
COMMODIFICATION OF RELIGIOUS RITUALS: A PORTRAIT OF THE MEANING OF HAJJ AND UMRAH IN INDONESIA

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Abstract. This article discusses religious behaviour related to Hajj and Umrah which have become a form of commodification of religion. Hajj and Umrah, as two types of religious rituals in Islam, are extensively interrelated with other existing social institutions. Therefore, they have a more complex association compared to other religious rituals. Hajj and Umrah have not only given birth to various meanings for those who perform the rituals, but also become a tourism industry with a wide and promising market share. Hajj and Umrah seem to be able to change other religious behaviours such as the increase of obedience's intensity in worshipping God. In addition, Hajj and Umrah in Indonesia are not only packaged and marketed as profitable commodities, but also used as tools for criminal acts.

Keywords: Hajj and Umrah; religious behaviour; commodification; tourism industry; obedience

Abstrak. Artikel ini membahas tentang perilaku keagamaan terkait haji dan umrah yang telah menjadi bentuk komodifikasi agama. Haji dan Umrah, sebagai dua jenis ritual keagamaan dalam Islam, sangat erat kaitannya dengan pranata sosial lain yang ada. Oleh karena itu, mereka memiliki asosiasi yang lebih kompleks dibandingkan dengan ritual keagamaan lainnya. Haji dan Umrah tidak hanya melahirkan berbagai makna bagi yang menunaikan ibadah haji, tetapi juga menjadi industri pariwisata dengan pangsa pasar yang luas dan menjanjikan. Haji dan Umrah tampaknya mampu mengubah perilaku keagamaan lainnya seperti peningkatan intensitas ketaatan dalam beribadah kepada Allah. Selain itu, haji dan umrah di Indonesia tidak hanya dikemas dan dipasarkan sebagai komoditas yang menguntungkan, tetapi juga digunakan sebagai alat untuk melakukan tindak pidana.

Kata Kunci: Haji dan Umrah; perilaku keagamaan; komodifikasi; industri pariwisata; ketaatan

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Introduction

Apart from being a religious ritual, Hajj and Umrah have a sociocultural dimension that involves various forces and produces various meanings for the performers. Hajj and Umrah are believed by Muslims as a call from God. It is one of the oldest acts of worship that can only be performed in a certain space and time, so Muslims cannot perform it arbitrarily.¹ It also requires the existence of "certain capability" for the performer. Practically, the "capability" referred to more than individual health and economic abilities, but also the state authority and other actors and agencies so that someone can perform the rituals. Thus, this type of worshipping can only be carried out through the involvement of various forces, both structural and cultural.

As religious rituals which involve many things, Hajj and Umrah have given birth to various opportunities for sociocultural meanings and practices. The success of a person in performing the Hajj and Umrah, even as simple as departure's clearance, is interpreted as "the God's acceptance" or "God's call has reached him". He is seen as having reached the peak of spirituality and regarded as a "holy person", who cannot possibly carry out despicable and sinful acts. In some cases, prior and following the Hajj, some community groups hold certain religious rituals, such as *selamatan* (safe journey prayer) or *walimatu as-safar*, so that this spiritual journey can be graced by the God (Allah).

On the other hand, Hajj and Umrah also provide promising economic opportunities. For Saudi Arabia (the designated country for Hajj and Umrah), Hajj and Umrah have contributed a very high income that is equivalent to oil revenues. In Indonesia, hundreds of travel agents across the country are benefitting from selling Hajj and Umrah packages. In this instance, a reciprocal relationship between religious beliefs and the market could be found. Thus, hajj and umrah can be seen as an attractive economic commodity for religious-based business area.

Grounding on the above assumption and phenomenon, this paper discusses the religious behaviour of Hajj and Umrah which is shifting toward religious commodification. It will also portray the changes of religious behaviour after Hajj and Umrah. For this purpose, this paper is divided into several sections: a discussion on religious behaviour, a section on hajj and umrah as religious rituals, the changing meaning of hajj and umrah, and the industrialization of hajj and umrah in Indonesia. Finally, it will discuss the changes of religious behaviour following the Hajj and Umrah.

Religious Behaviour

Religious behaviour is often referred to as individual or social activities based on religious teachings. Religious behaviour is one of the components of religion, in addition to beliefs, values, moods, and feelings. This religious behaviour is often used as a reference to measure the level of understanding and appreciation or obedience in carrying out religious teaching (Leach, Berman and Eubanks, 2008; Fierman, 2009; Argyle, 2015).

Obedience toward religious teachings, as reviewed by Michael Argyle, can be seen in three forms: social learning and group pressure, individual personality differences, and socioeconomic categories. The diversity of religious observances can also be found based on social class, region, and other socioeconomics. Several sociological variables to see religious observance can be seen through denominational differences, historical factors, social class, minority groups, rural-urban, mass media and

¹ Surah Al-Baqara – verse 197 For hajj are the months well known. Surah Ali Imran - verse 97 Hajj has been from the era of prophet Ibrahim

dissemination (da'wah). In addition, it can also be seen on several psychological variables, including gender differences, age differences, and personality factors (Argyle, 2015).

Kathleen G. Arano and Benjamin F. Blair, for example, revealed that a person's income affects the intensity of religion, and the intensity of religion also affects income. The case in Mississippi shows that households in low-income groups tend to be less active in religious activities. It is possible that low-income groups reflect income levels where the negative substitution effect of time spent on religious activities compared to time spent on work dominates the income effect. Another factor that should be considered is the "network effect". People from the high-income groups have more time to go to church for networking. Thus, it can be said that investment in religious capital has a positive effect on the economic status of the households. In turn, it triggers an impact on overall economic growth (Arano and Blair, 2008).

Meanwhile, in several ethnographic studies, religious behaviour shows a diversity of forms in various places. Some of this religious behaviour can be seen as "show" and "social drama". Roy Rapport writes that a ritual is an act and expression that is joyful or realized only when the acts are performed and the expressions are voiced. Victor Turner calls it a "social drama", on a larger scale. This social drama is a public and symbolic scene in which conflicts or social disharmony are played out. In other languages, Erving Goffman calls it "dramaturgy" and Clifford Geertz calls it a "theatre state" where ritual is politics and politics is ritual (Eller, 2007).

A recent alternative approach that has become increasingly popular is the explanation of religious behaviour based on economic theory. Economic approaches that are used to explain religious behaviour can be divided into three groups. First, an explanation that emphasizes the demand side and investigates the way religious beliefs shape preferences and choices. The second economic approach, to explain religious behaviour, is based on a view of tastes and preferences, which implies that differences in behaviour are caused by differences in prices and income only. The third approach seeks to explain religious behaviour with a social emphasis on choice. This approach emphasizes the way people's choices are made in the social environment and are influenced by the social environment (Cosgel, 2004).

On the other hand, the costs for religious activities also received the attention of researchers. So far, many people are willing to pay a substantial amount of money for religious activities. It is suspected that the religious commitment factor can provide greater returns in the future. As the research of E.C. Carter and colleagues showed, people who have a strong religious commitment tend to ignore immediate gifts in order to get bigger rewards in the future. They are more patient with gratification. From this study, they argue that people from various religious groups have shown that religious people are less impulsive and more willing to delay gratification than their less religious counterparts (Carter *et al.*, 2012).

The above discussions show that religious behaviour is a part of obedience's expression toward religious teachings. Obedience in practicing religion can make someone gives up various resources to achieve greater profits in the future. Through obedience, they make choices which are sometimes considered by others as irrational actions. They are willing to be patient by ignoring the lure of gratification in order to get a bigger reward.

Hajj and Umrah as Religious Rituals

As mentioned above, ritual is a form of religious behaviour. In a broader sense, ritual refers to religious behaviours, actions, or activities. People who have faith or believe in God will act in a certain way. If a person expresses a strong belief, it can be said that the person is involved in a ritual act. Thus, some rituals involve definite or limited activities such as praying, making offerings, or burning incense or lighting candles on the altar, etc. However, many rituals occur within a larger context or involve a sequence or cycle of activities. According to Robert L. Winzeler, a religious event or ritual includes a series of ritual activities, such as festivals, celebrations, holidays (or holy days), and pilgrimages (Winzeler, 2012). These ritual activities are usually held collectively.

Religious collective action, as stated by Darren E. Sherkat, is the definitive element of religiosity. Religiosity is often associated with the level of religious behaviour in certain areas or certain individuals. Religious behaviours can be general in nature, such as participating in religious rituals, performing pilgrimages, or donating time and money to religious groups; or they can be personal, such as prayer, meditation, and reading sacred texts (Sherkat, 2015).

In many religious traditions, public religious participation is routinized in religious rituals performed in a temple. This is particularly true for certain beliefs arose from the Abrahamic tradition, where weekly ritual participation was prescribed for the adherents of the faith and supported by institutional resources. In other traditions, ritual activities are largely confined to priesthood classes and lay members are expected to participate only on special holy days and festivals (as in Hinduism and Buddhism) (Sherkat, 2015).

Place, according to Van Gennep, is one of the keys to understanding the rites that lead a person to pilgrimage. Pilgrimages are non-routine ritual trips to sacred sites or shrines to obtain supernatural favours, fulfill vows, collect merits, fulfill requirements, or express devotion. In other words, a pilgrimage is a special journey to a holy place for religious purposes (Winzeler, 2012).

Almost all religions have a holy place. For Judaism and Christianity, Jerusalem is a holy city. In Jerusalem, there is a place that is more sacred than others because it is believed to be the place where Jesus walked and when he was hurt and buried. In Jerusalem there is also a "Wailing Wall", where the Jews prayed and mourned their sins with remorse. Likewise for Muslims, Mecca is functioned as a holy place because Islam firstly appeared in Mecca, as well as various other religious events. Moreover, the Kaaba, as the central worshiping base for Muslims, is also situated in Mecca. Likewise, other religions also have sacred places, such as Mount Fuji in Japan, the Ganges River in India, and others. The adherents of the respective religions come to these holy places to perform religious rituals. They come from all over the regions, even all over the world. This trip is often referred to as "a holy journey", some call it a "pilgrimage".

In scientific studies, pilgrimage is analysed as a form of tourism, as a substitute for religious or "sacred" travel. In a brief review of people's religious intentions, motives, and reasons for a journey, Stausberg distinguishes pilgrimage from seeking education and training. It is more like spiritual discovery, self-development, healing, and other worldly benefits such as hermitages, vacations, and missions, buying religious objects, attending rituals, parties and festivals, seminars, conferences, and visits by religious authorities. Pilgrimage can be understood as a religiously motivated journey and thus can incorporate a variety of motives and reasons. Wiederkehr illustrates the pilgrimage as follows:

Pilgrimage has been an important part of the history of religion for centuries. Pilgrimage is a ritual journey with a sacred purpose. Every step has meaning. Pilgrims know that the journey will be difficult and life-giving challenges will arise. Pilgrimage is not a vacation. It is a transformational journey in which significant changes occur. New insights and blessings are provided and a deeper understanding is achieved. New and old places in the heart are visited, and eventually healing occurs. Upon his return from the pilgrimage, life is seen with different eyes. Nothing will be the same again (Wiederkehr, 2001).

Hajj and Umrah are trips based on religious motives and reasons. The willingness of Muslims to pay and spend special time to undertake these activities is generally based on religious interests. However, it is possible that many people have other motives such as social or political reasons (Hilmi, 2009; Subarkah, 2018).

Traditionally, hajj and umrah are religious rituals that are required by *syari'ah* (Islamic jurisprudence) and strictly regulated in accordance with religious teachings handed down since the era of Prophet Abraham. Hajj and Umrah, although some differences occurred in the practical details, are explicitly mentioned in the sacred texts (*nash: Quran and Hadith*). Practically, Hajj and Umrah have some obligatory, recommended, and prohibited activities. Generally, one of the most significant differences between Hajj and Umrah is that Hajj is only performed at a certain time, while Umrah can be performed at any time.

Changes in the Meaning of Hajj and Umrah

Umrah and Hajj are religious rituals which may cultivate different meanings and understanding for the performers. Hajj and Umrah are not merely human-God relation, but also a social identity. Moeslim Abdurrahman and Hilmi Muhammadiyah, through anthropological studies with ethnographic approach, describe and reveal the sociocultural meaning of pilgrimage. Abdurrahman explicates how urban middle class society shows its identity as a pious person through pilgrimage. In this instance, they perform pilgrimage using different modes and facilities from the normal pilgrimage in general (Abdurrahman, 2009).

Furthermore, Muhammadiyah through its ethnographic records shows that Hajj has an important value for the formation of identity to restore its social status. Bugis women who have performed pilgrimage will automatically receive symbolic capital that can be used to expand their social network in the community. Through the symbol of Hajj that they bear, Bugis women attract social and economic wealth quickly (Hilmi, 2009).

This phenomenon is also in line with the research conducted by Schnell, T., and S. Pali. Through the data obtained from the pilgrims in Santiago, they found that the pilgrims experienced changes in the way how they understand the source of meaning and the meaningfulness of their lives. They even experienced crisis of meaning during the four months after their pilgrimage. The majority of the congregation (about two thirds) were motivated by the "need for clarification." In seeking clarification (the quest), they drew motivation from vertical transcendence (religiosity or spirituality) or from reasons that appeared to be purely secular, such as athletic challenges. Religious and spiritual motives were mostly reported by highly religious individuals. The need for clarification was primarily expressed by individuals suffering from a crisis of meaning. The crisis of meaning was significantly more common among the pilgrims prior the trip than in the general population. Immediately after the trip, as well as

four months afterward, the pilgrims experienced a significantly more meaningful life, and the crisis of meaning is overcome. Pilgrims also reported a strengthened commitment to vertical self-transcendence, horizontal self-transcendence and self-actualization. These changes occurred from the motivation of performing the pilgrimage (Schnell and Pali, 2013).

In Indonesia, people who have performed Hajj or Umrah often change their daily religious behaviour. One of the most significant signs is the additional title of the word "Hajji (for men) or Hajjah (for women)" prior to their names. This additional title serves as an identity for those who have performed hajj. Many people also change the way they dress, such as wearing white caps or veils, displaying the picture of Mecca or Medina mosques, and/or calligraphy in their homes. Some people show more significant sign such the increase of their presence at the mosque to perform the five daily prayers in congregation.

Result and Discussions

Changes in Religious Behaviour After Hajj and Umrah

An online survey (using google form) conducted to 115 respondents, who have performed Hajj and Umrah, shows that there has been an increase of their intensity in performing religious behaviour. The survey, which was conducted from May 28 to June 15, 2020 via Google Forms, is intended to see the religious behaviour of the participants before and after Hajj and/or Umrah. The intensity of religious behaviour measured is the ritual aspects namely: five daily prayers, sunnah prayers, congregational prayers in mosques or prayer rooms, obligatory and sunnah fasting, paying zakat, slaughtering sacrificial animals, habits of praying and *dzikr* (uttering and remembering Allah), and al-Qur'an reading habit.

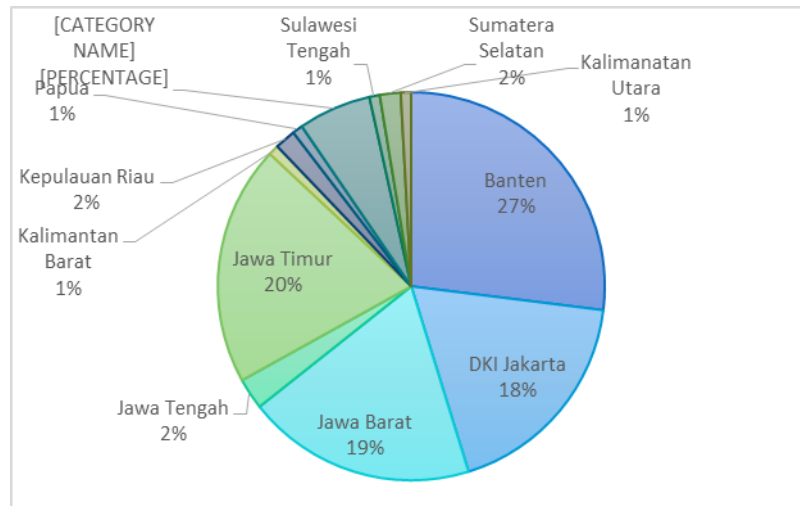
The survey used purposive sampling and snowballing techniques. Samples were taken from people who have performed hajj and/or umrah that are collected through various channels such as family, friends, or acquaintances who had performed hajj and/or umrah. The responses appeared to be originating from 12 provinces out of 34 provinces throughout Indonesia. Most of the respondents came from Banten, East Java, DKI Jakarta, and West Java. Other provinces were below 10 percent (see diagram 1). Judging from the area where the respondents live, it appears that 27.27 percent of the respondents live in villages and 72.73 percent of them live in cities. In terms of gender, 65.29 percent of the respondents are male and 34.71 percent of them are female. Most of the respondents are in their productive age group (see table 1).

Tabel 1. Respondents based on age and gender

Age	Males		Females		Total	Percentage
<less than 19	1	1,32%	1	2,56%	2	1,74%
20-29	10	13,16%	0	0,00%	10	8,70%
30-39	18	23,68%	9	23,08%	27	23,48%
40-49	29	38,16%	17	43,59%	46	40,00%
50-59	13	17,11%	8	20,51%	21	18,26%
60> Up	5	6,58%	4	10,26%	9	7,83%
Total	76	66,09%	39	33,91%	115	100,00%

Source: respondents' data prepared by Sahlul Fuad on Juni 2020

Diagram 1. Respondents by origins (province)



Source: respondents' data prepared by Sahlul Fuad on Juni 2020

Based on the monthly income and expenses, respondents who earn less than Rp. 1 to 5 million is about 44.61 percent of the samples. People who earn around Rp. 6 to 10 million is about 32.23 percent, while those with income of Rp. 11-15 million and Rp. 15 million and above are about 12 percent respectively. Based on the expenditure, the data shows that 50.42 percent of respondents spent less than Rp. 1 to 5 million monthly, about 33.88 percent of the respondents spent around Rp. 6-10 million, while respondents who spent more than Rp. 15 million per month are about 10 percent of the samples. The remaining monthly expenditure are between 11-15 million. This data shows that the average respondents came from lower to middle class society.

In general, the respondents who participated in this survey were devout Muslims. This can be seen from their intensity in carrying out the main religious obligations, such as five daily prayer and obligatory fasting of Ramadan. In the aspect of respondents' religious educational background, the data shows that most of them have studied Islam. About 40.9 percent are alumni of Islamic boarding schools, 27 percent are alumni of formal religious education. In addition, 33.9 percent of the respondents have performed Hajj and Umrah at the same time on Hajj season as well as outside the Hajj season. About 24.3 percent of the respondents have performed Umrah more than once. Although most of the respondents can be categorized as pious Muslims who obediently carrying out religious rituals, the intensity of performing recommended rituals (*sunnah*) is still far from the mandatory ones.

Table 2. Changes in the Intensity of performing Religious Rituals Before and After Hajj/Umrah (Before Hajj/Umrah)

Types of Religious Behaviours	Before Haji/Umrah							
	always	(+/-)	often	(+/-)	seldom	(+/-)	never	(+/-)
Obligatory daily Prayers (5 times a day)	91%	-5%	6%	2%	3%	3%	0%	0%
Recommended (Sunnah) prayers	24%	-13%	49%	-4%	27%	17%	2%	2%
Performing congregational prayers at mosque	15%	-13%	50%	1%	31%	9%	4%	2%
Obligatory fasting (Ramadan)	96%	-3%	3%	2%	1%	1%	0%	0%
Recommended (Sunnah)	5%	-10%	43%	-8%	49%	16%	3%	2%

fasting									
Participating in Islamic teaching forums	13%	-9%	43%	-8%	42%	16%	2%	1%	
Obligatory Charity (Zakat)	85%	-3%	10%	-1%	4%	3%	0%	0%	
slaughtering sacrificial animals (Qurban)	22%	-12%	32%	-7%	34%	11%	12%	8%	
Reciting Al-Quran	31%	-18%	50%	3%	18%	14%	0%	0%	
Reciting Prayer to Allah	61%	-6%	33%	1%	6%	5%	0%	0%	
Zikir (Uttering and Remembering Allah)	35%	-22%	50%	9%	16%	13%	0%	0%	
Average	43%	-10%	34%	-1%	21%	10%	2%	1%	

Table 3. Changes in the Intensity of performing Religious Rituals Before and After Hajj/Umrah (After Hajj/Umrah)

Types of Religious Behaviours	After Hajj/Umrah							
	always	(+/-)	often	(+/-)	seldom	(+/-)	never	(+/-)
Obligatory daily Prayers (5 times a day)	96%	5%	4%	-2%	0%	-3%	0%	0%
Recommended (Sunnah) prayers	37%	13%	53%	4%	10%	-17%	0%	-2%
Performing congregational prayers at mosque	28%	13%	49%	-1%	22%	-9%	2%	-2%
Obligatory fasting (Ramadan)	99%	3%	1%	-2%	0%	-1%	0%	0%
Recommended (Sunnah) fasting	15%	10%	51%	8%	33%	-16%	1%	-2%
Participating in Islamic teaching forums	22%	9%	51%	8%	26%	-16%	1%	-1%
Obligatory Charity (Zakat)	88%	3%	11%	1%	1%	-3%	0%	0%
slaughtering sacrificial animals (Qurban)	34%	12%	39%	7%	23%	-11%	4%	-8%
Reciting Al-Quran	49%	18%	47%	-3%	4%	-14%	0%	0%
Reciting Prayer to Allah	67%	6%	32%	-1%	1%	-5%	0%	0%
Dhikr (Uttering and Remembering Allah)	57%	22%	41%	-9%	3%	-13%	0%	0%
Average	54%	10%	35%	1%	11%	-10%	1%	-1%

Source: respondents' data prepared by Sahlul Fuad on Juni 2020

Some of the indicators above show a significant positive shift in the intensity of respondents towards recommended religious behaviour (sunnah). As shown in the table above, the habit of *dhikr* shows the biggest shift compared to other religious rituals. About 16 percent of respondents who initially rarely recite *dhikr* and 50 percent of those who frequently recite *dhikr* decrease to 3 percent and 41 percent respectively. The decreased figures shift to always performing *dhikr* from 35 percent to 57 percent or an increase of 22 percent. The habit of reading the holy Qur'an also increase significantly from 31 percent of respondents who always read the Qur'an before performing Hajj or Umrah to 49 percent (an increase of 18 percent).

The increase in the habit of praying the sunnah and congregational prayers in the mosque or prayer room shows a shift that is almost the same as those who never and always did the prayer. 2

percent of respondents admitted that those who previously had never prayed sunnah and congregational prayer at the mosque or prayer room shifted into a better figure. Even respondents who claimed to always carry out both types of worships increased by 13 percent. Another significant shift is the custom of qurban. 22 percent of respondents who always perform qurban increase into 37 percent who claimed to always make qurban after performing Hajj or Umrah.

The above data show that the intensity of the respondents' religious worship/ritual tends to increase after performing Hajj and Umrah. However, the positive trend does not show an extreme increase. If we see the average line, it shows that the increase is only about 10 percent. It is also understandable that Hajj and Umrah can influence other religious rituals.

The influence of Hajj and Umrah on other religious rituals, as depicted through the above data, confirms previous studies which stated that Hajj and Umrah have deep meanings for Muslims. However, this data refutes an over generalization of other studies which stated that after performing Hajj people are more active in performing congregational prayer at mosques. This data shows that the number of people who are actively performing congregational prayers in mosques or *mushalla* after Hajj or Umrah is not significant, around 28 percent. Whereas the number of female respondents is only 33.9 percent, where the presence of women in the mosque or *mushalla* is not recommended. This means that many men after Hajj or Umrah are not praying intensively in congregation, even though 50 percent of them are attributed as frequent performer of congregational prayers at mosques.

In a simple term, it can be understood that Hajj and Umrah are not just religious, but they can make an important contribution in increasing individual piety or obedience toward God. It is unavoidable that the facts depicted by this data cannot be attributed to social piety. Therefore, further investigation is needed on the aspect of social piety of people who have performed Hajj or Umrah.

Industrialization of Hajj and Umrah

Organized Pilgrimages and religious trips, including Hajj and Umrah, have developed and grown from time to time globally. The surge in the number of people doing pilgrimages or holy trips is not only experienced by Muslims, but also other religions. In this sense, halal tourism has become a phenomenon in various parts of the world.

Frances Brown in his book "Tourism Reassessed: Blight or Blessing?", Hajj and Umrah can be seen as a tourism industry phenomenon because it includes several activities such as the transportation, accommodation, catering, and various management issues (Brown, 1998, pp. 4). As a tourism industry that involves cooperation between countries, he places this phenomenon in the context of globalization and its impact on the global economy. Further, it has moved into a commodification of culture (Brown, 1998, pp. 16). Onur Akbulut and Yakin Ekin see the occurrence of religious commodification symptoms by looking at the goods sold by some public figures, including clothing and souvenirs (Akbulut and Ekin, 2018).

Similarly, Davydd J. Greenwood also considers this phenomenon as commodification of culture in the tourism industry in the context of public rituals in Fuenterrabia (Greenwood, 2004, pp. 157-169). Furthermore, Pattana Kitiarsa argues that the commodification of religion could be seen as the meeting of religious institutions, market forces, and the demand for pleasuring consumer through

religion and the search for identity. In other words, the commodification of religion grew from the relationship between market and religion (Kitiarsa, 2013, pp. 983-1018).

The industrialization of hajj and umrah in Indonesia has basically been going on since the Dutch colonial era. 1825 was the beginning of hajj became the economic interests of the Dutch. The Dutch and Arabs provided steamboats as a business for hajj transportation. After Indonesia's independence, several private companies entered the transportation service. However, in 1947, the Indonesian government took over the organization of the hajj because many private parties failed to accomplish their duties. In 1952, the government formed a Muslim shipping company to serve Indonesian pilgrims. In 1975, Indonesia had used aeroplane as the main means of transportation for the pilgrims. In 1979, the government abolished hajj trips using ships, and made planes the only mode of hajj transportation. In 1982, the government reopened the involvement of the private companies to take care of the pilgrimage related matters. In 1999, the hajj's quota was divided into two, namely regular and special Hajj (Mahardika, 2017).

In 1995, the governance of hajj in Indonesia experienced a chaos. Hundreds of thousands of prospective pilgrims were unable to attend the hajj because quota issues; the pilgrims exceeded the allotted quota. The number of prospective pilgrims reached almost 240,000 people, while the allotted quota was only 192,000 people (Yusuf, 2008). The term "waiting list" echoes everywhere. At that time, many private parties who did the hajj travel business collapsed. In Jakarta, many congregants were deceived by fraud quota sellers. They lost their deposit money because of the fraud. Since then, quota politics has become a game for groups of hajj travel entrepreneurs.

After years of organizing hajj without serious problems, in 2005 the long queue of prospective pilgrim issue started to rise again. As an illustration, in 2004, Indonesia received a hajj quota of 235,000 congregations. As the chaos occurred, the registered pilgrims were only 179,314 people. As a result, the 2005 quota was reduced by 30,000.

When the quota was reduced, the number of congregants who registered in 2005 increased to 253,000 people. The surge of registrants for prospective Indonesian pilgrims was not only due to the increase of people's abilities, but also due to the existence of bailout funds from banks for initial deposits. Public interest in depositing money in the bank as an initial deposit continues to increase. Meanwhile, the quota does not increase. As the result, the number of people registered for Hajj continued to build up and cannot be controlled. Moreover, the Saudi government reduced the quota of pilgrims by 20 percent from 2013 to 2016 due to the construction of expanding the pilgrimage area (Zawawi, Hasan and Fuad, 2014). Nowadays, the long queue of pilgrims in various regions can reach to 20 - 40 years if calculated based on the number of waiting lists and the currently available quota. The pilgrims' funds that have been deposited are piling up until 2019, which is estimated to reach Rp. 122 trillion (Inilah.com, 2019).

The congestion of pilgrimage queue, on one hand, makes people patiently waiting and frustrated. On the other hand, it creates alternative routes. For people who continue to register, they usually have to wait for the government call, especially those in their 70s and above. For those who have more funds, they switch to a congregation with ONH plus.

Along with this condition, the marketing of Hajj and Umrah continues to grow rapidly. Various strategies were developed to attract a broad market, either in the form of multilevel marketing, social gathering, saving gold, conventional ways, or other means. Many travel agencies formed branches and

new agents scattered in various areas of the country. They also organize seminars and business training for hajj and umrah travel in various cities and sub-districts. Various types of travel packages were offered, ranging from the type of price, length of trips, and destinations. These packages are promoted in various ways and media.

The involvement of religious leaders, artists, public figures, and others is a part of the promotion and marketing of Hajj and Umrah travel agencies. Apart from being used as brand ambassadors, several religious figures, artists, and public figures are served and facilitated by travel agents to attract a wider range of customers with various activities. They are even involved in political financing to get customers from the political networks of the candidates they support.

The broad public participation in Hajj and Umrah services provided by the tourism industry appears to be very high from time to time. A set of data show that in 2014-2015 the number of Indonesian Umrah pilgrims reached 649,000 people. In 2018-2019 the number reached to 974,650 pilgrims. In 2017-2018 the number of Umrah pilgrims continued to reach over 1.5 million people (Miranti and Sukmana, 2020).

Meanwhile, the economic potential that have been achieved by those travel agents so far is estimated at IDR 3-5 trillion per year, assuming a congregation of 1 million people. This is calculated from the costs incurred by the congregation which paid an average of IDR 20-30 million. An agent can take a profit margin of around 3 million to 5 million per person. An umrah agency, with good market recruiting skills, can dispatch about 3 times a year. If every departure is attended by 10 pilgrims, the profit reaches Rp. 90-150 million per year. The aforementioned estimation is a yearly income that can be obtained by the travel agencies if the Indonesian Umrah congregation reaches 1 million people.

Several cases of fraud based on hajj and umrah travel in recent years seem to be happening everywhere. There are at least three major cases that have received national public attention: *first*, “first travel” that did not embark 63,310 people. The fraud causes around Rp 905.3 billion losses. *Second*, “Abu Tours” that did not dispatch 86,720 people with a loss of Rp 1.8 trillion. Third, “Solusi Balad Lumampah” managed to deceive 12,845 people with a loss of Rp. 300 billion, and many more.

Due to many cases of fraud, the Indonesian government issued a more rigid regulation of the establishment and certification of travel companies in Indonesia. The new regulation, at least, reduced the reports of problematic travel agents. The data published by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, showed that almost 1,000 hajj and umrah travel agencies were officially operational and 10 were blacklisted.

The police investigation uncovered the facts that the perpetrators of hajj and umrah travel scams have been living in luxury using the fraudulent fund. In addition to residence and luxury cars, they also had luxurious vacation trips and abundant possessions.

The above description shows that the phenomenon of Hajj and Umrah is not just a religious behaviour, but also a phenomenon of tourism industry. Hajj and Umrah are no longer just a matter of ritual or religious behaviour, but also have become a phenomenon of religious commodification; like goods that can be traded. It is not just to find a market, but to build the market and exploit it to fulfill worldly desires in the name of religion.

Interestingly, the perpetrators who exploit the sacredness of religion through Hajj and Umrah in Indonesia, in some cases, undertake a criminal behaviour which is prohibited by religion. This illustrates

that the perpetrators of religious commodification, on one hand, carry out desacralization of religion. On the other hand, they produce a society that has a high sense of sacredness toward religion through Hajj and Umrah.

Conclusion

Hajj and Umrah are types of religious behaviours that involve many social institutions. It has more complex relationships than other religious rituals or behaviours. The socio-cultural practice of Hajj and Umrah has given birth to various meanings for those who perform it. Apart from cultivating the feelings of piety, it also creates an important meaning for social identity for those who accomplish it.

Hajj and Umrah are not just ordinary religious rituals, but also types of rituals that can change other religious behaviours, especially the way how the other religious rituals are undertaken. The facts show that people who have accomplished Hajj and Umrah depicting a significant increase of their intensity in performing other religious rituals. In this instance, as this research is limited to ritual aspects, further research is needed on other aspects such as religious qualities, the use of religious symbols, social piety, and other related topics.

On the other hand, Hajj and Umrah have become a tourism industry that has a wide and promising market. At the time when the government limited Hajj with a certain quota, Umrah became an alternative route to meet the spiritual demands of the community. Umrah has become a business field for the tourism industry. It is packaged, offered, and sold like any other good. Various marketing strategies have made Hajj and Umrah as religious commodities that are traded. When hajj and umrah are used as merchandise, they become profane objects for many religious travel businesses. This phenomenon has made them trapped in criminal acts.

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