

THE SHIFTING OF RELIGIOSITY IN THE AREA AFFECTED BY STEAM POWERED ELECTRIC GENERATOR BATANG PROJECT

MUCHAMAD FAUYAN*

Institut Agama Islam Negeri Pekalongan

Abstract

This study aims to reveal religious attitude shifting of Ujungnegero's inhabitants, in Batang regency. They have been affected by the building of the power plant project (PLTU/Steam-Electric Power Station). This study is also aimed to recommend solutions need to be taken by religious leaders, community leaders, and the government to counter the negative impacts of PLTU project. The method used in this study is descriptive with study case technique. The data were collected through interview, Focus Group Discussion (FGD), observation, and documentation. The process of analyzing qualitative data uses Miles and Huberman Model. The results of this study show: (1) the shifting of religiosity of Ujungnegero's inhabitants can be viewed from 5 aspects, encompassing creed ('*aqīdah*'), knowledge, rituals, religious practices, and comprehension. In the element of '*aqīdah*', there is no change as there is no new belief or thought appears amidst society. While, concerning knowledge, it is increasing even though other aspects are decreasing in quality. It is evidenced by the spirituality and inner attitude of the society who feel inconvenience as they face modern lifestyle, which is very individualistic and materialistic. (2) The factors that influence the shifting are the level of people's religious understanding, the condition of family finance, and environment that apply consumptive and hedonistic culture during the period

* Corresponding author: Jl. Kusuma Bangsa No.9, Panjang Baru, Kec. Pekalongan Utara, Kota Pekalongan, Jawa Tengah 51141. E-mail: fzfnzn84@gmail.com.

of growth and marriage. (3) Ujungnegoro's people already have a solution and have taken action to overcome the negative impacts of the power plant project. However, a systematic plan through educational and technological approach by creating culture or literate community is needed to enliven religious activities among them and to enrich reading and spiritual guidance based on printed technology, computer technology, and integrated technology.

Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk mengungkapkan pergeseran sikap keberagamaan masyarakat Desa Ujungnegoro sekaligus mendeskripsikan resolusi yang perlu diambil oleh tokoh agama, tokoh masyarakat, dan pemerintah dalam usaha menghadang dampak negatif dari sebuah pembangunan PLTU. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah metode deskriptif. Teknik pengumpulan data yang digunakan, yaitu wawancara, FGD, observasi, dan dokumentasi. Proses analisis data kualitatif yang digunakan adalah model Miles dan Huberman. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa: (1) Sikap keberagamaan masyarakat Ujungnegoro dapat diketahui dari lima dimensi, termasuk akidah, pengetahuan, ritual, pengamalan, dan penghayatan. Tidak nampak perubahan yang berarti pada dimensi akidah. Pada dimensi pengetahuan diketahui cenderung terdapat peningkatan, tetapi pada dimensi yang lain terjadi pergeseran yang cenderung menurun kualitasnya. Hal tersebut dapat dilihat dari spiritualitas dan orientasi sikap batin masyarakat mengalami ketidaknyamanan dalam hidup karena dihadapkan pada pola kehidupan tradisional menuju modern yang berdampak pada pembentukan sikap individualis dan materialis. (2) Faktor yang mempengaruhi pergeseran tersebut, antara lain: faktor internal tingkat pemahaman dan penghayatan agama seseorang, keadaan ekonomi keluarga, dan lingkungan masyarakat yang memiliki budaya konsumtif dan hedonis pada acara-acara daur hidup fase pertumbuhan dan perkawinan; dan (3) Masyarakat Ujungnegoro sendiri sudah memiliki resolusi dan bertindak guna menanggulangi dampak negatif dari pembangunan PLTU terhadap pergeseran sikap keberagamaannya. Namun demikian, agar upaya itu berhasil sekiranya diperlukan langkah sistematis dengan pendekatan teknologi pendidikan melalui penumbuhan budaya atau ekosistem literasi masyarakat dengan menyemarakkan

THE SHIFTING OF RELIGIOSITY ...

kegiatan keagamaan dan memperkaya bacaan serta panduan keagamaan berbasis teknologi cetak, teknologi komputer, dan teknologi terpadu yang pada gilirannya diharapkan dapat diikuti maraknya spiritualitas masyarakat secara batiniyah.

Keywords: PLTU Batang; power plant project; religious attitude; shifting of religiosity.

Introduction

PLTU Batang Jawa Tengah or Central Java Power Plant (CJPP) is an ultra-critical steam-powered electric generator project producing 2 x 1,000 MW to fulfil electricity demand in Java Island. It is also a part of 35,000 MW electricity supply program. PLTU Batang is developed by Special Purpose Vehicle (SPV) PT Bhimasena Power Indonesia and made up of J-POWER (34%), Adaro (34%), and Itochu (32%). This Central Java PLTU is the first massive-scale project with more than 30 Trillion investment as well as the first project which is conducted based on Presidential Regulation No. 67 Year 2005 about Government and Business Entity Cooperation on Infrastructure Provision (*Peraturan Pemerintah, 2005*)

The establishment of PLTU Batang faces pros and cons from the people around the project regarding its impact both positive and negative. The project has caused shifting and change in many aspects of social life. The shift includes social issue, economic, political, and cultural, which undeniably and inevitably keeps happening in the dynamics of life. The change, whether in terms of improvement or decline, will always exist consciously or unconsciously.

The project of PLTU Batang covers ten villages, in which three communities are being the site of the project, including Ujungnegoro, Karanggeneng, and Ponowareng. At the same time, the others provide access to the site and used for electric-

ity distribution, i.e. Wonokerso, Simbangjati, Beji, Tulis, Wringingitung, Kenconorejo, and Kedungsesog Village (Yuniasti et al. 2015).

Since the beginning of PLTU construction, people have responded with different perceptions. They split into the pros and cons group. It is because the people received inaccurate information and promotion in the beginning.

Besides, the different compensation in land price between the government and the winner of tender that is PT Bhimasena Power Indonesia (PT BPI), heated the situation. The landowners have been given Rp.20.000 per meter in the beginning. It then increased from 30.000/meter to 50.000/meter before rising to 100.000/meter. Finally, in early 2015, the price rose to 400.000/meter. It made those who have received money under 400.000/meter got disappointed. Some became shocked and trauma psychologically, causing health deterioration and even death. Compensation receivers have continuously been struggling for their rights by asking for valid data about the amount of compensation from the tender holder through Public Information Committee. They have decided to get as much as 400.000/meter. They are very persistent in struggling by rejecting offered price 100.000/meter and file this issue to the court of Batang, and the process of settlement is continuing until now.

One of the functions of religion is as social control, and religion actually could stimulate its followers to be more sensitive towards social issues such as immorality, poverty, justice, prosperity, and humanity (Rakhmat 2007). Yet, such function does not work effectively when religion is confronted with globalization and modernization like in the case of Ujungnegoro people. Based on previous researches, it is known that the existence of PLTU Batang causes lifestyle and religious attitude shifting among society both the highly devoted believers (*santri*) and less

devoted believers (*abangan*), especially for those who get compensation and the people who work for the project. The shifting concerning religious attitude encompasses individual and social aspects. The former is related to five-time prayers, repugnance in praying together in a mosque, and the decline of people enthusiasm in joining religious activity conducted by the local government. In the social aspect, the development of way of life of the people gradually does not conform to the local culture of the society, individualism, inappropriate dress style, rampant entertainments like clubbing, karaoke, and nightclub in the village.

Laurence R. Iannaccone, as cited by Chuzaimah Batubara (2015), on her research, has stated that religious beliefs on a large scale would affect the behaviour of an individual and even society. On this context, religion becomes a leading factor which brings changes. Further, Cialdini said that “*Social norms and religion have been shown to have significant influences on human behaviour.* A similar view is also stated by William J. Goode (Chuzaimah Batubara 2015) that technology or industry is the main factor of family change in several dimensions, including the behaviour of its members.

Some renowned researchers also have proclaimed that a religious attitude shift could be affected by the social-economic change. M. McCleary and R. J. Barro in their study (Chuzaimah Batubara 2015) put forward that shifting in religious attitude can be viewed from four elements: education, leisure, age, and urbanization. The higher someone’s education is, the better his/her religious attitude to be. Indeed, S. Sairin (Chuzaimah Batubara 2015) argues that there are two factors of religious attitude shift, i.e. internal and external. The external factors include social economy, culture, and education, while the internal factors are psychological aspect, individual as well as a group experience.

Another relevant research was conducted by Pradani, Purnomo, and Suyadi (2014) entitled “*Dampak Pembangunan Pembangkit Listrik Tenaga Uap (PLTU) Paiton Terhadap Kondisi Sosial Ekonomi Masyarakat Desa Binor*” (The Effect of Paiton’s Steam Powered Electric Generator (PLTU) towards Social and Economic Condition of Binor’s Village Society). The research’s finding states that the positive effect of PLTU project is improving people’s living standard as it provides job vacancy, enhancing education, and people’s income. But, it also causes adverse effects such as social relationship break, hedonistic lifestyle, and materialism that offers worldly enjoyment, pleasure, and satisfaction. Similar to Pradani’s research, Nawawi, Ruyadi, and Komariah (2017) reveal on their study that there is a positive relation between industrial existence in Lagadar Village, Marga Asih Sub-district Bandung Regency and the improvement of social, economic condition of the people such as high income, occupation opportunity, health, and the possession of life facilities. But, in the sector of education, there is no improvement.

Further, Fahmi (n.d.) on his research has mentioned that rapid development in Sidoarjo caused new social problems in the society including bad interaction between newcomers and locals, beliefs, change of people mindset and behaviour. The project changes the social life of the people to a considerably negative direction. Yet, there is a positive move as people’s religious tolerance in Sidoarjo is quite high. No conflict happens among them.

But, to explain the condition of Islamic education of Ujungnegero’s people before the construction of PLTU, writer overview previous related research conducted in Ujungnegero Village by Aniswatun Hidayah (2012) titled “*Hambatan Pendidikan Agama Islam Dalam Keluarga Pada Masyarakat Nelayan di Desa Ujungnegero Kecamatan Kandeman Kabupaten Batang Tahun*”

2012” (Islamic Education Barriers in Families of Fishing Community in Ujungnegoro Village, Kandeman Sub-district, Batang Regency in 2012). Her study shows that there are many barriers in Islamic Education on fishing families in Ujungnegoro Village, such as religious, economic, social, and cultural factor. Many people do not care about the Islamic education of their family. It is because father, head of the family, needs to go fishing on the sea for several days which enables him to go home. As a result, he could not give guidance and Islamic education to his family members. Besides, his wife is also busy to work. So, the family who gives serious attention to Islamic education, whether formal or non-formal is tiny. Whereas, extravagant lifestyle becomes very rampant in society.

Different from the previous studies, this study does reveal not only the development impact on social, economic, behavioural aspect but also its implications for religious attitude shift. This study also shows the solutions need to be taken by religious figures, public figures, and government to encourage Ujungnegoro people to comprehend the real meaning and aim of life. Besides, this study aims to portray the efforts taken by the figures of the society that religion must be their life foundation that can lead people to a more positive direction, which is happiness in both the world and hereafter.

Based on the reasons as mentioned earlier, a study of religious attitude shift of Ujungnegoro’s society as to have been affected by the Power Plant Project is vital to conduct. In this study, the author uses an approach elaborated by Robertson (1993), who divides society’s religious attitude shift into five aspects, including belief, practice, experience, knowledge, and consequence. Besides, the author also uses Suroso’s idea (Suroso 1995) who states that there are five dimensions of Islam, i.e. *‘aqīdah*, worship (*ritual*), or practice (*‘ibādah*), perfection (*‘ihsān*), and knowledge (*‘ilm*).

So, the formulation of the problems in this study are as follow. 1) How is the religious attitude shift of Ujungnegoro's society as to have been affected by the Power Plant Project?. 2) What are the factors that have caused religious attitude shift among the people of Ujungnegoro, Kandeman Subdistrict, Batang Regency?. and 3) What are the efforts and solutions taken by the public and religious figure to solve these problems?

This study is qualitative based research using descriptive method through case study technique. This study was conducted in Ujungnegoro Village, the area affected by the Power Plant Project. Ujungnegoro becomes the most affected area as there are lots of changes and shift in many aspects. The study population is the people of Ujungnegoro. The informants were selected based on snowball sampling including local government figures, public and religious figures, local inhabitants above 20 years old, landowners who received compensation, farmworkers, PLTU workers, and other people who know the activities of the project. In contrast, the Muslim informants were chosen from various background.

Data collection techniques used were interview, Focus Group Discussion (FGD), observation, and documentation. The process of analysing data used Miles and Huberman model (Interactive Model). To guarantee the validity of the data, credibility test (internal validation) and transferability (external validation) were conducted.

Result and Discussion

Ujungnegoro village is located in Kandeman Sub-district, Batang Regency. The town is surrounded by the Java Sea in the North and then by Juragan village, Depok Village, and Karanggeneng Village in the South, West, and the East respectively.

Administratively, Ujungnegoro belongs to Batang Regency that is in Kandeman Sub-district (separated from Tulis Sub-dis-

trict since 2007). This village covers 550.550 Ha and divided into four sub-villages (Ujungnegoro, Rowokudo, Gadangan, and Sumur).

Most of the inhabitants are Javanese who still preserve their customs and life cycle traditions bequeathing until today. These traditions include pregnancy phase (*mitoni, mendhem ari-ari, puputan*), marriage phase (*Nyapih, Sunatan, Manten*), and death phase (*selamatan telung dina, pitung dina, patang puluh dina, satus dina, sewu dina*). The marriage phase, in particular, for most of the locals are celebrated with traditional Javanese puppet performance (*wayang*) or Indonesian folk music (*dangdut*) which is more wasteful and hedonistic.

Kinship in Ujungnegoro is still established well among villagers. Majority of them were Muslim as many as 7132 people and the Christians are only five. All of them are Indonesian. The infrastructure and facility available are two mosques and 18 prayer rooms (*musholla*). At the same time, the level of education for adults and the quality of human resources in Ujungnegoro are still considered low.

As a village, Ujungnegoro has many potentials either from its nature or society's culture. Ujungnegoro's coastal area has become a tourism site and is selected as Kawasan Konservasi Laut Daerah (KKLD) or Local Sea Conservation Area. Then, through a long process and agitation between the pros and cons of Ujungnegoro villagers. Since 2015, Ujungnegoro-Roban, Batang Regency was eventually appointed for the most significant Power Plant Project, Steam Powered Electric Generator (PLTU), in Southeast Asia to produce 2 x 1,000 MW. According to the data of LBH (legal aid) Semarang (Hamdy Auda 2016, 2), the construction of this megaproject is undertaken by J-Power (Japan) consortium occupying 700 hectares of land area which includes productive farming land. Indeed, the property covers 124.5

hectare of technically irrigated rice field, 20 hectare of jasmine farm, 152 hectares of rain-fed rice field, and Ujungnegoro-Roban's Local Sea Conservation Area (KKLD) which is also coral reefs habitat (Hamdy Auda 2016, 2).

People's Perception Towards PLTU Batang Project

Perception is an organization, interpretation towards stimulus accepted by organism or individual to form something matters, and is an activity which is integrated into individual.

Based on interview and FGD, the informants have different opinion both positive and negative. Those who think positively gave various responses like "*feeling helped*", "*good*", "*very good*", and "*extremely agree*". One of the informants, Muhammad Subhi, said: "*It is excellent as it opens many job vacancies. Many Ujungnegoro villagers get job*".

Less appreciation was conveyed by Khumaeroh, someone who got land compensation, by saying: "*It is unpleasant and disappointing*". On the other hand, Kasiri was very happy as he gained lots of money from compensation as much 400,000 rupiahs per meter. It was confirmed by Sutarno who said: "*Some people are happy and the others got disappointed*".

Apart from those two perceptions, there is a neutral opinion but aware of the danger of this project that would lead to chaos in society. Widianah stated, "*I think this is just a regular event as it does not affect me, but it may cause due to unfair compensation*".

People's Religious Attitude Shift in the Area Affected by the Project

People's religious attitude shift in Ujungnegoro can be analysed from five dimensions, i.e. belief, practice, experience, knowledge, and consequence. Besides, the author also uses Suroso's idea (Suroso 1995) that classifies aspect of Islam into five:

'aqīdah, worship (*ritual*), deed (*'amāl*), perfection (*'iḥsān*), and knowledge (*'ilm*).

First, in the aspect of Islamic creed, it can be said that there is no shift and change since the construction of PLTU. The people in that area still adopt *'Ahl al-Sunnah Wa al-Jamā'ah* of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) even though most of them could not answer when being asked about the doctrine of *'Ahl al-Sunnah Wa al-Jamā'ah* (*aswaja*).

For NU community who are santri, they understand about the doctrine of *'Ahl al-Sunnah Wa al-Jamā'ah* such as 50 attributes of Allah and His messenger (*'Aqā'id Seket*), but this teaching starts vanishing and becomes odd among young generation of Ujungnegoro. *'Aqā'id Seket* is formerly often recited before the second call for prayer (*'iqāmah*), but now it becomes rare to hear. The characters of the people as villagers steadily shifted into urban. In the orientation of inner attitude and feeling, Ujungnegoro society encountered inconvenience or being not composed on their worship faced by life condition that leads into individualism and materialism. They tended to comply with economic activities aroused by PLTU existence. In general, judgment on the outside looks showed that their life orientation started to be carried away by a feeling of worldly love through trading or their work. This phenomenon began to appear on new jobs they performed, making them neglectful toward praying activity in a mosque (*masjid jami'*) or a little mosque (*mushola*) and some cases they even abandoned their responsibility of taking prayer. On respondents' statement during the interview, they expressed their trust in heaven and hell exist, but seemed not fully to acknowledge it.

Related to *'aqīdah*, in response to the coming of thousands of PLTU workers and the fact that they have been living around PLTU construction for quite long, a mosque was built near the

area. But the religious figures of Ujunggoro were afraid of the mosque was used as a media for spreading new Islamic *'aqidah* which is not suitable with the belief of the locals that already exists before. Hence, the public and religious figures make an effort to manage and prosper mosques with *aswaja*-based religious activities to confront the rise of new sect *such as Wahabi*.

Secondly, with regards to the aspect of knowledge, it is related to someone's knowledge and understanding of his/her religious teachings. According to the data collected through interview, observation, and FGD, Ujunggoro's society can be classified as follows: (1) The *santri*, the people who have relatively high religious understanding such as religious figures, mosque and mushola management, young and adult that join religious organisation, men and women who join *Yasin* and Quran recitation community, and those who are obedient on performing religious rituals. (2) The *abangan* group, Those who have a deep understanding on religious teaching caused by poor attention on religious education in their family. This group consists of Ujunggoro's people working as a fisherman and the youth who have never joined a religious education nor an Islamic school (*madrasah diniyah*).

Those categorizations refer to the book written by Clifford Geertz (1976) entitled "*The Religion of Java*" which divides Javanese into three groups, namely *santri*, *priyayi*, and *abangan*. However, in this study, the writer groups the people of Ujunggoro into two categories, i.e. *santri* and *abangan*.

The Islamic understanding of Ujunggoro's people before and after the construction of PLTU is not changed and even increasing. This increase is evidenced from the increasing number of infrastructures and information media spreading Islamic education such as Quran routine recitation in mosques and recitation of specific part of the Quran such as *Yasin* and *Tablil*

community. Nevertheless, it is not optimally benefited by society. It is in accordance with what respondents said that religious activities are increasing, but the number of people taking part in that activities is decreasing.

The finding in this study thus conforms to that in Aniswatun Hidayah (2012) stating that before PLTU construction, most of Ujungnegoro people already found barriers on the effort to join in religious instruction activity and educate their children in formal or non-formal religious education provided in Ujungnegoro Village. It is not exaggerated to group Ujungnegoro's fishermen as *abangan* due to lack of understanding in religion.

Thirdly, the ritual dimension is related to worship frequency and intensity of Ujungnegoro's society. In this regard, it can be said that after the construction of PLTU, religious ritual aspect was stagnant in general and tended to lead to negative shifting. The findings in this study show that daily five-time prayers (*salat*) of the people have shifted. Most of the people who are Muslim are not able to perform five-time prayers orderly. Even the *santri* who get a job in PLTU make it as an excuse not to perform *salat*. The condition of *abangan* group is worse as they rarely perform *salat*, and some of them are even never performing *salat* at all.

The number of people performing prayer in mosques and *mushola* is increasing since the construction of PLTU, but they are not local people. They are newcomers working at PLTU and therefore stay in Ujungnegoro. Mosques and *mushola* become little crowded during *Magrib* and *Isha* prayer, but the number is still below expectation. In Nurul Huda Mosque, during *dhuhr* and *ashar* there are only 7 to 12 men and 5 to 10 women. Most of them are oldster. After praying together, they are used to continue their ritual with remembrance to Allah (*dhikr*) under the leadership of their imam. However, some prefer to go home without *dhikr*.

Mosques and *mushola* for Ujungnegoro's people are used as the centre of religious activities like Quran recitation. Children recitation of the Quran is conducted in mosques after prayer of the night (*maghrib*). But some other children also learn Quran recitation at the teacher's house. One of the teachers (*ustadz*) is Ustadz Kamilin. Teenagers and women who are already fluent in reading the Quran and those who do not tend to stop reciting it with their teacher. But some of them choose to do it by themselves after *maghrib*.

The different condition was found in sub-village Gadangan and Sumur. Here, many families like to take a rest and do their leisure activities by watching TV at home after *maghrib*. The condition is getting worse due to the presence of internet services in some places and *PlayStation* rentals which then take much time of the children in Ujungnegoro Village. Many of them spend their time after school at those places by playing the game. As a result, they often forget to do prayer. They have been addicted to the game so that they become neglectful with their religious obligation such as prayer and Quran recitation.

Furthermore, there is no surveillance from their parents, especially those who work as a fisherman. This is confirmed by the imam of Gadangan Mosque, "*Ya I am also confused why no children are performing Maghrib and Isha prayer together. Maybe their parents do not care with them.*"

There are plenty of weekly religious activities in Ujungnegoro held by youth religious organisation like IPNU-IPPNU and public religious circles (*majlis ta'lim*). However, only a few people who join in that activity. They prefer to do economic activities. Sutarni said "*Like in the program of religious instruction (pengajian), usually the people do not come regularly. On a certain day, A and B might join the program, but C did not. In the following day, it was B who join, but A and C did not and so*

on. *It seems that they have arranged their shift to come or not. It may be because of the job*". While with regards to religious activities by teenagers, Siti Rofiah said "*The activity in the mosque which is always crowded with attendants is berzanji (a composition of poetry in order to glorify the Prophet).*"

Then, regarding the ritual of fasting during Ramadan, formerly there is no difference before and after the construction of the PLTU project. Those who are accustomed to fasting keep performing fasting. But, with the increasing number of newcomers, the circumstance during Ramadhan in Ujungnegoro is changed. Before this time, it is seldom to see people who are openly eating in food stall during the day. Now, it has been a standard view even among the locals. Food stalls around PLTU and along the main road are filled with project workers who are eating on the daytime during Ramadan. Edi Raharjo said, "*Before PLTU was constructed, rarely are people eating during the day, but now, many people without hesitation abandon fasting ritual.*"

For *tarawih* prayer in Ramadhan, it becomes more crowded since the presence of Muslim PLTU workers staying in Ujungnegoro. One of the interviewees stated that *jaburan* (dinner invitation after tarawih) becomes more frequent. There are more people giving food with a varied menu. In terms of almsgiving (*infaq*), generally, there is an increase in amount. While for *Zakat al-Fitr*, its management is handled by the village committee, but some people also give their zakat to Quran teacher or childbirth medicaster. They are always consistent to pay *Zakat al-Fitr*. For money zakat (*Zakat al-Mal*), it is quite challenging to know as there are no many wealthy people in Ujungnegoro. With regards to Hajj and Umrah pilgrimage to Mecca, it is increasing significantly as many people got land compensation from the PLTU project. Other annual religious rituals (*haul*) celebrated by the locals are Shaikh Maulana Magribi every 15 of Safar, Eid al-Fitr,

Eid al-Adha, Prophet Birth Festivity in Rabiul Awal, Isra' Mi'raj in Rajab, Nisf Sya'ban Festivity, and so on.

Fourthly, religious practices actually can be manifested through friendly and kind behaviour towards others, helping, being responsible, and so forth. The results of this study reveal that face to face meetings (*silaturahmi*) among inhabitants, according to the informants, goes to decline. Even they just greet each other through smartphone. The old habit of greeting another person who passes by rarely happens now.

The presence of PLTU also has broken the bond of family and kinship. There is even conflict among family members due to the difference in land compensation. To take an example, there is a case where the son did not want to attend his father's burial because of inheritance. This phenomenon unveils that different compensation can bring conflict within families which was used to be harmonious.

This study also reveals that in general Ujungnegoro people were still trying to preserve their tradition such as *nyumbang/tilikan*, a tradition to attend neighbour who has ceremonial by donating in the form of money, staple foods or building material to those who are building a house and visiting those who are sick in the hospital. Cooperation is also carried out by people by working together in cleaning their environment. Such habit and collaboration are still preserved though it seems to decrease. The decrease is caused by their busy in working as being fisherman that make them need to sail for months. It then changes the social interaction among people.

Besides, principally Ujungnegoro society is still making an effort on preserving their religious practices in the village. But, the warm atmosphere, safety, comfort, and intimacy created by the villagers is then disturbed by the coming of PLTU workers. The social condition becomes so noisy and inconvenience after

THE SHIFTING OF RELIGIOSITY ...

the development of PLTU which shifts the religious attitude of the local people due to the growing number of boarding houses, food stalls, shops, entertainment places, and many more. Lots of newcomers misbehave and ignore social values and order. The condition is getting worse at night as they like gathering, having fun and organizing parties.

Fifthly, in the dimension of religiosity, it can be concluded that it is decreasing. This fact can be seen from their attitude in using the compensation they have received. The money from land compensation is a test for the receivers. Some passed the test while the others did not. The people who successfully passed the test are those who could spend their money on main priority in life.

On the contrary, those who allocated their money only for momentary pleasure or renovated their house with no consideration have failed. Before the PLTU construction, Ujungnegoro society still showed their kinship and modesty in life. But with the improving economy caused by the project, there is a shifting in their social life. It seems that they like to contest for worldly things, beautifying their house, fulfilling their facility, but very poor in organizing social events.

From the interview with religious figures in Ujungnegoro, it can be said that life orientation of the people in Ujungnegoro started to shift towards valuing material dimension. The people tended to stuck in worldly direction because sometimes policy-maker and stakeholders in Ujungnegoro did not perform their tasks responsibly. They argued that there is still an injustice with the emergence of new kings in the village that controls the life of others. It was found in the chance of getting a new job with the presence of PLTU project, foods distribution, compensation, and program supports from the government which were not fairly distributed to the right people. Sometimes, on running their

business, some people violate the law by selling alcohol on their food stalls which are prohibited (*haram*).

According to Ujungnegoro society, the rich will be more respected than the religious person. Therefore, it is not surprising if religious education for the children in the family comes second after the importance of worldly matters.

Besides, in terms of perception for sinning, there is a difference. Before the development of PLTU, people who were not fasting were still feeling embarrassed to eat during the day. Now they are openly eating at many food stalls around the project. They are also not ready with the increasing number of garbage and waste due to the growing number of newcomers. The form of their unpreparedness can be seen from the way they value environment cleanliness and health maintenance though keeping the cleanliness is part of one's faith. Many of them only focus on profit gaining from boarding house business without concerning the hygiene and health aspect of the environment. It is also caused by the absence of rules that manage the boarding house business.

Based on the facts above, it can be concluded that the religious attitude shifting of Ujungnegoro society took place in all aspects. The increasing number of religious ritual activities in Ujungnegoro was not equal with the expanding number of recitation devotees. Religious attitude shifting of Ujungnegoro society is reflected from their *'aqīdah* or faith, which is not balanced with their devotion. Islam does not command its adherents to only have a belief. Still, they also need to actualize it through their action as Imam Qusairi said in his book *Durrat al-Nāṣihīn* (Ali Nurdin 2010), that the devotee has some criteria such as humble (*tawadlu'*), the inner contentment with little (*qanā'ah*), scrupulous piety (*wara'*), dan trust (*yaqīn*). The level of *'aqīdah* of Ujungnegoro society was proven to exert an effect on other

religious aspects, namely knowledge, ritual, experience, and appreciation. In other words, the realization of faith and devotion of those people actually can be seen through their *'ibādah*, either canonical and compulsory commitment (*'ibādah maḥḍlah*) or non-compulsory or social loyalty (*'ibādah ghairu maḥḍlah*).

The Factors that Affect the Religious Attitude Shifting of Ujungnegoro's People

Based on interview and FGD results, it can be concluded that some factors are contributing to the religious attitude shifting of Ujungnegoro's people that is internal factor of religious understanding and appreciation level, family economic condition, and community environment.

Firstly, regarding the internal factor of religious understanding and appreciation level, generally, based on FGD, Ujungnegoro people are 50% *santri* and 50% *abangan* people. Thus, it can be said that half of them at least have religious knowledge and understanding. This internal factor plays a role as *selectivity*, selecting and managing or analyzing a variety of external influences of individual. The decision making is usually adjusted to motive and behaviour in the individual. Individual inner purpose and practice are highly related to his interest and attention. According to (Sunarto 1987), faith holds a strategic role for every Muslim. Religious attitude and behaviour of every individual in Islamic perspective are significantly affected and determined by faith quality. The better the quality of their faith, the better the religious attitude and behaviour they have and vice versa. Thus, religious attitude shifting is determined by faith quality and influenced by knowledge.

Secondly, it is a fact that parents are busy with commercial business. The decreasing frequency of face to face and meeting among family members in Ujungnegoro society is caused by their hectic activity for being fisherman. Moreover, parents' pro-

fessions now become more diverse since the presence of PLTU such as being a staff in PLTU that makes them work in shift, civil servants, teachers, private employees, sarong/cigarette labours, entrepreneurs, shop keepers, and food stall keepers around the project and alongside Ujungnegoro road. This condition disturbs parents' participation in religious activity and could not keep watch their children religious education for economic activities.

Thirdly, another factor that also affects the family religious attitude shift is the advancement of information technology. The informants argued that the internet stands and *PlayStation* rentals took much of children and teenagers' time in Ujungnegoro. Many of them waste their time after that school or on the weekends. Their main activity is playing game. The introduction of smartphone made children, teenagers, and even adults often forget their time by gaming or using social media.

Besides, many teenagers also spend their spare time for fun biking along Ujungnegoro-Sigandu beach as a habit every afternoon. They use their time for relaxing by sitting on the sidewalk while enjoying the beach panorama. Such activity is usually also conducted during Ramadan where the place becomes the spot for waiting for fast-breaking while going around (*ngabuburit*). So, because many of the children spend their time a lot in playing game, accessing social media, and biking, they neglect their obligation to pray *Maghrib* and *Isya* and to read the Quran as well in the evening. Apart from this, the television's program containing several drama series or engaging music entertainment has also triggered parents to prefer spending their leisure time after work until before going to bed by watching TV.

Religious attitude shifting of Ujungnegoro's people can be viewed with several theories by considering some contributing factors. One of the most relevant methods is a shifting theory from traditional to the modern one. Irwan Abdullah in (Chu-

THE SHIFTING OF RELIGIOSITY ...

zaimah Batubara 2105) stated that a shift in contemporary society could be seen in three stages. First, the inclusion of social, economic facility, such as market, into villagers; Secondly, the integration of social, industrial facility; and Lastly, social, economic facility expansion as well as the occurrence of values and norms changes in society.

Religious attitude shifting of Ujungnegoro society can be understood as a process of socio-economic shifting from village population into the modern people. A modern community in this regard is, according to (Sinaga 1988), a society that is free from customs, adopts new values that rationally can be believed to bring advancement, and is easy to accept new ideas.

Concerning modern society, Alex Inkeles in Harsojo (A. Aco Agus 2016) said that there are nine main elements of contemporary society, i.e.: (1) Have attitude of accepting new things and being open toward innovation and change; (2) Have attitude of not rejecting a diversity of opinions; (3) Future-oriented ; (4) consider that planning and organisation as a decent thing to do in social life ; (5) Believe that human can learn in certain limits related to environment control; (6) Believe that society's institutions can solve various issues, not just rely on fate; (7) Respect to human dignity and degree, including women and children's rights; (8) Believe in science and technological ability which is based on social mindset; and (9) Assume that all people should be respected according to their merit and contribution in society with rational measurement.

Based on the above elaboration, this research supports genetic, psychic, and environment determinism theory by Stephen R. Covey (Ali 2008), in which religious attitude shift of Ujungnegoro society was affected by parenting style and environmental treatment towards the individual. Meanwhile, for the question of whether economic growth correlates with religious attitude,

this research supports the experts who think that economic growth negatively affects to religious attitude shift in secularization theory. Contrary to Weber thesis that shows that there is a positive correlation between economic development and religious attitude, other experts such as Berger and Inglehart firmly argue that economic growth can be the main trigger of negative religious attitude shift.

That theory assumes that a decline in religious attitude is an indirect impact of economic growth. According to Robin Gill (in Chuzaimah Batubara 2015), the reduction in religious view is the secondary impact of the economic modernization process. This is because individuals start to stop attending religious services in the house of worships and no longer have a relationship to worship activity. Routine religious activity has a function to renew and to strengthen the faith (*īmān*). As it has been explained in the prophetic tradition (*hadīth*) “*al- īmān yazīd wa yanquṣ*” meaning: “*the faith can be either increasing or decreasing*”. It implies that Ujungnegoro society became less frequent on taking part in religious attitude, reducing their faith.

In line with Robin Gill’ point of view, William H. Swatos, and Peter Kivisto (in Chuzaimah Batubara 2015) said that one of the functions of house of worship among others is as social agent. If people stop visiting that place, they will be more separated from religious values, and in the long term, they will be no longer sensitive with the values. In other words, if Ujungnegoro’s people often abandon their praying and fasting obligation and then it keeps happening for a long time without feeling guilty, they will lose their faith.

This research finding reveals that the impact of economic activity improvement due to the presence of PLTU also harms reducing society’s ritual of praying together in the nearest *musholla*. However, it does not mean that they did not perform prayer.

The respondents said that because of their busy in working that make them exhausted, they prefer to take prayer in their own house. Then, concerning society's religious understanding after the construction of PLTU, there is no change according to the respondents. That is because *majlis ta'lim* and people's weekly and monthly religious instruction were just followed by a small number of people. In contrast, annual religious activity did not give much influence on religious knowledge improvement and comprehension. In terms of their religious appreciation, there is an indication to decline along with the dynamics of PLTU development which changed traditional lifestyle into modern one.

The Effort and Solution Taken by Public and Religious Figures to Tackle the Negative Impact of the Construction of PLTU Batang

The religious attitude shift caused by social, economic growth in Ujungnegoro needs strategy and method as well as new *da'wah* movement. Modernisation is inevitable. It is a phase where people could enjoy the progress in any aspect but produce both positive and negative effect. Socio-economic improvements experienced by Ujungnegoro society as the impact of PLTU development also brings about parenting effect towards society's religious attitude.

In general, the public and religious figures in Ujungnegoro have understood and comprehended what effort and solution they should take to solve the negative impact of the presence of PLTU Batang. They announced the significance of simultaneous coaching activities, well-behaviour examples, from *ustadz* and *kiai* such as preserving the environment cleanliness from wastes resulted from the increasing number of inhabitants. In addition, according to those figures and religious leaders in the village, the effort and solution to this issue that need to be imposed are keeping praying and inviting people to improve their faith

and devotion. Besides, Ujungnegoro society's generally also have provided infrastructures and facilities for religious education in the forms of house of worship and religious gatherings/instruction.

Therefore, to solve the religious attitude shift of the villagers caused by economic growth around PLTU, the author suggests some efforts and solutions. *First*, an attempt to increase religious awareness to improve faith and devotion for every family member in the village by creating literate environment through education technology. It has to be initiated by public and religious figures as well as local governments to enrich religious activities and to provide reading and guidance books. Some businesses like *sakinah* family course, religious course for parents, religious spirit establishment for children, and Islamic attitude and behaviour inculcation in families need to be held.

Second, religious education in the family unit must be the main priority and supposed to be able to provide religious knowledge and understanding to every generation and family members in Ujungnegoro. The Muslim youth of Ujungnegoro should have the awareness to thoughtfully gain knowledge as they have a moral responsibility to develop their family, village, and the country. That is why it is hoped that various stakeholders, particularly local governments and religious institutions even private institutions that care about family development in Ujungnegoro, including academicians, and religious figures, should promote and initiate for the implementation of social counselling programs based on religious education especially for families which pay less attention to their children education. This effort must include fisher families. In education, there are four centres of education environment, i.e. family, society, house of worship, and school. From those four centres of education environment, school is an educational institution that formal-

ly conducts learning activity, while the others are non-formal education. As a formal institution, the school teaches systematic and programmed religious education materials. The attainment of religious education material and its implementation are monitored and evaluated systematically and processed through the provisions of handbooks, and guidebooks and also religious control card in the house for parents. While religious education in a non-formal and informal institution is functioned to carry out material strengthening, fill the gap which is not conducted in school, and give guidance on religious value practices in daily life. If the children prefer non-Islamic education, they should learn more about religious teaching from an informal institution such as Madrasah Diniyah or religious school in houses. Other positive activities that support in preventing juvenile delinquency are scouting, marching band, science club, and sports.

Third, the practical method of *da'wah* for every family member in accordance with their characters and needs is hoped to be able to provide religious comprehensive knowledge and understanding. So, the preachers (*dā'i*) should apply a more effective *da'wah* method by considering the audiences of *da'wah*.

Fourth, establishment of good local governance. Good government is a demand of society in this reformation and modernization era. It becomes a requirement for the realization of civil society (*Madānī*). Every people should keep respecting Ujung-negoro local governance even though some of their policies are against their expectation. The local government should be supported so they can apply the principles of proper management including (1) accountability which means an obligation to account their performance; (2) openness and transparency becomes the right of the society that is to not only able to access specific policy but also participate in its formulation; (3) society's participation in various public government events and development.

To fortify the degradation of religious attitude of Ujungnegoro society, local government can issue village regulations such as “Cultured Village”, “Boarding House Code of Conduct”, “Village Order and Security”, “Ujungnegoro’s Environment Preservation and Hygiene”, and so on.

Fifth, corporate Social responsibility (CSR) in the social, cultural, and religious field of PT BPI should be improved to not only support religious day celebration, national day celebrations, and local custom celebrations but also to provide facilities for religious events.

Conclusion

Based on the elaboration above, religious attitude shift of society in the area affected by PLTU especially in Ujungnegoro Village can be seen from five dimensions: *‘aqīdah*, knowledge, ritual, practice, and appreciation. In the aspect of *‘aqīdah*, there is no change as the people have the same belief as before. But their religious knowledge tends to decline while other dimensions are likely slipping down in quality. Society feels inconvenience in facing modern lifestyle which is very individualistic and materialistic. The shifting is influenced by religious appreciation level, family economic condition, and community environment with consumptive and hedonistic characters. The negative impacts of the presence of PLTU on people’s religious attitude have been prevented by government figures, society, and religion through intense religious activities and instructions. However, it does not automatically improve society’s spirituality. Therefore, making simultaneous, systematic, systemic, and synergic preaching (*da‘wah*) based on education technology by creating a literate culture of society is demanded which in turn would be followed by the bloom of inner spirituality of society. The efforts cover: (1) an effort to increase religious awareness to improve faith and devotion for every family member in the village

by creating literate environment through education technology; (2) religious education in family must be main priority; (3) seven-minute religious instruction (*kultum*) needs to be delivered effectively with appropriate material in every *yāsīn* recitation or weekly *tahlīl* recitation for men and women; (4) improve the capability of religious preacher or government figures regarding millennial *da'wah* strategy; (5) PT BPI needs to strengthen its CSR events not only in religious, national, and local custom celebration days, but also in the form of other supports such as providing facilities for religious education activities.

Bibliography

- A. Aco Agus. 2016. "Keluarga Masyarakat Pedesaan Dalam Kondisi Transisi Kehidupan Masyarakat Tradisional Menuju Masyarakat Modern." In *Pendidikan Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial Membentuk Karakter Bangsa Dalam Rangka Daya Saing Global*. Makasar: Fakultas Ilmu Sosial Universitas Negeri Makassar.
- Ali, Mohammad. 2008. *Psikologi Remaja: Perkembangan Peserta Didik*. Jakarta: PT Bumi Aksara.
- Batubara, Chuzaimah. 2015. *Pergeseran Prilaku Sosial Ekonomi Islam Keluarga Muslim Di Wilayah Pinggiran Kota*. Medan: FEBI UIN-SU Press.
- Fahmi. n.d. "Pengaruh Pembangunan Terhadap Kehidupan Sosial Masyarakat Di Kabupaten Sidoarjo." www.academia.edu.
- Geertz, Clifford. 1976. *The Religion of Java*. Phoenix ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hamdy Auda, 2016. "Dampak Implementasi Perubahan Keputusan Bupati Batang Tentang Penetapan Kawasan Konservasi Laut Daerah Ujung Negero-Roban Terhadap Perekonomian Masyarakat." Other, Universitas Negeri

Semarang. <https://lib.unnes.ac.id/24383/>.

- Hidayah, Aniswatun. 2012. "Hambatan Pendidikan Agama Islam Dalam Keluarga Pada Masyarakat Nelayan Di Desa Ujungnegoro Kecamatan Kandeman Kabupaten Batang Tahun 2012." Institut Agama Islam Negeri Salatiga.
- Nawawi, Imam, Yadi Ruyadi, and Siti Komariah. 2017. "Pengaruh Keberadaan Industri Terhadap Kondisi Sosial Ekonomi Dan Budaya Masyarakat Desa Lagadar Kecamatan Marga Asih Kabupaten Bandung" *E-Jurnal Societas* Vol. 5, No.
- Nuridin, Ali. 2010. *Pendidikan Agama Islam*. Jakarta: Universitas Terbuka.
- Peraturan Pemerintah No. 67 Tahun 2005 *Tentang Kerjasama Pemerintah Dengan Badan Usaha Dalam Penyediaan Infrastruktur*.
- Pradani, Rizki Febri Eka, Bambang Hari Purnomo, and Bambang Suyadi. 2014. "Dampak Pembangunan Pembangkit Listrik Tenaga Uap (PLTU) Paiton Terhadap Kondisi Sosial Ekonomi Masyarakat Desa Binor."
- Rakhmat, Jalaluddin. 2007. *The Road to Allah: Tahap-Tahap Perjalanan Ruhani Menuju Tuhan*. Bandung: Mizan Pustaka.
- Robertson, Roland. 1993. *Sociology of Religion*. Diterjemahkan Oleh Ahmad Fedyani Saifuddin "Agama Dalam Analisa Dan Interpretasi Sosiologi". Jakarta: Rajawali Pres.
- Sinaga, Dannerius. 1988. *Sosiologi Dan Antropologi : Program Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial*. Ed. 1. Intan Pariwara.
- Sunarto, Ahmad. 1987. *Sumber Ilmu Hikmah Sejati*. Mutiara Ilmu.
- Suroso, Djamaluddin Ancok dan Fuat Nashori. 1995. *Psikologi Islam*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

THE SHIFTING OF RELIGIOSITY ...

Yuniasti, Rizki Kurnia, Triyono Lukmantoro, Turnomo Rahardjo, and Wiwid Noor Rakhmad. 2015. "The Communication Forum of Batang Coal-Fired Power Station Used for the Conflict Resolution Across the Countryside (Case Study Socialization of Batang Coal-Fired Power Station in the Karanggeneng Village, Kandeman Subdistrict, Batang District)." *Interaksi Online* 3 (2). <https://ejournal3.undip.ac.id/index.php/interaksi-online/article/view/8157>.

This page intentionally left blank