WHEN RELIGION GOES TO THE WORKPLACE
The Sociology of Knowledge about Religiosity

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Abstract: This paper aims to examine the religiosity of Muslim professional workers and the position of religion for them in their daily life. This paper takes two steps: first, studying the religiosity of those Muslim professional workers within their workplace by using Peter L Berger's framework of the *Construction of Social Theory*; second, examining the thoughts and expressions of those workers when they are faced with a dilemma in work conditions through in-depth interview. This study concludes that the Muslim professional workers who live in the modern society with diverse conditions of a dilemma between the religious values and the demands of expertise in their job tend to be more faithful to their religious beliefs. Berger's thesis about secularization does not occur in the case of workers of this kind. Religion stays functional for these workers through deconstruction strategy as it is assumed by Derrida. The so-called "traces of God" can still be seen in these workers in Surabaya.

Keywords: Social construction, Muslim professional workers, secularization.

Introduction

Professional workers are those who think that proficiency is important and able to show their full attention to the profession. By definition, "profession" is a specific job based on specific responsibility aiming at generating income.[1] The professional workers who seriously do their job or profession can be seen from two indications: first, doing everything better than before; second, seeking for an

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[1] Abdul Kadir Muhammad, *Etika Profesi Hukum* (Bandung: PT. Citra Aditya Bakti, 1997), pp. 58-60.

opportunity and relationship to face challenges with the purpose of developing ethical and moral concerns.[2]

Not all jobs can be referred to as professions. The referring can be done if the following conditions apply: first, the specification of the job is related to the profession studied and concentrated on; second, the profession and the skill are specially gained from education and training; third, the job is permanent and continuous; fourth, service is the priority than income (money); fifth, the job is legally and sociologically acceptable to oneself and society; and sixth, the job is managed through and by the profession organization.[3]

Religiosity has a wide range of meanings. First, the harmonious interaction between two sides, the highest position (*Allāh*) and the other (*makhlūq*), which uses three basic concepts (*īmān*/belief, *Islām* and *iḥsān*/good conduct).[4] Second, the admiration towards the ultimate power that could not be touched and could not be thought about; beyond the capacity of all creations.[5] Third, spiritual belief, religious practice and involvement in devout society.[6] Fourth, religious devotion capacity to mobilize human action in the name of God.[7] Fifth, instinct wants to look for and find the central part or substance of life.[8] Sixth, an effort to develop oneself because individuals have ability to transform subjective interpretation about religious dogma in order to

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[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] M. Quraish Shihab, *Menabur Pesan Ilahi: Al-Quran dan Dinamika Kehidupan Masyarakat* (Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 2006), p. 3.

[5] Max Jammer, *Agama Einstein: Teologi dan Fisika* (Yogyakarta: Yayasan Relief Indonesia, 2004), p. 57.

[6] Nathaniel M. Lambert and David C. Dollahite, "Family Relations," *Meneapolis,* Vol 55 (2006), p. 439.

[7] Rodney Stark, *One True God, Historical Consequences of Monotheism* (New York: Princeton University Press, 2001). Translated into Indonesian by M. Sadat Ismail, *One True God: Resiko Sejarah Bertuhan Satu* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Qalam, 2003), p. 257.

[8] Nurcholish Madjid, *Cendekiawan dan Religiusitas Masyarakat: Kolom-kolom di Tabloid Tekad* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1999), p. ix.

develop ethics perspective.[9] Seventh, all religious symptoms which are called religion.[10]

This paper examines the religiosity condition which happens to Muslim professional workers in Surabaya. It particularly deals with the question, is that right that the religiosity of Muslim professional workers declines as stated by Peter L. Berger? In attempts to answer this, this paper refers to Muslim professional workers as those including doctors, lawyers, notarists, lecturers, preachers, and journalists. This is taken from the logical concept of J. Spillane S.J. that traditionally, there are four kinds of profession: doctors, lawyers, lecturers and priests.[11]

Perspectives on Religiosity

The main goal of religion is not to express and explain the rejected and abnormal things, matters, or facts, but the constant and in-order ones.[12] The characteristics of a religious person are as follows: first, the person feels inside the soul the existence of The Almighty; second, there is an inducement from the heart to have relationship with the Ultimate Power; and third, the person believes that The Almighty is the All-Just, so reward will be given upon what has been done.[13]

Religious action stimulates individuals to participate positively in social life.[14] The goal of religiosity is to correspond to humanity values without any sectarian sentiment, and to develop harmonious life.[15]

Differences in social situation and religious experience give polarity formulation form. But, Muslim professional workers in a Javanese religious context maintain various religious communication forms and

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[9] M. Fahmi, *Islam Transendental: Menelusuri Jejak-Jejak Pemikiran Islam Kuntowijoyo* (Yogyakarta: Pilar Religia, 2005), p. xi.

[10] Emile Durkheim, "Concerning the Definition of Religious Phenomena" in W.S.F. Pickering (ed.), *Durkheim on Religion: A Selection of Readings with Bibliographies and Introductory Remarks* (London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), p. 74

[11] Suhrawardi K. Lubis, *Etika Profesi Hukum* (Jakarta: Sinar Grafika, 1994), p. 10.

[12] Durkheim, *The Elementary*, p. 55.

[13] Shihab, *Menabur Pesan Ilahi*, p. 23.

[14] Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary*, p. 7

[15] Jalaluddin Rahmat, *Atas Nama Agama* (Bandung: Pustaka Hidayah, 1998), p. 35.

institutions.[16] Meanwhile, Islamic grouping of *santri, priyayi* and *abangan*[17] has long been apparent. So, the development of religiosity tradition from *abangan* to *santri* or *priyayi* and vice-versa, is not something that happens suddenly; it is a long history. In the context of Muslim professional workers, dilemma appears when they work in a way that is a demand of their profession.

The activity of professional workers in religious activities or religious institutions is called the material of social facts, as the facts that are used to express moral strength set a social fact of non-material.[18] The social representation constitutes a subject of academic debate. In particular, mosque as a central activity of Muslim, for example, is the place that can connect social representation with individual practices through effective spread.[19] This shows that human knowledge does not come out from their experiences but from the society's creation. The knowledge gained by individuals and the society, when united, is not strong enough to be the right reason to make a change. Specific understanding about demands and restrictions as the consequence of change is still needed for this case.[20]

When many people lose their job that causes them to be more alienated from society, the case needs to be understood more from natural multicultural perspective than religion side.[21] Durkheim views this problem as a natural moral challenge often experienced by modern society leading them away from the previous moral tradition.[22] In response to this case, Muslim professional workers are often faced with the religious challenges of developing between private and public piety through cases of the poverty and the economic crisis of society.

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[16] Abdul Munir Mulkhan "Sekularisasi dan Ideologi Kaum Santri" in Sukardi, AK (ed.), *Nurcholish Madjid: Jejak Pemikiran dari Pembaharu sampai Guru Bangsa* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2001/3), p. 204.

[17] Richard Tanter and Kenneth Young, "The Politics of Middle Class Indonesia," Monas Papers on Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, Clayton Victoria Australia. Translated into Indonesian by Nur Imam Subono, Arya Wisesa, and Ade Armando, *Politik Kelas Menengah* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1993), p. xxi and p. 155.

[18] Ritzer & Goodman, *Sociological Theory*, p. 83.

[19] Ibid., p. 105.

[20] Ibid., p. 107.

[21] Moeslim Abdurrahman, *Islam Yang Memihak* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2005), p. 5.

[22] Ritzer & Goodman, *Sociological Theory*, p. 105.

Religiosity and the Workplace

The phenomenon of religiosity of Muslim professional workers, if seen from the perspective of Social Construction Theory, can be categorized as a fact and knowledge. Social facts can be plural and dynamic, and can show the structural dimension of general and individual awareness. This awareness leads Muslim professional workers to increase their capacity of self-recognition. Knowledge exists in the structure of individual awareness, that is between subject and object which is different from the two.[23] From Berger's point of view, there are two kinds of awareness, general and individual. Both exist in the domain of objective reality as an individual socialization result that never finishes.

Participation of Muslim professional workers in daily life at the workplace and in community outreach is not as smooth as in macro economy development report for the increasing of society income. Berger's Social Construction Theory suggests that human creates the social world, enabling dialectical relationship between *mind* (Muslim professional workers) and social contact where the mind rises and develops. This theory has an analytical significance in dealing with subjective and objective reality in a harmonious way.

In social processes, society is an activity product and a result of human awareness (externalization), giving feedback to human being (objectivity), and leading to the next action pattern (internalization). Muslim professional workers will show how their religiosity manifestation in every dialectical process of three monumental piles. When building social world as an individuals, they play their subjective-ness in entering the objective reality through externalization process. Objective reality containing the general awareness is a result of successful individual socialization.

Individual socialization as an internalization process is the process of subjective reality (individual) enters into objective reality (society). So, every individual absorbs objective reality. Internalization process is

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[23] Frans M. Parera, "Kata Pengantar: Menyingkap Misteri Manusia sebagai Homo Faber" in Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc. Garden City, 1966). This book has been translated into Indonesia by Hasan Basari, *Tafsir Sosial atas Kenyataan: Risalah tentang Sosiologi Pengetahuan* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1990), pp. xvii-xix.

a unification of two realities. When objective reality enters the inner self there is subjective reality (individual awareness) which stays in the objective reality (general awareness). This condition shows how the beginning of dilemma happens within every individual in the society.

For Berger, when secondary socialization is in process, there is an unfinished internalization, so that there is remaining subjective awareness in the objective awareness as a continuously contradictive dual awareness. Internalization always never finishes, as it is a consequence of the width of objective awareness and the narrowness of subjective awareness with limited individual knowledge to catch objective reality.

The Meaning of Religion for Muslim Professional Workers

This study finds that the religiosity of Muslim professional workers does not decline as stated by Berger, showing no symptom of secularization. This religiosity still appears clear in the domain of subjective and objective reality. What follows is so illustrative.

Domain of Subjective Reality

The initial capital of professional workers' religiosity which comes from their parents at the time of primary socialization process will show clearly the type of their religiosity. Individuals are born in the condition of pre-disposition,[24] and later their parents guide them to broader social world.[25] Primary socialization, then, starts from this point, leading to child awareness as individuals which later creates their double identity, both as the son of father and self-identity.[26]

Secondary socialization is a process where a person receives certain set of knowledge according to its role which has root in working distribution happening in research subject is varied very much[27]. In socialization process, there is a subject reality that never finished being transformed completely by social process; and this means that there is subjective reality that failed being transformed in the objective reality domain. Nevertheless, there are indeed transformation cases seem to have been finished totally in the secondary socialization process and

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[24] Muhammad Al-Fayyadl, *Derrida* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2005), p. 185.

[25] Berger, *Langit Suci: Agama sebagai Realitas Sosial,* p. 7.

[26] Ibid., p. 191.

[27] Ibid., p. 198.

one example is the primary secularization process; this is called *alternation.*[28]

In alternation process, the existing reality color has to be moved by identifying affectively and change the existing nomic structure in subjective reality. This happens in religion conversion cases.[29] This alternation will succeed if social condition, as matrix for conceptual of the religiosity, provides social structure. In every mosque or religious community, there are always several people who play role as the influential people in the primary socialization process so that knowledge affective identification and religious practice can be done properly.[30]

Socialization can be said successful when a high symmetry level is achieved between subjective objective and objective reality and this occurs in the society with simple working distribution[31]. When society has high complexity in knowledge, the symmetry between subjective reality and objective reality varied very much. Socialization can fail when there is an a-symmetry condition between objective reality and subjective reality because of accidents at biography, biology and social aspects[32]. This happened when there is abnormality in primary socialization process (inconsistence among the influential people) and thereby needs a therapy mechanism to address the issue. The worse the failure is, the more the therapy mechanism to achieve the symmetry is needed.[33]

However, when alternation happens in secondary socialization as a cold alternation, the trend shows that individuals tend to choose identification of influential people by manipulation. Individuals internalize the new reality not as the reality itself. Rather, it is used for certain goals.[34]

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[28] Ibid., p. 224.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid., p. 225.

[31] Ibid., p. 234.

[32] Ibid., p. 235.

[33] Ibid., p. 242.

[34] Ibid., p. 246.

Domain of Object Reality (Objective Reality)

According to Berger and Luckmann, the development of human in an organization in a certain environment which is determined socially is eccentric. The eccentricity in human experience has certain consequences for human activity in general. It has consequences on the existence of a person's social sphere going on in a context of order, direction and stable.[35]

The existing social order and proceeding individual organism development give power to the social world stability for human, because it is built continuously as individual externalization of social product that have *sui generis* character.[36] The habitual activity of individual, when interacts with other individual, will produce mutual typical attitude. This mutual typical attitude finally will develop in oneself both in social and individual context. In addition, it finally becomes a controlling device on human attitude.[37]

This pre-theory knowledge is objectified as knowledge so that it can be typified or categorized. The term knowledge here refers to the truth that generally is valid in its concern with reality. Analyzed from categorization of social religiosity, religiosity objectification of Muslim professional workers who produces pre-theory concept can be referred to as follows:

First, Accommodative Islam. This category comprises of[38] the inherent Islamic values in the existing tradition as the contextual aspect of Islam doctrine. This is found among some professional Muslim workers such as doctor, advocate, public notarists public, lecturer, and journalist. Second, Neo-Sufi Islam. Within this category,[39] is the religiosity describes the connection between sufism and shari'ah stressing on active involvement towards a natural world and does not avoid social life and one example where this type is found is the priest under the category of *bi al-lisān*. Third, Transcendental Islam.[40] This

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[35] Ibid., p. 72.

[36] Ibid., p. 75.

[37] Ibid., p. 79.

[38] Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam dan Doktrin Peradaban: Sebuah Telaah Kritis tentang Masalah Keimanan, Kemanusiaan dan Kemodernan* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1992), pp. xi-xv.

[39] Sudirman Tebba, *Orientasi Sufistik Cak Nur: Komitmen Moral Seorang Guru Bangsa* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 2004), p. 4.

[40] M. Fahmi, *Islam Transendental*, pp. v-xxix.

category stresses on religion doctrine implementation scientifically. This is done through synthetic analysis towards the holy text reality byre-reading contextual text; priest *bi al-qalam* is one example. Fourth, Prophetic Islam[41] is where the Muslim professional workers, in doing their profession, involves their religiosity especially in developing the professional roles as determined in the Profession Ethic code.

Here, the study shows that the typology of religiosity of Muslim professional workers, Accommodative-Prophetic Islam, Neo-Sufistic-Prophetic Islam, and Transcendental-Prophetic Islam, are pre-theory knowledge that later is being internalized by other similar professional workers as a working pattern development that finally becomes tradition. As a result, when it is denied it will be perceived as a break on the tradition. Even when a person does a radical deviation from the established order, it will be considered as deviation from reality. Deviation is viewed as a bad moral act or just an unknown one.[42]

Therefore, Berger said that objective reality, perceived as something different part from human activity and includes a part of the society. The world built by human that exists outside individual's subjectivity, is defined as the objective reality that mind cannot take a control.[43] Objective reality is hard to be understood by individual. Hence, to discover a meaning of social phenomenon, a person can not do that trough introspection; instead, he has to go beyond the subjective reality[44].

Berger's Theory in Indonesian Context

The research is conducted on several Muslim professionals Surabaya, Indonesia. Here, Berger's theory which argues that the polarized religion within enclaves is effectively separated from secular sectors of modern society is proven to be wrong. Muslim People in Surabaya is known as religious. There is no indicator of enclave as predicted by Berger. The only data available supporting Berger's theory

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[41] Masdar Hilmy, *Islam Profetik: Substansi Nilai-nilai Agama dalam Ruang Publik* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2008), pp. v-xi. The term Prophetic Islam was first coined by Kuntowijoyo when downloading prophetic ethical concepts (for example) is contained in the letter of Ali Imron: 3 (100), namely the humanization, liberation and transcendence.

[42] Basari, *Tafsir Sosial atas Kenyataan*, p. 94.

[43] Ibid., p. 14.

[44] Ibid., p. 22.

in this context is merely a statistical data in 1995. The data, which is used to argue Berger's theory, actually only pictures the statistical number of Muslims, the number of Muslims going for pilgrimage, and the number of mosques and *mushalla* (prayer house) along with how many people it can accommodate. It states then that the highest enclave is in Gubeng and the lowest one is in Wiyung. Nevertheless, this data does not give picture of the various typologies of people's religiosity.

Here, Berger's theory stating that religion polarization that goes towards the pluralistic situation which resulted in demonopolisation of religion tradition is proven to be not exist in Indonesian Islam context. Rather, what happened is that the Muslim professionals show their original tradition, whether it is *priyayi*, *santri* or *abangan*, which is resulted from their primary socialization and developed together through secondary socialization.

The following table, shows the usage of Berger's concept with regard to the reality among the Muslim professional workers in Surabaya

Table 1: Analysis of Social Construction Theory Peter L. Berger in Social life Reality of Muslim Professional Workers

Social Construction Theory Peter L. Berger	Social Life Reality of Muslim Professional Workers
The existing institution in society is given by God	This is not true, because this institution, a product is a result of process individual externalization, although there is also God Interference.
This religious legitimacy is a transformation process of human product becoming facticity of super humane and non-humane	This is not true, because religious legitimacy is done during working through decision made.
Dual awareness in objective reality domain is a strange thing for individual who is continually objectified as strange reality, includes religion.	Dual awareness is not something strange because in the process of life theodicy process happens, they do rationalization thereby religion becomes functional for Muslim professional workers

Social Construction Theory Peter L. Berger	Social Life Reality of Muslim Professional Workers
Strangeness makes artificial awareness, and severance in the awareness	Strangeness does not happen, no artificial awareness and no awareness severance between religion and individual
Religion as artificial awareness, so religion becomes most invulnerable tool to maintain untruthful Super empiric reality which is promoted by religion projection is able to react the human empiric existence in society	Religion exists in the individual awareness, so that it is not as a trigger of untruthful Religiosity of Muslim professional workers have not been able to react the society empiric existence or have not had strong bargaining to improve society but just individual improvement
Breaking of logical religious definition of reality can go to secular direction	Logical religious definition of reality does not break among Muslim professional workers
Religion is put in the individual context marked by special character of the environment in modern life	Religiosity in the individual context certainly increases and does not leave the original religiosity tradition, shown by applying it in the consideration of making a profession decision
Individuality as the character of special religiosity, that is individual religion related to selection problem and individual preference or central family, so that religion does not have bound quality and does not have the task to build the world together	Special character of religiosity of Muslim professional workers is *Santri* with various tradition covered although profession institution filling of religious people having no strong bargaining ability to improve society when meet with bureaucracy
Religion polarization brought by secular directing to pluralistic situation effects on religious tradition demonopolization	There is no religion polarization. The occurrence is the religiosity of Muslim professional workers still describe original tradition (*priyayi, santri* or *abangan*)

Social Construction Theory Peter L. Berger	Social Life Reality of Muslim Professional Workers
Secular effects on plurality	No secular effect. The existing plurality in society tends to show the more or less reward they have had and not religiosity competition
Religious tradition which is previously forced now to be marketed.	This is not true, because religious institution does not market tradition but receive their desire to enter to religiosity tradition
Contemporary religious situation will happen when logical crisis of traditional religious definition upon reality	Logical crisis does not happen, because religiosity is built as long as lived time thereby logical crisis of traditional religious definition upon reality has small possibility to happen.
Religion crisis in the level of logic knowledge is not the effect of mysterious awareness metamorphosis, but can be explained empirically on the social structure and their psychology	This is true, because religiosity in the level of logic knowledge is built as long as their life time. Although there is possibility for someone to refuse

Table 1 shows that Berger's theory saying that the secularization is an unavoidable impact from the modernization, does not happen within the context of Muslim professionals in Surabaya. This research is conducted on several professionals with various professions; medical doctor, journalist, and others with various backgrounds in term of childhood education; *santri* or *abangan*. The research shows that, Instead of the secularization, there are several other conditions happen among those Muslim professional in Surabaya.

First, when their religiosity is viewed from the subjective realm, the result shows that they actually are still '*santri*'; they continue the tradition brought from the religious background of their family. Subjectively, the typology of their religiosity can be categorized as follows: 1) *Santri* type with *nahdliyin* tradition who maintains their *nahdliyin* tradition; 2) *Priyayi* type of *santri* who is metamorphosing towards either *nahdliyin* tradition or modernist tradition; 3) *Santri* type whose tradition of being the *santri* is weakening; 4) *Santri* type who is

metamorphosing towards neo-sufisme trough concept of *tawhīd*; 5) *santri* with *sufism* tradition who is metamorphosing towards transcendentalism.

Second, when the religiosity of the Muslim professionals is viewed from the objective realm, data shows that they are *santri* who try to implement Islamic teaching on to their professional world. The typology of their religiosity can be categorized objectively as follows; 1) accommodative-prophetic Islam 2) NeoSufist-prophetic Islam; and 3) Trancendentic-prophetic Islam.

So, from the above illustration, it is clear that Berger's theory about the secularization as the unavoidable impact from modernization does not happen within the Indonesian context; particularly in Surabaya. Interestingly, there is a variety of types of religiosity resulted from the modernization as explained in the table. In addition, it is also found that the power of the religiosity of those Muslim professionals is not yet able influencing the other power that is the power of objective reality namely bureaucratic reality and the reality of society's religiosity that is still *fiqh* oriented.

Therefore, It is important to employ the strategic analysis or Derrida-deconstruction in order to understand the religiosity of Indonesian Muslim professionals and how it has not been able to penetrate the other reality. With Derrida-deconstruction, the meaning of the power of the religion for the Muslim professionals can be understood.

Here, religion or religiosity has a meaning for Muslim professional workers and have been applied in their daily activities within their profession. Religious meaning that has been found and defined needs to be read and reinterpreted and then to be compared between one and another in order to find internal contradiction beyond logic or information text.[45] Social action is expressed through language to find out meaning in the clear object according to Saussure, in fact, for Derrida religious meaning is a symbol of presence.[46]

Religious meaning leads Muslim professional workers to reach a high achievement of certain professional level while at the same time implies how their acknowledgement of the oneness of God maintained in their acts. The interpretation of the Muslim professional worker's

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[45] Al-Fayyadl, *Derrida,* p. 16

[46] Ibid., p. 64.

religious acts, as illustrated above, can be said as proof that the functional religion in their life is not a passive religiosity. Although the result of an interpretation does not always gain positive result, as sometimes it resulted in negative ones, the deconstruction still has theological dimension.[47]

Theoretical Implications for Berger's Sociology of Knowledge

The research on the religiosity of Muslim professional workers has been built on seeing all life periods including the primary socialization that continued to secondary socialization in social life particularly in their professional life. The focus on the professional life is based on the fact that they have succeeded in building professional character strength as expected by norms and values (Profession Ethic Code) formulated by the professional worker association and the government. The strength of the professional character, along with the frame of strong religiosity, seems to be incapable in eliminating corruption both within individual level or institutional level. The religiosity movement only goes to the extent of a reinforcement affecting a person at individual level and affecting the profession at institutional level with no role and influence in changing the wider objective world; the bureaucracy or state.

Religious reality of Muslim professional workers, analyzed sociologically using Social Construction theory, shows how a person in being religious can be categorized successively. The categorizations are as follows: first, Accommodative-Prophetic Islam; second, Neo-Sufistic-Prophetic Islam; and third, Transcendental-Prophetic Islam. This social reality, seen from the chart by Ritzer, is moving in a continuum between two poles: subjective reality pole and objective reality pole.

For instance, sociological works have been classified into two ideologies. The first is study on the society as the entity that can be reduced to individual aspiration and thereby needs the use of statistic measurement when in order to see how individual's attitude influences the changes in his or her environment. This type tends to map the trend rather than to looking for objective reason behind a phenomenon.[48] The Second is study on the objective entity that

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[47] Ibid., p. 183.

[48] Robert C. Banister, *Sociology and Scientism: The American Quest for Obyectivity, 1880-1940* (Chapel Hill: The University of California Press, 1987), p. 6.

explores the social control aspect and thereby depends on sociological imagination.[49]

Here, Morgan sees the sociological polemics as the illustration on the polemic regarding the principle of science, whether it has to be scientific/mechanic or to be more humanist.[50] Thomas Kuhn maintains that social science is in the pre-paradigm phase so that it can be understood as not something new and Sociology gives new conceptual language to see the classic problems. Wallace[51] also believes that sociology needs *metamathesis* like *metalanguage* to translate views, that are different and contradictory between one and another, in one language that maps all of them.

Finally, Ritzer proposed a concept tried to integrate those views, the sociology *metatheory* that is unity of perspective which has wider scope than theory. To metatheorize sociological theories, the categories based on ontological assumption and on the epistemological one are the same. In addition to differentiation, *metatheory* is also aimed at deepening the theory being researched, developing the theory being researched and integrating the existing theories.[52]

Similarly, Anthony Giddens has mapped social science thought concerning agent-structure relation and makes efforts to build conceptual bridge in between. George Ritzer also metatheorizes macro theory dimension and micro theory dimension and put efforts in to formulating interrelation between the two.

Here, as other theorists, Berger also tries to look for a way out for problems within the sociology of knowledge by building Social Construction theory in order to prove that subjective social reality (Weber) and Objective social reality (Durkheim) are not two opposite things; instead, they are supporting each other. Berger also changes commonly held perception saying that sociology of knowledge is a discipline that analyzes the historical development of an idea or ideology and therefore tends to have more orientation on research about history of the rise of an idea to a new thought in all dimension.

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[49] Mills, *The Sociological Imagination*, p. 27.

[50] Gordon D. Morgan, *Toward an America Sociology: Questioning the European Constuct* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1997), p. viii.

[51] Walter L. Wallace, *Principles of Scientific Sociology* (New York: Aldine, 1983), pp. 2-3.

[52] George Ritzer, *Metatheorizing in Sociology* (Lexington, M.A: Lexington Books, 1991), p. 127.

Here, it includes the knowledge of society even the daily knowledge of common people while at the same time stresses on human relation with knowledge and reality as a dialectic.

Thus, it can be said that, as subjective reality, a belief containing conviction confirmed by religion knowledge is a form of *ḥabl min Allāh* (human vertical relation with God) dialogue that, meeting with Islamization containing religious practice, resulted in religious experiences in *ḥabl min al-nās* (human horizontal relation with fellow humans) that is objective reality. The balance dialogue between *ḥabl min Allāh* and *ḥabl min al-nās* produces religiosity in the level of *iḥsān* (good conduct). This symmetrycal condition between *ḥabl min Allāh,* the subjective reality, with *ḥabl min al-nās,* the objective reality, means that a person performs social acts in daily life as if it is seen by God. In the context of professional workers, when character has met talent or religious position has satisfied the holders a great quality of *ūlū al-albāb* will be achieved.

This is similar with Berger's concept that tried to explain how social reality can be a subjective and an objective reality at the same time. This is because social reality is not only the structure exists outside human; it also exists inside human objictied in a subjective mind or awareness.[53] Process happening in micro and macro dimension can go in integrative way and can be observed using phenomenology approach. This is why a social structure can be formulated as human social life domain that can be understood as a thinking structure or as human act standard. This structure also is still open to be changed and rebuilt.

As a theory in sociology of knowledge, Berger's Social Construction theory does not only pay attention to differences that can be observed and accepted as a knowledge but also sees how various realities (exist in the process of externalization) considered as being known by the society (exists in the objectifying process). According to Berger, the main research within sociology is directed to empirical variation existing in society without asking the ontological and epistemological assumption, and finally that variation is decided as reality.[54] Sociology only focuses on relation between human thought

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[53] Peter L. Berger and Stanley Pullberg, "Reification and Sociological Critique of Consciosness," *History and Theory*, Vol. 4, N0. 2 (1965), p. 201.

[54] Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*, p. 11.

and social context where the thought emerges. What is rooted in Marx concept and followed by Berger is that the mind of human is determined by the social existence.[55]

Religiosity of Muslim professional workers, along with the existing knowledge within, is a result of social construction that has undergone several processes; institutionalizion, legitimacy and socialization. When it succeeds, it can be said that institution has been established and justified by logical and normative explanation and it can be defended through socialization to new member as it has had the legitimacy.

According to Berger, human action is never easy to predict since human has conservative character at one time and freedom to choose at other time. Meanwhile, human also has the ability to make conceptualization on oneself and environment in accordance to their pretention or the conception of life that has been objectified in his mind. So, it is not easy to realize that the belief a person has is just a concept that actually is susceptible to debate. In this condition, Berger saw that there is symptom allows possibility and opportunity for the emerging secularization process.

Muslim professional workers place religion as an important source to encourage professional character strength so that their religiosity is not far from the reach even if they live in plural society with complex working distribution. As a matter of fact, in order to face objective world and able to run the profession in the objective domain, Muslim professional workers need religious explanation through rationalization in theodicy or Deconstruction.

Berger, with the influence of Weber, sees secularization begins when there is a dialectical process of negotiation between the ideal with pragmatic interest. Nevertheless, when religion is not relevant or is not able to answer the problem in other context, it does not mean that the symbolic arrangement will be directly put aside because it has been perceived very important in social life. Moreover, since Indonesia is not a secular state, freedom of choice offered by modernity is still limited by Profession Ethic Code. This code itself is full of values and norms prescribed by the state.

Here, Berger's thesis suggests that the secularization will exist in secular country which gives full freedom of choice to the society so that they can live freely in accordance to their desire and interest.

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[55] Ibid.

Furthemore, Berger affirms that this condition is rarely found even in the so called secular society, American society. As said by Bellah,[56] differentiation process does not result in secularity; rather, it only develops civil religion in its best function as a place for self-understanding in American society.

Berger asked repeatedly his secular thesis and confessed that empiric data is more difficult to defend the secular concept.[57] Berger's secular concept is a prediction that the secularization will happen when society has been enchanted by modernity presence which gives many choices in one side and on the other side human have tendency to give priority to the importance of rationalization or have less social basic arrangement that is logic and good. This is why human does not make the religiosity as the source for consideration and, here, finally secularisation happens.

Berger saw that his secular thesis is more like an ideology because it is not based on information and empirical fact and denies other factors that make desecularization probable. In this case, Berger confessed that the secular theory in 1950 and 1960 cannot be used again. Here, he admits the flaw in his secular theory.[58]

Fear that secularity will happen is also felt by other sociologists. Therefore, they are triggered to formulate limitation of secularity which is returned to its own religion definition. Bryan Wilson[59] suggests that secularity is process of social significance stripped down of religious opinion, practice and the institutions. In this case, Thomas Luckhmann[60] has different opinion and suggests that secularity with religion oriented to church, especially in urban context is not right. Berger does not see secularity from religion concept. Instead, he sees it from the social interaction aspect in macro-objective level that finally shifts into micro-subjective level.

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[56] Robert N. Bellah, "Civil Religion in America," *Daedalus* (1976), p. 21.

[57] Peter L. Berger, "Religion and the West," *The National Interest*, Vol. 80 (2005): pp. 112-119.

[58] Berger (ed.), *The Desecularization,* p. 2.

[59] Bryan Wilson, *Religion in Seculer Society: a Sociological Comment* (London: Watts, 1966), p. xiv.

[60] Thomas Luckmann, *The Invisible Religion: the Problem of Religion and Modern Society* (New York: MacMillan, 1967), p. 57.

In context of Muslim professional workers, opportunity for secularization to happen in the macro-objective domain does not exist because Profession Ethic Code made by Muslim professional workers is a result from national regulation not a local policy or the profession institution. Since Indonesia is not a secular state, Berger's thesis about secularization in a macro level, in the state level, does not happen. In other words, Institutional-based secularization never happens. The place of objective reality where Muslim professional workers interact with and perform the profession is not as a secular domain.

Besides, profession community also emerges as a vehicle of Muslim professional workers to express the religiosity especially when they are unable to participate in religious community exists in their environment due to their tight schedules. What Berger argues is right that institution in the level of *meso* (mediating structure), institution which stands in private room between individual and macro institution, can shelter (*canopy*) human from the challenges of that tends to erode their faith.[61]

Berger's statement is not completely true when he suggests that the process of secularization of institutional religiosity is eliminated from private domain. Secularization does not happen in normative basis because society still holds and defends firmly their religious norms. As said by Weber,[62] every prophetic community realizes the importance of religiosity, either with trying to lead or manage the world as a result of God direction (asceticism). Luckmann[63] also maintains that secularization in the early phase is not placing process of institutional ideologies in their own domain.

But, Berger[64] explains that human world identification which is meaningful does not need to be sacred because it is just a reminder to strengthen religious ideas except that which have social construction and strength that needs social basis or logical structure. Thus, it can be said that secularization process in Berger thesis has cognitive basis. This logical structure scope becomes the source or trigger of secularization process in society where working schedule of

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[61] Berger (ed.), *The Desecularization,* p. 4.

[62] Max Weber, *Economy and Society: an Outline of Interpretif Sociology* (New Jersey, Totowa: Badminster Press, 1968), p. 54.

[63] Luckmann, *The Invisible Religion*, p. 107.

[64] Peter L. Berger, *The Social Reality of Religion* (London: Faber & Faber, 1969), p. 107.

differentiation increases because it does not cover the whole social structures. In the case of not enough possession of social basis, it goes to follow internalization process as an artificial awareness, which is viewed by Berger as secularization process so that in the secularization process finally move several sectors existing in society from institutions domination and religious symbol.

Berger[65] thesis in the influence of Weber, secularization as a rationalization happening objectively and subjectively in human awareness does not eliminate the existing religion in society, but make religion more rational, abstract and separated from human. Human will tend to choose the logical belief (Berger called as "heresy") that is logic, universal and fulfill the need of the existence as well as logical necessity. In context of Muslim professional workers, this thing does not happen, but if it becomes the basic of how to think, so special case of the event of corruption action can be said as a less-belief or less strong logical structure so that doing the rational choice is assumed to be able to fulfill the logic necessity and the essence.

This is confessed by Berger that modernity concept always point to religion declination, either in society or in the individual thought is the key that in reality is wrong. But Berger still hold out in his concept, that is modernity has secularization effect, besides also make strong movement of contra-secularization. Secularization in the level of social level is not related with secularization in the level of individual awareness.[66] This is not true, even cause the previous concept to fall out that social world (objective reality) is individual externalization result and social world face to face with individual. Berger concept about externalization, objectification and internalization which describe dialectics of subjective reality and objective reality in Social Construction Theory as knowledge sociology is a big theory that able to produce other new theories.

The view that secularization is caused by science movement and mind is a very simple view and cannot explain why they leave their belief. Tailor shows the interesting question, religion does not decline nor disappear, but what form does the religious support in the 21st century, what limits and opens the forms widely. Modernity certainly

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[65] William H. Swatos Jr and Kevin J. Christiano,"Secularization Theory: The Course of a Concept," *Sociology Religion*, Vol. 60, No. 3 (1999), pp. 209-210.

[66] Berger, *The Social Reality of Religion*, pp. 2-3.

shakes the early form of religious life the older decomposition is often followed by new form composition. That's why attention needs to be given to recognize declining of the old and recognize new forms and new ways.

In this research, the assumption of declining religiosity of Muslim professional workers is not an evaluation of religiosity, but a reality that is felt even upset the researcher when she sees the objective reality which does not reflect the subjective reality. As the one who cares about social religiosity, the researcher wants to see empirically how is the real religiosity existing in individual or society, how they are struggling their religiosity to face challenges of life and doing the profession.

Conclusion

From several research findings as stated above, it can be concluded that the religiosity of Muslim professional workers does not decrease as assumed by Berger, as it has been applied at the workplace. Their religiosity can be categorized in three types of religiosity, accommodative-prophetic Islamic religiosity, Neo-Sufistic-prophetic Islamic religiosity, and transcendental-prophetic Islamic religiosity. Second, Muslim professional workers tend to have the sense of religiosity as an integrated point with profession that gives the ability to look for other alternative arrangement/structure without making the difference becomes the same.

There is dialectic between religious concept and proficiency concept as the existing knowledge in objective reality domain. This dialectic in knowledge Sociology of Berger suggests that there has been effort to solve the problems caused by dialectic relativity between subjective reality and objective reality exactly the way Max Scheler, a prominent figure within the sociology f knowledge, wanted.

Scheler, who is quoted by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, analyzes in detail how human knowledge is formed by society, and finds that society determines the presence (*Dasein*), and not the essence (*Sosein)* of ideas. Mannheim also attracts attention to the ideology of symptom and found that ideology, as characteristic, does not come only from the opponent thought but also from his own thought. Meanwhile, Robert K. Merton has paid attention to discipline that combines the approach of knowledge sociology with functional-structural theory approach. Merton failed to see the relevance of knowledge sociology about certain important development that is

reference-group theory discussing different part of the same work. Here, C. Wright Mills only gave explanation about the sociology of knowledge.[67] []

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[67]   http://criminology.fsu.edu/transcrime/article/SocialConstructionOfReality10-17. htm accessed on January 22, 2012.

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