

Hajj: Between Thirst of Spirituality, Symbolic Capital and Fetishism in the Sasak's Lombok

Abdul Rahim^{1*}

¹ Departement Sociology of Religion, Universitas Islam Negeri Mataram, Indonesia; e-mail:

abdul.rahim@uinmataram.ac.id

* Correspondence

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Abstract: Nowadays hajj become a social class in Sasak society, with the symbolic capital attached to it making the title holder also try to construct a strategy about distinguishing itself (distinction) through costumes, daily attitudes, and what they consumed. This paper explores the correlation between the hajj title and the symbolic capital that they achieve for being a pilgrimage to Mecca, and how the role of hajj in Sasak people to strengthen ummah is compared to the common people that legitimate the new social class as different as them in the community. The genealogy of hajj titles that make up social class is studied through Pierre Bourdieu's concept of Social Praxis related to symbolic capital and distinction. This study used a new ethnography concept from Paula Saukko such as self-reflexivity, polivocality, and between self and others to explore the data. As a result, the hajj title becomes the identity as well as the legitimacy of the position of the Hajj subject in society. Even in some areas of Lombok, the title of hajj is an effort to move away from the low social class and can be equivalent to the social class of nobility. The critic of the study of hajj and umra cannot ignore the commercialisation of hajj or umra travel, which further emphasises the commodification of religion and also increasingly envelops the people in a pseudo-consciousness.

Keywords: Commodification of religion; hajj; rites; social class; symbolic capital.

Abstrak: Saat ini haji menjadi sarana untuk meningkatkan kelas sosial dalam masyarakat Sasak. Dengan modal simbolik yang melekat padanya membuat pemegang gelar mencoba menempatkan dan membedakan dirinya (distinction) melalui pakaian, perilaku sehari-hari, dan apa yang mereka konsumsi. Tulisan ini berusaha untuk menunjukkan korelasi antara gelar haji dan modal simbolik yang mereka capai untuk menunaikan ibadah haji ke Mekkah, dan bagaimana peran haji bagi masyarakat Sasak untuk memperkuat ummah dibandingkan dengan masyarakat biasa yang melegitimasi kelas sosial baru yang berbeda dengan mereka di dalam komunitas. Silsilah gelar haji yang membentuk kelas sosial ini akan dianalisis dengan menggunakan konsep Social praxis dari Pierre Bourdieu terkait dengan modal simbolik dan perbedaan. Penelitian ini menggunakan konsep etnografi baru dari Paula Saukko seperti self-reflexivity, polivocality, dan pembedaan antara diri dan orang lain. Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa gelar haji menjadi identitas sekaligus legitimasi kedudukan subjek haji di masyarakat. Bahkan di beberapa daerah di Lombok, gelar haji merupakan upaya untuk berpindah dari kelas sosial yang rendah menjadi bagian kelas yang bisa disetarakan dengan kelas sosial bangsawan. Para kritikus kajian haji dan umrah tidak bisa mengabaikan komersialisasi perjalanan haji atau umrah yang semakin menegaskan komodifikasi agama dan juga mengarahkan masyarakat ke dalam kesadaran semu.

Kata Kunci: Komodifikasi agama; haji; ritus; kelas sosial; modal simbolik.

1. Introduction

Leaving for hajj or umra is prestigious in marginalised communities with a high culture of religiosity. In Lombok, for example, the hajj title becomes a social capital that makes a person seem to get recognition for different social classes. The person who has performed hajj must wear a white hat and turban (for males) every time he leaves the house or is at home, symbolising the social class itself (Soehadha, 2016, p. 75).

Hajj in the periphery of society, apart from being a marker of social class (Al-Ajarma, 2021; Maeda, 1975), also forms a perception in society that someone who has made the pilgrimage certainly has an established economic capital. How not, the costs that must be incurred during the pilgrimage can even be three times the cost of the pilgrimage (Ongkos Naik Haji - ONH) itself. Not infrequently the people of Lombok hold a pilgrimage ceremony (*begawe*) on a large scale. The release of the pilgrims of prospective hajj as if to release someone who went to fight with the risk of life. For example, in the Sasak community in Pengadangan District, East Lombok they spent almost two hundred million rupiahs for ceremony or tradition before leaving for Mecca, while the cost for pilgrimage is around forty million rupiahs. In this case being a pilgrimage to achieve the title of hajj to legitimate not only the social class but also the economic class (Nursyamsu, Personal Communication, July 22, 2022).

The long waiting list for hajj in the last few decades has also become a problem for Muslim communities (Farhan, 2017) who still hold the perception of hajj as a social class differentiation. In the Sasak community of Lombok, when one village no one goes for hajj that year, it will be labeled as a left-behind village. In addition to being devoid of the euphoria of preparation before the departure of the prospective hajj, such as in Mamben Village, East Lombok that in the season of Hajj, they have many people become a candidate for hajj, and it represent that the village has economic growth as a symbol of advancement community. Because every year in the villages where there are prospective pilgrims who will depart, they will certainly be busy with the preparations that are the responsibility of the prospective hajj. Being a pilgrimage not only for several people going to Mecca will joy the voyage, but also the community followed the grateful of happiness.

Imagination about Mecca makes the Sasak people who wait long to go for hajj form myths that are established in society, one of which is related to the myth of teleportation at one point on Mount Rinjani which can directly penetrate Mecca. The myth is quite well-established in Lombok society, giving rise to other mystical stories (Rahim, 2022, p. 67). For example, the milk cave in the hot springs of Segara Anak, the lake on Mount Rinjani. Whoever can reach that place and soak there with certain practices, will later be able to get to Mecca magically. The sacredness of Mount Rinjani is juxtaposed with Mecca which is the destination for self-purification. Similar other imaginations about Mecca were established in the Goa community of South Sulawesi, which build their myths related to the hajj by visiting Mount Bawakaraeng (Khadafi, 2017).

Due to the economic motive which then became more dominant in organising the hajj, the community also constructed rituals related to the hajj in one of the sacred places. People believe that by carrying out the rites in that place is equated with the pilgrimage as in Mecca. They were also given the title of Hajj by the traditional leaders who established the rite. This then becomes a kind of resistance behind the implementation of the hajj or umra pilgrimage that can only be done by those who have an established economic capital (Sya'rani, 2019, pp. 3–4). Then the poor people in the society make their pilgrimage to the sacred places as well as their beliefs on Ka'ba as the centre of the universe, they also perceive certain places such as Mount Rinjani in Sasak people, mount Bawakaraeng in Gowa Community to take it as worship.

The definition of being able as a condition for the implementation of hajj becomes ambivalent when it clashes with economic motives. What happened next was the emergence of hajj and umra travel managers targeting Muslim communities with lifestyles that were already different from marginal Muslims. Efforts to make a profit behind the implementation of hajj and umra is something that cannot be denied with the stretching of the world's largest tourism market which is shrouded in religious legitimacy (Kusuma, 2014).

Studying the hajj in the context of a locality with a high culture of religiosity in the Sasak community cannot be separated from efforts to build awareness that the pilgrimage at this time with the offer of the world's largest tourism market is increasingly blurring the boundaries between religiosity and the pursuit of fetishism (satisfaction), which it could be false satisfaction. The commodification of the pilgrimage with capitalism's offers of the convenience of performing hajj and umra further confirms that the Muslim community is an easy target for capitalism to cram their products (Qurashi, 2017). The emergence of the massive expansion of travel bureaus of hajj and umra make the people more enthusiastic about being on a pilgrimage although they have to sell their land, and the travel bureau make a slogan "Now your way to Mecca become easier". In the context of the Sasak locality, hajj is like an effort to pursue symbolic capital to further emphasise the position of individuals in society, that opinion is proven when the hajj returns to their community they suddenly become a new personality as an identity to legitimate the symbolic capital.

Likewise, with the difference in hajj costs, people with ONH Plus will get different facilities from ordinary ONH. These distinctions further emphasise that even before the pilgrimage, social classes were formed which were standardised by state power. These classes also become social markers, worship that is pursued to such a distance even shows the dryness of spirituality that should be more established than the worldliness offered by neo-liberal capitalism in the two holy cities.

The length of the waiting list for hajj should also be a personal evaluation of each. Is the worship that has been waiting for many years just waiting for God's call, or is it waiting for the state's call to go on a tour wrapped in spirituality? Even if you wait too long for hajj, umra is an option that is quite loved by the Sasak people with additional offers to travel to other countries, like Turkey for example.

No wonder the term Las Vegasisation of the holy city increasingly expresses the lack of spirituality, and discomfort, that exists in all glass and cement, as Ali al-Ahmed, director of The Institute for Gulf Affairs in Washington, told The New York Times (2007). The people who go to Mecca for the hajj are divided into part of how much they can pay as a result of concept gated communities. Of all that happen in the separate way to stay in Mecca, such as the rich that can pay more, they can stay close to the Mosque of al-Haram, while the other with the economic standard just stay quite far from it. Whereas the mission of the pilgrimage is egalitarianism, what happens is just the opposite, the pilgrims are separated from other pilgrims, because of differences in status. What was originally meant to be a time of symbolising the unity of humanity, standing together before God in the simplest of clothes, by the Saudi rulers, was reversed or transformed into a time to create the world's largest spiritual tourism market (Kusuma, 2014).

Pilgrimage in these times and the future should awaken the Muslim community from false consciousness, whether we are pursuing spiritual thirst or pursuing satisfaction (fetish), which can be false fetishism, even though it is wrapped in the nuances of worship. The neo-liberal capitalism embraced by the rulers of the two holy cities has increasingly pampered the congregation with luxurious offerings, and it can be said that it is far from the simplicity that should be the spirit of servitude before God.

It can be said that the hajj is a social climbing arena because with that title it seems as if people who have made pilgrimages feel the need to be respected and considered to have more religious competence. This is still the case in some of our common people. In addition, the hajj is also an arena to show one's existence, and the desire to differentiate oneself (Pierre Bourdieu, 1977) when one is in Mecca, the desire to show off on social media seems unbearable. Having just arrived at Jeddah Airport, they have already shown off their photos with phrases that seem to show one's religiosity, as we can see from the pilgrimage that posts their photos on social media.

The pilgrimage, which is full of simplicity, has become an arena for capitalism to make more profit. The ignorance of Muslims, especially in Indonesia, of the spirituality of hajj has even become an arena for nurturing capital for hajj travel business actors who provide luxury, or make it easy to travel to Mecca. As can be mentioned that the travel bureau such as first travel made fraud for their customer by being hajj, and they just make their customer a source of profit. Several cases of hajj and umra travel that did not send pilgrims and even went bankrupt should be a lesson, is it true that being on a

pilgrimage is to pursue the value of worship, or is it only the pursuit of satisfaction for traveling wrapped in spiritual impressions? The government must also be present to strictly regulate the separation between the traveling business and the mission of worship behind the implementation of hajj and umra. The commercialisation of this pilgrimage requires a critical awareness of the Muslim community, which has been an easy target for capitalism with false fetishism (false satisfaction) over the legitimacy of religion.

The meaning of the pilgrimage from Indonesian pilgrims also seems to have shifted. During the colonial period, a pilgrim became a mover to fight the injustices experienced by this great nation. So it is not surprising that a person who goes to Mecca does not just perform the pilgrimage, but stays for several years to gain knowledge. The mode of transportation is also quite influential in this. A native who went to Mecca to travel for months, will not waste the opportunity while in Mecca. They also have become great scholars in Mecca, such as Shaykh Yusuf Al Makassari, Shaykh Yasin Al Fadani, Shaykh Salim Al Falimbani, Shaykh Nawawi, and others (Putuhena, 2007).

The focus of this research is, how the genealogy of hajj and umra becomes a factor of differentiation of social class in Sasak society. The second question is how is the public's perception of the economic motive behind the implementation of the hajj or umra pilgrimage which is getting higher and higher currently. This second research question will be related to the first, which can be explored on how is the relationship between social capital and economic capital must be spent to achieve symbolic capital. The third question in this research is how then the roles of the pilgrims who have received symbolic capital in society and support for the social development of the community.

The reason behind this question is that many phenomena in society occur, when a pilgrim has just returned from Saudi Arabia as if one wants to be at the forefront of the community, wants to be respected, and when there are social events, becomes more of a spectator than directly involved. This is an irony, on the one hand, wanting popularity with its symbolic capital that demands recognition, on the other hand, it does not take much of an active role in the community.

This research employs qualitative research using the new ethnography method from the concept of Paulla Saukko that is divided into self-reflexivity, polivocality, and being truer that differentiate between self and other (Saukko, 2003). Self-reflexivity means that I am part of the Sasak people who can reflect on the hajj phenomena in the community which each year becomes a higher lack of spirituality. Polivocality in this research refers to the voices of both the hajj and non-hajj subjects, that perceive the hajj worship as a source of religiosity. The last concept of between self and other is used to see the way of hajj subject makes a sense of distinction itself between the non-hajj.

2. Hajj in The Early Days of Islam in The Sasak's People

The first person to go for Hajj in the Sasak community has been no comprehensive historical research. However, several works of literature related to the network of ulama or guru stated that the early Tuan Guru in Lombok had a network in Haramain when they left for Hajj became a reference that they were not only going to Mecca for pilgrimage but also study in Madrasah Shaulatiyah, managed by the scholars of the archipelago in Mecca. Martin Van Bruinessen refers to Mecca as a source of knowledge (Van Bruinessen, 1995). Tuan Guru Abdul Ghafur and Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu are among the early Tuan Gurus, as mentioned in Michael Laffan's book, to have an intellectual network in Mecca. The famous Amaq Baok or Datoq Baok who appeared on the cover of Laffan's book, according to Said writing that he was earlier than Tuan Guru Umar as a teacher of religious studies in eastern Lombok (Said, 2020).

Likewise, Tuan Guru Amin Sesela, Tuan Guru Rais Sekarbela, and Tuan Guru Saleh Hambali were the initial frontiers of the Lombok people's hajj departure who were considered to have also built a network to make pilgrimages for their students to study in Mecca (Lukman, 2004). Several other prominent tuTuanurus who become the initial group of hajj pilgrims were H. Abd. Madjid, the father of TGKH. M. Zainuddin Abd. Madjid, the founder of the Nahdhatul Wathan organisation settled and studied in Mecca. It could also be that when Islam was first accepted by the King from the Selaparang kingdom, it became a religion embraced by all the people under Selaparang's rule, it was enough to

allow the descendants of the Selaparang royal elites to go on pilgrimage and settle down to study in Mecca.

Tuan Guru Zainuddin Arsyad became the founder of the Maraqitta'limat Education Foundation in Mamben Lauq, East Lombok many refer to him as a descendant of the king of Selaparang. Tuan Guru KH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abd. Madjid is also traced from the genealogy to the top, many call him a descendant of the king of Selaparang. This means that in the early days of Islam being accepted by the Sasak people were descendants of the Selaparang elites who were sent to Mecca to gain religious knowledge and after returning they also became propagators of Islam. The descendants of Tuan Guru or Tuan Guru's students who are considered to have potential will indirectly become the next master, then are legitimised by the title of hajj after leaving for hajj and studying in Mecca.

Hajj in the belief of the Sasak people, in general, is a worship that is not only a complement to the pillars of Islam but also relates to rituals that are specifically for people who truly receive the call as guests of God. Therefore, the Sasak people surrender and believe that a guest is invited, so those who are not guests need not force themselves to be guests. However, efforts to become guests of God through the call of the hajj are the goals behind the economic motives that the Sasak people gather. The dominant occupation of the Sasak people is farmers, and the income from farming is collected to be used as expenses to fulfill God's call as guests.

The Sasak people who have other professions also make the goal of their economic work to collect wealth to be used as a fee for the pilgrimage. Even in one of the lyrics of the *qasidah* song which is quite popular, it is often played at the house of the prospective hajj before departure, is said "It is noble, street vendor, who bears his life, wife, and children, earns little but turns out to be able to go on a pilgrimage, fulfilling the divine call." Pedestrians, rickshaw drivers, builders, or *amaq-amaq* who raise livestock, collect money, and always have the intention of going for hajj.

Haji Idin, for example, a pedicab driver who still hangs out at the Apitaik market, East Lombok, said that he went on a pilgrimage in 1996, as a result of becoming a pedicab driver, which he collected for a long time. The call came when he attended his neighbour near his house was about to leave for hajj, and as usual, the community also helped in all the preparations, including attending the remembrance of prayers for the departure of the prospective hajj, from there he felt a kind of emotion if he could also go for hajj. In the following year, he also registered from his savings to become a coachman, and unexpectedly he left that year. When leaving for the hajj he is also assisted by neighbors to prepare all the necessities, including preparations for *begawe* (celebration), remembrance the night before departure, and paid a visit to the tombs of guardians or those considered sacred on the island of Lombok.

Haji Idin said that the year before he departed, he always came to the remembrance ceremony at the prospective hajj's house, and he kept reminding his neighbor who was about to go on a pilgrimage to pray for him when he arrived in front of the Ka'bah. In fact, not only him, the neighbors who came for remembrance also hoped for the same, with sincere prayers they prayed for the prospective hajj to get a *mabrur hajj*¹, safe on the journey when leaving and returning.

Every time a member of the community in their village is going to go on a pilgrimage, the Sasak people will certainly be enthusiastic to welcome and help with the preparations before departure. With the same hope that they can also go for hajj, at least they will get a prayer from the prospective hajj when they arrive in Mecca. The social solidarity that is built in the tradition of welcoming the departure of the prospective hajj is more on the emotional side that appears with the shadows in the future they can also experience the same fate as the prospective hajj at that time.

3. Hajj as a Search for Spiritual Meaning

In the early days, going on a pilgrimage was like a journey between life and death. Even escorting pilgrims who travel by ship is like taking people who don't seem to come back. Consequently, the supplies for preparation are brought as much as possible, because the conditions encountered are also

¹ Hajj mabrur is a sign of accepted hajj.

uncertain. They may even arrive in Mecca after the hajj season, which means they have to stay in Mecca while waiting for the next hajj season.

One of the figures in Mamben Daya named Haji Kholil once revealed that the pilgrimage seemed to lead people through death because of the difficulty of the journey to be taken. It was said that the pilgrims who were going for the pilgrimage brought not only supplies but also a shroud and a chest that was quite large measuring 3 X 3 meters as a place to store supplies, the Sasak term calls it "*sahre*". The big coffin can also be handed if at any time bad things happen in the middle of the ocean, they have prepared it in case they can't return to their hometown. The provision of raw and large green bananas has even become an analogy to the point that it is called *Puntiq Kapal* (banana ship) in the Sasak community. Hajj journeys can even take months on board before reaching the holy land. Therefore, it is no wonder they also take the time to stay in Mecca and study. The establishment of religious knowledge while waiting for the time to perform the pilgrimage makes people who get opportunities like this in the future become pioneers of Islamic propagators at the local level (Akwan, the figure in Mamben Village, Personal Communication, July 17, 2022).

Hajj in the Sasak people of Lombok or maybe almost all people in Indonesia from the past until now is still the most desired thing to be achieved (Soehadha, 2017). Hajj, apart from being a complement to one's Islam, is also a voyage that is worth the ritual of worship. Since the last two decades, the desire for tourism has been more dominant than the purpose of worship. Especially during the pandemic, the implementation of hajj and umra was closed, now that they are open again, of course, the enthusiasm of the people who could not go last year is even greater.

The early Sasak people imagined Mecca always as the goal behind the economic work they did. The farmer sold their farm production and the money is saved for preparation for the pilgrimage. In the Mamben area and its surroundings, the majority of the people are farmers, their work in the fields is collected for hajj savings, after being set aside from the cost of daily needs. In Mamben village, Pengadangan village, Wanasasba village, and many other Sasak People in East Lombok all year they collect the money for being hajj they usually take the story about the joyousness in front of the Ka'ba as the memorable event in their life. So, many others that were performing a hajj tend to plan for another journey to Mecca.

Departing for hajj in the past in the Sasak community was not only economically capable of preparing for the needs and travel costs, but also mentally, intellectually, and religiously capable of carrying out the hajj rituals. The definition of being able is then reduced to being able to pay the hajj costs at present. No wonder the pilgrims in the past were rich in economic terms as well as religious elites as Tuan Guru, Tuan Haji, or other identical titles as religious leaders, or Azyumardi Azra called them religious functionaries (Said, 2020).

The term Tuan Haji is not merely legitimising because one has already gone on a pilgrimage, but the terminology of Tuan has economic capital in it to refer to the rich by laborers or workers who work in the places of the rich. Therefore, hajj also has an economic motive to strengthen one's position in economic terms (Ariadi, 2013). The terminology of Tuan Haji to refer to people who have made the pilgrimage is also a symbolic capital for religious intellectuals who are considered to be well established in them. For the hajj in the past, a pilgrim could be quite well-established with religious knowledge, because they could be in Mecca for a long time while waiting for the pilgrimage period or the waiting period for their return to be filled with studying religious knowledge in the assemblies in the Grand Mosque.

Muhammad Ariadi (Ariadi, 2013), in his research *Haji Sasak: A Portrait of the Dialectic of Hajj and Local Culture*, presents the anthropological aspects of the pilgrimage tradition related to rites in the Sasak community. He discussed hajj as one of the core worships in Islam, becoming a worship that links Islam with the history of the meaning of monotheism at the social level from the time of Prophet Ibrahim AS. to the time of the Prophet Muhammad. Because of this connection, the pilgrimage synergises the existence of individual pilgrimages with the social existence contained in the sequence of the pilgrimage.

In Indonesia, the synergy of these two things gave birth to a unique understanding and practice of Islam among various cultural communities. The meanings and symbols of hajj as social and cultural control of the Sasak people who embrace Islam in Lombok are clear evidence of this peculiarity. Likewise, the hajj figure born from the consistent implementation of the meanings and teachings of hajj, both individually and socially in society, has added to this unique characteristic.

The hajj ritual contains a ritual procession whose implementation is based on the shari'a. The spiritual sequences of the hajj as the meanings and messages contained in the pilgrimage include historical, social, exemplary, or related to nature. Pilgrimage rituals are inherent in hajj because hajj is the result of the relationship between religion and culture. Religion and culture are inherent in a religious adherent and both have the role of reason, both in terms of belief and aspects of worship. Religious practice will always interact with culture.

Seeing this fact, it can be said that the spiritual meanings of hajj are not always related to their subjective and individual meanings, but are also significantly connected to the dynamics of social and cultural movements. In other words, understanding the pilgrimage also means understanding the culture itself.

Soehadha (Soehadha, 2016) wrote in his study of hajj among Sasak Muslims mentioned that hajj as an Islamic teaching has awakened the economic ethos of the Sasak people, because of the collaboration between these teachings and the rites that accompany the hajj. Hajj has become a social class, which in several aspects shows its positive side, namely it has formed a way of interacting, where people who went on pilgrimage are required to strengthen religious understanding and also carry out socio-economic mobility in their environment.

In the context of the Sasak community at first, a pilgrim who had just returned from Mecca would teach religion (the Qur'an) at his home, or the mashallah (small hut for prayer) in his village. He will then be called "teacher", as a form of respect. Later, the title of Guru also added the word "Master" in front of him and the full title of his hajj was also mentioned so that he became Tuan Guru Haji (TGH). Haji who is referred to as a Guru is a representation of religious scholarship that is routinely taught in the community. A pilgrim on his return to his hometown will face a test in society regarding the establishment of a hajj title. This is still valid today as a form of public testing of a pilgrim. For example, by being asked to be the imam of congregational prayers at the mosque, being the leader of the *tahlilan* event, remembrance, or being a prayer reader, *talqin* corpse. The public test was carried out under the pretext of taking blessings from someone who had just returned from Mecca.

In Indonesia, the evidence of a pilgrimage is legitimised in the form of a certificate of having performed the pilgrimage. Even a person who has died and has not made a pilgrimage to Mecca has the right to mention the title of hajj after the word *almarhum* (someone who has passed away), as evidenced by a *badal* hajj (a represent) certificate.

In the context of locality in Lombok, there are Haji Umar Kelayu, Haji Saleh Sungkar, Haji Saleh Lopan, Haji Ali Batu, and the hajj whose title later changed to Tuan Guru. Haji Umar Kelayu from many written histories is a teacher who gave birth to many Tuan Guru in the future, including the National Hero Tuan Guru Haji M. Zainuddin Abd. Madjid (lombokbaratkab.go.id/figure-islam-sasak-pada-masa-colonial-2/amp/).

Hajj as a social class in the periphery of society with a high level of religiosity is certainly a symbolic capital for those who get the title pinned. The concept of symbolic capital here is borrowed from the thought of Pierre Bourdieu (1990), a French neo-Marxist sociologist and philosopher. The concept of capital proposed by Bourdieu is summarised in a single outline which he calls social practice. This social practice includes Habitus, Field (arena), Modal (capital), and Distinction. The concept of symbolic capital from Bourdieu showed by the hajj subject that they are a new person when they achieved the accomplishment of religiosity from the worship, and it was received by the people in their community. The symbolic capital is also represented by the hajj subject by giving them a position in the community, such as Imam in praying, reciting a prayer, and leading some traditional ceremonies.

4. Symbolic Capital on Hajj Title

In this sub-discussion, this study attempts to describe the concept of capital in the hajj title which has been well established in Sasak society. One of them is when the title forms a new social class for members of society. In some areas in Central Lombok, the hajj title is even equated with the title of nobility. A person who was originally from the *jajar karang* social strata without the nobility of Raden, then (for men) when he had performed the hajj would be called *mamiq*, just like someone who was established as a Sasak noble. As for women, they will be called *Bu Haji* or *Hajjah*, or *Inaq Tuan*. In addition to the title *mamiq*, it is also commonly called *Tuan Haji* and at public events will occupy the same place as groups with noble titles.

The established social stratification in society was between aristocrats and *jajar karang* actually to maintain their status quo as nobles to remain elite. Meanwhile, the inferiority of *jajar coral* is intended to be used as a second class in society to remain an errand boy or laborer for these elite classes. In the past, the *jajar karang* effort to get the social class as a second-class society was one of them by gathering an established economic base, then also by becoming a pilgrim so that his position was equal to those who were established as nobles. It can also be assumed that in Islam there are teachings that foster the economic ethos of its adherents, and these teachings are contained among others in the obligation of hajj, which is also an effort to pursue prestige and social status in the social life of the Lombok people (Soehadha, 2017).

Symbolic capital can be interpreted as a condition or positioning of a person in society occupying a different social class because of a certain capital belongs to the person (Haryatmoko, 2016, p. 42). The symbolic capital that exists in a pilgrim is those who are considered to be people who have perfected Islam, referring to the five pillars of Islam which put hajj as the last order.

In addition to the symbolic capital that exists in a pilgrim, economic capital is also something that first existed or was recognised in the community. As described in the background section, the costs for organising the hajj or pre-arranging the hajj can be greater than the costs of the pilgrimage itself. The economic capital to carry out the pilgrimage, then what is produced is symbolic capital on the embedding of the hajj title itself, which seems to make a person occupy a social class position that is more than ordinary people.

A pilgrim also becomes an elite in the society of the titles assigned and it becomes a symbolic capital to legitimise actions in society. Only oneself and Allah indeed knows the intention to make a pilgrimage, but in the daily life practices of a pilgrim, it is reflected in how the purpose of becoming a hajj is also meaningful. For example, when a pilgrim is invited to an event through a printed invitation, then the invitation letter does not include a hajj title, it will cause anger, the title may be more meaningful than the worship that has been carried out. Likewise, the attributes attached to a pilgrim, especially in terms of costumes, namely white caps, turbans, even *imamah* (headbands) wrapped around the cap, and sometimes also robes as daily clothes important to show the identity of the hajj (Soehadha, 2016).

If in the past white caps and turbans were very popular as the hallmark of a hajj, now all ordinary people who are not hajj also wear white caps. In the past, if there were people who had not made the pilgrimage but wore a white cap, they would be ridiculed and considered too high-spirited even though everyone knew that their living conditions were still lacking, especially to become a hajj. However, slowly the attributes that characterize a pilgrim begin to fade, many also wear a black cap without a turban, or some without wearing a cap. A pilgrim who becomes a religious figure or a certain elite in society will certainly maintain the characteristics of that identity. In contrast to ordinary people, non-hajj will certainly be considered a mimicry strategy (imitating to make fun of) from something that is considered hybrid (claimed to be genuine, pure). Through this costume, the pilgrim wants to reaffirm the difference between a pilgrim and ordinary people as a form of hybrid strategy. Likewise, people who have already established judge a pilgrim from the costumes he wears and are considered to be well-established in terms of religious intellectuality.

The social class that is formed through the symbolic capital of the hajj title is something that does not suddenly appear. But this has become a habit in society, everyone who has just returned from Saudi

Arabia and wears a white cap is a pilgrim who wants to be recognised in his community. However, the recognition of hajj or the symbolic capital attached to it is a mechanism that applies in the community regarding it. Sometimes, the symbolic capital behind the title of the hajj is not immediately attached to a person. Some are tested first in the community, one of them being the imam of prayers in the mosque, or being the leader of *tahlilan* events in the community.

When someone passed the mechanism of public tests for a hajj, the symbolic capital will follow. However, if failed, for example, a hajj can't lead a prayer in a mosque, or can't be a leader of *tahlilan* events, the community will scorn them. Negative labelling will be attached such as that the hajj was just a trip, or it could also be categorized as not a *mabrur* hajj. The symbolic capital in the hajj title is also an effort to establish a social class. It is shown through behavior that has become a habit in society, for example in the congregational prayer rows at the mosque, the white cap of a pilgrim is positioned in the front row. Likewise, when there are events in the community, the hajj group will occupy a different place from the non-hajj.

The symbolic capital behind the title of hajj was originally a Dutch colonial strategy to group people. A hajj during the colonial period became an icon of resistance that moved the masses to overthrow tyranny. The pilgrims who became the pioneers of the resistance were not only physical but also intellectual. They developed strategies to fight against the colonial government by establishing places of study initially, later developing into pesantren (Islamic boarding schools).

However, the colonial government suspected the strategy of the pilgrims, so they sent an anthropologist, Snouck Hurgronje, to investigate the movements of the pilgrims both during their time in Mecca and in the archipelago (Ahsan, 2017). In Lombok, a similar thing happened, when the Karang Asem Bali Colonialism was still in power, the pilgrims also took a role by making Dutch colonialism an alliance to get rid of Bali (Laffan, 2011).

Hajj then became a prestigious label because not everyone had the economic capital to carry it out. Furthermore, symbolic capital in the title of hajj is something that still needs to be investigated to prove that the hajj title in the past and present is still attached to the symbolic capital itself, or whether a new habitus has been formed behind the expansion of capitalism targeting the Muslim community with market offers; hajj and umra tourism.

The second concept from Bourdieu to explore the questions in the formulation of the problem is Distinction (the desire to distinguish oneself). Distinction proposed by Bourdieu is related to choices, including lifestyle to distinguish oneself from others (1984). The hajj title which is obtained through a series of sacrifices of economic capital then becomes a symbolic capital is part of the agenda to differentiate oneself and show which social class a person has made a pilgrimage to. Unquestionably, this cannot be generalised to all who have made pilgrimages. But the search for the phenomenon of the massive expansion of capitalism in the organisation of hajj and umra is a sign that the distinction strategy in the hajj title that you want to show is an effort to differentiate self-identity.

This distinction strategy is not only in the form of a symbolic title, or what is shown in everyday life. In addition, what to consume, where to live, and to buy branded goods are also part of the strategy (P. Bourdieu, 2005). In the context of hajj and umra, the desire to differentiate oneself can be seen from the travel choices that are made into preferences, including the choice of using regular ONH (Ongkos Naik Haji- Hajj cost) or ONH Plus. Travel choices or the hajj cost organising body (Biaya Penyelenggaraan Ibadah Haji-BPIH) are related to the location points of proximity to the Grand Mosque. The closer to the Haram Mosque, the greater the costs that must be incurred.

The two concepts of social praxis make hajj or umra have a prestige value and seem to be legitimate for the construction of social class or distinction strategies in society. The symbolic capital of the pilgrimage has also become the legitimacy of religious figures. Even in one society as previously discussed, the congregation's rows can be plotted for the capital of the hajj title. Likewise, when celebrating events or community celebrations a pilgrim takes precedence over those who have not made the pilgrimage. Remark in the community has become higher as "Tuan Haji", in the Sasak community of Lombok, for example.

While the distinction that is more prominent than the hajj title can be seen in the everyday costumes. At first, a person who has not made the pilgrimage to dress casually, when it becomes a pilgrimage will be constructed in such a dignified manner. The distinction is a social class strategy to show their position in society and the desire to place themselves on the ladder of power (Pierre Bourdieu, 1977).

In the early 20th century, the Dutch East Indies colonial government made it easier for the natives to go to the Holy Land to undermine the authority of the "pilgrimage" (Vredendregt, 1997, p. 6). Even further, Jacob Vredendregt writes, Herman Willem Daendels issued a decree that a pilgrim (he called him an "Islamic priest") who incited the people to be given a passport "to travel from one place in Java to another to avoid interference. The colonial government's strategy was an effort to silence the movements of the hajj to gather the masses who would oppose the colonial government.

Hajj began to become the attention of the colonial government if there was turmoil due to religious factors, as stated by F. de Haan in his book *Priangan: De Preanger-Regentschappen onder Het Nederlandsch Bestuur tot 1811*, volume II (1910). When the VOC was still entrenched, the employees of the trade union never saw the pilgrimage from a political point of view. The political meaning of the new pilgrimage was felt seriously when the Dutch East Indies state was established as the successor to the VOC's power. This concern is stated in the hajj ordinance of 1825 which contains restrictions on the number of pilgrims who depart a tightening which is realised by increasing the cost of hajj (Ahsan, 2017; Ichwan, 2008).

5. Changing Names and Titles as Identity of Hajj Subject

Arriving at their hometown, the pilgrims will usually get a new name depending on the name they want to embed behind the title of the hajj. For example, a man or a woman who is usually called *amaq/inaq* (father/mother) then followed by the name of the first child is called the name "*per-ame*" or there is also someone who says "*per-aman*" means the name embedded when he becomes a child; a father followed by the name of the first child. For example, Husnul has a first child named Ahmad, so he will be called *Amaq Ahmad*, or in Indonesian as Mr Ahmad. However, it is quite rare for a man to be called by the name "*perame*" If the first child is a girl, he will still be called by his real name. Then the names can change when finished performing the pilgrimage. Or some ask the pious people in Mecca to change their name better than previous one.

For example, H. Syahrul Haq's real name was Ritanom, then he had his first child named Rizki so he was called *Amaq Rizki* then after the pilgrimage, he changed his name to Haji Syahrul Haq, it said that he received the name in Mecca after asking the consideration of the pious. The name changes after performing the pilgrimage are also quite well established in the Sasak Wetu Telu community in North Lombok. The names of Sasak that are attached to them seem not quite balanced when juxtaposed with the title of the hajj before their names. Not infrequently also legitimate that the name, as well as prayer is often used as an excuse for changing the name (Apriadi, customized figure of Wetu Telu Community, Personal Communication, July 28, 2022).

In the past, the hajj in the Sasak people was also usually dispatched by their teacher, meaning that their teacher who had already made the pilgrimage would instruct his students to continue studying in Mecca with the cost and preparation for departure would be borne by the teacher. Teachers in this case are well-established people with religious intellectuality so they become guides in the community for religious affairs. However, it could also be that a teacher has not made the pilgrimage, but because of the religious knowledge he has mastered, he makes him a religious figure.

Before leaving for the hajj, the Sasak people will usually increase their religious knowledge as a provision for carrying out the pilgrimage later. They study or call a religious tutor to become their mentor in understanding the rituals of the pilgrimage. For example, a pious teacher in Mamben with fairly well-established religious knowledge became a guide for people who studied religion with him before leaving for hajj even though he had not yet performed hajj. Because of his religious understanding with access to primary references such as the yellow book, good Arabic, and even the books of Arabic lessons such as *Nahwu*, *Matan Jurumiyah*, he deserves the title, Tuan Guru. However, the legitimacy of the Tuan Guru title in the Sasak community was quite difficult to obtain because one

of the conditions was that at least they had studied in Mecca or had performed the hajj, then the title of the teacher to Guru Saleh was almost the same as the title of ustad (Zulhalqi Amin, the Religious figure in East Lombok, Personal Communication, May 15, 2022).

Due to the high costs of the pilgrimage, not anyone can perform the pilgrimage. As a result, it becomes a tradition in society to glorify prospective pilgrims as guests of Allah. They have high hopes for the prospective hajj and become guests of Allah in the following years. Previously, the people who departed for hajj in the Sasak community may take either the port Labuan Haji in East Lombok in the southern part of Selong City as the district capital. Or depart from port Ampenan, which was a trading city in the past, even Arab traders in Mecca were familiar with the port of Ampenan so that it was often attached to the names of people who came from Lombok, one of which was Maulana shaikh M. Zanuddin Abd. Madjid nicknamed al Ampanani after his name.

The mode of shipping to Mecca in the implementation of the pilgrimage takes three to four months on the ship. No wonder the supplies that were brought using *Sahre'* or large crates as a place to store logistics were specifically assigned to one person in charge of guarding. The spiritual journey before arriving in Mecca on the ship will also usually be followed by a deepening of the pillars and practices during the pilgrimage. While at the house of the prospective hajj, during the trip there will be a joint prayer for the smoothness and safety of the entourage leaving for the hajj. The term remembrance of the cruise also applies in this case to the prospective hajj.

6. Hajj as An Effort to Find the Meaning of Resignation

Pilgrimage in the past in the Sasak community was also a form of surrender, surrender to the Baitullah (house of God) as a guest of God which was truly based on faith (Fahrurrozi, 2015, p. 55). Because the journey taken is not easy, the people must prepare mentally and have a strong determination to carry out worship solely because of Allah. Therefore, the procession of releasing the pilgrim as if to surrender also to the will of Allah who is all-powerful for the pilgrim. This means that the family of the pilgrim candidate has also mentally prepared to face any conditions experienced by the prospective hajj, especially this is legitimised by religious arguments that a person whose hajj is *mabrur*, there is no other reward except heaven. It is also a privilege for people who have made the pilgrimage that their Islam is complete with the fulfillment of all the pillars of Islam and the pilgrimage as the final pillar.

Just as the Prophet Muhammad performed hajj only once during his life, the Sasak people believed in hajj as the culmination of once-in-a-lifetime worship. This is quite reasonable because travel access is not easy in the past, it takes time and strong energy, as well as a lot of economic capital that must be prepared. Accordingly, the pilgrimage of a person in the Sasak community is quite acceptable if behind the hajj title, there is also a symbolic capital. Symbolic capital in this case is related to the position of a pilgrim in society who is considered to have more in himself like having religious knowledge, piety, generosity, or other social aspects that are considered well-established.

Historically, the genealogy of hajj in the Sasak community as well as in Muslim communities in other parts of Indonesia, there is no official record that is authentic evidence of who first went for hajj. Some of the early Tuan Gurus who spread Islam in Lombok in the early 19th century had the title Tuan Guru Haji, and on average they had also lived in Mecca to study religion. However, some people who can be called Laymen and have also performed the pilgrimage even though they do not have the title, Tuan Guru, have also become pioneers in the community to teach religion. This means that the legitimacy of the hajj title also becomes social capital for someone to be recognised in society as an elite (Fitriani, 2016, p. 182).

In the context of the Sasak people with the historical concept, there has been no comprehensive research that presents who and when the Sasak people first made the pilgrimage, but it refers to the oral stories of old people that from generation to generation, a pilgrim will also make a pilgrimage to at least one of his children if not all. Therefore, the privilege of a pilgrim in the Sasak community is also inherited indirectly by becoming an elite in society, including economically well-established so that they can perform hajj several times or also by sending their family members for hajj (Hajj twice).

The genealogy of the hajj in the Sasak community refers to oral sources that reveal more about the rituals before departure and the dynamics of the pilgrimage. Then after returning from Mecca, a pilgrim will become a public figure in his community, and for several days will continue to be visited by neighbors both near and far to explore experiences during the pilgrimage. These traditions are at least still well established today as part of the rites of pilgrimage. So, in the context of Sasak, the hajj is not only a rite of worship while in Mecca which is marked by *wukuf* (present or gathering) at Arafah as the core of the hajj, but also includes other rituals which indicate that the pilgrimage is also full of social values. They include the rites before departure, a *begawe* is held, a prayer together, or what is called *Walimatussafar*. Likewise, upon returning from home, another ritual was held by inviting the neighbors. In recent years, the celebration after returning from the holy land has also been accompanied by listening to stories from the pilgrimage of a person who has just returned (Yusuf, the public figure in East Lombok, Personal Communication, August 26, 2022).

Hajj as worship that has a specific time and place can be interpreted as worship that does not only have a vertical dimension to God (*hablun minnallah*) but also has a well-established horizontal dimension to the community (*hablun minannas*) which is reflected through the rituals of togetherness in the Sasak tradition in each procession. So, in this case, the hajj in the Sasak community tradition is also a social worship marked by the alms made by prospective pilgrims before departure and after returning from the holy land.

The concept of fetishism in this research is related to the joyfulness of the pilgrimage in Mecca and they bring back to their hometown a story that they will tell more about their voyage to perform the worship. The joyfulness during the worship will be a lifetime experience that they will remember as a moral standard when they will do something in the community. Thus, in this concept, fetishism is a way to make people conscious about their position as a hajj usually refers to the term of completely being a Muslim when they can fulfill hajj as the last Islamic principle.

7. Conclusion

Thirst for spirituality to become a pilgrimage manifested in the Sasak people who make it as a purpose for doing all of the economic works, and allocating their wealth, especially for the fund. This way is intended to reach the spiritual basis in fulfilling the Islamic principle as a religious person. Whereas, becoming a hajj also has the symbolic capital that legitimate the social class distinction between hajj and non-hajj. It is inseparable from the role of established traditions in society regarding the rites that a candidate for hajj needs to go through until one gets the title of hajj after returning from Mecca. The rites also strengthen that symbolic capital to be accepted by the people in their community.

In Sasak's people, the implementation of the pilgrimage is not only a matter of worship and individual piety but is also full of collective piety. For example, in preparation before departure, prospective pilgrims will not be able to hold their ceremony without the help of others. Prayers for safety, and *wirid* that are sung together are part of social piety which is manifested by the enthusiasm of the community to support the departure of prospective pilgrims with joy. Fetishism in this term can be reached from making the hajj worship a way to get near to God that which also functions as a spiritual meaning.

The critics of this study for the context of community development, the costs of performing the pilgrimage collected by the state should have a greater impact on the community. For example, millions of prospective pilgrims queue up for many years, and the fund for hajj is managed, rather than being deposited in banks that only benefit the elite, it would be better if the funds were rotated to provide business assistance to small people with a debt mechanism that had to be agreed upon with the repayment deadline.

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