

**THE RECURSIVE SYMBIOSIS OF SPIRITUAL
EXPERIENCE AND LOCAL WISDOM:
A Phenomenological Inquiry into the Post-Reservoir
Construction Cipeundeuy Community**

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ABSTRACT

The construction of the Cirata Reservoir fundamentally restructured the geographic and socio-economic profile of the Cipeundeuy community, forcing a rapid transition from a terrestrial agrarian society to an aquatic-centered ecosystem. This study investigates the resulting tension and synergy between individual spiritual experiences and collective local wisdom within this transitional landscape. Utilizing a mixed-methods approach grounded in field data, the research applies a theoretical synthesis of Symbolic Interactionism and Bourdieu's concept of Habitus to analyze cultural adaptation. Results indicate a significant "institutionalization of the ineffable," where the majority of respondents reported new transcendental states only after joining local Majelis Taklim (religious assembly), positioning these assemblies as "spiritual incubators" that provide a new semiotic framework for mystical encounters. Simultaneously, the data reveals a state of "normative fragmentation" regarding ancestral taboos (pamali), reflecting a habitus in flux as it encounters modern structural demands. The discussion posits that the community exhibits "Prismatic Resilience," characterized by a recursive symbiosis: spiritual experiences provide the internal vitality to sustain cultural traditions, while local wisdom offers the necessary grammar to articulate these experiences. Ultimately, the survival of Cipeundeuy's identity amidst displacement is contingent upon the mutual preservation of subjective mystical encounters and ancestral symbolic frameworks.

Keywords: *Cipeundeuy Community; Habitus; Prismatic Resilience; Recursive Symbiosis; Spiritual Experience*

INTRODUCTION

In the contemporary sociological landscape, social change is increasingly conceptualized not merely as an evolutionary shift in values but as a direct byproduct of intensive infrastructure and environmental development. Recent studies underscore that the expansion of physical connectivity—ranging from massive transport networks to digital ecosystems—acts as a primary catalyst for structural transformation (Syam, 2025). According to Waleed et al. (2024), the rapid urbanization and land-use changes necessitated by regional infrastructure projects have fundamentally altered the “environmental carrying capacity,” forcing communities to adapt their social organizations to new physical realities. This “infrastructure-led modernization” is no longer viewed as a neutral background for social life; rather, it is an active agent that reshapes human settlement patterns and livelihoods, often creating a tension between the “spatial injustice” of urban expansion and the traditional ecological balances maintained by local populations (Marilele, M. H., & Kubanza, N. S., 2025; Martinez & Masron, 2020).

These material transformations inevitably ripple through all facets of social life, particularly affecting the Human Development Index and the legitimacy of traditional authority. As Syam (2025) observes, infrastructure development in previously isolated regions—such as Papua or rural South Sulawesi—serves as a “social driving factor” that shifts the basis of leadership from customary heritage to professional and educational competence. This transition often manifests as a “generational gap” where the younger demographic aligns with the logistical and digital opportunities provided by new infrastructure, while older generations struggle to maintain the continuity of traditional value systems (Nain et al., 2025). Furthermore, the mediation of social life through “smart technologies” and cultural infrastructure has reconfigured the quality of daily interactions, often prioritizing economic productivity and leisure accessibility over the slower, ritualistic rhythms of pre-industrial social structures (Bornioli & Subiza-Pérez, 2023).

The phenomenon of social change in Cipeundeuy District, West Bandung Regency, provides a robust empirical illustration of how “infrastructure-led modernization” via the Cirata Reservoir (constructed 1983–1988) creates permanent spatial and ecological restructuring. From the perspective of social change sociology, the transition from terrestrial-agrarian land use to a massive artificial water body forced a radical “occupational displacement” upon the local community. Recent longitudinal data indicate that the population, once rooted in a traditional rice-farming culture, has transformed into operators of Keramba Jaring Apung (KJA/Floating Net Cages) or has migrated to non-

formal service sectors (Gunawan et al., 2004; Hidayat et al., 2017). This shift is not merely a change in livelihood but a profound “disruption of living space,” in which traditional ecological knowledge of land management has been eroded and replaced by dependence on an artificial aquatic ecosystem that is increasingly environmentally fragile (Wiranegara et al., 2023).

Furthermore, this material transformation has fundamentally altered the social fabric and traditional authority structures in Cipeundeuy. The emergence of the KJA economy has introduced a new form of social stratification based on ownership of capital in aquatic production tools, effectively displacing the traditional dominance of customary elders or land-based elites (Hidayati et al., 2018). This transition has created a gap in which the younger demographic in Cipeundeuy is increasingly oriented toward global fish markets and modern aquaculture technology, often at the expense of communal agrarian values. Consequently, religious and customary practices have undergone a functional shift; rituals historically tied to soil fertility—such as *Hajat Bumi*—are either fading or undergoing “cultural commodification” to serve the reservoir’s burgeoning tourism industry (Suharyanto, 2025).

Religious life and customary practices of the Cipeundeuy community have emerged as the social aspects most profoundly affected by these developmental shifts. Findings from the past decade confirm that the Cipeundeuy community currently exists in a state of “cultural entropy,” navigating their identity amidst the pressures of water pollution and sedimentation that threaten the very sustainability of their spiritual-economic life (Deviana et al, 2024). Modern scholars have proposed an “infrastructural approach” to religion, viewing faith spaces (mosques, churches, temples) as vital “social infrastructure” that must navigate the “socio-ecological entanglements” of a changing planet (Lang et al., 2025). As physical development encroaches on “sacred spaces,” local wisdom is frequently reinterpreted or shortened to align with modern time constraints and economic demands, leading to a “cultural commodification” often seen in religious tourism hubs (Nain et al., 2025). However, this change is not purely subtractive; recent findings suggest a resurgence of “eco-spirituality” and “ecological spirituality,” where local wisdom is integrated into environmental management as a moral and spiritual counterweight to the secular, anthropocentric nature of modern infrastructure planning (Rahayu et al, 2025; Lestar & Böhm, 2020). In this context, the relationship between spiritual experiences and local wisdom becomes a critical frontier for understanding how society maintains a sense of “sacred harmony” amidst the relentless pace of structural change.

This study employs a robust qualitative-descriptive design grounded

in sociological inquiry to examine the socio-spiritual landscape of the Cipeundeuy community following the construction of the Cirata Reservoir. Data were meticulously gathered through a methodological triangulation of field observations, in-depth interviews, documentary studies, and structured questionnaires, involving a total of 32 respondents selected via purposive sampling to ensure specialized insights into the community's transformation. The analytical framework is structured into three primary thematic sections following the introduction: the first segment delineates the sociological conditions of post-reservoir Cipeundeuy, utilizing data synthesized from observations, questionnaires collected from 26 followers of five religious' assemblies, and interviews with six key informants—comprising government officials, community leaders, and religious figures—to capture a multi-dimensional perspective on social change. The second and third segments explore the intricacies of the community's spiritual experiences and the local wisdom activities they manifest, respectively, drawing primarily on data collected from 26 respondents via targeted questionnaires. These empirical findings subsequently converge in a comprehensive discussion section that critically interrogates the symbiotic relationship between spiritual resonance and local wisdom practices within the context of a dynamic, post-infrastructure social reality (Creswell & Poth, 2016; Flick, 2022; Yin, 2018).

A scholarly polemic persists regarding the phenomenon of spiritual experience and its relationship with external contextual factors. There are at least two diametrically opposed perspectives, both providing robust philosophical justifications. The first, championed by the perennialists, posits that the spiritual experiences of mystical practitioners are inherently uniform. Transcending differences in religious, ideological, social, or cultural backgrounds, those on the mystical path encounter states of being detached from particularized concepts. This phenomenon is often termed "efficacy" (James, 1902; Otto, 1923) and finds expression through universal interpretations such as existence, consciousness, and oneness (Gäb, 2021). Conversely, the constructivist school rejects this universality, arguing that every spiritual practitioner is fundamentally shaped by the foundational concepts that construct their individual consciousness. These influential frameworks encompass a wide array of contextual factors, including the subject's life trajectory, upbringing, and personal evolution (Blum, 2014).

While these two paradigms appear fundamentally contradictory, they are not irreconcilable. The existence of spiritual experiences that transcend symbolic representation—other than through a universal lexicon—is corroborated by the accounts of many practitioners. Simultaneously, it remains an empirical

reality that interpretations of such experiences are often expressed through symbols deeply embedded in contextual backgrounds (Jones, 2016; Maulana, 2022). By forging a convergence between perennialist and constructivist approaches, this article provides a nuanced phenomenological and epistemological inquiry into how spiritual experiences are negotiated and articulated within the dynamic social landscape of the post-construction Cipeundeuy community.

To frame the nexus between subjective mystical experiences and external dynamics within the context of a transitioning society, the Symbolic Interactionism framework—specifically the version advanced by G.H. Mead (1934) and H. Blumer (1969)—proves exceptionally pertinent. Individuals perpetually engage with and through symbols, such as language, gestures, or objects, which carry specific semiotic weight. This theory posits that meanings are not inherent but are constructed, internalized, and transformed through contextual processes of social interaction. The most decisive external contextual factors shaping spiritual experiences are the dominant discursive powers prevalent within the mystic’s local milieu. This argument finds its resonance in the perspective of Michel Foucault, who asserts that individual comprehension and experience are not formed autonomously or independently; rather, they are profoundly conditioned by power relations manifested through discourse. For Foucault, discourse is far more than a mere collection of words or verbal communication; it is a system of knowledge, rules, and practices that dictate how phenomena are articulated, understood, and defined within a given society (Foucault, 2013). In Pierre Bourdieu’s lexicon, this surrounding discursive context or dominant local wisdom is conceptualized as *habitus*. It represents the foundational substrate of an individual’s personality—an ensemble of internal dispositions cultivated by life experiences and social trajectory (Bourdieu, 2017).

THE SOCIOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF CIPEUNDEUY COMMUNITY

The initial phase of this discussion examines how macro-infrastructure development—specifically the construction of the Cirata Reservoir—has fundamentally restructured the geographic, demographic, and socio-economic profile of the Cipeundeuy District. The empirical data suggest that Cipeundeuy is no longer a static, traditional agrarian entity; rather, it has evolved into a “prismatic” or transitional society, characterized by the coexistence of traditional values and modern structural demands.

Topographically, Cipeundeuy has undergone a radical landscape transformation. The conversion of 2,500 hectares of land into the Cirata

hydroelectric reservoir has shifted the community's spatial orientation from terrestrial-based living to an aquatic-centered ecosystem. This "spatial restructuring" did not merely submerge productive land but effectively erased at least 18 traditional hamlets, such as Kampung Banceuy and Citembong, from the administrative map. From a sociological perspective, this represents a significant disruption of "living space," in which new natural boundaries, such as the Citarum River, which traverses six affected villages, have created a unique paradox of geographic isolation and new connectivity via water-based transportation.

Demographic data reveal a significant upward trend, with the population increasing from 74,749 in 2010 to 88,913 in 2021. The most critical aspect of this shift is the dominance of the productive age group (ages 25–49), which reached 31,643 individuals by 2022 (Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Bandung Barat, 2022). In the sociology of population, this "bulge" in the productive demographic reflects an intensified pressure on the local labor market. While the Reservoir construction initially provided land compensation—leading to a "nouveau riche" phenomenon—the data suggests a lack of psychological and financial readiness. This resulted in a high rate of "consumptive behavior" over "productive investment," often leading to the eventual transfer of assets from residents to external investors.

The findings regarding livelihoods illustrate a profound shift from traditional food-crop agriculture to KJA aquaculture and the service sector. Although 13% of the land remains rice fields, the community increasingly resembles Fred W. Riggs' "Prismatic Society" model, in which agrarian lifestyles merge with modern industrial demands (Riggs & MacKean, 1964). The emergence of specialized roles—such as aquaculture suppliers, transport services, and culinary entrepreneurs in Ciroyom Village—signals a maturing social differentiation. However, this transition carries inherent risks; as the capital for KJA operations is increasingly consolidated by external elites, residents face a secondary displacement, often returning to the status of low-tier laborers or "precariat" within their own territory.

Socio-culturally, Cipeundeuy is experiencing a tension between traditional collectivism and modern individualism. Traditional "social capital," such as mutual cooperation and the "celebration arisan" (social rotating credit for rituals), remains a resilient force for social cohesion. Nevertheless, the influx of non-permanent migrants and the pervasive use of digital technology have accelerated value heterogeneity. Interview data confirm deep concerns about the "cultural entropy" of ancestral traditions such as *Hajat Bumi* or *Ngaruwat Lembur*. Furthermore, the spiritual orientation of the youth is shifting from

the mosque to the digital sphere. In this context, wealth and administrative rank are beginning to supersede spiritual piety as the primary metrics of social status.

In summary, Cipeundeuy serves as a prototype for a transitional society adapting to a man-made environment. The physical shift in infrastructure has triggered a chain reaction, altering the social structure and the prevailing value system. While the spirit of mutual cooperation persists as a normative “anchor” for social stability, the relentless tide of modernization and land-use change poses a formidable challenge to the continuity of local wisdom and the community’s authentic spiritual experiences.

MAPPING RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL EXPERIENCES AMIDST ENVIRONMENTAL DISPLACEMENT

Within the framework of the sociology of religion, religious practices encompass the tangible actions, rites, and forms of worship that adherents perform as an expression of faith. In Cipeundeuy District, religious practices following the construction of the Cirata Reservoir demonstrate a unique pattern: ritual enthusiasm remains high, but interaction and the transmission of values have shifted.

Research findings indicate that the Cipeundeuy community maintains an exceptionally high level of enthusiasm for religious ritual practices. Rituals are not merely perceived as theological obligations but have become “existential routines” that strengthen communal identity. Daily worship practices, such as congregational prayers, *tahlilan* (an Islamic tradition carried out to remember and pray for those who have died), and *manaqiban* (the tradition of reading the biography of a religious figure), are performed with consistent frequency. This phenomenon confirms theories of traditional-transitional societies where religious attributes serve as the primary markers of social membership. Homogeneity in religious affiliation is also evident, as the community tends to follow a single mainstream spiritual leadership guided by charismatic figures such as *kyai* and *ustadz*.

One significant finding is the proliferation of small-scale religious activity groups (*majlis taklim*) at the village level. These practices have gained strong legitimacy and support from village government apparatuses, indicating that religious institutions and local bureaucracy in Cipeundeuy are deeply intertwined. Recitations in residents’ homes, held on a rotating basis, serve as the primary spaces for non-formal religious education. The curriculum covers fundamental aspects such as Quranic exegesis (*tafsir*), Hadith studies, and Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), aiming to maintain the purity of dogmatic

understanding amidst a disruptive and changing environment.

Religious practice in Cipeundeuy relies heavily on a vertical leadership model. The community positions the ulema at the center of every ritual practice. Compliance with religious instructions from the *kyai* or *ustadz* creates social order in the performance of religious rites. This minimizes internal conflict regarding worship practices, as there is a collective consensus to follow a singular line of religious interpretation. This pattern maintains the stability of the community's religious practices even as they undergo a difficult economic transition due to the presence of the reservoir.

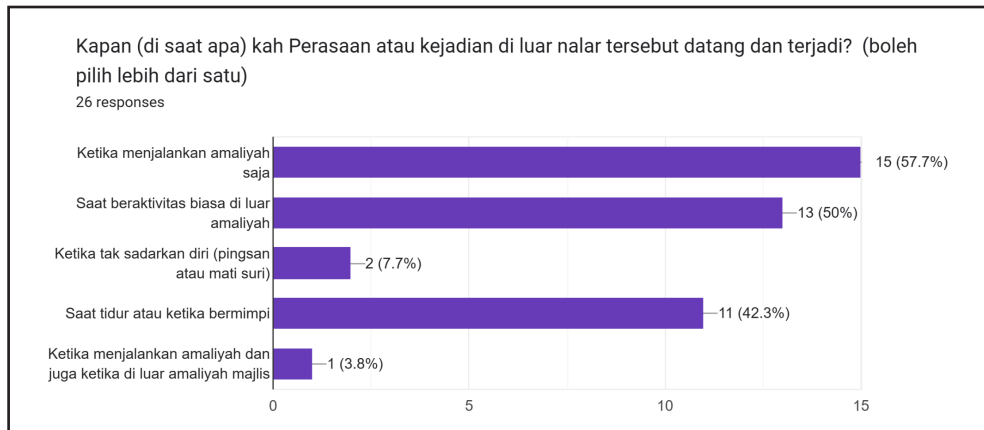
While ritual enthusiasm is generally preserved, there is a visible anomaly among the younger generation. Observational data reveal a declining interest in mosque-based religious practices among youth compared to previous generations. Traditionally, the time between the Maghrib and Isha prayers was filled with collective *puji-pujian* (devotional singing) and Quranic learning; however, these spaces are increasingly occupied by the use of communication technology (gadgets and the internet). This phenomenon of “wandering in digital spaces” poses a serious challenge to the continuity of traditional religious practices, suggesting that while formal rituals persist, the “essence” of these practices is facing stiff competition from modern information flows that are more appealing to the productive age group.

The post-Cirata Reservoir shift in livelihoods has indirectly influenced the nature of religious practice. The increased economic activity in the aquaculture and trade sectors has occasionally shifted the religious focus toward a more materialistic orientation. Religious values that were once ascetic are now adapting to a new economic reality. Although ritual practices such as almsgiving (*sedekah*) and thanksgiving ceremonies (*syukuran*) continue to be observed, their motivations are frequently linked to expectations of economic success in the floating net cage sector or culinary businesses, indicating an instrumentalization of religion within the economic sphere.

EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE OF SPIRITUAL EXPERIENCES IN CIPEUNDEUY

The Situational Context of Spiritual Experiences

The first chart explores the temporal and situational dimensions in which the respondents encounter extraordinary or spiritual phenomena.

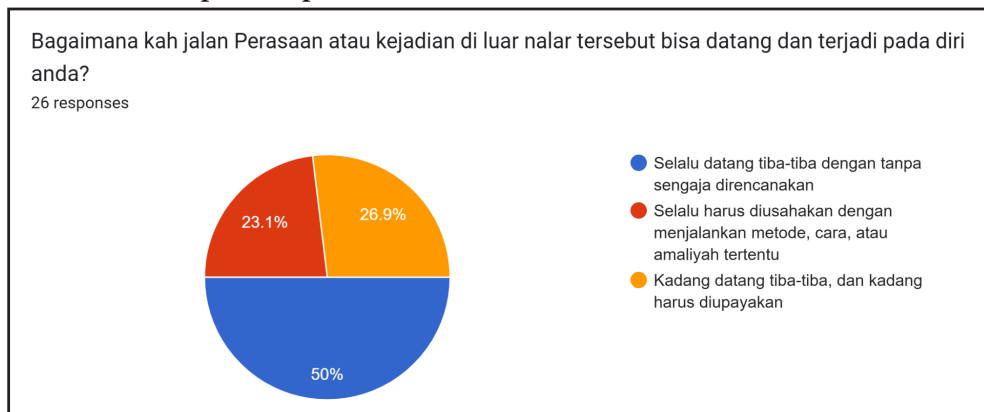


The bar chart reveals that spiritual experiences in the Cipeundeuy society are not confined to a single ritualistic timeframe but are interwoven into the fabric of both sacred and profane life. A majority of respondents (57.7%) reported encountering these feelings specifically while performing *amaliyah* (religious deeds/rituals). However, a significant 50% also experienced them during regular daily activities outside of ritual practice, and 42.3% reported occurrences during sleep or dreams.

From a sociological perspective, these findings suggest that for this community, the “sacred” is not a separate sphere from the “secular.” Instead, there is a “sacred-profane continuum” where spiritual consciousness remains heightened even during mundane activities. The high frequency of experiences during *amaliyah* underscores the effectiveness of ritual as a catalyst for transcendental states. At the same time, the dream-state occurrences align with the traditional Sundanese belief in *impi* as a legitimate medium for spiritual communication.

The Mechanism of Spiritual Occurrence

The second chart illustrates the perceived agency and spontaneity behind the onset of these spiritual phenomena.

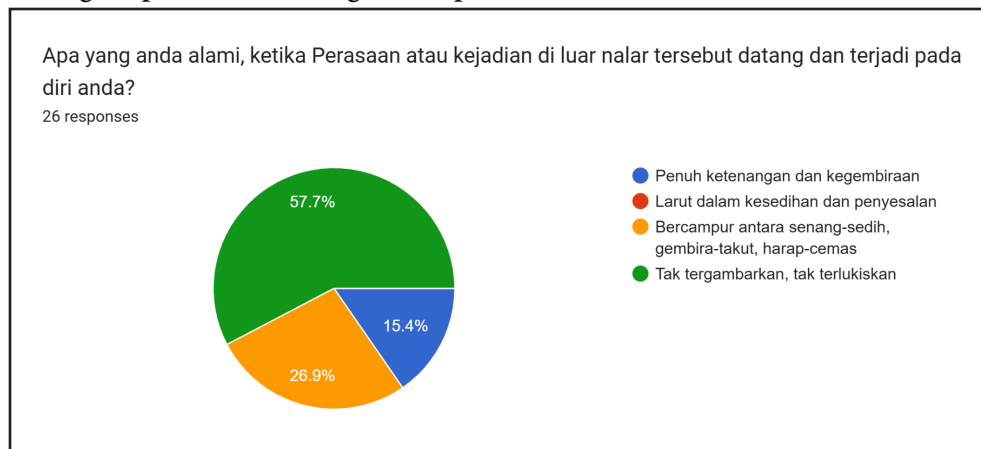


The data indicate a predominantly “spontaneous” nature of spiritual events, with 50% of respondents stating that these experiences always arise suddenly, without intentional planning. In contrast, 23.1% believe that such states must be actively sought through specific methods or rituals, while 26.9% experience a combination of both spontaneity and effort.

In academic terms, this distribution reflects the concept of “unmerited grace”, where the spiritual encounter is viewed as a divine intervention rather than a purely human-controlled outcome. The fact that half of the participants experience these events unexpectedly highlights a “passive spiritual receptivity”—a state in which the individual remains open to transcendental experiences without necessarily triggering them through formal mechanisms. This reinforces the “prismatic” nature of their spirituality, where modern religious discipline coexists with an ancient, intuitive openness to the supernatural.

The Qualitative Nature of the Spiritual Affect

The third chart categorizes the emotional and psychological qualities of the feelings experienced during these spiritual events.



The pie chart demonstrates that the predominant response to spiritual encounters is one of “ineffability,” with 57.7% describing their experience as “indescribable” or “unpaintable” (*tak tergambar*). Meanwhile, 26.9% reported a complex mixture of contradictory emotions, such as joy and fear, or hope and anxiety, while only 15.4% characterized the experience as purely one of “peace and joy.”

Sociologically, the dominance of “indescribable” feelings points to the “numinous” quality of the experience—what Rudolf Otto described as the *mysterium tremendum et fascinans*. The spiritual event is so profound that it transcends linguistic boundaries, placing it outside the realm of ordinary

social discourse. The significant portion of respondents experiencing “mixed emotions” further illustrates that spiritual encounters in Cipeundeuy are not merely escapist or blissful but involve a rigorous psychological engagement with the “Other,” often invoking a sense of awe or sacred dread.

Comparative Analysis: Pre- and Post-Assembly Experience

The final chart provides a comparative look at the frequency of these spiritual events before and after the respondents joined the current spiritual assembly (*majlis*).



The findings show a clear “institutional effect” on spiritual life; 65.4% of respondents stated they had “never before” experienced such feelings before joining the *majlis*. Conversely, 30.8% had experienced similar feelings but with different qualities, and only 3.8% reported that their experiences remained identical to those before joining.

This data provides strong evidence for the role of the *majlis* as a “spiritual incubator.” The assembly does not merely provide a social space for worship but actively facilitates and legitimizes new forms of spiritual consciousness. The high percentage of “new” experiences suggests that the specific *amalayah* and social support within the assembly have effectively lowered the threshold for transcendental encounters, transforming the collective identity of the Cipeundeuy community from a traditional-passive religious group into a vibrant, spiritually-active community.

THE MANIFESTATION OF LOCAL WISDOM AND ANCESTRAL TRADITIONS IN CIPEUNDEUY

The subsequent component of this discussion analyzes the local wisdom of the Cipeundeuy community as a mechanism for social cohesion and cultural adaptation. Field data illustrate that local wisdom in this region is not merely

an archaic relic but a living value system that fuses organically with Islamic principles, creating a distinct “Sunda-Islam” cultural hybridity.

The Cipeundeuy society maintains a profound connection to symbolic objects that bridge the profane and sacred realms. The use of *kemenyan* (incense), *Sesuguh* (offerings), and *Kohkol* (traditional slit drum) represents a belief system that recognizes supernatural forces as guardians of natural balance. From a sociological perspective, the burning of *kemenyan*—particularly in villages like Nyenang—is not an isolated theological practice but a symbolic link to ancestral spirits (*tatali karuhun*). Similarly, *Sesuguh* serves as a form of “spiritual negotiation” to maintain harmony between humans and the unseen world, especially at sacred sites such as the Gunung Kuda shrine in Ciroyom. These objects reflect a traditional ecological ethic that emphasizes “permission-based” interaction with the environment (*mipit kudu amit, ngala kudu bebeja*).

Two of the most prominent expressions of local wisdom are *Hajat Bumi* (Earth Ritual) and *Ngamandian Ucing* (the Rain-making Cat Ritual). *Hajat Bumi* is an annual fertility rite that transcends formal religious gratitude; it is a communal celebration of nature’s bounty. The use of non-verbal symbols, such as the *tumpeng* carried collectively to the accompaniment of traditional music (kendang, gong, and suling), reinforces the agrarian identity of the community. Conversely, the *Ngamandian Ucing* ritual—performed to invoke rain and ward off disaster—demonstrates the society’s deep-seated attachment to natural rhythms. Despite the technological modernization brought by the Cirata Reservoir, the community’s psychological dependence on rain and soil fertility remains manifest in these rituals, which function as social buffers against environmental uncertainty.

Local wisdom in Cipeundeuy is also reflected in the management of socio-cultural time through the *Papajar* tradition. Observed shortly before the month of Ramadan, *Papajar* is interpreted as welcoming the “light of dawn” (*fajar*) or collective spiritual purification. The ritual involves activities such as *Nakol Kohkol* (beating the drum) and communal dining (*Dahar Papajar*). Sociologically, *Papajar* serves as a synchronization mechanism between the Islamic lunar calendar and local social rhythms. Through communal eating, social class boundaries dissolve, reinforcing the “mechanical solidarity” that remains the foundation of social stability in Cipeundeuy amidst modern shifts.

The veneration of ancestors is institutionalized through the tradition of pilgrimage to various sacred graves, such as the Eyang grave in Cipeundeuy or Mama Gunung Kuda in Ciroyom. These practices act as “identity anchors” for the community. By visiting these historical sites, residents reconstruct

their collective memory regarding the origins of their villages (*lembur*). This is particularly critical as the construction of the Cirata Reservoir submerged numerous physical hamlets; pilgrimage thus becomes a spiritual method for the community to remain connected to a history that is geographically lost beneath the reservoir.

Ultimately, these traditions culminate in the reinforcement of mutual cooperation. During the organization of village anniversaries (*milangkala*) or harvest festivals, community members distribute roles voluntarily. Men and women have clear divisions of labor in preparing these events, which indirectly safeguard socio-cultural resilience against the individualism often introduced by post-reservoir economic transitions. Although some traditional practices, such as field offerings, have declined since the 1990s, the core of local wisdom—the sense of belonging to nature and the community—persists as a vital variable in maintaining the integration of the social system.

The local wisdom of the Cipeundeuy community represents a form of “cultural resilience.” Amidst the pressures of transitioning from a purely agrarian society to a prismatic-transitional one, traditions such as *Hajat Bumi* and *Papajar* serve as the final bastions of their “humanity” and “Sundanity.” The integration of sacred religious values and noble ancestral customs creates a harmonious social order, ensuring that physical infrastructural progress does not erase the spiritual footprints of their ancestors.

QUANTITATIVE MAPPING OF LOCAL WISDOM AND TRADITIONAL NORMS.

The following sociological analysis interprets the quantitative data regarding the local wisdom and traditional practices of the Cipeundeuy community. These findings are examined through the lens of transitional sociology, focusing on the concepts of cultural entropy and the “formalization” of tradition in a society undergoing structural change.

The Situational Persistence of Local Custom

The first chart evaluates the community’s perception of the strength and presence of local traditions within their immediate social environment.



The survey reveals a significant state of “prismatic” transition; while a total of 76.9% of respondents acknowledge the existence of local customs, there is a distinct divergence in the depth of adherence. Only 30.8% perceive these traditions as being “strongly practiced” by the community, whereas a plurality of 46.2% views them merely as “formalities.”

Sociologically, this suggests a phenomenon of “ritual hollowization,” where the external structures of tradition remain visible, but their internal binding authority is weakening. In a society affected by massive infrastructure projects like the Cirata Reservoir, traditions often shift from being the primary “social regulator” to becoming “symbolic markers” of identity, observed out of habit or social politeness rather than from deep-seated conviction. The 23.1% who report no traditional presence indicate a growing segment of the population that has fully decoupled from ancestral customs in favor of modern-rationalist social frameworks.

The Disenchantment of Mystical Traditions

The second chart examines the prevalence of mystical elements—such as ancestor veneration and beliefs in the supernatural—within the neighborhood’s collective practices.



The data underscores a marked “disenchantment” of the social world, as defined by Max Weber (1946). A dominant 57.7% of respondents report that mystical traditions are now practiced only by “certain segments” of the community, while 38.5% state that such practices no longer exist in their environment. Only a marginal 3.8% perceive these mystical elements as a universal communal practice.

This distribution highlights the fragmentation of the traditional Sundanese worldview (*tatali karuhun*). The transition to a “modern-industrial” logic, necessitated by reservoir management and the influx of external technology, has relegated mystical beliefs to the periphery. Mysticism in Cipeundeuy is no longer a “total social fact” that governs the entire community but has become a fragmented subculture practiced by a minority, often the older generation, while the majority moves toward more secular or formally religious interpretations of reality.

The Compartmentalization of Tradition in Daily Life

The third chart analyzes the integration of tradition into the private and daily routines of individuals versus its role in specific communal events.



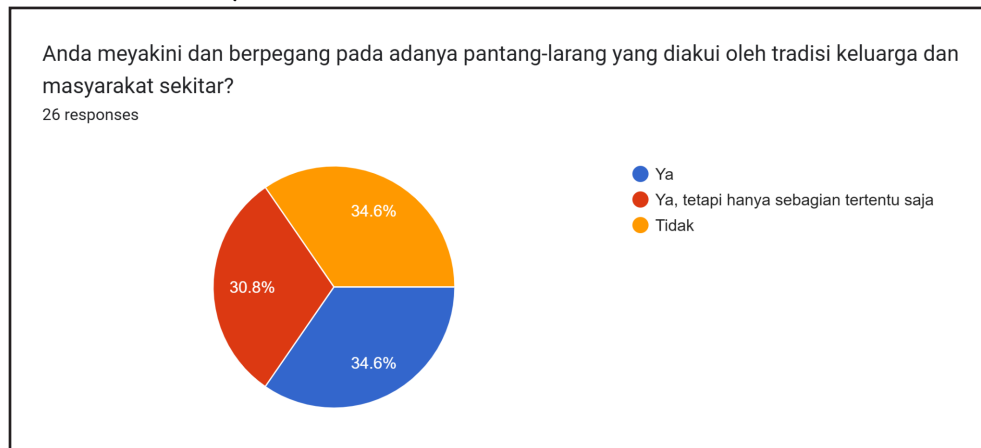
The results demonstrate a clear “compartmentalization” of tradition, where 69.2% of respondents only engage in traditional practices during “specific events” or ceremonies. Only a small fraction (3.8%) integrates tradition into “almost every daily activity,” while 26.9% abstain from traditional practices entirely.

This finding reflects the shift from an “organic” traditional life to a “segmented” modern life. In the agrarian past, tradition was the very atmosphere of daily existence; however, in post-reservoir Cipeundeuy, tradition has been moved to the “event” category—something one “attends” rather than “lives.” This “event-based spirituality” indicates that local wisdom is being treated as a cultural performance or a seasonal ritual, allowing the community to maintain a sense

of continuity with the past without letting it interfere with the efficiency-driven demands of modern daily life.

Ideological Fragmentation Regarding Traditional Taboos

The final chart measures the level of belief and adherence to traditional prohibitions (*pamali*), which historically served as the moral and ecological code of the society.



The community appears to be in a state of ideological equilibrium or “normative fragmentation.” The respondents are almost evenly split between those who still hold firm to traditional taboos (34.6%), those who reject them entirely (34.6%), and a middle group that adheres only to “specific parts” of these prohibitions (30.8%).

This split is a hallmark of a society in the “initial phase” of cultural change. Traditional taboos, which once functioned as invisible fences protecting the social and ecological order, are losing their universal legitimacy. The 34.6% who retain these beliefs represent the “cultural anchors” of the community, while the 34.6% who reject them represent the “agents of modernization.” The significant middle group indicates a process of “selective adaptation,” where taboos are rationalized—kept if they align with modern logic or formal religion, and discarded if they are perceived as mere superstition. This fragmentation poses a challenge to communal harmony, as the shared “moral vocabulary” of the ancestors is being replaced by diverse, individualistic ethical frameworks.

THE RECURSIVE SYMBIOSIS OF SPIRITUAL EXPERIENCE AND LOCAL WISDOM IN A TRANSITIONAL CIPEUNDEUY SOCIETY

The sociological landscape of the Cipeundeuy community, following the structural disruptions necessitated by the Cirata Reservoir construction, offers a profound case study in the negotiation of spiritual meaning within a

transitional society. By applying a synthesis of perennialist and constructivist paradigms, it becomes evident that the community's religious practices are not merely static remnants of the past, but are actively reconstructed through what may be termed the "institutionalization of the ineffable." The proliferation of *majlis taklim* serves as a primary site for this reconstruction. Utilizing the Symbolic Interactionism framework of Mead and Blumer, the data suggest that the transcendental encounters reported by a vast majority of the population are profoundly shaped by collective social interaction. The *majlis* acts as a "spiritual incubator" where specific *amaliyah* and rituals are assigned semiotic weight, transforming raw, subjective efficacy into a shared cultural vocabulary. This process is further reinforced by the discursive power described by Foucault; the local religious leadership—the *kyai* and *ustadz*—sets the epistemological boundaries of what constitutes a valid spiritual experience, thereby providing a sense of ontological security in a landscape where physical landmarks have been submerged.

While the institutional framework organizes spiritual life, the community's local wisdom reveals a "habitus in flux," as conceptualized by Pierre Bourdieu. The traditional "Sunda-Islam" hybridity, characterized by the use of *kemenyan* and the performance of *Hajat Bumi*, represents the foundational substrate of the Cipeundeuy personality—an ensemble of internal dispositions cultivated over generations. However, the current state of "normative fragmentation" regarding ancestral prohibitions, or *pamali*, indicates a significant tension between these ingrained dispositions and the efficiency-driven demands of a modern, post-displacement environment. In this context, ritualistic practices such as *Sesuguh* at sacred sites like Gunung Kuda are not merely archaic relics but active symbolic negotiations. They represent a "permission-based" interaction with a radically altered ecosystem, allowing the community to maintain a thread of continuity with their ancestral "living space" while navigating the precarious realities of a water-based economy.

The relationship between these individual spiritual experiences and collective local wisdom is best understood as a recursive, symbiotic loop that facilitates "Prismatic Resilience." Local wisdom functions as the "grammar of the soul," providing the necessary cultural symbols and rules of translation that allow a subjective mystical encounter to be articulated and integrated into social reality. Conversely, the genuine spiritual experiences reported within the *majlis* provide the "energetic charge" required to prevent tradition from becoming a hollow, mechanical performance. In a society undergoing rapid modernization, these two elements do not exist in isolation; rather, they mutually preserve one another. The spiritual experience provides the internal

motivation to remain connected to the sacred, while local wisdom offers the external social structure to ensure that this connection survives the cultural entropy brought about by technological and demographic shifts.

Ultimately, the Cipeundeuy community demonstrates a sophisticated form of cultural adaptation that transcends the binary of tradition versus modernity. By “spiritualizing” their new environmental and social realities, they utilize the discursive power of religious institutions to protect the perennialist core of their mystical lives, while selectively adapting their ancestral habitus to meet contemporary challenges. This synthesis suggests that in a dynamically changing society, the persistence of local wisdom is contingent upon its ability to frame and legitimize the authentic spiritual yearnings of the individual, creating a resilient identity that is both grounded in ancient history and responsive to the relentless tide of social change.

CONCLUSION

The transformation of the Cipeundeuy community following the construction of the Cirata Reservoir serves as a definitive testament to the resilience of the human spirit when confronted with radical environmental and structural displacement. This research concludes that the shift from a terrestrial to an aquatic-centered ecosystem did not lead to the anticipated cultural erasure; rather, it triggered a “prismatic” adaptation. The proliferation of *majlis taklim* has effectively institutionalized the ineffable, providing a necessary sociological structure for transcendental experiences to be navigated and understood. Simultaneously, the community’s local wisdom—the Sunda-Islam habitus—continues to function as a vital semiotic anchor. While certain traditional taboos face fragmentation, rituals like *Hajat Bumi* and *Sesuguh* remain essential tools for symbolic negotiation with a submerged landscape. Ultimately, the survival of Cipeundeuy’s identity rests upon a recursive symbiosis: spiritual experiences provide the internal vitality to sustain tradition, while local wisdom offers the linguistic and cultural grammar required to articulate those experiences within a changing social reality.

Despite these insights, several research limitations must be acknowledged. This study focused primarily on the immediate and mid-term socio-cultural adjustments within the Cipeundeuy District, which may not fully capture the long-term generational shifts as the community moves further away from its agrarian roots. Furthermore, while the qualitative and quantitative data provide a robust snapshot of current spiritual and cultural sentiments, the reliance on self-reported transcendental encounters may be subject to the prevailing discursive pressures of the community’s religious leadership. The

study's geographic specificity to the villages surrounding the Cirata Reservoir also means that while the findings are deeply nuanced, they may require careful recalibration when applied to different types of industrial or environmental displacement where the "spiritual incubator" of the *majlis* might not be as prevalent.

Moving forward, several avenues for further study are recommended to deepen the understanding of this transitional phenomenon. First, a longitudinal study is necessary to track the "cultural entropy" of the youth population, specifically examining how the shift from mosque-centered to digital-sphere spirituality alters the transmission of local wisdom. Second, a comparative sociological analysis between Cipeundeuy and other reservoir-affected regions in Southeast Asia could reveal whether "Prismatic Resilience" is a universal trait of displaced agrarian societies or a unique byproduct of the Sunda-Islam hybridity. Finally, future research should explore the intersection of economic precarity and ritual enthusiasm, investigating whether the intensification of spiritual practices serves as a coping mechanism for the "secondary displacement" experienced by residents who have become laborers in their own territory. Such inquiries will be vital for developing more holistic and culturally sensitive models for infrastructure development in the Global South.

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