that the limit of rationality is morality. This opinion is also strengthened by (Brubaker, 2013) and its relationship to the context of social communication in Weber's root of thought (Shipovalova, 2020). This debate is interesting because it can enrich the discussion and dichotomous debate.

In addition, this study also looks at the rationality and irrationality of Madurese in terms of institutionalisation and culture. Emile Durkheim states that social studies are studies of the institutions and structures of society (Johnson, 1994). Meanwhile, Max Weber called the process of social institutionalisation as a study relating to socio-cultural change through the basic theory of Charisma (Weber, 1968). In Weber's perspective, charisma is a form of institutionalisation of values or norms in society. Therefore, the process of socio-cultural change takes place from magical and religious to the rationality of science (Schroeder et al., 2002). The particular conception of the sociology of Weber's religion was also strengthened by Da Costa through its cultural studies (Da Costa & Da Costa, 2019). Meanwhile, for the institutionalisation process itself, John Lewis Gillin revealed that the process of accepting a value or norm is carried out in 4 stages, namely: (1) Institutionalisation, namely the process of making new values and norms as officials or legal regulations for the

community; (2) Socialisation as an effort to socialise new values and norms so that they are known, understood, and understood by the public; (3) Internalisation as a process of acceptance by individuals; and (4) Habitualisation as a process of habituation in people's daily actions, behaviour and social communication (Gillin, 1950).

The process of institutionalising Weber's values is very thick with his ideas surrounding the theory of rationality, which is depicted in social change from traditional and charismatic authority to rational-legal authority. Traditional authority is based on an undeniable sacred tradition, where people are bound by the authority because of personal dependence and loyalty (Wrong & Asnawi, 2003). Meanwhile, charismatic authority is described as an innovative and revolutionary force based on people's obedience to specific individuals who are considered to have powers that are different from ordinary people (super-natural / extraordinary). Furthermore, this obedience is stronger than adherence to the impersonal legal system, and for time, through legal-rational authority, socio-cultural changes will occur in the forms of modern society (Simpson et al., 1948). the process of institutionalising Weber's thinking is formed in the context of social change.

In addition to Weber's thinking, the study of institutionalising community obedience based on ethnic identity is also reflected in Berger & Luckmann's opinion that the social construction of ethnic identity is a vital element of subjective reality that is dialectically connected with the socio-cultural world of society. Society (Berger & Luckmann, 2011), tends to make the process of institutionalisation shift the basis from meaning to rationality (Roslidah & Komara, 2017). In the context of Madurese society, the roots of the institutionalisation of community obedience have begun since the traditional period of the customary kingdom in the chain of obedience or devolution of traditional authority through the apanage/tribute/tax system (Hefni, 2012). Furthermore, the shift occurred since the acceptance of Islam in the process of institutionalisation became a habit of society as an identity where the role of religious leaders (Ulama) became the basis for the formation of entrenched charismatic authority (Susanto, 2012a; Abdillah, 2015; Sutriyadi, 2017). Changes in the rationality community occur from time to time through the process of rationalising traditional authorities and charismatic scholarships in accordance with the rational needs of the community (Sadik, 2012; Susanto, 2007; Hefni, 2012; Putrawan & Hariyanto, 2017).

Based on the dilemma between the fact of Madurese obedience with patron-client ties related to dominance and legitimacy (power) in it, the study of the rationality of their actions will be a significant practical contribution to uncovering the practice of domination. This research can also theoretically prove Weber's statement that every social action will be interpreted rationally. On the other hand, this research can also prove to Weber's critics that not all social actions are

rational or whether irrational actions are in the grey area. In addition, this research will also verify the relevance of Weber's rationality (which is actually rooted in western culture) in eastern rationality and its contribution to the preservation of patrimonial and patronage values, especially in the Madurese Society, Indonesia.

METHODOLOGY

This study applied a qualitative research paradigm with a phenomenological methodology. For phenomenology, researchers decided that Max Weber's fundamental concept of 'Verstehen' would be the best analytical tool for this study (Weber & Shils, 1964). Weber's concept was also elaborated through the concept of Alfred Schutz (Medina, 1971) as a middle ground between Edmund Husserl's abstract thinking about idealistic or transcendental phenomenology through Philosophy of Consciousness (*erlebnisse*) (Farin et al., 2006), and weaknesses of Weber's thinking about the rationality of social action that seems to override and obscure aspects of irrationality. Weber always thought as if the subject always acts rationally and proactively even when one is influenced by society through values, norms, traditions, or if one acts only to follow or imitate (Brubaker, 2013). It is at this intersection that Alfred Schutz built a framework of social phenomenology through understanding the concept of intersubjectivity in the living world (Medina, 1971). In social phenomenology, Alfred Schutz was considered to have combined Husserl's transcendental phenomenology with Weber's *verstehen* concept.

The current research limited its scope to the meaning of the Madurese concept of obedience as reflected in the philosophy of the 'Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato.' It was believed to be influenced by the strong roots of the patron-client relationship that existed in the Madurese (*verstehen*) society. This research did not eliminate the patron-client relationship that occurs in the Madurese Society community, but rather presented a unique portrait of the meaning of obedience in Madurese society, especially those related to the philosophical meaning of 'Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato' from the perspective of Madurese people.

Analysis of the meaning and roots of the obedience concept was then reviewed in the perspective of Max Weber's rationality. In the researcher's view, the analysis of Max Weber's rationality would parse the answer to the question: why so far Madurese tend to obey 'Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato' through the justification of rational action. Meanwhile, criticism and restructuring of the concept of Max Weber's framework actually become an essential point because it completed the body of answers about the possibility of why Madurese act irrationally in the dominance of obedient authority.

This research was conducted from 2018 to 2019 (almost one year) in the target villages with social and political leadership criteria

as defined in the '*Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato'* philosophy. The criteria for these figures were: (1) Rato in the village scope was interpreted as a formal leader at the village level or *Klebun*; (2) Ghuru in the social space of the village community was interpreted as a leader in Islam due to the Madurese ethnic identity. Therefore, Ghuru was interpreted as the leader in the local Islamic community or *Kyai*; (3) *Bhuppa'-bhâbbu'*, referred to the father and mother or biological parents in a family entity; (4) Power relations at the village level where people tend to obey leaders due to their position as '*Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato.'* Such relations were believed to be characterised by patron-client relations.

The three sample villages in this study were in Bangkalan District which was considered as a unique region with a strong patron-client relationship, namely: (1) The village where the *Klebun* was also a *Kyai* figure and where there are still families who firmly adhere to the '*Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato'* belief; (2) The village where the *Klebun* was also the village strongman or *Blater* who was obeyed by his people; (3) The village where the *Klebun* is not a *Kyai/Ulama* figure or a strongman/*Blater*. In each target village, 3 to 6 informants were selected and determined to conduct a data collection mechanism.

Data collection in this study followed the rules of phenomenological research through open (unstructured) qualitative interviews (Creswell, 2013). Through this method, the essence of the observed phenomenology could be observed from the perspective of people who experience the phenomenon directly. In addition, data that could not be obtained by interview were taken using self-reflection techniques, document reviews, and reality illustration outside the research context. These steps were accompanied by sorting the data sources into two types (Creswell, 2014), (1) Primary data which were obtained from open interviews with research subjects, self-reflection, and illustrations of reality outside the research context; (2) Secondary data which were obtained from document review. According to Cooper (Moustakas & Sage Publications, 1994 there were 4 documents that could be used as research data: (a) Integrative review; (b) theoretical review; (c) methodological review; and (d) thematic review. For this reason, this research also involved reviewing several documents such as dissertation abstracts, theses, scientific papers, reference books, experts in this research topic, relevant documents, dictionaries, encyclopaedias, seminars and related journals.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The meaning of hierarchic obedience with '*Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato'*

Until today, Madurese still hold the tradition of obedience that originates from ethnic historicity and socio-cultural penetration which forms a standard reference in the form of the philosophy of '*Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato.'* Although this philosophy is unwritten customary

values and norms, it has become a standard of hierarchical obedience for Madurese and is the basis of their actions. So it is not surprising that violations of the value of obedience often lead to social and cultural sanctions.

'*Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato*' is an expression of Madurese obedience to the figure of 'Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'' or 'father-mother' (parents), Ghuru (*Kyai* or Ulama), and Rato or formal leaders. That is, there are reference standards for obedience with key figures in the form of a hierarchical order that must be implemented in the social and cultural life of Madurese (Wiyata, 2003). In fact, the philosophy has become a construction of collective life that lasts for a relatively long period of history in which it has become the structure or power of structuring social life or 'structuring structure,' and the forces structured by the 'structured structure' social world (Hefni, 2012).

Obedience to Bhuppa' (Father). The patriarchal cultural system and historicity and Islamic teachings that are firmly rooted place father as the main actor in social and cultural structures in Madurese society. As a result, the role of women tends to be lower than men. The patriarchal system places women as objects for men so that women have always been the object of marginalisation process in a system (Sugiarti, 2017). The roots of Islamic teachings add to the long series of patriarchal hegemony because religion (Islam) is legitimised in the social and cultural life of the Madurese people. In fact, this assumption gives rise to the impression imprinted in the Madurese subconscious mind that God is male.

Obedience to Bhâbbu' (Mother). The '*Pancer Bine*' conception confirmed that the female lineage in Madurese Society was considered non-existent (Sidiq, 2003). However, the patriarchal value in Madurese Society seems to contradict the concept of a Madurese house or '*Tanean Lanjang*.' *Tanean Lanjang* is a large house that built in a settlement and intended for the daughters and their husbands when they get married. Indeed, this tradition tends to be matrilineal (Kuntowijoyo, 2017). In contrast, in the *Tanean Lanjang* tradition, married boys leave the family home. In addition, the inheritance distribution system also follows local customs, where women will generally get a more significant share than men in the form of houses and land plots. Meanwhile, boys will get land or '*tegalan*'. All of this inheritance cannot be sold.

Such tradition has placed women in high status and dignity, both as mothers and as wives. Therefore, women become a figure who must be treated as a symbol of family honour (see '*Carok*' as an effort to maintain the dignity of the family if the wife is seduced by other men) (Wiyata, 2002). The conceptual holiness of women in the family also shows that a mother's position is higher than that of a father. Besides being supported by the application of values of respect for mothers based on Islamic teachings, the concept of '*tamoni*' or

placenta is a reflection of a mother's emotional sacred ties with her children and family.

Obedience to Ghuru (referring to Ulama or leaders in Islam). For Madurese, Islam has been considered as ethnic identity (Susanto, 2012b, Pribadi, 2018). Thus, the role of Ghuru, Ulama or Kyai in Islam becomes a critical point (Patriadi et al., 2015). Madurese have even placed Ulama or Kyai as worldly leaders and *ukhrawis* (morality and the holy world), even as representatives of God on earth (Kahn & Anderson, 1992). Furthermore, there is always a need for Madurese (especially religious students) to always be close to Ulama or Kyai. So it is not surprising that the figures of Ulama and Kyai become a reference for public decision making for the Madurese Society. Even so, Kyai has a relatively independent economic and political role structure and is separate from the power structure (Touwen-Bouwsma, 1992).

Obedience to Rato (Formal Leader). This obedience comes from the value of Madurese politeness expressed in the words "*Ta' Taoh Yuda Negara.*" That is, people who do not value politeness are considered not to respect Yuda Negara. For Madurese, Simplicity is given to older people as well as those who have a higher social status. In the Madurese view, formal Government is considered to have a higher social status and deserves the value of politeness, respect, and obedience. This can be seen from formal leaders who are referred to as '*oreng rajeh*' (high-ranking people) or '*oreng cokop*' (rich people) (Wiyata, 2003) analogises that the figure of Rato in Madurese Society is still rare (because getting it requires many achievements), so it must be given the value of respect and obedience.

Patron-client social communication relation as a cause of exploitative-mutualistic domination

The results showed a structural hegemony in Madurese society through the dominance and legitimacy of authority in terms of the hierarchical obedience relationship of the central figure '*Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato.*' In Weber's view, this condition shows that there has been a hegemony of magical belief systems, religion, and a shift towards rational instruments (Schroeder et al., 2002). This statement is corroborated by Wiyata (2003), who argues that Madurese are forced to obey to the conception of hierarchical obedience. However, he also proposes that the reconciliation model of Madurese Society's obedience pattern does not always interpret its meaning and implementation in life, communication, and action (Wiyata, 2006). If not, this condition will make Madurese hegemony a hierarchical structure forever.

Historically, the dominance and legitimacy of the structure through the philosophy of '*Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato*' has developed in a long history that was simultaneously inherited and institutionalised through generations and became a habit. The habit

that lasted for a long time caused the philosophy of '*Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato*' to become a concept of tradition with a compulsive nature of hierarchical obedience. This is in line with what has been expressed by Hefni (2012) that this view has become a structured force in the Madurese social life (structuring structure), as well as a structured force by the social world (structured structure).

The dominance and legitimacy of the Madurese Society obedience concept structure then developed into hegemony because it was in a relevant position, namely the structure and relationship of Madurese Society's patron-client community. The patron-client relationship itself refers to the relationship between those who have status, wealth and higher power (superior) with those who are inferior. Relationships are relatively unbalanced (J C Scott, 2008) and last long enough. This is caused by distinctive social exchanges, where those in protective positions protect their superior nature towards clients. As a result, the protective nature will be rewarded with service attitude and loyalty from the client (James C Scott, 1972).

Within the Madurese Society community, patron-client relations began with social relations and economic exchanges that had taken place from the time of customary kingdoms in Bangkalan, Pamekasan, and Sumenep until the end of the 19th century. At that time, the existing relationship was a *tegal* tax tribute system known as *apanage* or *percaton*. In addition, the patron-client relationship also developed from the management of the *Daleman* village or the village of the king or '*panembahan*' where one-third of the rice harvest and rice tax belonged to the king. Although the patron exploitation relationship (king or *panembahan*) to the client (the people or farmers) takes place, this relationship continues for a long time. It turns out, culturally, the client not only interprets it as an economic relationship and a form of exploitation but instead as a form of pride or pride for farmers that their work has been valued by their king.

Likewise, the strong customisation of Madurese obedience to date has also been influenced by the roots of the relationship between patrons and clients that have taken root since the time of the Madurese Society kingdom. However, this hierarchical obedience is not always understood as exploitation, domination, and client hegemony which is detrimental to the client. Obedience is more interpreted as a form of service and loyalty (or even pride) of the client to the lead figure as their protector. In this case, the leader is defined as a social leader, that is, Ghuru, which is manifested in the figure of a Kyai or Ulama (or other figures who later appear as *Blater* or other figures as a result of social change). In the context of *Rato*, they are manifested in the *Klebung* (for social life in the village), as well as in the sacred leaders at the family level, '*Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu*' or women and men.

The patron-client pattern rooted in Madurese society has also shaped the inheritance of the identity of the superior-inferior relationship so that there is a tendency for Madurese to seek protection

from those who feel strong. This situation is reflected in one of the Madurese proverbs, "*Rampak Naong Bringin Korong*." That is, when it becomes successful, Madurese must be able to protect like a banyan tree (*rampak*). This concept of shade is related to client patterns, where a patron will have clients if he can protect those who are his subordinates. The opposite also happens at the client level. As subordinates, they realise that they need influential figures who can protect them. The patron-client relationship in Madurese Society can last a long time because there is a relationship of mutual need. In fact, in an exploitative nuance, the client interprets this relationship as a service of obedience, loyalty, and needs.

For this reason, in the context of the findings of this study, the authors conclude that the patron-client relationship that occurs within the Madurese Society community is exploitative-mutualistic. That is, in an exploitative nuance as a characteristic of the classic patronage model in Madurese society, the patron-client relationship is reconstructed in a fabric of mutually beneficial reciprocal relationships. More in-depth, this relationship becomes a need for clients (lower class people in Madurese Society) to get a guarantee of protection (*Rampak Naong Bringin Korong*) and show self-esteem as a service impact and loyalty of ethnic Madurese to those who are categorised as leaders.

Communication and social action of Madurese: between irrationality and rationality

Modernity brings rationalisation to all aspects of Madurese Society life especially since the operation of the Suramadu Bridge as a socio-cultural tool and the Javanese-Madurese society exchange (Effendi & Hendarto, 2014), In its development, the roots of Madurese obedience culture customisation have also undergone reconstruction. In this study, the perspective of Max Weber's theory of rationality is used as a knife of analysis to understand the motivation and actions of communication in Madurese obedience. Weber himself divides human social action into four types, namely: (1) instruments of rational action (conscious actions with motivation and rational goals to be achieved), (2) actions of rational values (conscious actions using motivation and rational goals surrounded by developing social values), (3) affective actions (spontaneous response actions, emotional consequences and other affective matters that are still consciously carried out), and (4) traditional actions (conscious actions taken based on hereditary beliefs or traditions, etc.) (Weber, 2018).

The traditional actions of Madurese' obedience' stem from the beliefs that have become a customary tradition, namely: (1) patron-client patterns that have taken root; (2) manifestation of Islam as a Madurese ethnic identity; and (3) referential standards for Madurese behaviour, namely '*Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato'* and "*Rampak Naingin Bringin Korong*." In addition, obedience as a rational value standard rule comes from the tradition of the existing value system in

Madurese society, namely: (1) Values contained in the interpretation of Islamic teachings; (2) The values of politeness for older figures (women and men) as well as those considered to have high social status namely Ghuru through Ulama or Kyai, as well as formal leaders of Madurese (Rato); (3) The importance of the value of Madurese self-esteem makes obedience considered as an embodiment of service and social loyalty.

In line with the times, the Suramadu Bridge can also be a reference to state that Madurese as an ethnic group is also influenced by modernity (Faoziyah, 2016; Effendi & Hendarto, 2014). In Weber's view (Depeyrot, 2005) modernity is an extension of rationalisation in all fields of human life, including traditional Madurese cultural values, namely 'obedience'. The rationalisation of Madurese Society's obedience is translated by reconstructing the meaning of obedience which adapts the tradition of obedience to their rational needs without having to eliminate or diminish the habit of obedience. From this, it can be seen that the nuances of the habit of preserving tradition have intersected with the need to follow the rationality of modernity which in some ways contradicts one another. Madurese creativity in dealing with this reality is demonstrated by efforts to rationalise obedience in the context of their needs. This effort can be understood as an attempt by Madurese to provide a middle ground in rationalising hierarchical hegemony by justifying exploitative adherence to the obedience that synergises with their rational needs (exploitative mutualistic). So, this can explain why, in the Madurese Society, the tradition of loyalty and service to its leaders can be firmly rooted and last a long time.

In the context of cultural change, the meaning of communication and action Obedience in Madurese society can be interpreted in Weber's perspective through 3 (three) stages of development, namely magical (irrational ways for rational purposes), religion (rational ways for irrational purposes) and rational instruments (rational ways for rational purposes through logic and science) (Schroeder et al., 2002). The results of this study predominantly indicate that Madurese still tend to be at the stage of development of traditional social action through a belief system of adherence that leads to routine. Meanwhile, rational values through religion are manifested in the charisma of a Kyai or Ulama. The way Madurese adhere to the Kyai figures reflects the rational actions of their values to obey religion, even for irrational purposes. However, in some cases, the meaning of obedience began to be elaborated by the Madurese Society in an instrumental context.

The study also found a shift in the belief system that still relied on tradition and religion to trust other values for rational and irrational purposes. The emergence, the existence of other figures besides Kyai (Ghuru), namely *Blater* and formal leaders (Rato) who were made leaders based on the rationality of the actions of their clients is an indicator of a shift in the belief system. Indications of a cultural shift towards rationality are marked by Rato or local formal leaders at the

village level (in this case Klebun) who are not charismatic figures from the Kyai group or *Blater*, but figures identified as neutral people. Likewise, a situation is that Klebun who is also a *Blater* who shows a rational choice of Madurese actions that is concerned with their need to get protection from people who are considered strong in the village to obtain physical safety (Rozaki, 2004) in the social order through *Blater's* security politics (Raditya, 2011).

In terms of the charisma of the Kyai figures, the Madurese obedience, which initially relied on religious traditions and values, also showed a shift towards rationality. The basis for observing a Kyai for Madurese is that the religion-paternalistic aspect has now begun to shift towards persuasive participation. That is why, if the Kyai does not perform his fundamental role in *ukhrowi* life (morality and the holy world), then his followers will leave the Kyai (Syarif, 2016), this condition is also the basis for the emergence of other leaders such as alternative sources of obedience for Madurese.

Interestingly, the development of social action rationality for Madurese is encased in the structure of irrationality. According to Weber, a person's actions are never irrational when viewed from his own perspective. New actions will look irrational when viewed by different rationalities (Weber, 2018). This opinion was rejected by Sica (2018) who gave an example that there are many irrational behaviours in modern social actions such as impulsive behaviour, ethnic loyalty, religion, false requests/behaviour, obsolete behaviour, etc. (Proctor, 1989). In the Madurese Society context, obedience based on loyalty and service to leaders in Alan Sica's terminology is a form of irrational action. This position is also reinforced by Toby E. Huff's opinion as a significant problem in social action (human action) (Huff, 2017). In addition, the patron-client pattern of Madurese who, although exploitative, was reconstructed to be mutualistic because there were pride and self-esteem to serve the leader. This fact rejects Weber's mindset that every human action is always based on rationality.

Modernity began to occur and brought the values of rationality to Madurese society and influenced the value of Madurese obedience. However, the firm foundation of cultural roots makes it difficult for Madurese to abandon the tradition of '*Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato'* hierarchy. So, the Madurese Society reconstructed this idea to find arguments for obedience actions for rational needs. In addition, Weber's affective actions (actions for feelings and emotions) are also justified by Sica, through examples of ethnic behavioural implications (actions without persuasive argumentation), as irrational. This phenomenon also occurs in Madurese people through their ethnic identity in religion.

Jonge mentioned that Islam had become part of the Madurese ethnic identity (de Jonge, 1989). So there is a strong belief structure that generally Madurese must be Muslim. This explains how strong the roots of Islamic values are for the Madurese ethnic group so that the

Islamic Kyai figure becomes a central figure in the social order (Kuntowijoyo, 2017). Besides that, Kyai is also positioned as the father (parent) of everyone. Madurese obedience to the Kyai is considered beyond the limits of reasonableness, so that not only do not dare to fight and improve the Kyai, the community considers that every action and word stated by Kyai are true. In fact, fighting Kyai was considered a 'barbaric' act and Kyai's anger was seen as the cause of 'bad luck'. So, for Madurese, a dispute with the Kyai will bring profound difficulties and guilt. The sanctification of the Kyai figure emerged strongly in the Madurese ethnic group, giving rise to traditional-magical social behaviour without consideration that was institutionalised continuously and passed on to obey the Ulama (in Islamic terms this is called 'taqlid'). In Alan Sica's view, herein lies Weber's mistake. That indeed, the impulsive attitude of the Madurese cannot be explained by rational logic.

The findings of this study indeed strengthen the argument of the power of irrationality in the tendency of Madurese ethnic culture. The Madurese Society community began to react to change by adopting rationality. This is consistent with Weber's statement that socio-cultural change does not only occur linearly from magic and religion to the rationality of knowledge but can overlap or be parallel (Schroeder et al., 2002). Madurese tend to respond to social and cultural changes from religion to rationality which always overlaps by tucking in a traditional-magical nuance. Therefore, the authors tend to argue that this phenomenon includes irrationality in Madurese ethnic rationality as, in line with the statement of Huff (2017).

Table1: The Process of Institutionalizing Social Values in the Perspective of Max Weber's Rationality and Alan Sica's Irrationality in Madurese Communities (*)

World-Views	Method & Purpose	Implementation	Social Impact
(1) Magical/Traditional Action (Max Weber)	Method of irrational belief for rational purposes	Social values and norms that occurred during the Madurese indigenous kingdom (before the arrival of Islam until the end of the 19 th century), in the form of a magical belief in the Hindu-Buddhist Kingdom	Strengthening the authority of Kingdom trust & Magician (Shaman)
(2) Religion (Max Weber)	Method of rational untuk for irrational purpose	Social values and norms that occurred when Islam entered Madura around the middle of the 15th century through Sunan Ampel & Sunan Giri (Raden Paku), in the form of the application of Islamic sharia as a reference to the values and norms of the Madurese community	Strengthening the authority of Ulama and Islamic Elite
(3) Rationality/Logic (Max Weber)	Method of rational for rational purpose	Socio-cultural changes on the development of scientific logic and economic rationality	Strengthening scientific authority, political and economic relations
(3a) Instrument Rationality (Max Weber)	Method of logic rationality & science system for rational purposes		
(3b) Value Rationality (Max Weber)	Method of value rationality & social norms for rational purpose	Social change over the development of community rules from a magical belief system to universality and social agreement	Strengthening the universality of values (law) and social agreements in the form of local norms
(3c) Affective Actions (Max Weber)	Intersection between rationality & irrationality	Spontaneous affective actions and emotional ethnicity	Behaviour obedience and ethnicity without a strong basis of argument
(4) Irrasionalitas (Alan Sica)	Method of Irrationality for Irrational purpose	Ethnic impulsive behaviour, ethnic loyalty, taqlid (obedience in Islamic religion) to Ulama with unconditional, false behaviour (correlation between the relationship between religious activity and social behaviour)	Behaviour and actions without using fundamental arguments and or unconsciously

(*) Adopted and analysed from Max Weber's thoughts in (Schroeder et al., 2002) criticism of Weber's Rationality by (Sica, 2018), on the social system of the Madurese community

Implications of Weber's Rationality on Social Action and Social Communication of Madurese

Previously it has been explained that Madurese social action in Weber's view leads to the rationality of the process of social change that overlaps from religion to the rationalisation of religion and fundamental social values. However, in it, there are still traditional-magical values. The overlap between religion, traditional-magic, and aspects of rationality is based on the fact that Islamic religious identity, which is the basis of Madurese social behaviour refers more to Islamic cultural values or Islamic inculturation. However, this gives the meaning of religious syncretism in Madurese Society as a process (Mohammad Hefni, 2017). The implication is that the social actions of Madurese will be based on the values and norms developed at that time. When Islam becomes a social identity, the role of Ulama / Kyai becomes a central community where every action and communication will be a reference to social values and norms.

Centralised social communication and the actions of the Religious Leaders form the basis of the social behaviour of obedience from the people (Madurese Society) to the Kyai/Ulama, which eventually forms the Paternalistic Culture. This is indicated in the pattern of language communication (speech events). This has been indicated by the results of research (Haryono, 2012) which found that in Madurese Society, there are growing speech obedience programs for Kyai / Ulama, which are influenced by three aspects. These aspects are (1) Linguistic knowledge; (2) Interaction skills; and (3) cultural knowledge. The implications of the obedience speech form the obedience communication patterns ultimately institutionalise the fabric of obedience with the paternalistic and cultural hierarchy in Madurese Society. This situation is also reinforced by Latief Wiyata's opinion that the implications of communication and social action of Madurese obedience will lead the community to act only obediently without the slightest public space Wiyata, 2003).

Meanwhile, Weber's rationality also occurs in the social changes of Madurese society where Madurese begin to act and communicate by reconstructing the logic of identity, values, norms and traditions so that Madurese society does not merely 'obey to any conditions' in the structure of obedience which became hegemony. This is in line with what was stated by Hefni (2012) and Wiyata (2003) that Madurese do the traditional reconstruction in the form of modification of the concept of obedience in accordance with their choice of rational needs in obeying leaders.

CONCLUSION

The findings of this study indicate that the meaning of communication and actions of obedience of Madurese people has indeed been institutionalised and directed in the routine of social behaviour as structuring and structured structures. The patron-client social communication relationship that has taken root has become fertile ground for the hierarchical obedience of Madurese people characterised by exploitative but mutually beneficial nature. Therefore, this relationship has strong roots and tends to last a long time. As a result, there is structural hegemony in Madurese society through the dominance and legitimacy of the leader's authority in the hierarchical obedience of its customers as the hegemony of the belief system. Meanwhile, Madurese themselves understand this as the rationality of communication and their social actions to adhere to existing traditions and social values to reconstruct the classical principle of obedience while also justifying that their actions are rational ethnic needs. Although in a particular perspective, they ignore that their rationality is actually a collective irrationality.

As social-humanities research, this research has limitations, because this study limits its studies in the field of the meaning of social communication and ethnic obedience actions in Madurese society or people. This analysis also does not consider matters relating to power relations at the level of the political elite or Madurese Society leadership. Furthermore, idealisation of ideal social behaviour according to Weber is made in the western cultural order or western rationalism, but the implication cannot always be applied to the culture of eastern societies which have different belief systems. If not, then the institutionalisation of patronage domination and legitimacy in Madurese Society will continue to happen.

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