

Upper Middle-Class Muslims and Market-Oriented Umroh Program Dissemination on Social Media

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Abstract: The emergence of upper middle-class Muslims in Indonesia does display not only religious piety on the one hand but also new consumption patterns on the other. This change in new consumption patterns simultaneously influences Islamic business people to manage their business activities in new ways oriented to market logic. This article discusses the market-based Umroh program in contemporary Indonesia. Based on nethnographic work on social media, this study found that the Umroh business captures economic opportunities from the identity and lifestyle of upper-middle-class Muslims. For middle and upper-class Muslims in Indonesia, pilgrimage to the holy land is a matter of worship and an experience to enjoy other countries, which are their modern identities. Umroh businesses capture this Islamic expression to provide umroh services and tours to visit countries in Asia, Europe, and the Middle East. In addition, this Umroh program is massively distributed through their social media channels.

Keywords : Upper Middle-Class Muslims; pilgrimage; Social media

Abstract: Munculnya Muslim kelas menengah ke atas di Indonesia tidak hanya menampilkan kesalehan agama di satu sisi, tetapi juga pola konsumsi baru di sisi lain. Perubahan pola konsumsi baru ini pada saat yang sama mempengaruhi pebisnis Islam untuk mengelola aktivitas bisnis mereka melalui cara-cara baru yang berorientasi dengan logika pasar. Artikel ini mendiskusikan tentang program umroh berbasis pasar di Indonesia kontemporer. Berdasarkan kerja netnografi online di media sosial, penelitian ini menemukan bahwa para pebisnis travel umroh menangkap peluang ekonomi dari identitas dan gaya hidup Muslim kelas menengah ke atas. Bagi Muslim kelas menengah ke atas di Indonesia, melaksanakan umroh ke tanah suci tidak hanya persoalan ibadah, tetapi juga pengalaman untuk menikmati negara-negara lain yang menjadi identitas modern mereka. Ekspresi keislaman ini yang ditangkap oleh pebisnis travel umroh untuk memberikan layanan umroh sekaligus berwisata mengunjungi negara-negara di Asia, Eropa dan Timur Tengah. Di samping itu, program umroh ini secara masif disebarakan melalui kanal media sosial mereka.

Keywords: Muslim Kelas Menengah ke Atas; Umroh; Media Sosial

Introduction

In recent years, expressions of Islam in the Muslim community have become increasingly prominent in Indonesian public space. This phenomenon indicates an increase in their piety on the one hand but also shows a new consumption pattern of Islamic products on the other hand (Alam, 2018). This expression of Islam in the Muslim community is in line with the emergence of Islamic symbols in Indonesian public spaces, such as the proliferation of magnificent mosques built with modern architecture, the increasingly active Islamic activities such as religious studies, Islamic seminars, *tabligh akbar* (Islamic mass preaching), *zikr* festival, Islamic fashion, and the increasing number of people who perform the Umroh pilgrimage with five-star service packages while providing new experiences to travel around various countries in the world, offered by private Islamic travel agents (Aeni & Nuriyanto, 2020; Hasan, 2009; Triantoro, 2020).

This article examines new discourses in Islamic travel programs such as market-oriented Umroh. This program is a new Umroh management variant that has been popular recently. The author calls it market-oriented Umroh because this event represents a form of religion commodification. The religion commodification concept was born because religion came into contact with the market aspects so that religious symbols were made into goods that were traded following market aspirations. The market referred to here is not a place for buying and selling goods such as vegetables or household goods, but a place for religious discourse to be rolled out, namely towards upper-middle-class Muslims. The Umrah program which is packed with holiday activities to various countries in the world shows that the religious symbol accommodates the aspirations and social identity of the upper middle class. This article argues that the growth and development of the Umroh program, which simultaneously facilitates Muslims to enjoy countries in the Middle East, Asia, and other countries, is in line with the increase in the upper middle class of Muslims in Indonesia. Middle and upper-class Muslims in Indonesia express their piety on the one hand and their identity as upper-middle-class Muslims on the other hand (Qodir & Nashir, 2019).

This phenomenon is interesting to discuss because it is following the upper-middle-class Muslims development in Indonesia which continues to increase on the one hand and the increase in Umrah travel agent on the other hand. Therefore, this study seeks to present a discussion about Umrah with an interdisciplinary approach. Umrah is not only seen through the normative side as worship but also through other discourses that surround it, including the sociological development of middle and upper-class Muslims in Indonesia. This theoretical problem is the focus of attention in this article. In addition, the social media development which has increased significantly has also encouraged research on Umrah to be relevant to conduct, especially related to the Umrah program dissemination on social media. Social media is a new tool for umroh travel agent businesses to promote this Umroh program. Up to this point, globalization has played an essential role in increasing Islamic symbols in the public sphere. Several studies have explained this. For example, a study by Husein & Slama (2018) discusses using digital technology to practice Islam for young Muslims through online Koran reading and charity activities. Then Weng (2018) examines the use of social media by popular preachers in Indonesia to spread Islamic ideology. Eva F. Nisa (2018),

in another study, explained that social media had become an integral part of religious practices among young people. According to him, social media such as Instagram is a way for young Muslims to understand religious values and seek economic benefits. Through this study, Nisa initiated the concept of ‘lucrative da’wah,’ namely proselytizing that is profitable. The engagement between Islam and social media does not need to be seen as opposites. Both support and complement each other in religious practices in the contemporary era, as shown by the studies above.

The use of social media as a way to promote the Umroh program indirectly represents market-based Umroh management. So far, only a few studies on umroh travel have discussed market-based umroh management and middle and upper-class Muslims in Indonesia. Existing studies focus on discussing the management of Umroh on the management aspect only. To name a few examples, for example, Basahel et al. (2021); Ilias et al. (2022); Lesmana et al. (2022); Rofie et al. (2021). Meanwhile, studies that discuss the management of Umroh according to the preferences of middle and upper-class Muslims can be seen in the writings of Thimm (2017); (2018). Nonetheless, these studies pay little attention to the intersection between Indonesia's umroh program model and upper-middle-class Muslims. To enrich previous studies, this article discusses the Umroh program while increasing the number of upper-middle-class Muslims in Indonesia. In addition, this article also discusses the spread of market-oriented Umroh programs through social media.

Method

This study uses a qualitative approach that aims to explore phenomena that have not been interpreted by previous studies (Marshall & Rossman, 2016). The phenomenon that the author observes is related to the Umroh program and the upper middle-class Muslims in Indonesia and its dissemination through social media. The data for this research were obtained through netnography (Kozinets, 2010). In recent years, the author has been massively observing the social media of several Umroh travel services in Indonesia, both in the form of posts, comments, and others. The stages of data collection that the author does are as follows:

Table 1. Data Collection Stages

No.	Data Tracing (Online Data Searching)	Data Capture (Online Data Capture)	Data Selection (Data Selection)
1	Instagram account: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • @rwhtravel • @arminarekaind • @khasanahtravel • @tdtravelindo_group • @pt.alhijazindowisataofficial • @villatourstravel • @saba_travel • @hmtourtravel.id • @umroh_sunnah_amanah 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Screenshots (screen capture) • Save in the mobile gallery 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Selecting data according to the research topic • Arrange in the form of folders according to the research sub-chapter

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- @alkahfi_umroh
 - @cairotravel
 - @pdatravel_
 - @asafitour_official
 - @antaumroh_id

Facebook account:
PT. Riau Wisata Hati

Source: Author Documentation

The selection and social media tracking of several Umrah travel agent above is based on several methods: First, the author obtained information from several friends who knew that Umrah Travel provided holiday travel services to several countries. Second, the author does random tracking on Instagram using the keywords “*travel*”, “*umroh*”, and “*travel umroh*”. Third, the authors tracked it first through the Google page by entering the keywords “*umroh sekaligus traveling*”, “*umroh bersama ustadz*”, and “*umroh dan traveling*”. Then after the writer found the Umrah travel flyer on Google, the next step for the author writer was to track their social media. The data used in this study has no time limit based on the range of years, the number of followers, likes, and viewers, because the focus of this research is to identify Umrah travel that provides Umrah programs while visiting several countries. In addition, Umrah programs like this are not always carried out every year, so it is not possible to apply year-range limitations to research data. That is the author's reason for using data by random sampling.

After the data related to this research has been collected, the author narrates it into several sub-chapters. Then the authors analyze the research data using relevant theoretical concepts. In analyzing the research data, the authors use an interpretive paradigm or what is often called social constructivism (Cresswell, 2013). The author seeks to build a subjective meaning of the umroh program that is developing in Indonesia. Then finally the writer concludes the results of research that are reflective.

Results and Discussion

Market Oriented Umroh in Public Islamic Discourse

Proponents of the secularization theory argue that modernization has pushed religion to experience privatization or even not to have a significant influence on the life of modern society (Wilson, 2016). Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart relate this secularization phenomenon to the existential security theory. According to him, the more people have strong security guarantees, economic stability, access to health and easy sources of information, then they will leave religion. On the other hand, when people do not have strong security guarantees, do not have adequate income, and do not have access to health services and sources of information, then religion becomes relevant in their lives (Norris et al., 2011). This is because religion is the only hope for those who can solve their life's difficulties. Related to this, Bronislaw Malinowski in Heidi

Campbell explains that religion is present in the midst of anxiety and uncertainty in life experienced by society (Campbell, 2013).

The notion that religion has completely disappeared from public discourse or has been privatized has recently been criticized by Jose Casanova in his study. Casanova shows that in the modern era religion remains relevant and appears in the public sphere or what is known as public religion. The rise of televangelism in the United States, namely Jerry Falwell and later Joel Osteen, proves that the secularization thesis is not fully justified. Religion still appears in the public space with a new packaging (Casanova, 1994). Nonetheless, sociologists such as Bryan S. Turner continue to refer to the emergence of televangelism such as Joel Osteen as a secularizing phenomenon. According to him, the secularization that was debated by early sociologists was secularization in the political aspect (political secularization). In fact, according to him, there is also what is called social secularization. Social secularization is secularization that manifests itself in modern religious practices that are often carried out by the upper middle class. Turner calls it pietization (Turner, 2010). Pietization is religious piety presented in a hybrid form. Showing piety on the one hand, but also modern identity on the other.

This modern religious packaging is deliberately offered (supply-side religion) by religious actors to facilitate the religious aspirations of the upper middle class. In the Indonesian context, the growth of the upper middle class Muslims seems to be welcomed by religious actors, for disseminating religious messages in a fresh and unprecedented way. For example, the emergence of new religious teachers who carry modern identities. In contrast to religious actors in general who wear Islamic attire such as caps, *koko* shirts, and sarongs, the new ustaz appeared wearing a flannel shirt, wearing a skullcap or hat, and packaged his message of da'wah in the form of motivation. Not only that, these new ustaz often hold expensive paid sermons held in five-star hotels.

The phenomenon of the Umroh program which simultaneously provides services for tourists to several countries which is the topic of this research is also in the context of the above discourse. Muslim businessmen engaged in umroh services supply new forms of religious practice packed with modern cultures that are close to the identity of the upper middle class in Indonesia. They target the aspirations of middle and upper class Muslims in Indonesia who want to appear pious and modern at the same time. Their ability to accommodate the aspirations of middle and upper class Muslims in Indonesia is what the author calls a market-oriented Umroh.

Umroh as well as traveling to various countries is an umroh program that has emerged in recent years. This is different from Umroh in general which focuses on worship in the cities of Mecca and Medina only. This Umroh program provides a new experience, apart from worshipping in the cities of Mecca and Medina, pilgrims are also given experience to enjoy countries in the Middle East, Asia and others. In addition, the Umroh program also offers other facilities such as hotels, transportation, and discounts (discounts and promos) that attract middle and upper class Muslims in Indonesia. This phenomenon also confirms that after the discourse of secularization, especially in the West and of course it does not rule out the possibility in all countries in the world,

due to massive industrialization, religion must be supplied in a more contextual form. The aim is to accommodate religious fervor among modern society.

The author is of the opinion that this market-oriented umroh program is in accordance with the aspirations of middle and upper class Muslims in Indonesia who not only display their piety on the one hand, but also want to display their identity as a modern society on the other. Then this incident at the same time shows public Islamic discourse in Indonesia as the antithesis of the initial theory of secularization on the one hand, but also strengthens Turner's opinion about social secularization on the other hand.

Upper Middle-Class Muslims and Market Oriented Umroh

After the collapse of the New Order (*Orde Baru*) era, the expression of middle and upper-class Muslims in Indonesia has increased significantly (Hasan, 2009). As Inayah Rakhmani noted, many middle and upper-class Muslims in Indonesia consume Islamic broadcasts and set up commercial television (Rakhmani, 2016). They enjoy a well-established economic infrastructure, and the upper-middle-class Muslims in Indonesia are also actively involved in forming a new identity as modern Muslims. Ariel Heryanto explains that the lifestyle of upper-middle-class Muslims is related to identity politics. For middle-class Muslims, their lifestyle is a political tool to engage in public discourse, identity competition, and even discourse on social development in Indonesia (Heryanto, 1999). Muslim business people, in turn, capture this upper-middle-class Muslim lifestyle to facilitate the needs and desires of upper-middle-class Muslims in Indonesia (Triantoro, 2020). Pribadi and Gufron explained that the emergence of the phenomenon of the commodification of religion was due to the social, cultural, economic, and religious expressions of upper-middle-class Muslims (Pribadi & Ghufron, 2019).

Study Triantoro (2020) has shown how Islamic symbols are used for packaging and marketing products identified as non-Islamic (secular). For example, recently, household furniture products claiming to be halal products have emerged, such as halal refrigerators, hijab washing machines, sharia housing, and others (Darojatun, 2018). Several food businesses also market their products with Islamic symbols, for example, *Warung Geprek Susu (Preksu)* in Yogyakarta which offers free food to people who fast sunnah Monday-Thursday and memorize certain surahs in the Koran, stop all activities during prayer time, and Most of the employees wear caps or headscarves.

Regarding the above consumption activities, Fealy & White (2008) provides two important questions discussed in his research, namely whether the consumption pattern leads to an exclusive religious ideology or a consumption pattern that is rational and pluralistic. According to him, the nature of Islamic consumption is more rational and pluralistic than emotional and exclusive. Several other studies show that consumption practices as described above lead to religious exclusivity. For example, a study conducted Akmal et al. (2022); Saputra (2019); Triantoro et al. (2018) explains how Islamist groups such as Salafi are involved in campaigning for Islamic medicinal practices, Islamic dress, Halal food, and the importance (efficacy) of Islamic medicines. However, this is only part of the case. Study carried out by Aisyah and Romario show different things. He explained about the *Niqab* which is usually worn by Salafi groups and is considered as

an exclusive consumption practice, but nowadays it has turned into a trendy garment that is consumed by middle and upper class Muslims. He proved it through the case of Wardah Maulina, the wife of a popular artist, Natta Reza (Aisyah & Romario, 2020).

The recently emerging Umroh program seems challenging to identify as an exclusive consumption pattern. We see it more as a rational consumption pattern. As explained earlier, the recently emerging Umroh program aims to facilitate the identification of upper-middle-class Muslims as pious and modern Muslims. Our netnographic work on social media shows that many Umroh travel services offer Umroh programs while visiting various countries in the Middle East and others. To name a few examples, for example, Travel Riau Wisata Hati (RWH). Through his Instagram account @rwhtravel, this popular Umroh travel service in Riau offers an Umroh program while traveling to Turkey, Egypt, and Malaysia. Not only packaging the Umroh program by visiting several countries, but RWH also offers the Umroh program through the flight facilities owned by them. RWH promotes aircraft facilities used on trips to Mecca or Medina, such as the “17 Days Great Umroh Package” which uses Saudi Arabian Airlines aircraft. Then another Umroh program using the Malaysia Airlines MHA 380 aircraft.

Khasanah Travel, HM Tour and Travel, Mutiara Sunnah, Alkahfi, Alhijaz Indowisata, and SABA Tour and Travel are examples of other Umroh services that provide Umroh programs as well as tours visiting countries in the Middle East. In posting their Instagram account @khasanahtravel, they promote the 10-day plus Dubai Umroh program. Apart from that, Khasanah Travel also promotes the 9-day Umroh program with special hotel facilities and the Umroh flash sale program. Another Umroh travel service, namely TD Travelindo Group, which offers Umroh plus Turkey packages using Turkish Airlines. Apart from that, TD Travelindo also packages its Umroh program with the identity of young people, namely the Millennial Premium Umroh Package. In contrast to some of the previous travel services, the Umroh travel service in Medan, Amanah Umroh, promotes the Umroh program based on packages, namely the economy package and the medium package. They distinguish these two packages through the price and facilities received by their customers. In fact, Amanah Umroh provides a price classification for each of these packages. This shows that for Umroh service businesses, Umroh is not only related to worship, but also market issues.

Apart from promoting the umroh program through traveling to countries in the Middle East, Asia and Europe, several umroh travel services also initiated the umroh program with a number of popular ustazs in Indonesia. For example, for example Terang Trip, this umroh travel service created an umroh plus Turkey program with Ustaz Felix Siauw. This program is in great demand by middle and upper class Muslims in Indonesia. Umroh, which is planned to be carried out from 3 to 14 May 2023, has fulfilled the quota. In his Instagram post, @terangtrip explained that the Umroh program was closed because it had filled its quota and it would reopen in the next issue.

Apart from Terang Trip, other umroh travel services have also made umroh programs with a number of popular ustaz. For example, Riau Wisata Hati and PDA Travel once initiated the Umroh program with Ustaz Abdul Somad. Then Arminareka once made an umroh program with Babe Haikal. Asafi Tour, an Umroh travel service in Lampung, also initiated the Umroh program

with Ustaz Wijayanto. Anta Umroh initiated the Umroh program plus Türkiye tours with Ustaz Maulana. And there are many other Umroh travel services that have initiated the Umroh program with popular ustaz in Indonesia

Figure 1 . Umroh Program with a Number of Ustaz



Source: Umroh Travel Services Instagram account

The Umroh programs above show a market-oriented Umroh program, especially for upper-middle-class Muslims in Indonesia. Jati (2015) noted that middle and upper-class Muslims display piety on the one hand and modernity on the other. Middle and upper-class Muslims use these modern symbols to position themselves as modern people and differentiate themselves from other social classes. Therefore, the umroh programs above become a ‘habitus’ for upper-middle-class Muslims who differentiate themselves from other Muslims. Then the upper middle class tends to like aspects of pleasure (*leisure*) as a form of their identity, so the emergence of market-oriented Umroh programs follows the aspirations of upper-middle-class Muslims. This condition then follows Kitiarsa (2008); it becomes rational for religions in Asia to form a relationship of mutualism with the market economy through modernization.

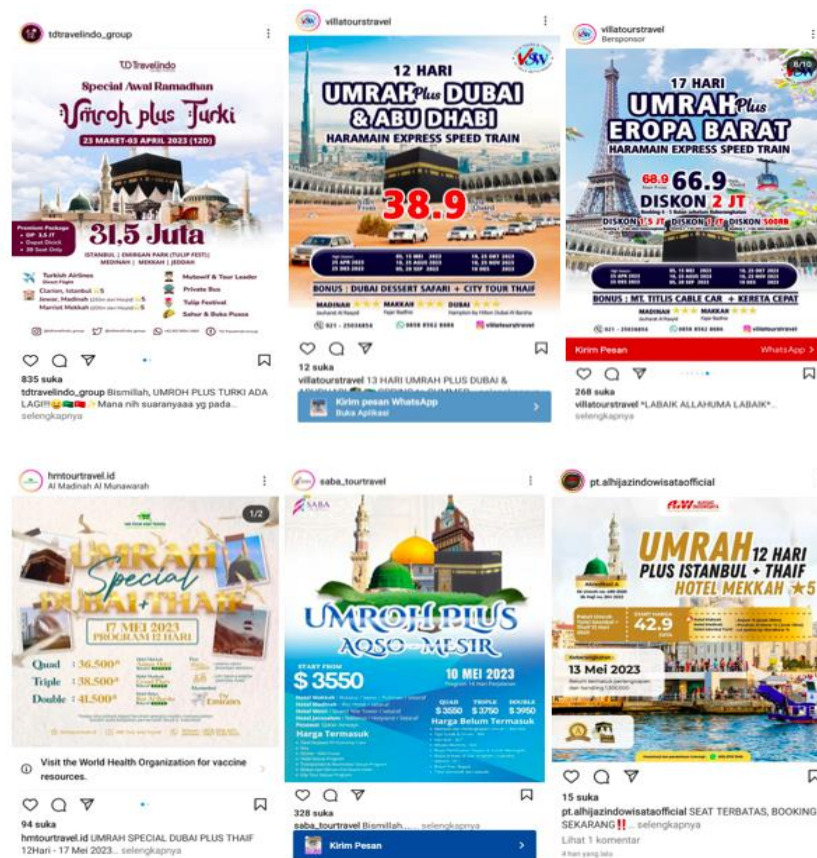
Distribution of the Umroh Program on Social Media

As explained by Luik (2020) that one of the characteristics of new media is interactive, meaning that new media provides a wider space for communication and information, so it is not surprising that the use of new media is not only related to personal matters but also to business. In addition, the use of new media has increased significantly in recent years. The survey by the Association of Indonesian Internet Service Providers (APJII) in 2022 explains that internet users in Indonesia reach 77.02% of Indonesia's total population. Then the survey also shows that social

media is the most frequently accessed content, reaching 89.15%, followed by online chatting (73.86%), online shopping (21.26%), online games (14.23%), news/infotainment portals (11.98%), online transportation (9.27%), online music (8.94%), email (7.23%), video applications (4.79%), online meetings (4 .05%), online learning (2.81%), and e-wallet applications (1.37%) (APJII, 2022).

The survey above shows that social media is a relevant tool for spreading the Umroh program. In Indonesia, almost every institution, government agency, educational institution, social organization, business institution and others have a social media account. Apart from following information and communication technology trends, the use of social media is an appropriate means for disseminating their programs (Rasyid & Adwik, 2019). Some Umroh travel services also use social media to disseminate market-oriented Umroh programs.

Figure 2 . Market Oriented Umroh Program Poster on Social Media



Source: Instagram accounts of each Umroh travel service

TD Travelindo, for example, on their Instagram account uploaded a poster for the Umroh plus Turkey program on November 1, 2022. As of March 25, 2023, this post has received 835 likes and 28 comments. Some netizens are interested in this Umroh program and they even confirm about the season that occurs in Turkey. According to TD Travelindo, the Umroh program is planned to be carried out from March 23 to April 3, 2023. However, according to netizens, during this period Turkey is experiencing winter. Netizens' comments were confirmed by the umroh travel

party in the comments column which explained that during this period Turkey was experiencing spring (spring) so that it coincided with the blooming of tulips. At this point, tulips have become a means for umroh travel to attract the attention of middle and upper class Muslims who want to perform umroh.

Figure 3. Netizens' comments on @tdtravelindo_group posts



Source: Instagram account @tdtravelindo_group on 1 November 2022

The netizen comments above show that social media is an important means for tourists or Umroh pilgrims to get information regarding their plans to travel to Islam. This is because in making decisions, Umroh pilgrims will usually collect information first, so social media is an alternative for pilgrims to collect information easily (Rasyid & Adwik, 2019). Social media is also a means to document their Umroh activities. This is not only for pilgrims or tourists, but also for travel service managers (Rasyid & Adwik, 2019). Villa Tours and Travel, for example, they document their tourism activities while in Turkey. In addition, to attract the attention of middle and upper class Muslims who like the culture of selfies or wefies (Kertamukti, 2019), Villa Tours and Travel on their Instagram account @villatourstravel explains how to capture moments (take pictures) using smartphones. According to him, there are 7 ways to make pictures more interesting, namely: First, lighting. Second, pay attention to the frame line (rule of thirds). Third, find the right angle. Fourth, pay attention to the color composition. Fifth, use the contrast effect. Sixth, pay attention to the resolution of the photo. Seventh, edit photos.

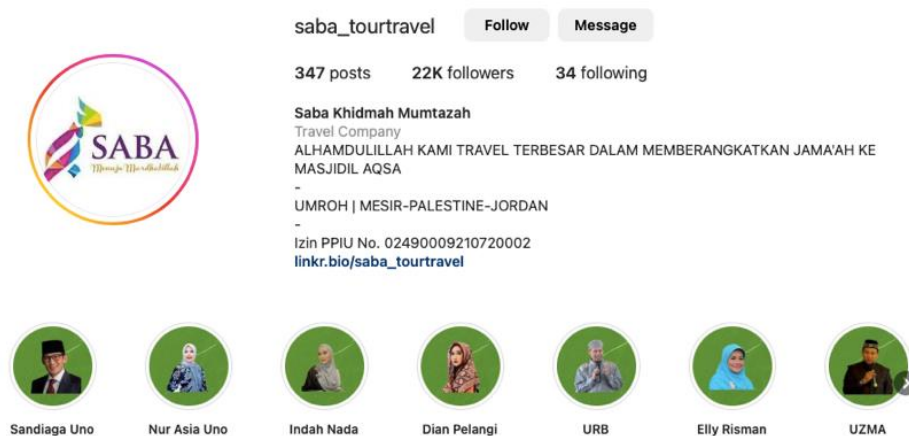
Figure 4. Documentation of Umroh Plus Türkiye Program Activities for Jamaah Villa Tours & Travel



Source: Instagram account @villatourstravel

Unlike Villa Tours & Travel, Saba Tour & Travel uses their social media in addition to promoting their Umroh programs, also uploading photos or video testimonials from a number of popular figures, artists and religious teachers who use their Umroh services. In the Instagram highlight @saba_tourtravel, a feature on Instagram that allows users to save Instagram Stories without time limits, Saba Tour & Travel uploads photos or videos from a number of officials, artists and ustaz such as Sandiaga Uno, Nur Asia Uno, Indah Nada, Dian Pelangi, Ustaz Rachmat Baequni, Elly Risman, Ustaz Zulkifli M. Ali, Eddies Adellia, Indadari, Sally Giovanny, Ummi Pipik, and others. Most of the photos and videos they show show their experiences during Umroh and traveling to various regions in the Middle East by using Saba Tour & Travel's Umroh services.

Figure 5. Instagram Highlights @saba_tourtravel



Source: Instagram account @saba_tourtravel

The events above show that travel services capture the aspirations of the upper middle class in Indonesia. The management of Umroh like this shows that the symbols of modernity are intertwined with the religious practices of the upper middle class Muslims in Indonesia. It is very difficult to separate modernity from the social life of the upper middle class in Indonesia. This is explained by Fealy & White (2008) that the consumption of Islamic symbols or products by middle and upper class Muslims in Indonesia is different from the behavior patterns of parents or previous Muslim societies. Through the phenomenon of managing Umroh travel above, it might be easy for us to say that this activity leads to what some skeptical Muslims call the commodification of religion, namely taking a commercial dimension from religious activities. However, the author argues that even though market elements are inherent in the management of umroh above, the religious motivations of middle and upper class Muslims are still strongly attached to them. That is why, according to Fealy & White (2008) the relationship between spirituality and business is complex. In the context of upper-middle-class Muslims, the relationship between spirituality and business cannot be seen as opposite or contradictory, but as a cultural unit that is unique to the life of middle-class Muslims.

Conclusion

The rise of the market-oriented umroh program, which facilitates not only middle and upper-class Muslims to perform the umroh pilgrimage but also provides other facilities such as traveling to various countries, shows that modernity and Islam have found a meeting point. This common ground is facilitated by the new identity of middle and upper-class Muslims. As middle and upper-class Muslims, they don't only want to appear pious on one side, but at the same time, they also want to appear modern, which affirms their social class. One way to find aspects of piety and modernity is through the consumption of market-oriented Umroh products. They are not only facilitated to worship in the holy land but also enjoy tours to a number of countries in the Middle East, Asia, and Europe. This consumption pattern is captured by Islamic businessmen who offer market-oriented Umroh programs. Islamic businessmen or umroh travel services disseminate their programs through their social media channels so that they become a reference for middle and upper-class Muslims.

The phenomenon of this market-oriented Umroh program, on the one hand, does show a form of commodification of religion, but we need to see it in a broader context, especially in the context of upper-middle-class Muslim identity. There needs to be further research based on interview data with middle and upper-class Muslims to explore their religious motivations through this umroh program. Nevertheless, the writer concludes that the religion commodification cannot be seen as something negative. We need to see what is more complex, namely that the religion commodification is not always about seeking profit but also as a way to accommodate the culture of the upper-middle-class Muslim community in Indonesia so that it looks pious and modern.

This article implies that theoretically, sociological theories are very relevant to comprehensively discussing religious matters. The Umrah program which also provides holiday facilities to several countries in the world shows that religion and modernity meet and affirm one

another. Umrah, which has been seen as normative, at the same time has become a discursive phenomenon among middle and upper-class Muslims. Meanwhile, from a practical perspective, this article can serve as an initial reference for other Umrah travel agent to create Umrah programs according to their market. For policymakers, there is no need to limit the Umrah program like this, because it does not eliminate the Umrah essence as one of the Muslim worship practices, but rather increases their motivation to worship.

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