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MARGINAL RELIGIOSITY: THE PRACTICES AMONG POOR FISHERS
IN INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

Religion is seen as a problem solution of poverty through religious institutions rather than paying attention to the poor's religiosity. This study aims to map the objective conditions of the poor fishermen's life, portray their religious activities, and analyze the development model to increase the religiosity and economy of poor fishing communities. The data collection techniques involve observation, structured interviews, and documentation. The determination of informants as data sources was based on snowball sampling totaling twenty fishers on the Prigi beach, Trenggalek, Indonesia. The results show that poverty has structured the fishing community's religious orientation, strongly influenced by three aspects. First, the relativity of time and physical endurance in carrying out worship makes fishers neglect their obligation to worship. Second, the orientation of fulfilling their daily needs has dictated their lives affecting the spirituality of fishing communities. Third, economic limitations have controlled fishermen's religiosity and have led to new interpretations of worship based on the principle of affordability. This study suggests the need for a more contextual construction of religious propaganda with the objective problem of fishing communities in empowerment through cultural understanding.

INTRODUCTION

Religiosity is built on the cultural conditions of Muslims and the structural conditions of society. The fishermen, who live in poor conditions, show a different religious character from the more prosperous community. The poor state of fishers has structured their diversity. In other words, poor conditions are a basis for community diversity (Suteja, 2009). Poverty has long been a problem in developing and less-developed countries, particularly those in rural areas (Kowalewski, 2020). Poverty has also been assessed as a fundamental

problem concerning diversity (Qodir, 2008) and supported by various factors (Hassan et al., 2020). The relationship between poverty and religiosity needs to be explained, considering that faith conditions cannot be separated from society's structural pressures. The poor are attached to the religion they embrace and the traditions that they continue to practice. This tradition has become a match for various efforts to purify religion to increase religiosity.

So far, studies on the relationship between poverty and religion have tended to focus on the role of religious institutions in poverty alleviation (Amal, 2018; Muryanti, 2020). Religion has been linked with zakat institutions as an effort to increase the welfare of the population. The religious approach through zakat has been believed to be a way to solve the problem of poverty (Embong et al., 2013; Wahid, 2011). In other words, existing studies look more at how Islam is a solution to poverty. Poverty as a precondition for the religiosity status of a group of people is not given attention. At first glance, religiosity is only seen from cultural influences, even though economic conditions also influence one's religiosity level. Economic conditions are still seen as worldly affairs separate from one's level of religiosity.

This study aims to complement these shortcomings by paying particular attention to the analysis of poverty's effect on religious practices in poor fishing communities, primarily referring to the case of poor fishers on Prigi Beach, Trenggalek, East Java, Indonesia. In line with that, apart from mapping the objective conditions of the poor fishermen's life and photographing their religious activities, it also analyzes the development model in increasing the religiosity and economy of poor fishing communities. This research's primary motivation is to understand society's religious patterns that have different phenomena from other Islamic societies, both in theological, spiritual, and ritual aspects. Accordingly, the argument underlying this study is that poor fishing communities' economic level affects their religious practice. The formulation of a program to increase the community's religiosity and economy takes place in a structural and cultural condition of the fishing community to solve the problems of poverty and religiosity.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Fishermen Religiosity

Religion is a cultural element that encompasses every aspect of society and penetrates individual life. The difference in religious affiliation impacts how people behave, their choices, and how they view life. One of the benchmarks of religion is religiosity (Khan, 2014), but the problem is that religiosity does not have a standardized measure. Religiosity is a chain of complex concepts that are too difficult to define (Shellekens and Atrash, 2018). Thus, religiosity is an umbrella term that refers to the degree of behavior, belief, or religious spirituality (Khan, 2014). Therefore, each academician uses different measurements. For example, immigrant religiosity is measured by religious attendance, praying, and subjective religiosity (van Tubergen and Sindradóttir, 2011). In terms of social appearance, religiosity is usually measured based on religious practice (Rosta, 2010). The Glock and Stark model of religiosity is

the first model followed by many academics (Nikkhah et al., 2015), which contains five dimensions of religiosity, namely ideology, rituals, experience, knowledge or cognitive, and consequential.

Religiosity is divided into two forms: intrinsic religiosity and organizational religiosity. The first form refers to the importance of religion or the perceived personal interests of religion in life, while the second type refers more to socio-religious activities (Nordfjærn, 2018). Scholars try to relate religiosity with various aspects of human life. Many studies have been attempting to link religiosity with health (Martins et al., 2019; Nordfjærn, 2018; Weber and Pargament, 2014; Salsman et al., 2015). Some link religiosity with parity (Shellekens and Atrash, 2018), migration (van Tubergen and Sindradóttir, 2011), economic inequality (Solt et al., 2011), politics (El-Kurd, 2018), and happiness (Rosifah et al. al., 2019). Besides, some literature also tries to see changes in religiosity in society (Rosta, 2010; Bolton et al., 2019. Studies in Hungary show that youth religiosity is changing to be more personal: religion is defined individually and far from the church (Rosta, 2010).

Poverty and Religion

Many academics have carried out studies that link poverty and religion. However, there is no coherent concept of religion and poverty (Sedmak, 2019). Although all the studies carried out depart from different definitions and approaches, most agree that religion plays a central role in supporting those experiencing poverty. These efforts are carried out through providing services and the supply of spiritual resources providing mechanisms of resilience at the individual and community levels (Tomalin, 2018). In this regard, there are three functions of religion related to poverty: (1) religion can direct poverty discourse to focus on spiritual poverty instead of material issues; (2) religion can influence morality, among others, by fostering an attitude of willingness to exercise generosity; (3) religion can be part of a system that actively encourages and participates in poverty alleviation (Beyers, 2014).

In recent years, religion-based organizations have been recognized in research as an essential factor in reducing global poverty (Salonen, 2018; Schweiger, 2019). Religion also shows great potential to mobilize civil society to fight global poverty (Mylek and Nel, 2010). In areas where religious belief is a common denominator among societies, its impact on poverty reduction cannot be ignored as religious institutions such as churches often become more accessible to the underprivileged population. Besides, religious institutions can contribute directly to poverty alleviation (Schliesser, 2014). However, some literature also showed that on the other hand, religion could be seen as something that supports social structures and practices that contribute to inequality and conflict. Several religious traditions have played a significant role in creating conditions of poverty. It shows that religion is paradoxical, that faith can alleviate and burden, fight poverty, and legitimize resistance, but can also justify inequality, poverty, and exploitation (Schweiger, 2019). For example, moral attitudes that justify economic disparities are often embedded in religion and conservative politics in the United States (Thomson and

Froese, 2018).

Structure and Culture

In sociology, the term "structure" has been defined in several different ways: it can mean the economic constraints faced by individuals (as in much of the poverty literature), the modes of production that characterize society (as in neo-Marxist literature), or the system of knots and ties indicating a series of relationships (as in the network literature), etc. (Small et al., 2010). Social structure refers to how social position, social roles, and social relations networks are organized in economic, political, educational, and family organizations. On the other hand, culture refers to sharing views and ways of behavior among individuals facing the same circumstance (Wilson, 2010). This definition is not limited to cultural conceptions defined in traditional and straightforward terms about group norms, values, and attitudes towards family and work. It also includes cultural repertoires such as habits, styles and skills (Wilson, 2010).

Various debates have arisen among sociologists regarding the meaning of the relationship between structure and culture. The view of Gans (2012), for example, attracts controversies as it rejected the binary opposition between structure and culture. McKee (2012) rejects Gans since it neglects to describe the dialectical relationship between structure and culture, and it ignores the social and political impact of cultural studies. McKee (2012) provides evidence that culture-oriented research has been used widely to shape and analyze various public policymakers' approaches to critical social problems. Freeman et al. (2020) also show that culture is an element of social structure, not opposition. Studies on dialectical relations of structure and culture have been carried out in the relationship between poverty and religion (Rogers and Konieczny, 2018), poverty and culture in general (Small et al., 2010), or segmented pluralism and religion (Konig and Bardoel, 2014).

METHOD

This study's participant involves the fishing community in Trenggalek, East Java, representing similar fishers' character in various places in Java, even Indonesia. Fishers generally live-in poverty, depend on nature, are late in implementing mechanization, and are the object of various policies. Fishers also live-in poverty that is so twisted that they tend to ignore religion based on long and irregular allocations of time for earning a living. This study is a qualitative study based on observation, interview, and text data collection techniques. The determination of informants as data sources was based on snowball sampling totaling twenty fishers and some community leaders who were the key informants.

The data collection process is equipped with research instruments in the form of observation and interview procedures. The involved observations are carried out to see the reality of the fishermen's daily life and working routine. The starting time for each fisher is not the same. It took an extended time to be around the coast, to gain knowledge and recognize their working pattern. The captain and crew began to work not the same as labor. The laborers started

working when the ship landed. Fish traders start their activities in the morning. Structured interviews were conducted with all informants to obtain the same objective conditions and character of information. Interview with community leaders explored the data on religious practices and poverty from formal and informal figures' perspectives. The non-structured interviews aim to expand information on religious practices, poverty-related factors, and undertaken guidance.

From December 2019 to January 2020, the research took place when the wind season took place during fishermen's famine. Field data analysis was carried out by thematic classification through three stages: data restatement, data description, and data interpretation. The restatement was carried out by referring to the interview excerpt from the informant's point of view. The data description showed data trends. Interpretation is carried out to pay attention to individual, social, and institutional contexts. Textbooks and journals are used to support field data. The document's source is an effort to enrich the literature to describe the research focus in an integrative way. Data analysis employed inductive techniques to provide a complete picture, and then the final stage was concluding.

RESULTS

The Objective Condition of Fishermen Poverty at Prigi, Indonesia

Fishers at Prigi Beach generally do not have their boats to catch fish. They charter to boat owners who act as employers. They got simple housing that is semi-permanent. They do not have any valuables except a TV and motorbike (interview with Sukarmin, 4 December 2019). An average captain goes to sea three times a week, within 2-3 days at a time. The crew's condition is the same as the captain, as a team, their fate is determined by the results of fishing (interview with Parlan, 4 December 2019). While their wives and children were left to go to sea, they ate what they had, mainly only fish. The family always hopes that their husbands will not get into trouble while fishing. Being a fisherman wife must have a total submission to the future of her family. The principle is "*pasrah bongkokan kalih Gusti Allah*" or surrender yourself to God. Teamwork is based on solidity with a common destiny, mutual help, strengthening, understanding and respect. The so-called "*sak konco, sak nasib, sak tanggungan, lan sak panduman*" or fellow friends with the same fate, responsibility, and share the same results. The team's internal structure is like teachers and students. The crew learns a lot from the captain, who is considered to have a lot of experience (interview with Suryani and Darman, 6 December 2019).

Unequal relations exist between crew members and employers. The employer has the power to determine the price of fish and the proportion of the catch. The profit-sharing process starts with determining the fish's price, and then it is divided into ten parts. Profit-sharing provisions are 4: 3: 3, which is 4/10 for the boat charter; 3/10 for employers; 3/10 for the skipper and crew. As much as 3/10 of the fish sales are for the skipper and crew. From this part, the skipper gets twice as much yield as each fisherman (interview with Sarto and

Karjiman, 7 December 2019). It often triggers conflicts that result in termination of employment between boat owners and fishers. The popular phrase is “*salah o koyok opo wong gede panggah menang*” or whatever the mistake is, the rich would win. It describes the subordination of fishers. Fish traders have a little better luck because of the capital they have. They buy fish from employers to retail around the coast to tourists. Transport labor income is determined by the number of fish successfully transported from the ship to the fish auction. Fish transport labor wages are based on a work system based on wages in the agreement between fishers and fish transport workers. It goes with the maxim that “*koyone buruh yo mung koyo wong nguyuh*” or the workers' income is only as much as pee. This saying is often used to compare their income with employers (interview with Karjiman, 9 December 2019). Men and women usually do the work of transporting fish workers.

Various conflicts often characterize fishermen's life, involving the conflicts between fishers and their employers, and with fishers from outside the area who are considered to have seized their operational area. The fishermen have traditional knowledge to recognize their territorial boundaries. Conflicts between fishers and employers occur because of unequal relationships—especially the imbalance in the profit-sharing system which is often detrimental to fishers. Also, there is conflict between employers, the trigger is price competition. The role of the government as a determinant of price policy is very weak. The employer has full power to determine the price of fish without competing for power by other actors. It has resulted in the life of fishers often being in an underprivileged status. Prigi fishers come from six villages around the Prigi coast, totaling approximately 1623 people from various social structures. The poverty condition of Prigi fishers can be determined through the status of ship ownership. Most of them are boat charters.

Religious Practices Among the Poor Fishermen

Religion is one of the central aspects in the life of fishing communities. Religious practices in society have characteristics that characterize that society. Religious practices in the poor fishing community at Prigi beach can be grouped into three: 1) Abangan religion; 2) Kejawen religion; and 3) Traditional Islam. First, the Abangan religious group focuses more on the practice of slametan rituals or feast. Te tenet says “*slametan kuwi roh e wong urip*” or the feast ritual is the soul of the living. It means that without the ritual it means that the person is dead. This ritual comes from a tradition passed down from generation to generation. This group claims to be Muslim, but does not carry out Islamic teachings as directed. Their mastery of traditional knowledge is broader than the understanding of Islam. The doctrine states “*tradisi Jowo kuwi uwite pakarti*” or the Javanese tradition is the root of the behavior. They believe in God as the creator of nature and believe in spirits who inhabit the supernatural. The claim is “*Gusti kang murbeng dumadi iku mesti sing akaryo jaga, termasuk lelembut*”, or God who creates it is the one who created all, including the spirits. They perform rituals in the “*wingit*” or a sacred area used to ask for blessings from spirits. The primary view is “*sakben*

panggonan diopeni karo barang alus sing waskito” or every site is taken care by the magical spirits. They can be used for their benefit and the magical objects are used as amulets or weapons to ward off all forms of unwanted mystical events. The dogma also claims *“ora nyembah barang e, ning nyembah kamukten e”* or that they do not worship the objects, but respect their supernatural powers (interview with Saprani, 9 December 2019).

Second, the Kejawen religious group emphasizes religious practices on the inner aspect. Kejawen is a Javanese religious belief system. It consists of three main elements, namely customs, Javanese cosmology, and religion. These three elements are manifested in various rituals practiced by the fishing community of Prigi beach to this day (interview with Mardan, 8 December 2019). These three elements come from the coastal myth about the Queen of the South Coast who is believed by the fishing community as the ruler of Java south sea region. This myth constructs the image of the Prigi beach environment as a sacred and haunted area. This Kejawen religious group does not pray like Muslims in general. Islam is only limited to identity for administrative purposes, because the core of Kejawen teachings is Javanese cosmology, emphasizing aspects of inner practice.

Third, traditional Islamic groups emphasize their religious practices based on the acculturation of Javanese values with Islam. The results of the acculturation form its model of religious practice. Javanese values appear in practices such as grave pilgrimage, *'slametan'* rituals of the dead, life cycle rituals, agricultural rituals, and so on. This group has spiritualism originating from the myths and traditions of submitting to God. However, their spiritualism also believes in spirits, ancestral spirits, and the Wali spirits (interview with Subhan, 3 January 2020). They often hold ceremonies in sacred places to seek blessings. Their nature of thought is directed to a mystical-spiritualistic form called *“manunggaling kawulo lan gusti”* or the human soul's union with the divine soul. Overall, these three groups have religious practices different from Islamic religious practices with rituals centered on mosques and other Islamic community organizations.

The Influence of Poverty on The Religiosity of Fishing Communities

The poverty experienced by the fishing community on Prigi beach is an objective condition that affects their life. However, poverty does not in itself cause them to abandon their religious obligations. They still practice their religion according to their religious orientation. Three patterns of religious practice result from the relationship between poverty and religious orientation. In other words, poverty has structured the fishing community's religious orientation, which is strongly influenced by three aspects. First, the relativity of time and physical endurance in carrying out worship. Islam strongly emphasizes obedience in maintaining worship times that are inconsistent with the fishermen's working time. Timeliness and cleanliness are absolute requirements to carry out prayer services that fishers find challenging to fulfill. Besides, Ramadan fasting is also hard worship for fishers. Their job requires excellent stamina and physical strength to face the hot weather in the middle of the sea (interview with Sulhadi, 20 January 2020). As a result of these

limitations, the fishermen become apathetic and ignore the obligation to worship according to Islam's guidance. However, they believe that "Gusti Allah ora sare" or God knows all so that they are permitted to leave the religious obligations due to their limitations.

Second, the orientation of fulfilling their daily needs has dictated their lives, which affects the spirituality of the fishing community. The struggle of the fishers is directed at meeting urgent needs. This condition forces them to only focus on the world of work. The excuse is "nek ora mangan iso mati" or if you don't eat it, you'll die. The time they have seems limited, and there are not many options except having to get money for urgent needs (interview with Saipudin, 28 January 2020). The motive is "nek gak nyambut gawe anak bojone klengkengan" or jobless brings the family into hunger. The need for food is the priority despite their fluctuating income. However, their spiritual needs are fulfilled by the value of locality that has inspired their mind and soul. Inner wealth through spiritual values developed in daily life, such as magical, mystical and acultic objects to equip oneself in marine activities. According to them, these objects are instruments of "dulur papat limo pancer" or the personal protection from all directions and centered on God. The environment's sacredness has become a more familiar spiritual model because of their dependence on the sea, which is so great for survival.

Third, economic limitations have controlled fishermen's religiosity. However, economic conditions affect the ability to perform worship. Persistence and obedience are essential elements in carrying out worship which become obstacles. Religious practices associated with a market economy are often difficult to materialize. Almost no fishermen can carry out the hajj pilgrimage. What to keep in mind is "ora usah ngimpi lungo kaji, adoh nggayuhi" or you don't have to dream of going on hajj, too far from your wish. The reason is that the cost of the pilgrimage is not affordable for fishers. Sacrificial slaughter among fishers is also challenging to implement. The price of sacrificial animals is expensive on the day of sacrifice, which is not affordable for fishermen's minimal income. The only worship that can be carried out is to pay zakat fitrah because the price of rice is affordable (interview with Subadar, 16 January 2020). They interpret the payment of zakat as a compensation for their inability to perform fasting during the month of Ramadan.

Poor fishing communities are directly involved in the recitations held by various organizations to increase the religiosity of poor fishers. The process of fostering religion is carried out by moderate Islamic organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah through Friday lectures and sermons. Apart from these two organizations, the fishing community's religious strengthening was also carried out by the Dzikir Council, the Istighosah Council, and the Majelis Ta'lim.

DISCUSSION

Social Structure and Religious Culture

Religion is a cultural element guiding people's life. Spiritually, the environment provides a blessing if human behavior is under existing traditional norms. The religious practices of the poor fishing communities on Prigi beach show the polarization of Abangan Islam, Kejawen and Traditional Islam. Its practice emphasizes symbolism more, and instills more love. In the perspective of Anthropology, the three are called local religions. Differences in affiliation lead to differences in attitudes and outlook on life. It can be seen from various religious practices containing Javanese traditional values. The spiritual implications of this religion are individual. Religiosity is an abstract thing, as no definite measure determines a person's religiosity level. However, a person's religiosity level is reflected in the commitment to obedience in carrying out religious practices (Khan, 2014; Shellekens and Atrash, 2018).

The people's religious practices tend to be closer to traditional values, because they directly relate to the community's livelihood system and intrinsic value supporting their inner space. Poverty does not reduce their adherence to tradition because it is a normative instrument neutralizing extrinsic psychological pressures such as natural, social, and economic conditions. It is different from other studies' findings that religious compliance is highly influenced by economic inequality (Solt et al., 2011). The social pressure comes from power structures that do not side with fishermen's interests and the conflicts with employers regarding the unfair distribution of results. The closeness of fishers to the teachings of Abangan and Kejawen is due to the cultural values that are close to their daily lives. They tend to follow their inner taste, cultivation and their way of life. These teachings are easier to practice, have flexibility, and are more individual.

Poverty, Mentality and Religiosity

Poverty does not have a direct relationship with religiosity, but is related to ethos and mental spirituality in implementing religious practices. Poor people often use the excuse of their limitations as legitimacy for their inability to fulfill religious obligations. With material limitations, they prefer to prioritize current and material primary needs. It is done by diverting attention and directing the discourse on poverty to focus on spiritual poverty rather than material problems. Religion affects morality by fostering an attitude of willingness to do generosity. Religion can be part of a system that actively promotes poverty alleviation. Functionally, religion must be reconstructed to facilitate and ease worship interpretation to make it more contextual to the poor's needs and abilities. Structurally, religion has become an institution that can fight poverty through zakat, by mobilizing civil society to fight poverty (Embong et al., 2013; Wahid, 2011).

Religious traditions play a central role in supporting the poor, by providing spiritual resources as a defense mechanism at the individual and community level. Religion supports the poor by building mental, moral and social

systems. Poverty is not only a cultural issue, but also a structural problem. The poor are not taken into account in their roles and networks in the political, economic and social system. Local government conducts empowerment by improving production skills and economic empowerment in general. There is no specific design to suit poor fishers. The structural poverty experienced by fishing communities on Prigi Beach results from limited economic access to strengthen capital. Cultural poverty underwent because they cannot access production and marketing technology due to low levels of education.

Poverty is part of a culture where work ethic is a manifestation of religion. That is why efforts to alleviate poverty cannot be separated from socio-cultural dynamics (Khayyam et al., 2018), including through a religious approach. In essence, the relationship between poverty, mentality, and fishermen's religiosity shows that religiosity has nothing to do with poverty. However, the structures around poverty such as structure, culture, pressure, and moral-ethic can lead to religiosity patterns, and vice versa.

Transformative Religion

Religion is often ambiguous on poverty, that humans are equal in God's eyes, except for piety. Religion also gives birth to and perpetuates social hierarchy. It is like a double-edged knife, that is, it can lighten up and be burdensome; fighting poverty and legitimizing resistance; justifies inequality, poverty and exploitation. The provision of punctuality in worship practices is a burden to fishers. They work for days in the middle of the sea; praying is a hard thing to fulfill. Religion must be packaged with a concept that facilitates and alleviates. Poor people with their limitations can carry out religious practices, without feeling that there are deficiencies and mistakes. When religion becomes the driving force for the spirit, followers of religion contribute to poverty alleviation. Often religious institutions such as mosques become distribution centers for social generosity easily accessible to the poor. However, from some research results, religion can be seen as a supporter of social structures and practices that contribute to inequality and conflict (Schweiger, 2019; Thomson and Froese, 2018).

Religious guidance is an empowerment effort by increasing religious knowledge by enriching Islamic culture instead of evaluating its diversity. Religion can be an icon of humanization for this marginalized group by constructing equality verses. Religion must be conceptualized as a teaching that facilitates and eases. Therefore, religious preaching must be designed to be more contextual with the needs of poor fishing communities. Fishers' role and status as the backbone of the family is a consideration for preaching ways that do not have to be in congregation. When ethics is claimed to be the biological child of religion, poverty is a social structure born of religion. With this concept, the development and empowerment of the people's economy must be constructed to prosper the people to build a more religious civilization (Rosta, 2010). Likewise, the concept of preaching religion must be used as an effort to increase and enrich religious culture amidst strong traditional values. The method of da'wah must adapt to the social conditions of the community. The moral burden existed because of the differentiation of customary and

traditional practices melted into mutually supportive spiritual wealth (Bolton et al., 2019). This process is expected to raise awareness of marginalized groups to continue carrying out religious practices without losing their traditional values. Although the marginalized people are often connoted with underdevelopment of welfare and the estuary of many problems (Schnarrer, 2010), the Prigi fishers do not find difficulty to develop their religiosity.

CONCLUSION

Religious practice in fishing community focuses on the inner aspect in which syncretism between custom and tradition occurs. Traditional values in religion have the power and animate what is known as Javanese Islam. Prominent religious practices such as grave pilgrimages and selamatan rituals aim to strengthen spiritualism and devotion to God. They also believe in spirits, ancestral spirits, the spirits of saints who are supposed to bring blessings. Nature thinks they emphasize the mystical-spiritualistic aspect.

Poverty narrows the choice of religious practice and forces the fishermen to ignore worship orders because of limitations. They neglect this worship because of the conditions and work situations that do not allow it. Working as a fisherman demands that they continue to be in the middle of the sea, making it difficult for fishers to perform fasting. Economic limitations have controlled the religiosity of the fishing community in determining worship options. They cannot reach religious services related to market commodities such as the pilgrimage and sacrificial animals' slaughter because of their limited economic strength. Paying zakat is the only thing they can do because of the affordable price of rice.

Methods of religious propagation that are more contextual with fishing communities in the context of empowerment are carried out by increasing religious knowledge. It is also done following appreciation through cultural understanding. The awareness to carry out fasting and prayer began to grow and no longer saw worship as a burden that interfered with work.

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