

Contesting space and power: Rethinking Habermas's public sphere on the Madurese paternalistic ideology

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ABSTRACT

The public sphere is not always what Jürgen Habermas imagines, which is inclusive, egalitarian and pressure-free. In the Madurese paternalistic constellation, the dominations of power over the contestation of public opinion and action become prominent in the relationship between participants/actors. A meeting between different interests causes this contestation. The struggle for influence is also shown by the dominance of 'capital' or resources. In Madura, Kiai are considered to have 'charismatic' symbolic capital related to the historical and cultural aspects of the Madurese ethnicity. This makes the figure of Kiai (along with *Blater* as a twin regime) become the center of consensus-making in a paternalistic public discussion. This phenomenological qualitative research becomes interesting when the world view of the local community is connected with Habermas' perspective through the idea of European version of the bourgeois public sphere, which is considered not applicable to the local genius Madurese realm. The arena of public sphere in the *Tanean Lanjhang* pattern and the existence of '*langgar*' (mosque) in the social community rejects the characterization of Habermas and brings a new definition of Madurese paternalistic public sphere, which is hegemony-mutualistic, as one of the richness of Indonesian cultural patterns.

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Introduction

The Madurese community is a society with a strong Islamic identity (de Jonge, 1989). The spirit of Islam in the context of the Madura point of view has been intertwined in the sense that it can be separated but is very difficult to separate (Sastrodiwirdjo, 2012). As a result of this strengthening of the roots of Islamic identity, the role of teachers in Islam, namely *Kiai*, becomes central (patron) in the behavior pattern of the Madurese community. Finally, this condition creates a patron-client relationship between *Kiai* and Santri or the community. The paternalistic pattern and culture are intended for the Santri's (a term for students in Islamic boarding schools) obedience to their *Kiai* who have become tarekat or sects in the daily habits of Madurese people who are practiced consistently and continuously both at the *Pesantren* and after returning to the community (Pribadi, 2013).

The vital role of *Kiai* has made them the 'local strongman' whose impact has resulted in patron-client social relations and unique clientelism relationships. Clientelism itself is a form of social relationship in which patrons are the powerful/wealthy parties, providing jobs, protection, infrastructure, and other benefits to clients who are helpless and poor. This gift impact rewards from the Client in the form of loyalty, service, and support to the patron (superior-inferior relationship) (Hefni, 2012). This relationship occurs in the power system and local policy determination of the Madurese community, which always refers to the opinions of *Kiai* or other local strongman figures in a strong paternalistic system.

Such paternalistic culture is also reinforced by social standards of reference/referential to respect and obey the central figures in Madurese culture, namely *Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato* (Father, Mother, Guru or *Kiai* and *Rato* or formal leader) hierarchically

(Hefni, 2012). This situation makes the submissive and obedient pattern of behavior and social communication tendencies for the Madurese a deep-rooted construction of collective actions. This tradition has existed since the time of the indigenous Madurese kingdom (Hefni, 2012). This condition will be contradictory when juxtaposed with the public space for the Madurese community in the form of a typical Madurese house, *Tanean Lanjhang*, which is a pattern of elongated house arrangement (elongated courtyards) which is intended for the gathering of a group of large families or 3-5 *batih* families or *Tonghuh* in genealogical ties (Kuntowijoyo et al., 2017). The existence of a public sphere in a typical Madurese tradition in *Tanean Lanjhang* pattern actually reflects the desire for togetherness and equality of speech for all family members, whose meaning is then degraded by the obedience pattern of the hierarchies of *Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato* as described above.

The *Tanean Lanjhang* pattern clearly shows a public space or shared space through the mandatory *Kobhun* as 'langgar or family mosque'. Most importantly, *Kobhung* becomes a distinctive marker of a *Tanean Lanjhang* pattern (Heng & Kusuma, 2017). In addition, there is also an open space called *Tanean* or the yard of the house (Tulistyantoro, 2006). The role of *Kobhung* and *Tanean* is significant as a family public sphere for worship as well as other family activities, such as joint prayers, family deliberations, local tradition celebrations, and the main place for guests. For this reason, generally, *Kobhung* at *Tanean Lanjhang* is at the westernmost tip, following the Qibla direction as a reference for prayer (worship of God in Islam) and facilitating security supervision.

From this explanation, it is conceivable that the perspective of Habermas' public space, which is inclusive, egalitarian, and free from domination or pressure (Habermas et al., 1991), will feel 'ambiguous' when

placed in a typical Madurese public space, where *Kiai* will be the leader of the social discussion with paternalistic communication and actions. In Madura, the public space at the local level is not an open space without power at all, as Habermas' idealization is, but a meeting place for various actors with different interests. In fact, Gramsci's idea of hegemony and power relations is also very possible (Arditama, 2016). Gramsci's opinion is relatively more accurate in describing the conception of a typical Madurese public sphere, where the concept of the power of religious leaders has been embedded in the subconscious of the participants in public discussions so that it is considered a natural thing and is accepted without burden. Thus, this research on the peculiarities of the public sphere in Madura is an interesting study because it tries to contradict Gramsci's idea of power dominations in discussion and the Madurese public sphere with the basic foundation of the idealization of the Habermas public sphere.

As described above, this research aims to test Habermas' thoughts on the nature of public sphere which should be inclusive, egalitarian, and free from domination or pressure in the context of Madurese society. On the other hand, Gramsci's thoughts on power dominations are the other side of factual phenomena that arise as a result of the mutualistic relationship of Madurese obedience combined with their paternalistic culture. So that there is another type of public sphere conception which the author calls the 'public sphere' typical of the Madurese community, namely the public space with a power perspective, which consciously or not has become a natural thing in the Madurese social system.

Method

This study used a qualitative method with a phenomenological approach to see the

world view of the people of a village in Bukek Village, Telanakan District, Pamekasan Regency, Madura, was because of many functions and existence of *Tanean Lanjhang*, *Tanean*, and *Kobhung* kinship systems were found. Pamekasan Regency, Madura, and in which they are still widely public space activities. and not just an internal family space. After selecting the location, it was determined that the selection of informants of 8 people was based on the criteria for the representation of the elements as the substance needed for extracting the data for this research, namely: (1) 1 person from the element of Religious Leader; (2) 1 person from the Village Leader (representative of the Village Government); (3) 6 people from the community who were chosen from 2 nuclear families or *Tonghuh*, the owners of the *Tanean Lanjhang*'s house, especially still have the habit of gathering in public spaces, both social public space and family public spaces, including 2 heads of families, 2 women (wife) and 2 adult children. These eight informants were subjected to in-depth interviews and phenomenological qualitative discussions (world view) based on their point of view.

For data collecting, it follows the rules of phenomenological research through open (unstructured) qualitative interviews (Creswell, 2013), because through this method the essence of the observed phenomena can be told from a first-person point of view (people who experience it directly). The process of analyzing the data in this study uses the elaboration of the concept proposed by Creswell (Creswell, 2013), with the following stages: (1) Describing the integral experience of the Researcher and Informant; (2) Finding statements from interview results that are related to the basic questions in this research topic; (3) Perform data interpretation and data horizontalization as a process of equalizing the values of the statements found; (4) Describe and develop statement findings; (5) Meaning

unit as a process of classifying and detailing statements in meaningful units; (6) Textural description or describing the meaning of the text; (7) Carry out imaginative variations and structural descriptions from the researcher and then reflect on them to find common meanings from different perspectives; (8) Explaining the meaning and essence of the experience that has been generated and then constructed in a relevant manner; (9) Perform a composite description as a process of describing the overall experience for further merging.

Results and Discussion

Based on the results of the study, there are several findings that form the foundation of the analysis of the existence of public space for the Madurese community. First, social public sphere in Madura exists. In this case the meaning is as a gathering place for the community both in the family and social spheres. Public space in the family sphere is reflected in the traditional Madurese house pattern, namely *Tanean Lanjhang*. In *Tanean Lanjhang*, there are public areas both for men, women and all family members. The public areas are *Tanean*, *Kobhung* or *Langgar*, *Amper* and a special area for women, namely *Bhungko*. As quoted from the Informant's statement, as follows:

"Tempat se e daddiaghi posat lalakonah anggota kaloarga bedeh e kobhung ben tanean, otabena neng e amper. Lalake' biasanah akompol e langghar otabeh kobhung, sanajan babini' tempat akompolla reya e taneyan ban bhungko."

(The places that serve as centers for family members' activities are in Kobhung and Tanean or Amper. Men usually gather in langgar or kobhung, while women gather in tanean and bhungko).

The second finding is that the interaction that occurs in the gathering of family members is a relationship based on family values, harmony and socio-culture. Between family members in a *Tanean Lanjhang* will protect each other, especially male family members will tend to protect the female family. Therefore, the area for women, namely *Bhungko*, will be private and only reserved for female family members and will be an area that is guarded by all family members. However, there are interesting findings in the dynamics of the family relationship, as stated in the following statement:

"E dhalem partamoan kaloargha, se mèmpeñ iye areyah Eppak, iye areya kepala Kaloarga, saellannah badah kapotosan paste kalaban saran se e oca' aghin kepala Kaloarga. Mon ebhu paste toro' oca' apa se e oca' aghin Eppa' otabena Lakeh."

(In family gatherings, the father is head of the house, and the resulting decisions must always refer to the words of Father. And the position of a Mother or wife in the family is to always support what the father or husband says).

"Kè'-lakè se la dhibasa, bhakal mèmpeñ anggota anggota kaloarga se laèn bagian binian, tamaso' dhaddi bakkèl dhari kapala Kaloarga è bagto andi' alangan."

(Adult boys will lead other female family members, including will be the representative of the Head of the Household if unable to do so).

The above statement is in line with the existence of a reference standard that has been adhered by the Madurese, namely *Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato*. This meaning is about obedience which is deeply rooted, especially obedience to the figure of parents, especially to the Father figure. Meanwhile, obedience to mother is more about obedience to the demands of religion and deep-rooted traditions.

“Mun de’ka reng seppo bine’ tak olle drekah, polannah elarang agemah. Reng seppo bine’ jugen se abentoh reng seppo lakek arabhet kaloarga.”

(To the figure of Mother, we must not be disobedient, because religion is forbidden. The mother also helped the Father to raise the family).

Meanwhile, the concept of obedience of a mother or wife to her husband (male) is an absolute or obligatory thing to do.

“Tak olle se bine’ alengkaen se lake’, kabbi apahcan se lake’.”

(The wife may not pass her husband, everything that is done is based on what the husband says).

From the findings of the statement above, there is a value of obedience that is used and patterned so that it becomes a natural and mutualistic one. That is, there is a depiction of a deep-rooted dependence on the central figure in the family, namely the Father as the center of family decisions. This has been understood by all family members as a natural thing or what should happen and is obeyed without coercion (mutualistic hegemonic) and is also mutually beneficial among other family members, one of which is a female family member.

The third finding, social public space in the Madurese community occurs in places of worship for adherents of Islam (which is the majority religion of Madurese) namely *Langgar* and mosques located in Kampong Meji area, sub-villages, and territorial villages. Often, the social public space area is placed in the *Kobhung* which is in the house of *Kiai* or local community leader.

“Ding bedeh kompolan musyaweroh warga, pasteh e sabe’ e Musholla otabeh e masjid. Jarang e sabe’ e romanah warga otabeh e khobungah Kiaeh.”

(If there is a community meeting, it must be held in the Mushola or Mosque or in the Kiai’s Kobhung and rarely in people’s homes).

“E mimpen kompolan musyaweroh biasannah Kiaeh otabeh Klebun. Ding tadek pole, yeh oreng se yanggep oreng sepponah disah.”

(The ones who lead community meetings are usually Kiai or Klebun, if they are not there, they can be replaced by people who are considered Village Elders).

The fourth finding is that the dynamics that occur in the social public sphere generally depend on the level of education and understanding of the community. In Madurese society, the dynamics of differences of opinion are generally still very paternalistic or very dependent on the figure of the local strongman’ in society. In this case, figure of the local strongman varies depending on the typology of the village. The figure will generally be filled by Klebun figure refers to *Rato*, Kiai figure refers to *Ghuru* and other figures such as the village rich people. Meanwhile, ordinary people or ordinary citizens will tend to obey the opinions expressed by these community leaders.

“Tako’ se acacaah’ asabab ta’ tao, daddi mon e tanyaaghin pandapat sengko’, yah, noro’ pa-apa se e koca’aghin Pa’ Klebun ban Kiae beih.”

(People tend to be afraid to speak in public because they feel they don’t know anything, so when asked for their opinion, they tend to just say what Klebun and Kiai said).

“Saellana Kiae se adhabu, pasteh masyarakat pagghun parcajeh, sabab kyae rea e ghabai panutan e dinna’. Ta’ bangal dharakah da’ kyae, sabab tako’ dhusa.”

(If it is the Kiai who speaks, the people will definitely believe it because the Kiai is a role model here.” “I dare not disobey Pak Kiai, because I am afraid of sinning).

Some of statements above, further confirm the expression of *Bhuppa’-Bhâbbu’-*

Ghuru-Rato, that socially, obedience to 'Ghuru' in this case refers to the figure of teacher in Islam as the religion of the majority of Madurese people who are familiarly called 'Kiai', and the figure of 'Rato' refers to the formal leader of the community, which at the village level is represented by the figure of the Village Head (Klebun). In addition, obedience to social figures has now shifted to obedience to other 'strong people' such as 'Blater' (as it is called in West Madura) or Jagoan (as it is called in East Madura), as well as other strong figures such as local rich people.

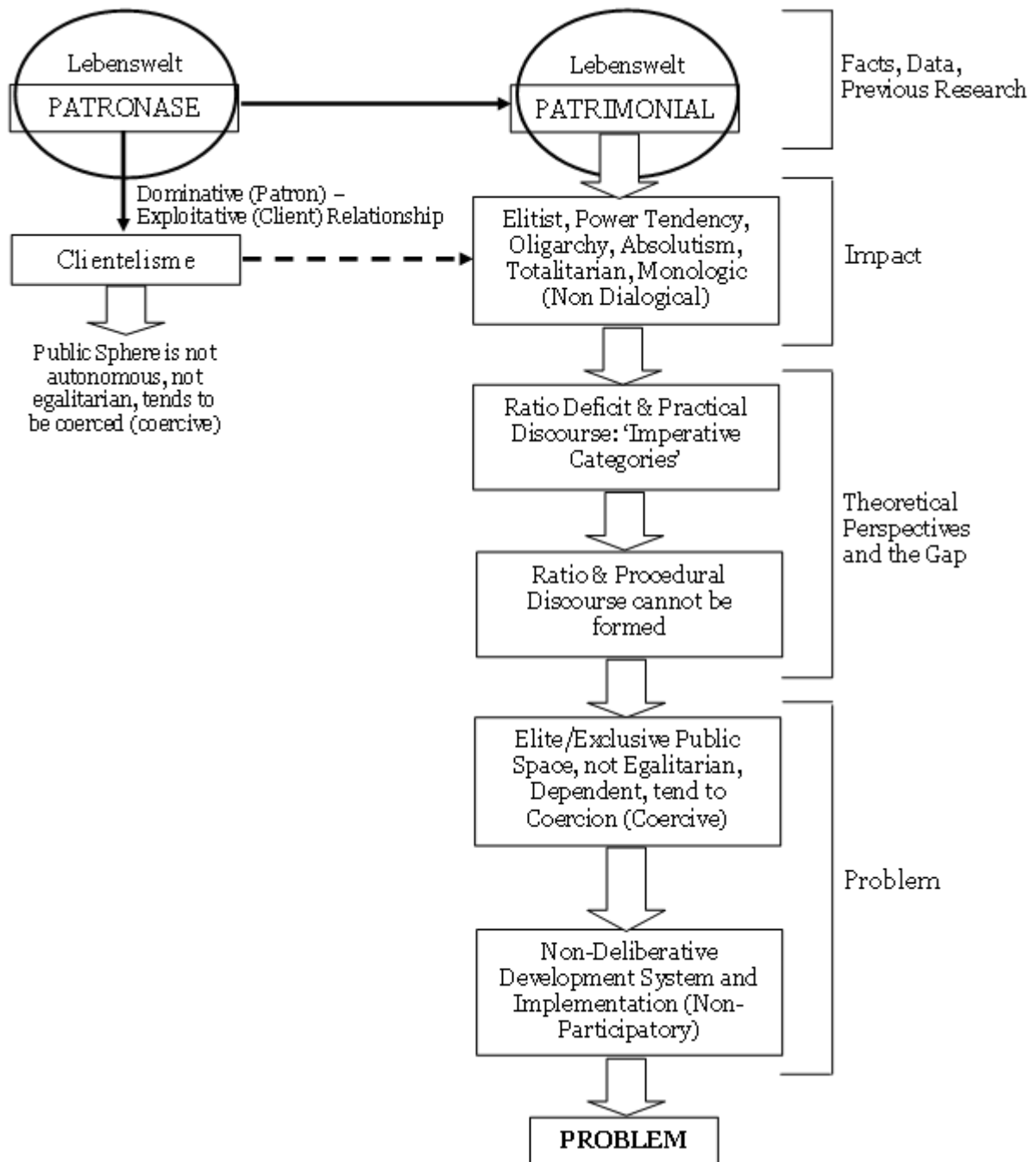
Power relation in the paternalistic public sphere problem in Madura

In the context of public sphere, Habermas divides it into several categories: plurality (families, informal groups, voluntary organizations), publicity (mass media, cultural institutions), privacy (regional individual and moral development), and legality (common legal structures and fundamental rights). Thus, there are so many public spheres for citizens and cannot be limited. Where there are people who communicate and discuss relevant themes, there is a public sphere. Public sphere is free and unlimited (Calhoun, 1992) (F B Hardiman, 2010). It is not tied to market interests or political interests. According to Habermas, The Public Sphere has the following characteristics (Habermas et al., 1991): (1) It is an arena of citizen political communication; (2) Based on communication procedures, not institutions, nor organizations, but conditions of communicative freedom; (3) Characterized by Practical Discourse, with the validity claims in question are Rightness; (4) Requires a democratic legal state system; (5) Public spaces exist wherever community meet to discuss relevant themes for a pluralistic and pluralistic society; (6) According to Aristotle

and Hannah Arendt (Alejandro, 1993), the characteristics of the public are equality, freedom and pluralism.

In Habermas' book entitled "Changes in the Structure of the Public Sphere," Jürgen Habermas succinctly explains the characteristics of the political public sphere as communication conditions that enable citizens to form discursively shared opinions and wills. The conditions referred to by Habermas are explained as follows: (1) Inclusiveness: Participation in political communication is only possible if the same language with semantics and logic is used consistently, where all citizens who can communicate can participate in the political public sphere; (2) Egalitarian: All participants in the political public sphere have equal opportunities to reach a fair consensus by treating their communication partners as autonomous individuals, capable of being responsible, not as tools for specific goals; (3) Pressure-Free: There must be common rules that protect the communication process from repression and discrimination so that participants can ensure that consensus is reached only through better arguments (Habermas et al., 1991).

It is interesting to talk about the practical and procedural discourse in building the Madurese public sphere. Because, when analogizing or contrasting the Lebenswelt conditions in Madura, the deep-rooted problems of paternalistic, patrimonial and patronage culture become increasingly visible. Public sphere and practical procedural discourse in Madurese society with the characteristics of inclusiveness, autonomy, egalitarianism and without coercion (Habermas et al., 1991), relatively not formed in the social system of society because there are problems with the typical patronage system, paternalistic traditions and the main reference of respect and social obedience for Madurese in *Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato* (Father, Mother, Teacher refers



to Kiai and *Rato* refers to formal leader). This space is relatively not formed in the social system of society because there are problems with the typical patronage system, paternalistic traditions, and the primary reference for respect and social obedience for the Madurese. At the family level, Madurese obedience will come from the orders of their parents or father/mother. Meanwhile, socially, the reference of obedience, submission and respect of the Madurese will refer to the figure of Kiai. Madurese obedience to Kiai has transcended various aspects of life, including formal leadership institutions under *Rato* or formal leader (Sahab, 2012). Meanwhile, in subsequent developments, other influential figures have also emerged who synergize with Kiai in the form of a strong person to guarantee the protection and physical safety of the Madurese community, known as *Blater* (Rozaki, 2004).

In addition, the problem of the Madurese community also occurs in the participatory (deliberative) development aspect. It causes the involvement of all communities in Madura to be non-existent because they are only represented by the prominent figures in the Madurese community, namely *Kyai* or Ulama, *Blater*, and *Rato*. This situation is what Jürgen Habermas calls 'Imperative Categories,' where there is a tendency of power in the majority's opinion (of the power elite) and is claimed to be 'essential' (Habermas, 2015a). The pattern of patronage makes the autonomous, egalitarian, and non-coercive nature non-existent because there is a high level of trust from the community only to the patron figure (*Kyai*, *Blater* and *Rato*). The paternalistic culture in Madura makes inclusive, egalitarian, and non-coercive nature unable to form because only the power elite can occupy a crucial position in public policymaking. This culture is maintained in the power structure by force.

The author describes this situation in the following chart:

In the view of Jürgen Habermas, it has been explained that there are three essential prerequisites for creating a public space: inclusive, egalitarian, and pressure-free (Habermas et al., 1991). There should be no domination and hegemony of power in participants' relationships in a public sphere interpreting these three meanings. This means that the public space will be imagined as an open space without power based on equality (egalitarian), symmetrical communication (inclusive and not exclusive), and there are no actors and interests that dominate (free of pressure).

Nevertheless, actually, at the beginning of the emergence of the public sphere, Habermas cast a pessimistic tone about his future which he mentioned in his book (Habermas et al., 1991), that the early history of the public sphere began with the existence of the bourgeois public sphere which was the mediator of the articulation of the interests of the classes. The bourgeoisie at that time with the ruling elite, which was closely related to the attraction of interests with the authorities, especially the state and the owners of capital (Habermas et al., 1991) (Prasetyo, 2012). In this case, Habermas also admits that the actual existence of the public sphere cannot be separated from the context of power. Then, (F B Hardiman, 2009) also strengthens this opinion by saying that in a public sphere that is influenced by power, it will be dominated by 'user actors', which is then explained by (Prasetyo, 2012) that the actor is not born in the public sphere. Instead, they present, occupy, and participate in it using money and influence to use the public. Generally, these actors have a social identity in the form of strong social legitimacy in society (Arditama, 2016).

Judging from the historical and cultural roots of the Madurese community, which are very patronage (patron-client bonds),

originating from the legacy of the past Madurese kingdom and the mixing of Islamic identity in ethnic characteristics, all of which still embodies the patriarchal pattern (prioritizing male or father lineage), then the paternalistic system and culture, which is a tradition of great and high respect for the father or religious leaders as parents, becomes a distinctive feature of the Madurese community. This situation makes this paternalistic culture thrive in local customs and behavior. It has also been proven by various maturity studies, including (Wiyata, 2008) (de Jonge, 1989) (Hicks, 1996) (Touwen-Bousma, 1988). In the Madurese community, paternalistic culture is seen in the community's adherence to the figure of the local *Kyai/Ulama* (Haryono, 2014) in a hierarchical manner and has become a standard reference for behavior for Madurese, which is contained in the proverb *Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato* (Father, Mother, Teacher refers to *Kiai*, and *Rato* refers to formal leader). This statement aligns with research from (Wiyata, 2003) and Hefni, 2012). Based on this tradition of obedience, the social action pattern of the Madurese also reflects the roots of strict adherence to the four main elements of the Madurese 'figures', which is in line with the results of research from (Widiatsih et al., 2018).

With such a situation in Madura, the public sphere is not as Habermas imagined or the conception of public space in Europe, inclusive, egalitarian, free of pressure. In Madura, there are several unique characteristics of the public sphere compared to Habermas' opinion. First, the inclusiveness of the public sphere does not occur because Madura adheres to language stratification in *ondaghân bhâsa*, meaning that there are different choices of language levels between certain people (*Kyai*, *Rato* and even *Blater*) with the general public. The *ngghinten* style, used for the honorable people, shows the exclusivity of the public space.

Second, the egalitarian nature also does not occur in the Madurese public sphere due to the strong paternalistic system shown in the ethnic adherence to the *Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato* figure and patron-client relations where *Kiai* tends to become patrons for their community. This means that a fair consensus among participants in the public sphere is difficult due to the strong myth of unconditional obedience to the *Kiai* as part of irrational ethnic compliance.

Furthermore, individuals in the public sphere are relatively non-autonomous in decision/consensus formation. Third, the pressure-free nature is relatively non-existent because the *Kiai's* charisma or physical strength of a *Blater* has become 'symbolic violence' according to Bourdieu (Bourdieu et al., 1991). Indeed, the hegemony of power is carried out subtly based on the terminology Gramsci (Gramsci et al., 1992) for other participants in the context of a public sphere. However, what is somewhat unique is that although the hegemony of charisma and the influence of the *Kiai* or *Blater* figure is enormous to the Madurese community, in its implementation, the Madurese do not feel the hegemonic domination of the 'orders' or words of the *Kiai* conveyed in the public sphere. Respect for the figure of a *Kiai* who is so high (noble), has placed the loyalty of the Madurese community to their *Kiai* in an ethnic allegiance that is borderless and irrational.

In the public sphere of the Madurese community, Habermas' requirements are indeed not fulfilled. However, that does not mean that the Madurese do not have a public sphere. Public sphere for them has been created in the arena of social discussion under the leadership of the main Madurese figures *Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato*, primarily through the figure of *Kiai*. The author tends to say that the public sphere of the Madurese community has a power perspective through the charismatic

hegemons of a *Kiai*, sometimes even *Blater* and a *Klebung* or *Rato* (formal leader) at the village level. However, is this wrong? In the author's analysis, this is not wrong because Habermas initiated the idea of his public sphere in the context of European culture through the public sphere of the polite and educated bourgeoisie.

Meanwhile, Indonesia, including Madura, has a diversity of local cultures far from those in Europe. The public sphere created in Madura is also very distinctive in line with the local culture that has taken root. So, if Madura has a paternalistic character through the hegemony of *Kiai*, *Blater* and *Rato*, then the public sphere created is a paternalistic public sphere. This statement is similar to (Arditama, 2016) and (Prasetyo, 2012), who examines the power relations of public space, which is also indicated by Habermas about the future of the public sphere, considering the emergence of the bourgeois public sphere in Europe is also inseparable from the interests of the state as ruler (Habermas et al., 1991) (Prasetyo, 2012).

With this categorization, the communal space or public sphere in Madurese house is found in several buildings. First, in *Kobhung* or *Langgar*, a shared space for families as a place of worship and public spaces for other family activities such as prayer, family deliberations, local tradition *tasyakuran*, or *kifayah* (the process of grieving and caring for the bodies of the deceased) (Ma'arif, 2015), as well as a space for family discussion and learning for the inheritance of the noble values of the Madurese community (Kuntowijoyo et al., 2017). Second, *Tanean* is the main room located in the middle of the house. It is in the form of open space and serves as a place for socialization between family members (both male and female), for children to play, daily activities such as drying the harvest, family rituals, or other activities that involve many people. In this case, there are several advantages of the

Tanean room compared to *Kobhung*, such as the *Tanean* is more open and semi-informal with non-permanent barriers (although to enter must go through the available door), *Tanean* is more egalitarian than the *Kobhung* because all family members can gather here, including women and children. This makes *Tanean* effective as a place of communication to bind close relationships and togetherness between families, and more importantly, as a means of uniting autonomy between each *Toghuh* family in one *Tanean Lanjhang* bond. Meanwhile, *Kobhung* is more formal and sacred (Heng & Kusuma, 2017) because it functions as a place of worship and is preferred for male family members, although women can enter it during joint worship and specific activities.

Socially, for the Madurese, a public place is placed in the *Kobhung* in the local *Kyai* or Ulama house. Not infrequently also if in a location there is an Islamic boarding school (primary education that uses the curriculum of Islamic teachings), then the *langgar* or mosque in the Islamic boarding school often becomes an arena for public sphere. Likewise, with a mosque or public *langgar* in a social location, the mosque or *langgar* will become the centre of community gathering for various social activities (Ma'arif, 2015). As a result of the placement of *langgar*, *Kobhung* and mosque as public sphere, *Kyai* or Ulama are put in a position of leaders in a community discussion because they are considered to have the highest social stratification in Madura due to their charisma and their mastery of the religion. The Madurese have even constructed *Kiai* as world leaders and *ukhrawi* (morality and sacred world), even as representatives of God on earth (Anderson, 2006).

The next problem is how power works in a paternalistic family and public social space such as the Madurese community. It seems that Antonio Gramsci's theory of 'power hegemony' is the answer to how a power

hegemony works in a public sphere. That the public space is not always as imagined by Habermas as an open space that always bases on equality, openness, and equal position and is always free from the various interests of the actors in it, but the public sphere is a space where various interests meet (Arditama, 2016). The contestation of power to win the influence and acceptance of participants in a public sphere on a particular issue has become an undeniable social fact, especially in conditions of paternalistic patterns such as in Madura. There is a different nuance when a *Kiai* convey a message or idea compared to what is conveyed by ordinary participants, even though the substance of the meaning is the same. Besides that, the pattern of *ondaghân bhâsa* that differs between *Kiai* and general participants also contributes to the hegemony of public opinion over the ideas or messages conveyed by a *Kiai*, especially since he has a characteristic 'charismatic' character. For this reason, *Kiai* are often used as the most effective mediators as messengers (Haryono, 2014), which guarantees compliance with the Madurese community's social behavior.

The highest respect for the figure of *Kiai* in the patron-client relationship is also reflected about *Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato* and the embodiment of the application of Islamic identity in the Madurese community (Susanto, 2012) (Pribadi, 2018), so that the role of the teacher in Islam, namely *Kiai*, will be a crucial point (Patriadi et al., 2015). There is always a need for Madurese (especially the *Santri*) to always be close to *Kiai*. Not surprisingly, the figures of *Kyai* will become the reference center for public decision making for the Madurese community with a relatively independent role structure economically and politically, separate from the power structure (Touwen-Bouwsmas, 1992). Under such conditions, the contestation of the power of a *Kiai* on behalf of social parents (*Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'*), religious

leaders (*Ghuru*), as well as key actors holding *Rato'* opinions (formal leaders), will occur without a match in the opinion domination and public action. In this case, the contestation of *Kiai's* power in the Madurese public sphere has been carried out through a process of subtle power hegemony based on Gramsci's thinking (Gramsci et al., 1992). It shows that there is a 'symbolic violence' in Bourdieu's terminology (Bourdieu et al., 1991), which is unique, for the Madurese, this kind of ethnic compliance is considered a natural thing, even the behavior of having to obey is considered mutually beneficial (hegemony-mutualistic).

Hardiman has also strengthened this opinion by saying that in a public sphere influenced by a power perspective like Madura, opinion contestation will be dominated by user actors (Hardiman, 2009). User actors are defined as those who are not born in a public space, but are present, occupy, and participate in the public sphere by using money and its influence to use the public (F B Hardiman, 2009) (Prasetyo, 2012). Generally, this actor will have a social identity in the form of strong social legitimacy in society (Prasetyo, 2012) (Arditama, 2016), as is the hallmark of a Madurese *Kyai* with the context of his charisma or strong influence on the Madurese (Susanto, 2012).

Conclusion

The Madurese community has a distinctive paternalistic pattern of customs and culture, reflected in the history of patron-client relations, a strong cultural Islamic identity so that the patriarchal system is very influential, and various local mythologies and references (local genius) such as the standard of compliance with the ethnic *Bhuppa'-Bhâbbu'-Ghuru-Rato*. Therefore, it has placed the leading figure of *Kiai* as the primary social figure intertwined with *Blater* as a security guard as a result of his social

role as a local, in line with thinking (Rozaki, 2004), in which the role of both has exceeded the formal leadership of a *Rato'*. Under such conditions, the Madurese public space in joint discussions in the *Kobhung* and *Tanean* arenas, both internally in one *Tanean Lanjhang* and socially between *Tanean Lanjhangs*, will be dominated by the central role of a *Kiai* as the leader of public discussions. The consensus that emerges is a typical paternalistic consensus where *Kiai's* opinions will become hegemonic ideas/messages that subtly dominate the agreement in the public sphere. In the context of Indonesia's cultural diversity, Madura proves that the public sphere of Habermas' perspective may not apply, but they have their typology of public space which, even though it has a power perspective (Gramsci's hegemony) and nuances of symbolic violence in Bourdieu's terminology. Nevertheless, Madurese live in such a situation as usual and mutually reinforcing ethnic obedience (hegemony-mutualistic), as Scott said in his conception of the patron-client relationship as a reciprocal relationship that is mutually beneficial even though there are differences in social and economic status (Scott, 2010).

This research is not without weaknesses or limitations. It is only limited to observations related to the phenomenon of 'power' in the Madurese public space that occurs between participants/actors and does not expand observations in the context of how the details of power relations are formed between *Kyai* or *Ulama* as User Actors (to borrow the term of F. Budi Hardiman) or elements involved in the intended relationship with other participants in a public sphere. This research is primarily to prove that the public sphere is not merely a conception imagined by Habermas with inclusiveness, egalitarianism and anti-domination, but instead has become an arena for contesting the interests and power of the actors in it. In the perspective of Habermas, the public sphere may be

very different from the categorization of public sphere in the cultural peculiarities of Madura.

Declaration of Ownership

This article is our original work.

Conflict of Interest

There is no conflict of interest to declare in this article.

Ethical Clearance

This study was approved by the institution.

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