

This research observes the dynamics of religious perceptions and responses of the affected people of *lumpur* Lapindo mudflow in Indonesia. And, they were then reviewed in relation to the making of vulnerability and resilience. The Lapindo mudflow firstly erupted in May 29, 2006 and internally displaced $\pm 50,000$ people of 16 villagers, submerged homes, schools and destroyed people's livelihoods. In the middle of efforts to non-permanently dam the mudflow, it has been reported that new sources of affected areas by the collapses of the dam were frequently taking place. Consequently, the destructive impacts and the number of the affected people (areas) were growing. In a such situation, it was known that the management of the previously affected people was poor.

The poor management of the Lapindo mudflow constrained the efforts of the victims and the vulnerable groups to respectively recover and evacuate their houses from susceptible areas. It was found that the ambiguity and inconclusiveness of the government in managing the disaster gave rise to the powerlessness of those affected. As a result, the powerlessness debilitated the victims' capacity to recover as well as restrained the vulnerable group from evacuating their houses to safe places. In such a context, by mostly relying on two key informants, 25 victims and 16 people living in vulnerable areas were interviewed.

In disaster context, there has been a diverging view in regard to the form of religious fatalistic perceptions towards disaster. On the one hand, it was regarded that they would lead to promoting passive responses and, in turn, increasing vulnerability. On the other hand, in personal level, the fatalistic beliefs (such as deferring style and perception that God is in control) were beneficial as they were regarded as leading to reducing stress and anxiety as well as maintaining personal functioning, especially in situation where there was nothing (or very little) people could do (Pargament & Brant, 1998 and Koenig, 2006). Based on the fact that fatalistic religious perceptions toward disaster could be viewed as leading to vulnerability or resilience, a further and very careful consideration are necessary.

In a structurally powerless situation of *lumpur* Lapindo, the expressions of resignation to God of victims were widely found. Yet, the victims' fatalistic perceptions of the mudflow did not end up with passive responses in their recovery process. Rather, the passivity was stemmed from the structural powerlessness led by the unassertive responses of the government in managing the compensation of "buy-sell" formula for the victims. After a series of deadlocks in their efforts of holding Lapindo to be responsible, the fatalistic resignation to God emerged as a coping choice for the victims to be able to survive and continue to recover in a structurally powerless situation. Therefore, a resilience framework is more appropriate to put forward in seeing such a phenomenon as opposed to a vulnerability framework.

Meanwhile, among people living in prone areas, the fatalistic expressions of resignation to God were also noticed. Again, such expressions were accompanied by a



The Dynamics of Religious Perceptions and Responses on the "Lumpur Lapindo" Disaster:

Vulnerability, Resilience and Recovery

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powerlessness caused by structurally complex issues which ultimately made them unable to secure their houses to safe places. And, the fatalistic resignation to God emerged in this situation to moderate the impacts of living in vulnerable areas. It was found that the fatalistic resignation did not cause people living in prone area to be reluctant to participate in the disaster preparedness efforts. Also, it was associated with the ability to strengthen their psychological stability, so that they were able to cope with the hazards without chronic anxiety and stress.

Penelitian ini mengamati dinamika persepsi agama dan tanggapan dari orang-orang yang terkena dampak dari lumpur lumpur Lapindo di Indonesia. Dan, persepsi dan tanggapan itu kemudian diperiksa dalam kaitannya dengan pembuatan kerentanan dan kelentingan. Lumpur Lapindo pertama meletus 29 Mei 2006 dan membuat ± 50.000 orang menjadi pengungsi dari 16 desa, rumah terendam, sekolah dan mata pencaharian masyarakat hancur. Di tengah upaya untuk membuat bendungan lumpur non-permanen, telah dilaporkan bahwa sumber-sumber dan daerah baru yang terkena dampak oleh bendungan yang jebol yang sering terjadi. Akibatnya, dampak destruktif dan jumlah orang-orang yang terkena dampak (daerah) bertambah. Dalam situasi seperti itu, diketahui bahwa penanganan terhadap orang-orang yang sebelumnya terkena dampak dilakukan secara buruk.

Buruknya pengelolaan semburan lumpur Lapindo telah memperburuk upaya korban dan kelompok rentan untuk bisa pulih dan mengevakuasi rumah mereka dari daerah rentan. Ditemukan bahwa ambiguitas dan ketidakjelasan pemerintah dalam mengelola bencana memunculkan ketidakberdayaan mereka yang terdampak. Akibatnya, ketidakberdayaan itu melemahkan kemampuan korban untuk pulih serta membuat kelompok rentan tidak bisa mengevakuasi rumah mereka ke tempat-tempat yang aman. Dalam konteks seperti itu, dengan mengandalkan dua informan kunci, 25 korban dan 16 orang yang tinggal di daerah rawan telah diwawancarai.

Dalam konteks bencana, ada perbedaan pandangan berhubungan dengan bentuk persepsi fatalistik agama terhadap bencana. Di satu sisi, hal itu dianggap bahwa ia akan menyebabkan respon pasif dan, pada gilirannya, meningkatkan kerentanan. Di sisi lain, di tingkat pribadi, keyakinan fatalistik (seperti “gaya menunda” dan persepsi bahwa Allah mengendalikan semua) dianggap menguntungkan karena bisa mengurangi stres dan kecemasan serta mempertahankan keberfungsian personal, terutama dalam situasi di mana tidak ada apa-apa (atau sangat sedikit) yang orang bisa lakukan (Pargament & Brant, 1998 dan Koenig, 2006). Berdasarkan fakta bahwa persepsi agama fatalistik terhadap bencana dapat dilihat sebagai mengarah kepada kerentanan atau kelentingan, maka pertimbangan lebih lanjut dan sangat hati-hati sangat diperlukan.

Dalam situasi struktural keberdayaan dari lumpur Lapindo, ekspresi kepasrahan diri paran korban Lapindo kepada Tuhan banyak ditemukan. Namun, persepsi fatalistik korban semburan lumpur tidak berakhir dengan tanggapan pasif dalam proses pemulihan mereka. Namun, sikap pasif itu berasal dari ketidakberdayaan struktural yang diakibatkan oleh respon buruk pemerintah dalam pengelolaan kompensasi dari rumus "jual-beli" untuk para korban. Setelah serangkaian kebuntuan dalam upaya mereka membuat Lapindo untuk bertanggung jawab, kepasrahan fatalistik kepada Tuhan muncul sebagai pilihan bagi para korban untuk bisa bertahan dan terus berusaha pulih kembali dalam situasi ketidakberdayaan struktural. Oleh karena itu, kerangka kelentingan yang lebih tepat untuk diajukan dalam melihat fenomena seperti itu yang bertolak belakang dengan kerangka kerentanan.



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Sementara itu, di antara orang-orang yang tinggal di daerah rawan, ekspresi fatalistik kepada Tuhan juga ditemukan. Sekali lagi, ekspresi seperti itu disertai dengan ketidakberdayaan disebabkan oleh masalah struktural yang kompleks yang akhirnya membuat mereka tidak bisa mengamankan rumah mereka ke tempat-tempat yang aman. Dan, kepasrahan fatalistik kepada Tuhan muncul dalam situasi ini untuk memoderasi dampak bagi yang tinggal di daerah rawan. Ditemukan bahwa kepasrahan fatalistik itu tidak menyebabkan orang yang tinggal di daerah rawan enggan untuk berpartisipasi dalam upaya kesiapsiagaan bencana. Juga, itu terkait dengan kemampuan untuk memperkuat stabilitas psikologis mereka, sehingga mereka mampu mengatasi bahaya tanpa kecemasan kronis dan stres.