

ESENSIA

Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin

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Haji in Sasak Community, Lombok, NTB**

Moh Soehadha

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Struggle For Identity and Social Image of Haji: Study on Life History of Social Construction of Haji in Sasak Community, Lombok, NTB

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Abstract

Hajj (pilgrimage to Mecca) has become something that attracts many Sasak Muslim people's ambitions and focuses, in Tanah Merah, Lombok.¹ It also became the model of the ideal individual identity with a positive image attached to it, and people call it "tuan haji". Sociologically, the struggle of identity and self-image building efforts of the "tuan haji" gives us the understanding of the relationship and the distance between religious doctrine, as a model for the reality of Islam, with the implementation of the doctrine in social praxis, as a model of reality in Clifford Geertz's term. Sociological analysis in this study uses two key theoretical concepts, namely the concept of social identity and image of Pierre Bourdieu, through the concept of habitus, as well as the concept of self-image by Jean Baudrillard. This study formulates a thesis which contains the assumption that in Islam, there are teachings that maintain the economic ethos of its adherents, among other obligations, one of these teachings contained in the Hajj. Tradition and culture have strengthened the religious ethos of the Sasak people in Tanah Merah to gain access to social capital that exist within social class. It shows that the collaboration between religious teachings and cultural values become an important force in the development of a religion, and how religion spread and influences every corner of the cultural elements that exist in the area where the community is located. Together with the tradition or locality, Religion has provided the basis for the Muslim Sasak in Tanah Merah to gain prestige and social status in the social world of people of Lombok in Tanah Merah, through pilgrimage.

Keywords: *identity, social image, hajj (pilgrimage to Mecca)*

Abstrak

Haji menjadi daya tarik yang menyedot cita-cita, ambisi, dan fokus hidup banyak individu muslim Sasak di Tanah Merah, Lombok.² Haji menjadi model dari identitas individu yang ideal dengan citra positif yang melekat padanya, dan masyarakat menyebutnya sebagai tuan haji. Secara sosiologis, pergulatan identitas dan upaya membangun citra diri para tuan haji memberi pemahaman tentang relasi dan jarak antara doktrin agama sebagai model for reality dari ajaran Islam, dengan implementasi doktrin itu dalam praksis sosial sebagai model of reality dari Clifford Geertz. Analisis sosiologi dalam studi ini menggunakan dua konsep teoritis kunci, yaitu konsep tentang identitas sosial dan citra Pierre Bourdieu melalui konsep habitus, serta konsep citra diri menurut Jean Baudrillard. Dari studi ini dapat dirumuskan sebuah thesis yang berisi asumsi bahwa di dalam Islam terdapat ajaran yang menumbuhkan etos ekonomi para penganutnya, dan ajaran itu antara lain terkandung dalam kewajiban haji. Tradisi dan kultur keagamaan lokal telah menguatkan etos orang-orang Sasak di Tanah Merah untuk meraih akses terhadap modal sosial yang ada di dalam kelas sosial yang begitu dicita-citakan. Kenyataan itu menunjukkan bahwa kolaborasi antara ajaran agama dan nilai kultural menjadi kekuatan penting

¹ Names of place and interviewees are not real.

² Nama desa tempat penelitian dan nama para informan dalam artikel ini adalah nama samaran, nama sebenarnya ada dalam catatan penulis.

dalam perkembangan suatu agama, dan bagaimana agama itu kemudian berpengaruh menyebar ke setiap sudut unsur budaya yang ada di wilayah di mana komunitas itu berada. Agama bersama tradisi atau lokalitas telah memberi landasan bagi muslim Sasak di Tanah Merah untuk meraih gengsi dan status sosial dalam dunia sosial orang Lombok di Tanah Merah, melalui haji.

Keywords: identitas, gambaran sosial, haji

Introduction

To most community in Indonesia, haji has been an ideal identity model equipped by positive images. It has been a ritual for Muslims to run a 'farewell for haji' and 'welcome-back' ceremony, both of which gain more attention than daily, monthly, or biannual ones. Such social conditions demand one performing haji to establish new social identity, precisely after called 'haji' — commonly it comes before sure name. Personally, she/he needs to adjust her/his former personality with certain traits attributed to the title 'haji,' revealing her/him out of the people in interpersonal relationship.³ In the broader social context, she/he must establish a post-haji personality distinct from the pre- one, in order for the community to stand her/him as leading them.

Such a dialectic engaging the 'haji' happens among Muslims in Sasak community, in Lombok, Nusa Tenggara Barat (henceforth, NTB), comprises mostly with Muslims, in religious identity, and farmer, in labor sector. NTB is a province characterized by high level of poverty according to Government account, yet high number of people running from pilgrimage as compared to rich, neighboring provinces.

A Sasak individual having pilgrimaged owns certain surficial identity, such as white *peci* and *surban*, as well as praxis ones. Those surficial identities seem to be un-removable, even at work. Not only do the 'haji' gains the title, she/he also possesses the authority to lead *salat* (daily prayers) in the mosque, and other (socio) religious rituals beyond that.

Sociological speaking, the struggle for

identity and self-image by 'haji' is an important subject to study. Such a study could enrich the notion of relation and distance between religious doctrines as model for reality of Islam, and their implementation in the social praxis as its model of reality.⁴ Besides, the study shows significances in a way to understand the character and social praxis of haji as modeled by Muslims community in Indonesia.

Literature Review

There have been a number of academics having research on haji. Most of them observe the theological aspect of the topic, as represented by works of Ali Syariati,⁵ Muslim Nasution.⁶ Other works by Saleh Putuhena,⁷ M. Dien Majid,⁸ and Augustus Ralli⁹ inquire the historical, while Zamakhsyari Dofier¹⁰ is interested in economic aspect of haji. William R. Roff¹¹ observes haji through symbolic anthropological analysis, and that by Roibin is on the social image of it.¹²

⁴ See Clifford Geertz, *Religion as a Cultural System*. In Michael Banton (ed.), *Anthropological Approach To The Study of Religion* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1973), 1-46.

⁵ Ali Syariati, *Haji* (Bandung: Pustaka Bandung, 1983).

⁶ Muslim Nasution, *Haji dan Umroh (Keagungan dan Nilai Amalihanya)*. (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 1999).

⁷ M Saleh Putuhena, *Historiografi Haji di Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2007)

⁸ M. Dien Madjid, *Berhaji di Masa Kolonial* (Jakarta: CV. Sejahtera, 2008)

⁹ Augustus Ralli, *Orang Kristen Naik Haji* (Jakarta: PT. Serambil Ilmu Semesta, 2011)

¹⁰ Zamakhsyari Dofier, "Dampak Ekonomi Haji di Indonesia", dalam *Prisma*, Edisi no. 4 Tahun XII, April 1984.

¹¹ William R. Roff, *Pilgrimage and the History of Religions Theoretical approaches To The Hajj*. in Richard C. Martin (ed.) *Approach to Islam in Religious Studies* (Tucson: The university of Arizona Press, 1985), 78-86.

¹² Roibin, *Citra Sosial Haji di kalangan Masyarakat Muslim (Kasus di Masyarakat petani Santri Gondanglegi Malang)* (Malang; Laporan Penelitian Kompetitif Dosen UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim, 2012).

³ See Henry Tajfel as cited by Sarlito Sarwono, *Psikologi Kelompok, Psikologi Sosial, dan Psikologi Terapan*, (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1999).

Both Ali Syariati and Muslim Nasution explore Islamic teachings in haji and the philosophical messages behind the ritual. Haji to them is a ritual with norms concerning obedient, being modest, and deep social nuance. The three explore the essence of haji in *dakwah* language. Haji is not only a formal ritual, but further it is a ritual that marks physical and spiritual revolution to gain the genuineness of being a human.

Through historical lens, M. Saleh Putuhena conducted a critical study on haji practice among Indonesian Muslims, since the advent of Islam in Indonesia to the first half of 20th century. It constructs comprehensively the history about the theme by involving an analysis on the political, economic, cultural, and religious dynamic as either the cause or the caused sides of haji among Indonesian Muslims. Saleh Putuhena had put a foundation from historical analysis by employing multidimensional inquiries; including but not limited to political, economic, and cultural ones.

M. Dien Majid conducted a historical study on haji in his books, *Berhaji di Masa Kolonial*. While Putuhena explores the economic, political and cultural lives of the community, taking wide scope including the early ages of Islam in Indonesia, M. Dien Majid tends to focus the research on economic aspect. The book explains activities of two private corporations in early age of Dutch colonials that exploited *jama'ah haji* (a group of people in a process of performing the pilgrimage, having all administrative stuffs), targeting their money yet ignoring their safety.

In other work, Augustus Ralli explore 'illegal' haji journey of Christians from 15th to 19th CE. In his work, he asserted that in a period before modern transportation came to exist and circulate, the journey to the so-called holy cities was taking risking road and sea transportations. In varying ways, Christian orientalist such as Radia Burkhard, Giovanni

Finati, Leon Roches, Sir Richard Burton, and Snouck Hurgronje attempted to get to the holy cities and performing rituals as other *jama'ah* performed.

Zamakhsyari Dhofier in his works asserted that haji benefits economically not only to the performer, but the nation (i.e., bureaucracy and nation companies) either directly or indirectly. Although Islam has defined the obligation of haji as limited only for those with financial sufficiency, having nothing to hamper them performing haji, many Indonesian Muslims without one of, and even both, such conditions compelled themselves to do haji. Dhofier also asserted that many sides of haji are untouched by academics. Hence in Indonesian context where Muslims are dominant, those sides are subject to explore academically.

In anthropological areas, William R. Roff had been contributing by exploring the ways to understand haji ritual Muslims have. Employing *Rites de Passage* theory of Van Gennep and Victor Turner, Roff concluded that the understanding of haji ritual gets analyzed by three steps of ritual process, namely separation, transition, and aggregation. In another social science perspective, Roibin (2012) in his work explored the understanding of peasants in Gondanglegi on performing haji. The *santri* peasants in Gondanglegi tend to perform haji many a time, whose factors Roibin had mentioned in the work.

Concluding from these works, I could argue that it is only three dimensions of haji having been explored by academics, i.e., theology, economy, and history. A study on haji that more explores social realm by picking a case in a religious community is yet to do, whereas haji is characterized by high social nuance in various Muslims communities in Indonesia. It is in this gap that this article would fill.

Conceptual Design and Theorization of Haji

There are two theoretical concepts to refer to in this study, namely that of social identity and images. As Henry Tajfel explained,¹³ the concept of social identity results in a need of understanding on the social process on prejudice, discrimination, and conflict among parties and social changes. Individual identity in social process includes two aspects: personal and communal identity. Social identity results in when one should define oneself according to attributes distinguishing oneself from others in community. In other hand, social identity is communal attribute, other groups' view on the community according to similar attributes of individuals in the community.

In contemporary theory perspective, concept of identity is well developed by Pierre Bourdieu¹⁴ through his concept of *habitus*, understood as a conditioning related to the existence of certain social classes. It is a mental disposition system the existence of which is recognized by framework, ideas, and social acts in social realm. Referring to this concept, haji is a *habitus*. To Bourdieu, *habitus* is a key of social reproduction, for *habitus* is a foundation of individual practice or acts, later constructing patterns of social interaction. *Tuan Hajis*, in this concept, are assumingly developing their thoughts, ideas, and social acts in responding to practice of social life they face.

In order for Tuan Hajis to move in their social realm, they should establish their social identities presumably upon their 'power' in relation to other individuals. There are four 'modals' to hold for an individual to be able act in his/her social life; economic, cultural, social, symbolic model.¹⁵ The struggle for haji identity, employing Bourdieu's

concept, is shown as ways which Pak Haji get through to occupy the position of ideal figure, on the basis of their contribution in the praxis of everyday life. Hence they should maintain such an identity so that they permanently serve as agents bearing symbolic values included in 'haji' (as a title) they bear.

In religious tradition of Sasak people in Lombok, '*peci putih*' (white *peci*, Islamic head-covering for men) is an attribute embedded in Tuan Haji. The kind of *peci* might serve as ordinary head-covering for other cultural community. However, for Sasak Muslims, *peci putih* sounds a charisma, rooted in syncretic doctrine between Islam and local ideas. *Peci putih* also means a struggle for identity, explaining conditions *tuan haji* must fit into, to rear their authority, to establish their religious knowledge, to build social-economic status, and even to increase work ethos. Haji, bearing such social states, becomes part of religious obligation that has economic ethos of Sasak Muslims. Employing Weber's theory, there has been a relation between religious teachings, or either doctrines, and economic ethic.¹⁶ Images or imaginations of people (one could call it expectations) is that high, making haji as something idealistic, which one intensely desires and motivates Sasak Muslims' ambition to act in certain ways in their everyday life.

In the postmodernism paradigm, image is defined as a fantasy outside reality, whereas Baudrillard¹⁷ defines fantasy as if it is real. As such, the different between the two are nil. Hence, one might define image as a 'meaning embedded in a sign or an object.' The meaning of an object is not defined by its utility, yet by other objects. A group of object has its own meaning.¹⁸ Image

¹³ Sarlito Sarwono, *Psikologi Kelompok, Psikologi Sosial, dan Psikologi Terapan* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1999).

¹⁴ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: a Social Critique of The Judgement of Test* (London: Routledge, 1984).

¹⁵ Pierre Bourdieu (1989) as cited by George Ritzer, *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Sociology* (trans. Daryatno, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2013), 454-455.

¹⁶ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1956).

¹⁷ Jean Baudrillard, *Jean Baudrillard; Selected Writings* (Cambridge: Blackwell Publisher, 1992), 2.

¹⁸ Jean Baudrillard (1988: 29) as George Ritzer cited in *Teori Sosial Postmodernisme*, trans. Muhammad Taufik (Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana, 2003), 139.

or meaning of an object is framed by the world of commodity, as an expression and symbol of prestige, luxury, power, and beyond. Having based on these theories, image of *tuan haji* might come as a meaning portrayed by social praxis of the *tuan hajis* and people interacting with them, as well as symbolic traits and attributes surrounding them.

Data Resources and Method

This article is a life history research, paying all attention on individual experiences, conducted in Tanah Merah village, Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. This village is characterized by exotic natural environment. It takes place along the slope of Rinjani mountain, equipping muslims' religiosity with agrarian background. Most of the village residents are Sasak, ethnical speaking. Sasak is indigenous residents and is majority in ethnic, in Lombok. A big number of Sasak people are farmers, and the rest are migrant worker (TKI) in Malaysia and Saudi Arabia. For TKI people, Saudi Arabia is the highest city to go to, for they could perform haji rituals after working.

As is in other places, haji title is a social attribute compelling the bearer to struggle for image and identity, before and after performing haji in Arab. Before going to holy land (i.e., Mecca and Medina), people would hold farewell party a nuance of which is highly local-related. After coming back from the holy land, certain rituals are to be held. For the *tuan haji* in particular and people of Tanah Merah, the rituals are parts of social process and of struggle for identity, and dynamics of individual role and position in the society.

Five Families, Mexican Case Studies in the Cultural Poverty by Oscar Lewis¹⁹ is his *magnum opus*, since the development of method in observing everyday life of street people in Mexico produces a method named natural observation.

¹⁹ Oscar Lewis, *Five Families, Mexican Case Studies in The Culture of Poverty* (New York: Basic Books, Inc. Publisher, 1959).

The method requires the researcher to intensely, even extremely, get involved in the observation. Employing the method marks Lewis as the first anthropology to assert that "culture of poverty" needs to observe with special method in which the researcher is in and involved in everyday life of people being researched, and is feeling and thinking as the people do. It is such a method that is later termed as *life history* or individual experience data.

Individual experience data is a common term in anthropology to name a method that involves explanation concerning experiences of individual which is a part of a community in question. In psychological discipline, this kind of data is commonly known as personal document, whereas in sociology is by human document.²⁰ It is this kind of data that Clandinin and Connelly called as personal experiences methods.²¹

In collecting data, this research employs individual life history technique. The technique could help collecting in detail the struggle for identity and the way *tuan haji* establish their social image. As ethnography research, this study is not analyzing morality, not concluding nor normatively claiming. Hence, I intensely get involved in each *tuan haji's* everyday life. My intensity to the life of *tuan haji* in Tanah Merah, north Batukliang, center Lombok is shown in two ways, intensively interacting with informants, and continuously engaged in their daily life.²²

Realizing the method, I scrutinized the memoir, autobiography, collected stuffs and photos, informants' writings, and letters. Since the informants don't have writing habits, I conduct an in-depth interview on them. Besides, I collect individual experience data from the observations on their lives. The analysis employed in this research is descriptive one with anthropological perspective. There are two

²⁰ Koentjaraningrat, *Metode-Metode Penelitian Masyarakat* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1998), 158.

²¹ Koentjaraningrat, *Metode-Metode*, 158.

²²

theoretical concept to apply; social identity and image. The steps are as follows; *first*, listing those having performed haji; *second*, summarizing the data and effective, synced question; *third*, reexamining all the data collected from various sources, among them are observations, interview, and private documentation. The data is to categorized, examined, and explored; *fourth*, break them down; *fifth*, analyze them using an method and theory employed.

The interpretation in the research is based on actor-oriented formulas, in other word, emic analysis. Hence, interpretive analysis is applied to understand what informants assert, and later categorize them.²³ To gain the idealistic, the research undergoes an analysis of three classes of data resulted from interview and observation to draw the conclusion—as Turner suggested,²⁴ namely (i) the outward data resulted from interview or symbolic forms of data, in this case is attribute of *tuan haji*, such as *peci putih* and certain dress as symbol, and behavior of *tuan haji* and other informants; (ii) from religious experts' and society men's, referred to as specialists, informants' interpretation; (iii) other data collected through various ways, that help constructing identity and images of *tuan haji*.

Never Ending Rites of Tuan Haji

According to Sasak Muslims' tradition, specifically in Tanah Merah, haji is built not only upon Islamic doctrines, but local and modern tradition. Normatively, haji is a part of Islamic principles and its practice is just like other principles; *syahadat*, *salat* (prayer), fasting and tithe. Normative speaking, one must perform all *haji* rituals in Mecca and Medina. Adding to that, *tuan haji* in Tanah Merah must perform certain rituals several days before and after *haji* in holy land.

The additional rituals are culturally obliged. They believe unexpected things would happen if one does not perform the rituals. Furthermore, in performing the rituals people engage modern means, such as banner, flyer showing those running for political election. However, locality is still dominant in overall rituals.

Anthropological speaking, rituals obliged to *tuan haji* consist of separation, transition, and incorporation (Van Gennep, 1960; Turner, 1966).²⁵ Hence, ritual is not only defined as periodic rites, but also as change and development. Having completed analyzing the three, one would unfold purposes behind changes and developments *tuan haji* experience in their struggle for the social identity. Ritual thus marks the beginning, rather than the end, of a new social process.

Preparation is the first thing to do for *tuan haji*. Normally it takes three months before they go to the holy land. In this process *tuan haji*'s family hold number of religious ceremonies and *zikir*, called *selakaran*. The term means 'arising', rooted in Arabic "*asyraqa*",²⁶ one of words appearing in *barzanji*.²⁷ The terms underwent vernacularization in terms of pronunciation and transformed to *selakaran*. In the ceremonies, the family invite people to gather in their house, bringing daily household needs, such as sugar, rice, noodle, oil, or either modern and traditional clothing. Attending the ceremonies is called *ziarah* (to visit) to *tuan haji*.

Bagawe is a high-cost ritual, given big total of cost, thought and goods required. In the ceremony, a *tuan haji* even sacrifice two cows and

²⁵ Moh Soehadha, *Fakta dan Tanda*, 69.

²⁶ Arif Nasrullah, *Hubungan masyarakat Islam dan Hindu di Lombok* (Yogyakarta: Thesis S2 Pasca Sarjana UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2012), 78-79.

²⁷ *Barzanji* is a book by Ja'far al-Barzanji al-Madani (d. 1177/1763), a *khatib* in *Masjid al-Haram*, Mecca, and a shafi'ite mufti. Among his works is a story about the birth of prophet Muhammad PBUH. As a shi'ite in *tasawwuf*, al-Barzanji held the prophet and his descendants as holy people. Generally it consists of (1) story of prophet's life journey, (2) poems raving about Prophet, and (3) *salawat* upon the Prophet. It has a high-level linguistic and literary style, as people conceive. (Nasrullah, 2012: 78).

²³ Clifford Geertz, *Kebudayaan dan Agama*, terj. Fransisco Budi Hardiman (Yogyakarta, Kanisius, 1992), 18.

²⁴ Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process, Structur and Anti Structure* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1969.), 20.

two goats, for his *bagawe* is held in two weeks. The former *selakaran* ritual is one marking the beginning of *bagawe*, in which most relatives, fellows, and neighborhood attend to honor him.

Preparing for *bagawe*, a *tuan haji* make a *tetaring* in his front yard, in which his family members would greet and serve guests attending *selakaran*. The term *tetaring* comes from Sasak language, abbreviation of *taok* and *ngiring* that means respectively place and guest. Hence, *tetaring* is a place to greet and serve guests. Building a *tetaring* in one's front yard is announcing publicly that he/she is about to *haji*. However, it is only the specialists, named *balian*, who build *tetaring*. They are spiritualist, to whom people held spiritual power belongs.

Another thing that marks *bagawe* is building gate and pinning banner, in which modernity takes place. It is obvious in the banner, for it contains a photograph of *tuan haji* and prayer, either Arabic or local language. The banner thus serves as an advertisement as is in political election. It is through the banner, a *tuan haji* establish his/her image as a *tuan haji*, engaging media and modernity.

It is a part of ritual for *tuan haji* to devotional visit his ancestors' tombs, as well as those of ulema, *awliya*. In a night before departing to holy lands, the family performs *nimpes*, literally means packing. In the ritual a *Tuan Guru* guides *tuan haji* and family to do the ritual. *Tuan haji* puts things he/she would need during *haji* into his/her luggage, with all family members witnessing him. The ritual ends with a *tausiyah* (speech) by *Tuan Guru*.

During the *haji* process taking place in holy land, is a liminality phase.²⁸ The *tuan haji* gets separated from former structure positioning him/her as an ordinary Muslim. However, he is yet to be among Muslims titled *haji*. Hence, he/she is 'in between', 'ambiguous'. He is in the edge of social structure gate, yet does not enter

²⁸ Moh Soehadha, *Fakta dan tanda Agama* (Yogyakarta: Diandra Pustaka Indonesia, 2014), 69-71.

a new gate. During this phase, the family would hold *selakaran* twice or once a week, depending on financial aid the family possess. The highest intensity of this ritual makes *selakaran* held daily during the phase. Despite of the intensity, *selakaran* aims to pray for *tuan haji* succeed performing *haji* in Mecca.

A week before *tuan haji* returned, the family pins new banner, replacing the old banner, in front of the house. This new banner says 'welcome back' and titles *haji* before *tuan haji's* full-name. In the case when *tuan haji* brings home either new or additional name, the banner would say it as well. The banner's style also indicates the extent to which the excitement of the welcoming-back celebration would be.

In the next phase, when *tuan haji* returns home, a new life begins, since the *tuan haji* has fully entered a new structure as *tuan haji* and puts off the old one. As does the new phase, the struggle for identity begins. *Tuan haji* does not only convince people that he deserves the title, but also the *peci putih*. Furthermore, the symbol should be realized in his/her social life. Through *peci putih*, *tuan haji* proves that he is in the frontline of daily interaction with people, either in religiosity and economy.

The integrating phase of *tuan haji* into a new social life begins as the new *tuan haji* arrives the homeland. The returning back is marked by celebration held from the airport to the village. Before entering house, a new *tuan haji* comes to masjid and do *sujud syukur* (bowing to show thankfulness to God). The welcoming-back ritual is full of tumult and felicity. The number of people welcoming home shows his either good or bad social relation.

As the new *tuan haji* arrives, people (relatives, fellows, and society members) would *ziarah* to the *tuan haji*. The *ziarah* would remain until seven (7) days. In the visit, these people deliver their compliment and prayers (especially prayer for *haji mabrur*). The *tuan haji* would pray them

God's blessings (*barakah*), and calling for *haji*. These people believe that once Allah calls one to do *haji*, one would gain all the conditions either physical, economic, bureaucracy, administrative and beyond. The *tuan haji* also give them *zamzam* water, frangipani (perfume particular to Muslims), veil, dates, Arab nuts, and other kinds of souvenir.

The total period of pre- and post-*haji* rituals is usually longer than *haji* ritual itself. This also causes higher cost it requires, even exceeds *Ongkos Naik Haji* (ONH/*haji* travel cost). However, this is socially-obliged one could not deny. Not doing so causes social punishment, for trespassing tradition. This is what Bourdieu calls 'economic capital', which might be income, wealth, legacy, finance, and asset, etc.²⁹ This concept obviously shows struggle for identity a *tuan haji* should overcome, asserting that social class is determined by access toward capital. Social capital one has enables one to move dialectically through positions in one's social world. This thus produces forms of power in social relation among individuals.

Roles and Positions of New Haji

A new *tuan haji* has a traditionally added name, namely *tuan* for males and *ummi/inaq tuan/papuk*³⁰ *tuan* for females, in which the added name an honor is embedded. Furthermore, there is certain division of these names; *Tuan Guru* is only for religious elites, *kiai* or *ustad* (Arabic word for teacher), and *ummi* is limited to their wives; *inaq*³¹ *tuan* is mostly for noblesse. Family has discussed over the name being added even before the *tuan haji* returned from the holy land. Although this is not Islamic tradition, Sasak people in Tanah Merah held it as obligatory. Furthermore, not mentioning the traditional title is deemed impolite and even rude.

²⁹ Pierre Bourdieu (1989) as George Ritzer cited, *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Sociology*, 454-455.

³⁰ *Papuk* is Sasak word grandchild uses to call grandmother.

³¹ *Inaq* is Sasak word meaning mother.

Tuan hajis (people having performed *haji*) get special position in the society—regardless of how they get to *haji*, be it migrant working process, *Umrah*, or formal. In almost all religious, even in *jama'ah* (performing together) for daily prayer, ceremonies *tuan hajis* should be in the first line. This fact demands *tuan hajis* to behave in certain ways, including the way they speak, walk, and even dress. *Tuan hajis* always wear *peci putih* and *sorban* in all the occasion, including *jum'a* prayer, and even in the field, farming. In other word, the two latter accessories marks social class, *haji* and non-*haji*.

People in Tanah Merah believe that having performed *haji* increases their economic prosperities. This is due to their experiences as migrant workers. In terms of economic modal, that is money, they have saved modal for number of periods, giving them enough pre-operating cost for business. They also undergo what Max Weber calls work ethic (in his work, in Calvinists in Europe)³² and its relation to religiosity. Weber found religiosity as very influencing for work ethic, as is the case in Muslims in Tanah Merah. Their increasing in religiosity, much more after gaining *haji* title, parallels to their work ethic. The teaching about *mujahadah* (sincerity) in works, frugal, related to cost-requiring rituals, e.g. *zakat* and *haji*, influence them in increasing work ethic.

Religious tradition also plays an important role in bridging the two; *mujahada* teaching and work ethic. In religious tradition of Sasak people, *haji* is cultural capital required to occupy certain social position and status. *Tuan hajis* are honored, enabling them to get more access, vertical mobility. This is due to their social class *haji* provides them with. This makes sense of wealthy or politicians being under *tuan haji* in terms of religiosity. Sasak have '*Timaq sugih-sugih laguq diman haji*', being wealthy means nothing without *haji*.

Being *tuan haji* makes one occupy important

³² Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*.

position in Tanah Merah society. This is due to the history of Islam in Lombok Island. Islam had massively developed owing to figure of *Tuan Guru* as a charismatic agent. The orthodox-charismatic *pesantren* led by *Tuan Guru* is central to the Muslims society, shaping their view over *tuan hajis*.³³ This explains why *tuan haji* is higher than wealthy people.

Tuan hajis are considered *Tuan Guru*'s inheritors—given *Tuan Guru* is religious specialist, *ustaz* or *ulama*, having experiences in learning religion in holy land during haji period. Haji thus is metonymy of the charismatic *Tuan Guru*, in spite of the inadequate religious knowledge of some *hajis*. It is this view that makes *tuan haji* get a highly honored position in the society.

In religious ceremonies, *tuan hajis* are in the frontline. During the *jama'a* for daily prayer, even *jum'a* prayer, they are in the first line where non-haji should not be in. Due to this, one might find the missing part of the first line in the mosque, given the high religious knowledge embedded in *haji* title. Since *tuan haji* has performed the final principle of Islam (*rukun al-Islam*), they deserve to be the prayer leader. Hence they remain in the frontline, so that they correct the imam in case the imam makes mistake, or taking over *imam* position in case he gets invalidated/broken.

Peci Putih; Model for and Model of Religiosity of Tuan Haji

Islam and tradition plays an important, intertwined role in shaping ways in which Sasak Muslims in Tanah Merah behave. Both are also responsible for the high-motivated people in terms of performing haji. Yet both are manifested in particular Tanah Merah Islam's traditional symbol, namely '*peci putih*'.

According to Geertz, first aspect of religion as cognitive system is articulation and

³³ Erni Budiwanti, *Islam sasak Wetu Telu versus Wektu Lima* (Yogyakarta; Penerbit LkiS, 2000).

representation of 'model of'. In other words, it represents religion as it is. As evaluative aspect, religion system constitute normative frame of what to do. This aspect is representation of 'model for', representing what it should be, its ideal form. Polarization of religion as 'model for' and 'model of' needs thing to bridge, that is symbolic system.³⁴

Peci putih shows how the concept of two dimensions of religion as Clifford Geertz has coined operate. Tradition of Sasak Muslim positions *peci putih* as model for reality and model of reality of religiosity of *tuan haji*. As model for reality, *peci putih* serves as normative symbol of social status conceived high by people. *Peci putih* is an ideal of *tuan haji*, indicating religious specialist, righteous, and socio-economically high class.

Moreover, *peci putih* also represents reality, that symbol often reduces substance of Islamic doctrine on haji as model for of religion. In social reality, *peci putih* might do so by not representing ideal reality, rather than the existing one. *Peci putih* shows that *tuan haji* does not always fit ideal condition as Muslim figure, having wide religious knowledge, and able to lead people in socio-religious activities. Images of *tuan haji* in Tanah Merah have varied widely. Some of them are figure, with adequate religious knowledge, while in other cases *tuan haji* lack of. The latter case was the case in 1990s, when number of migrant workers from Tanah Merah returned with *haji* title, but with no adequate knowledge.

Images of *haji* with migrant worker visa reflect the 1990s case, as *Tuan Guru MN* confirmed. The fact that they go to Mecca for economic motives, without any adequate religious knowledge make sense of this. These workers are performing haji with migrant workers group, consisting of all migrant workers from various places of origin.

³⁴ Clifford Geertz, *Religion as A Cultural System*. In Michael Banton (ed.), *Anthropological Approach To The Study of Religion* (London: Tavistock Publications. 1966), 1-46.

Despite of the level of the knowledge, lay people still demand them serving the leader of religious ceremonies, let them be in the first row in *salat* and other rituals, even if those *un-haji* have better understanding on religious knowledge. Hence, there is a gap between idealism in normative or doctrine, termed 'model for' religion, in one hand, and the reality or religious tradition, termed 'model of' religion, on the other, in *haji* case. Ideal conditions of people with *peci putih* should be do not always correspond to the reality these people are in.

Nevertheless, the gap does not reduce teachings or doctrine. The implementation of certain teachings is not fully reflected in tradition, or daily life. It is this gap that people refer to when they evaluate the way they do religion, the way they apply the teachings, not the teaching itself. It indicates that *peci putih*, as a sacred symbol, remain sacred in Sasak Muslims' religious tradition, although the ways in which *tuan haji* do the *haji* and behave after returning from the *haji* rituals in holy land do not fully fit the idealism.

Conclusion

According to research report on haji and locality in Tanah Merah, center Lombok, I could argue that identity and self-images of Tuan Haji getting embedded in themselves with *peci putih* is social class. *Peci putih* and all the things it implies is performative statement on one's access to 'power' of social world. Once on has finished doing haji, the access to social, economic, cultural, and symbolic capital is much more easy to gain, compared to those do not do haji.

Built upon such reason, haji becomes the goal, to which people's ambition aim, on which Sasak Muslims in Tanah Merah focus. Regardless of the economic background, even one coming from lower class, could gain higher ethic, and this was the reason why migrant

workers in Saudi Arabia returned with title haji in their names. The first possible motive is to heighten their social class. Haji remains serve as triggering factor for people to be migrant workers, so to speak.

The thesis established assumes that in Islam there is (are) teaching(s) that cause an increasing in economic ethic, and the teachings are of *haji* rituals. Tradition and religious culture also contribute in motivating Sasak Muslims to have access to social capital in particular social class desired. The power of *Tuan Guru*, one have finished doing haji, has replaced social power of rich people in Lombok. People thus are not interested in predicate and self-identity as a noble.

The fact shows that collaboration of religion and cultural values are important power for certain religion to get advanced and how it would circulate in the society. Religion and locality has laid a foundation for Sasak Muslims in Tanah Merah to gain prestige and social status in their social world. The haji identity with all luxuries it implies, exist in no empty space. Such an identity comes from religious obligation, and gets legitimized by local culture.

As is the identity, individual subject, particularly owes to its actors. This attempt engages never-ending rituals. The tradition demands the *haji* to establish an identity through rituals since the preparation until the what-after. The rituals establish *tuan haji* identity as well as his/her images.

The bearer of '*peci putih*' shows that rituals built upon beliefs, are not only serious attempts to gain transcendental side in reaching divine world. Yet the class is a means to establish identity and social class. The reality is not an ambiguous, as Victor Turner's liminality takes form of, but it also has two intertwining goal. The motivations to do religion are not transcendental, but down-to-earth, so that people could know God through themselves.

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