



SANGKEP:

Jurnal Kajian Sosial Keagamaan

DOI: 10.20414/sangkep.v2i2.

p-ISSN: [2654-6612](#) e-ISSN: [2656-0798](#)

Sangkep
Jurnal Kajian Sosial Keagamaan

HALAL PRODUCTS AND FORMAL PIETY MUSLIM MIDDLE-CLASS LIFE IN THE ANALYSIS OF RELIGIOUS RECEPTION THEORY

Abdul Malik¹, Muh. Irawan², Syamsul Wathani³

^{1,2}**Al Asyariah Mandar University**

Madatte, Kec. Polewali, Kabupaten Polewali Mandar, Sulawesi Barat 91311

³**Darul Kamal NTB**

Jl. Kembang Kerang Kroya, Aikmel, Lombok Timur, NTB. 83653


abdulmalik@mail.unasman.ac.id

Key Words:

Muslim, Middle Class,
Religious Tradition,
Formal Piety, Halal
Products

Abstract

"The Muslim middle class is a religious group that lives in commodified Islam and codifies itself (self commodified) with Islam for the sake of life. Their presence represents two entities, the middle class attached to material and Muslims attached to religiosity. These two entities confirm their existence as new religious communities. This article is explorative-verification research from the results of field research on the Muslim middle class, especially on the study of religious behavior (performative religion). The analysis framework used is the analysis of religion as a tradition and reception of doctrine. With the analysis framework, this article finds some conclusions: The Muslim middle class has a strong dependence on halal products. There are two models of halal in the products and social cognition of the Muslim middle-class society, namely: Islamic products and Islamized products. The status of halal is a driving factor that directs the consumption and consumption of halal products for the middle class, providing the certainty of religious morals and Islamic life. The Muslim middle class also expresses popular culture and formal/symbolic piety in the public space. Formal piety includes: Islamic pants, beard, syar'i hijab, syar'i gamis, headscarf, syar'i fashion, syar'i cosmetics and other economic benefits. With the characterization of halal product consumption and formal piety, the religious behavior of the Muslim middle class is in the plain of low tradition. The religious tradition itself is formed from the collision and greeting of the reality or habitus around them. In the mapping of piety, the Muslim middle class is in the category of Islam in the form of active piety.

Vol. 5, No. 01, 2022
 10.20414/sangkep.v2i2.

Submitted: Sept 18th, 2022

Accepted: Sept 23th, 2022



A. INTRODUCTION

The Muslim middle class began to be discussed and studied academically at the end of 2011 (Goddess, 2020). The existence of the Muslim middle class is not only seen as a group of people who live as usual, but as a group of religious people who influence the political, economic, religious and market environment. This phenomenon occurs in many countries in the world, in Asian countries, Southeast Asia, including Indonesia.

The Muslim middle class in Indonesia has historical roots in the existence of the Islamic Movement in Indonesia in the middle of the 19th century (Rozaki et al., 2017). This historical root certainly becomes symmetrical in reading the existence of the Political Islamic Movement in the public space in the form of the 212 Movement demonstration in 2016 in Jakarta. This demo is one of the forms or containers of the political voice of Muslims. The demo involved a lot of middle-class Muslims, artists, officials, Muslim businessmen, and others.

The historical context of the early Muslim middle class in Indonesia can be understood more progressively, because of its emergence in a historical context that cannot be separated from the context of the struggle for independence and efforts against colonialism cum capitalism. So, at that time many Islamic Movements appeared in the framework of Islamic Social Movements, against the economy and capitalism in the body of the political elite (Rozaki et al., 2017).

After the 98 reform, the Muslim middle class came to give a new color to the Indonesian political elite (Charity, 2015). The democratic transition has opened the tap of enthusiasm and the existence of social classes, especially the Muslim middle class (Umi Khusnul Khotimah, 2019). They are actively involved in the struggle for class balance, representing civil strength (Charity, 2015). Learning from the past - New Order- which left the marginalization of society in the form of centralization of authoritarian power, it is necessary to consolidate civil power in forming political, social and economic power. From a political point of view, Wasisto called the post-reformation phase a phase of unity of commitment between the Muslim Bourgeois and Muslim intellectuals in facing injustice against Islam (Teak, 2015).

From the point of view of sociology and religion, the existence of the Muslim Middle-class group found the momentum of the religious constellation over the last 10 years. One of the characteristics of this society can be seen in the dependence on this halal product (Hasbullah, 2014), recognized or not, their existence becomes one of the strengths that are always considered by various interest groups, especially policymakers and political constants (public election). Thus, the existence of the Muslim middle class creates new demands in the Indonesian religious market (Taufik, n.d.).

Middle-class Muslims live in commodified Islam and codify themselves (self-commodified) with Islam for the sake of life, especially middle-class Muslims who live in urban areas (Faiz, 2020). Thus, two entities are united in the reality of the Muslim middle class, the middle class attached to the material and the Muslim attached to religiosity (Purwandi, 2017). The opening of classes and spaces for post-reformation experiences is dialectically connected with the emergence of new spaces for Islamic expression and increasing the potential for the consumption of halal products. (Muchtar, 2012). This fact makes the study of the Muslim middle-class community an interesting issue.

This article examines the Muslim middle class as the subject/theme of discussion. The Muslim middle class is positioned as the subject of study/research, while their religious behavior and performance are the object of study/research. Research on the Muslim middle class is mostly done in the segmentation of the reading of social science theory, history and politics or state ideology, but less touches on the scientific segmentation of the study of religious phenomena or religious traditions. The attempt to read the Muslim middle class within the scope of religious tradition is the accentuation (emphasis) of this article. Especially in religious phenomena that are practiced (performative) by the Muslim middle class, such as: dependence on the consumption of halal products and forms of piety symbolism.

The theoretical framework or model of analysis that will be used in this article is the analysis of the religious model as Tradition and Reception of Doctrine. Tradition or religious reception is mapped hierarchically into four levels,: Morality, Formality, Identity and Commodity. This religious model is the result of the adopted paradigm. A paradigm is simply a constellation of theories, questions, approaches and procedures used by a value and/or theme of thought. This constellation was developed to understand historical conditions and social situations, and to provide a conceptual framework for interpreting reality. This constellation is visible in the religious group of the Muslim middle class.

In the analysis of religious traditions, the author specifically uses the mapping of religious traditions on the plains of low tradition and the high tradition carried by Amin Abdullah (Azhar & Ilyas, 2000). The author chooses this analysis model as an alternative/alternative view and accurate reading of the social-religious middle-class Muslim that is present as a social-religious reality in the life of Modern Muslims. The author's search for the research results of the Muslim middle class found the dominance of the historical political-ideological scientific point of view in understanding the existence of the Muslim middle class. By focusing on the perspective of religious tradition, this research will provide a segmentation of different readings about the Muslim middle class. As a developing reality, the history of the formation of the Muslim middle class is indeed an important study, but a study that is no less important is to study its existence today, which increasingly shows its existence in the public space.

Thus, this article is focused on three questions: how does the existence of the Muslim middle class depend on consuming halal products? How is the form of formal piety displayed by the Muslim middle class in the public space? What is the orientation, model and form of tradition-religiosity of the Muslim middle-class religiosity.

B. METHOD

This article is explorative-verification research, part of qualitative research with a focus on theorizing sociological science and religious tradition towards academic research on the Muslim middle class, especially the results of field research on the middle class conducted by academic institutions, social institutions, and credible independent research institutions/ trusted in Indonesia. The purpose of this article is to search and map the research/academic writings of Academicians who study the middle class and the Muslim middle class with various scientific viewpoints and objects of study. Verifying research gaps, data, theory, and research results regarding the Muslim middle class from some of these institutions. The analysis will also be done on other relevant data or research. Thus, the author himself -in the first chapter- will present some of the distribution of research on the Muslim middle class, as a description of the main data of this article.

C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. Islam, Middle Class and Public Space

There are several field research results on the Muslim middle class that are the main basis/data in this article. The author maps this to form the theoretical lens of the sociology of religion in seeing the Muslim middle class as a reality of a new religious group (New Religious Communities). This new religious group was formed due to the interaction of the Muslim community with the development of life and the World view of life itself. The author can map the research data as follows:

No	Year	Researcher	Research Title	Research Themes	Research Object	Publisher
1	2015	M. Khusna Amal	NU Middle Class	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social Fragmentation of the NU Middle Class in Jember NU Middle-Class Political Agency post-Khittah NU Middle-Class Consolidation and Government Regime 	Middle-Class NU Post Reform 98	IAIN Jember Press
2	2017	Hasanudi Ali Aunt Purwandi	The Face Of Indonesia Middle-Class Muslims: Between	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Indonesian Muslim Middle Class Religious Life Philanthropy of Religion 	Muslim Middle Class in Indonesia as a Sociological Phenomenon	Alvara Research Center

			Materialism And Religiosity			
3	2018	Abd Aziz Faiz	Urban Muslims; Globalizing Lifestyle, Religion and Identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Muslim Middle-Class Religious Community Religious Modern Fashion Commodities of Urban Muslim Religion 	Muslim Middle Class in Hijabers Community in Yogyakarta	Sunan Kalijaga Press
4	2019	Abdur Rozaki, Dr	The Trajectory of Middle Class Muslims In Southeast Asia: Religious Expression In The Public Sphere of Indonesia, Malaysia, And Thailand	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Muslim Middle Class in the Country as a Social Reality Trajectory (forward agenda) Muslim Middle-Class Politics Involvement of the Muslim Middle Class in Government 	Muslim Middle Class in Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand	Isais UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta
5	2019	Umi Khusnul Khotimah	The Muslim Middle Class And Bureaucratization on Halal in Indonesia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Halal discourse and practice in Indonesia Middle Class and Consumers of halal products Halal Discourse Shift Government Accommodation on Middle-Class Attendance 	Muslim Middle Class in Indonesia and Bureaucratization of Halal Products	UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta
6	2020	Triassic	Preaching to Hijabers Community (Case Study of Hijabers Community Jakarta)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Hijabers Community and religious inspiration</i> Hijabers Community Religious preaching model 	Middle Class Muslims in the Jakarta Hijabers Group	UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta
7	2020	Chef Setiana Dewi	A Study of Muslim Middle Class Hijrah Celebrities (2000-2019): Responses to Salafi Dakwah and Tabligh Jamaat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Salafi dakwah model and Tabligh Jamaat in recitation of celebrity hijrah. Celebrity acceptance of hijrah towards Salafi preaching and Tabligh Jamaat. The religious expression of celebrity migration with Salafi preachers and Tabligh Jamaat 	Muslim Middle-Class Hijrah in the Hijrah Celebrity Community in Jakarta, Bandung and Yogyakarta	UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta

The publication of academic research on the Muslim middle class above shows several points: first, the existence or strong interest of some academics or social researchers in the issue/theme of the Muslim middle class in Indonesia. This also means that the existence of the Muslim middle class is still a living reality to this day. second, the academics or social researchers (social researchers) have diverse academic concerns in researching the middle class and the Muslim middle class, and use different scientific viewpoints. These two points confirm that the Muslim middle class is still an interesting issue to study.

The middle class emerged as a social stratum and has relationships with other social structures, cultural and political structures (Charity, 2015). The middle class and the Muslim middle class are two identical entities. Defining it must start from the structure of understanding based on the concept of social classes (social classes) and middle class (middle class) which generally occurs in many Western countries after the development of the global industry. The middle class is a grouping based on empirical social groups that are bound by common social, cultural, political and other identities (Charity, 2015). The Muslim middle class is two entities merged into one. The middle class represents the social entity that drives the economic locomotive and Muslims represent the social entity that drives social values from the foundation of religious beliefs (Purwandi, 2017).

Economically, the measurement of the middle class is a group that has wealth above the level limit of the country's economic measurement (Goddess, 2020). In addition, they are also literate in economics, technology and awareness of life changes (Purwandi, 2017). Professionally, the middle class is a group of civil servants, business professionals, officials, academics, and career groups such as doctors, technical experts and others (Fuad, 2020). This profession has been open - or exploded - since the 98 revolutions, with the opening of access to all civil society to get involved in the economy, education, politics and society. Including opening up the role of marginalized students in the new order. So, after the reform, there was occultism of santri privatization, in the form of the involvement of santri in the public space of Indonesia (Goddess, 2020).

The strengthening of the definition of the Muslim middle class can be understood in three hierarchies, first the upper Muslim middle class; state and government officials, both middle-class Muslims; professional group because of education and expertise and the third lower middle class; civil servants and small entrepreneurs in the urban sector (Goddess, 2020). Considering this definitive conceptual basis, it can be understood that the Muslim middle class lives in large cities in Indonesia, such as: Yogyakarta, Makassar, Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya and others (Purwandi, 2017). The city is the center of business-career, economy and Education. These three points indicate the reason for the regional existence of the Muslim middle class in Indonesia (Goddess, 2020).

Islam and public space became another keyword for the birth and existence of the Muslim middle class. The public space is like a stage of dominance for the diversity of society's classes, including the religious community. Differences in perspectives, behaviors and practices of a communal culture born from different social conditions ultimately show the diversity of religious faces in the public space (Rozaki et al., 2017). The opening of the civil society engagement tap after the end of Suharto's rule, became a new arena for the public space of the democratic society and the Islamic society of Indonesia (Charity, 2015). Politically, they emerged as an

attempt to counter primordial loyalties (Aziz, 2013). Socially, they emerged as an effort against the suppression of religious identity. They are present to voice the uncertainty of identity and crisis - social, moral and spiritual (Gallab, 2018).

The emergence of the Muslim middle class is the revival of a new society that is not only happening in Indonesia, but also in Malaysia, Turkey, Egypt, and other Arab countries (Goddess, 2020). The Muslim middle class has been and will continue to be part of the global market hunt (Umi Khusnul Khotimah, 2019). The Muslim middle class who mostly live in big cities and or even in the capital of a country, will have an impact on a wider public space. There are two elements in the public space: the first is the physical element, in the form of interaction between individuals, and the second is the non-physical element in the form of efforts to influence the market and the public -including state policy- (Rozaki et al., 2017).

F. Budi Hardiman noted modernity as an important phase that gave birth to a class of life. Modernity refers to the concept of time and form of consciousness (Hardiman, n.d.). The meeting of Islam with the progress of modernity has given its own color to society. Selian also gives color to Islam itself as well as the color of religion to its people. Islamic society is bound by the time-space entity, awareness of life development and awareness of transcendental existence (gods-religions).

As a result, Islam in the public space showed a symbolic shift and shifted from its traditionalist model in several aspects. Islam, which was originally a private dimension, took discourse in the public space, thus giving birth to different agencies, performances and celebrations (Faiz, 2020). The transition or the meeting of Islam and Modernity brings about diverse expressions, forms of piety and religious formality. This form of expression and piety that can be clearly read in the Muslim middle class as an actor is represented by the meeting of Islam and Modernity. Of course, this expression of religion and piety, in addition to being formed by the meeting or the transition of religion (Islam) to this public space, is also formed by the fragment of religious authority that is increasingly looking for the development of technology today. Where many middle-class Muslims prefer themes that suit their behavior and or desires while discarding the background of the authority of religious figures, especially the authority of traditional Islam (Latif, n.d.).

2. Consumption of Halal Products

The Muslim middle class is a Muslim community that has a religious point of view, where religion is a living belief about the relationship between humans and the creator and also a guide to living social life (Purwandi, 2017). The Muslim middle class is a class society that represents the class lifestyle. In social and spatial analysis, the diversity of class and social structure of society gives birth to the diversity of religious expressions that can be understood as a symbol of existence (symbol existence) in the public sphere (Rozaki et al., 2017). This explanation can simply be

exemplified in the increasingly massive use of the hijab in public spaces which are formed to represent Islamic identity.(Hasbullah, 2014).

The birth of the Muslim middle class has historical reasons and their existence has a habitual situation. Habitus in Bourdieu's language is a condition that is required by the existence of a class of society. Habitus includes the agreed order, among others: position-disposition system, shaped structures. It is these two points that become the driving force that regulates the practice of life and the representatives of their existence -and their expression in the public sphere-(Charity, 2015). This habit of Bourdieu is in line with the circle of Muslim middle-class Islamic interactions or their closeness to the Islamic studies model that focuses on Islamic law issues in the form of delivering halal-haram, Islam that focuses on strengthening Islamic symbolism (Triasari, 2020). This study forms a practical logic (the logic of practice) (Faiz, 2020). This affects their consumption patterns in their social life. With the desire to remain in the public sphere, Oki Setiana Dewi noted that the Muslim middle class only seeks/consumes knowledge -and recitations - which are considered according to their class tastes (Goddess, 2020).

Religious space and social space - in the form of Modernity, ideology and others - become a strong background for the existence of the Muslim middle class born in the history of the meeting of the globalization market with religion. This fact is certainly symmetrical with the modernization process, where religious values are transformed from religious ideology to the commodification of religion which is symbolized in the lifestyle and public living space.(Faiz, 2020). This context can be used in looking at the consumption patterns of the Muslim middle class towards halal products that involve the legitimacy of state authorities.

There are two models of halal in products and social cognition of middle-class society: first, Islamic products, Islamic products, namely food products that are well understood and can be labeled as halal, such as: food, beverages and medicines. Second, Islamized products, products that are broadcast are non-food products that are Islamized through the provision of halal labels from authorized legitimacy due to requests from the public/market.(Umi Khusnul Khotimah, 2019).

The Muslim middle class shows their religious existence by consuming halal products. Halal products consumed by the Muslim middle class consist of: Syar'i Refrigerators, Syari'i Hijab, Syariah Banks, Halal Foods, Halal Tourism, Halal Shops, Syari'ah Hotels, Halal Hijabs, and others(Umi Khusnul Khotimah, 2019). Even the distribution of halal products that they use has spread to non-food products, for example: halal detergent, Pursusari bath scrub, fresh care, Total detergent and others.(Umi Khusnul Khotimah, 2019).

There is government involvement in halal product legislation(Umi Khusnul Khotimah, 2019), making halal products increasingly mushrooming and finding the

momentum of consumer success. There are six main halal segments in the consumption of the middle-class Muslim community with the distribution as follows:

"Indonesia as a country with the largest Muslim population has a consumption power of 126.8 thousand halal products consisting of 6 (six) elements namely, Islamic Finance (37.5 thousand), Halal Food (4.2 thousand), Muslim Clothing and Fashion (68.5 thousand), Halal Tourism (4.6 thousand), Halal Media and Recreation (4.2 thousand) and Halal Pharmaceutical and Cosmetic Products (7.8 thousand). It can be seen that Muslim clothing and fashion is the dominant consumption of the Indonesian Muslim community, reaching 54%"(Umi Khusnul Khotimah, 2019)

Halal status is a fixed price for the Muslim middle class. So that the halal status of the product certainly provides added value to consumption products or the market for selling products in the consumer market(Bayat, 2011). Halal status is a driving factor that directs them to choose or consume. Halal status or not, usury or not, the stars or not driving their cognition in life. This kind of thinking is certainly symmetrical with the character of urban middle-class thinking which tends to be individualistic and materialistic(Purwandi, 2017). In addition, the involvement of the middle class in Islamic non-food markets such as: Islamic banks, Islamic shops, Islamic housing or Sharia housing and most recently the existence of Sharia Redditors in 2021, emphasizes the need for moral guarantees of religion and life. They need this halal label as an effort to fight the negative impact of globalization and capitalism that is getting stronger(Umi Khusnul Khotimah, 2019).

Data on the consumption of halal products in Indonesia, in the quote above, is considered symmetrical with the Muslim majority in Indonesia. Their existence is fertile ground for the enthusiasm of the Halal product market. Moreover, market movers feel helped by the religious cognition inherent in the Muslim middle class. They believe that consuming halal means carrying out religious teachings that prohibit usury, things whose status is not clear and others(Goddess, 2020). So, the consumption of halal products for them is an obligation that cannot be abandoned(Goddess, 2020).

The practice of consuming halal/syar'i products in the Muslim middle class is a symbolic or religious formality(Triasari, 2020). Their existence in the space of advancement of life and the market, makes them bound to the culture of consumption(Faiz, 2020). A culture that thrives, is circular in the social life of the middle class, makes them a consistent group and has principles, status and actions(Triasari, 2020). Identification of modernity theoryBudi Hardiman said that middle-class religion and religiosity were represented in the consumption and commodification of religion in the public sphere.

Consuming products that clearly must have the words "halal" on the label of this product (Fischer, nd), besides representing religious symbols, also as social identity and accommodative attitude towards modernity and market development.

The spirit of consumption (consumerism) in the Muslim middle class is increasing and has even become one of the considerations in state policymaking in Southeast Asia (Rozaki et al., 2017). Their birth and development are being responded to by new markets in Asian and Southeast Asian countries (Purwandi, 2017). New Islamic products or Islamic products are a strong part of the market response in seeing an increase in the Muslim middle class which is synthetic with an increase in the consumption of Islamic values (Islamic consumption) (Faiz, 2020).

Halal products are part of the commodification of religion in the Muslim middle class. The flow or path of the commodification of religion includes, among others: spiritualization, modification and commoditization. Spiritualization is seen in objects that are Islamized - labeled as Islam - or objects that have no religious value but are religious, modifications are in the form of embodiments of religious symbols, while commoditization is an effort to commercialize and marketing strategies (Faiz, 2020). These three points of the commodification of religion are seen or found in the reciprocity between religion and the market in presenting religious symbols in the public sphere played by the Muslim middle class. In the meaning to affirm this view, Rozaki discusses the commodification of religion by making efforts to halalization (halaization), in every joint and culture of his life (Rozaki et al., 2017). Or in Yudi Lathif, to Islamize modernity (Latif, nd).

The increasing size of the market for halal products further confirms the assumption of the massive religious enthusiasm of the Muslim middle class. This seems to be a new religious orientation phenomenon (Goddess, 2020). This halal product consumption culture in the sociological view of religion is understood as a model of religion that is entangled in commercial culture, or often referred to as religious commodification. Beliefs, teachings, traditions and religious behavior in the form of symbols or labels are used as consumptive materials of commercial value. So, in a face like this, there is a link between religion and market demands. The face of this symbol is the result of involving market forces in the commodification of religion and the active role of the religious community itself in the form of consumptive culture (Faiz, 2020). On the other side, this symbol shows a symbol of religious elitism (Faiz, 2020).

The growth of globalization and social mobility is in line with the development of the consumption spirit in the Muslim middle class, both on the plains of Islamic ideas (Islamic ideas), as well as on symbols that correlate with efforts to display religious identity in the public sphere (the making of Islamic performance in public life). (Faiz, 2020). The existence of this labeling is not only a forum for the religious expression of the Muslim middle class, but also as a market response in providing use values and fulfilling the tastes of their social class (Faiz, 2020). Thus, the *syar'i* models that are spread to this day are the result of negotiating the class habitus of Islamic

society itself. This view shows the strength of religious commodities in the Muslim middle class.

3. Formal Piety

Piety is a requirement of the presence of religion in a person. However, the development of life and modernity shows the diversity of pious faces, especially when religious communities appear in public spaces. In today's context, the space for religious piety appears to be massively constructed by the middle class (Faiz, 2020). Their emergence can also be understood as a phase of the emergence of Islamic popular culture (Teak, 2015). In Indonesia, the symbolic strengthening of Islam in the public sphere in Indonesia began in the 2000s (Goddess, 2020).

In the analysis of the sociology of religion, one of the results of the meeting of class society with modernity is the birth of commodification of religion that appears to present religious symbols. Religious symbols are believed to be the most correct teachings and need to be preached to other audiences (Faiz, 2020). This analysis reveals what the writer calls symbolic piety or formal piety. Formal piety means taking the performative form of religion, in the form of what can be seen, what can be measured and what can be judged by the senses. The term symbol itself refers to a sign that is connected by a conventional meaning from its natural state (Triasari, 2020). Formality shows the form of formal Islamic teachings that are *sya'ri* and represents the symbol of Islam. Symbols in the form of carrying out or practicing teachings that are visible and confirm the identity of a group.

The Muslim middle class is a religious group that is closely tied to the performance of its identity. In terms of religious performance, the Muslim middle class displays many religious symbols that can be analyzed phenomenologically on: dress style, vacation style and how to spend free time. (Triasari, 2020). This phenomenological analysis of religious symbolism in more detail can be seen in two points: first, bringing together social piety or formal piety in the public sphere with advances that have Islamic symbols, such as: Hijab *Syar'i*, Syariah Bank, Halal Food, Halal Tourism, Halal Shops, Sharia hotels and others (Umi Khusnul Khotimah, 2019). Second, showing forms of formal piety in a style of dress, such as: wearing Islamic pants, beards -in some groups-, *sya'ri* hijab, *sya'ri* robes, veils, *sya'ri* fashion and even *sya'ri* cosmetic equipment. (Goddess, 2020).

The existence of religious commodification fosters a pious spirit that is channeled in the form of a consumption culture. Even more powerful, this commodity shifts piety to the power of consumption, which reconciles the logic of religion and the logic of the market in one space of life. (Faiz, 2020). Thus, the two points that the author has mapped above can be seen as a display of the attribution of Islam that cannot be separated from economic cohesion (Goddess, 2020). And it can also be seen as an economic creative process that has an influence on the exploration of religious symbols (Anshori, nd). This symbolic (formal) religious

performance is the result of the interaction of the middle class with the meaning of religious interaction; recitation, reading according to taste(Goddess, 2020). In the end, what they wear/consume and what is inherent in them has a symbolic quality in the public sphere. It is an image of them creating meaning (making meaning) in every appearance. The symbols used are an accumulation of encounters between moods, feelings and values that are believed, in addition to encounters with certain historical places and contexts(Triasari, 2020).

In the context of its social psychology, the Muslim middle class is experiencing a demographic demographic and spiritual bankruptcy(Latif, nd). They realize that they were born in an Islamic society but are far from Islamic values, because they are too close to modernity. This awareness makes them want to go back to studying Islam while applying it in life(Goddess, 2020). This symbolic appearance in the public space occurs because the Muslim middle class understands its practices/customs and ideological understanding as Doxa, something that is considered the most correct and ideal in its social cognition space.(Faiz, 2020). The forms of signs they display are essentially derived from textual sources (permanent-doctrinal), and what is displayed is a combination of acceptance of symbols that ideologically indicate obedience and socially indicate Islamic class.(Triasari, 2020).

From this analysis, in the author's opinion, there are three points that need to be noted. First, in public spaces they want to appear or demonstrate themselves carrying out God's commands. Consuming religious symbols and presenting themselves with religious symbols as part of a person who carries out God's commands. Second, they demonstrate themselves with halal products and formal piety as a form of imagining themselves with the image of religiosity in the public sphere. And third, demonstrates the piety of the Islamic class and life in a free space of life class struggle.

It can also be noted, the massive consumption of halal products and the display of piety on public screens show the existence of the Muslim middle class who appears by bringing new Islam, Islam does not only carry out basic religious worship but also displays an Islamic lifestyle.(Goddess, 2020). This Islamic lifestyle is understood as an effort to become a Muslim who practices his religious teachings directly (practicing Muslim). In addition, Islamic recitation of the sales-purificative (halal-haram) delivery model influences the interpretation of textual religion which is considered relevant to the Muslim middle class who need existential symbols in their lives.(Goddess, 2020). Religious literacy readings, religious studies environment, and friendship circles have an impact on their religious understanding and expression(Goddess, 2020).

Consumption of Halal products and symbols of piety show the Muslim middle class the existence of a social identity, on the other hand, it also shows the existence of their social competence. This cultural and symbolic entry into the Muslim middle

class implies a social struggle -in the language of politics-, or shows the existence of social da'wah -in the language of Islamology-, which in the future will continue to show its existence in public spaces, such as: schools, offices, banking, restaurant, TV and more(Charity, 2015). The public sphere will continue to be an arena of class struggle whose existence requires social recognition and class affirmation in social life.

The diversity of the Muslim middle class like this shows that Islam is not only a system of values and doctrines, but also shows Islam as the legitimacy of social identity in life.(Faiz, 2020). By appearing formal-Islamic and consuming Islamic standards in the form of halal labels, it shows the existence and idealism of Muslim social class diversity in building self-image in life. Symbolic capital provides a broad understanding of status and recognition(Faiz, 2020). This symbolic capital apart from being a contest of identity(Faiz, 2020), as well as a personal branding agency, in building public perception of its existence(Triasari, 2020). Thus, both formal piety and consumption of halal products, have become beliefs that enter them (embodied).(Triasari, 2020).

4. Muslim Middle-Class Religious Traditions

Islam as a teaching entity will dwell on the sacred text that comes from God. However, after the text interacts with its adherents, it will give birth to an identity - and entity- which is no longer the same or different. Thus, it is normal for the Islamic Community to experience polarization in certain entities and groups with different interests. The Muslim middle class is a society that has purchasing power and also religiosity. This means that the mindset and behavior patterns of the Muslim middle class are also born from the understanding of religious teachings that guide their way of life(Purwandi, 2017).

Analyzing religious traditions in life, especially after globalization, means analyzing their existence on the plains of life and existing social structures. Religious expressions have a relationship with the screen setting and the social structure beside it. Anthony Gidden understands the social structure that forms tradition as interrelated, such as: mindset, rules, sources of knowledge and behavior as a result of their life interactions (Rozaki et al., 2017).

Middle-class religious traditions cannot be understood as a tradition born from a vacuum. As a resistant group and its emergence in a social as well as political context, they are in two pages, between idealistic and materialistic(Charity, 2015). That is, they are in the formation of a struggle for a particular interest(Charity, 2015). They are in two crushes or demands, religious demands and market demands/globalization. They are in a state of wanting to become virtuous Muslims (Virtuous Muslims) without losing their modernity and lifestyle (Rozaki et al., 2017). In this dilemmatic situation/position, the Muslim middle class as human beings who have a religion visit religious gatherings - reading or recitation -(Goddess, 2020)which

fosters a kind of awareness of the importance of spirituality in achieving success in life (Goddess, 2020). With this dilemmatic position, religion in the Muslim middle class is seen as a new package, combining trends in the development of life and religious norms, appearing with a middle-class lifestyle without leaving the normative value of religion (Faiz, 2020). They are obedient to religious teachings while complying with the provisions of the social market (Triasari, 2020).

The existence of a Muslim middle class dilutes a religious relationship in society or life. Religion is not only in cultural relations such as: recitation, education, scientific discussions, etc., but also in formal relations, namely the existence of space for consuming halal products and demanding the market fulfill its religious will which is centered on the logic of practice. A pluralist and eclectic religious model tends to develop in societies that have reached a certain level of industrialization and urbanization. They are middle class and have had extensive careers in formal education (Aziz, 2013), and consequently accustomed to accepting new ideas (Taufik, nd).

Amin Abdullah understands tradition and religious thought -Islam- into two categories: low tradition and high tradition. Religious traditions in the low tradition plains are concrete historical realities, related, bound and directly in contact with various schematics of life around them. Meanwhile, religious tradition in the high tradition area is a plain of concepts, theories, which are cognitive schematic, solely because of the category of sacredness with the existence of religious scriptures (Azhar & Ilyas, 2000). From this hierarchical mapping of religious traditions, the author sees the culture of consuming halal products and formal piety, placing the Muslim middle class on the low tradition of religion.

In the concept of religiosity, several points can be noted in looking at religious figures and practices, including: (1) Ritual involvement, the extent to which a person performs ritual obligations in religion. (2) Ideological involvement, is the extent to which a person accepts dogmatic things about his religion. (3) Intellectual involvement, describes how far a person knows about the teachings of his religion. (4) The involvement of experience (experiential involvement), which indicates whether a person has had a spectacular experience (religious *mu'jiz*). (5) Consequential involvement, is the extent to which a person's behavior is consistent with the teachings of his religion (Mohammad, 2017). This involvement affects the religiosity and religiosity of the Muslim middle class. From this mapping of the concept of religiosity, with a culture of consuming halal products and formal piety, the author places the Muslim middle class at three points of their active involvement, namely: ritual involvement, ideological involvement and consequent involvement.

There are two religious orientations, intrinsic and extrinsic. The first is in the form of internalizing beliefs and following religious teachings, and the second is in the form of religious orientation that utilizes and is selfish, the comfort status and

protection (protection) of its adherents.(Triasari, 2020). From this mapping of religiosity orientation, the author looks at the culture of consuming halal products and formal piety in the Muslim middle class, placing them in an extrinsic orientation in religion.

In the context of Islam and struggles in the public sphere, Asep Bayat in his Post Islamism categorizes piety into two: passive piety and active piety. Passive piety is piety in the form of carrying out the demands of formal worship in religion, while active piety is a Muslim who seeks to display his Islam through changes in appearance, and sincerity of worship and invites people to the truth of Islam that he understands.(Bayat, 2011). From this mapping of the Islamic context and public space, the author sees the culture of consuming halal products and formal piety, placing the Muslim middle class in an Islamic context in the form of active piety.

As for seeing religion as a system of values or morality, it will be used as a way of pursuing piety. In the sociology of religion, the religious path to a religious society is divided into six forms: secret rite (sacred rites; prayer), reasoned inquiry (scientific investigation; learning), mystical quest (mystical search; tasawwuf), shamanic mediation (intermediary of pious people; pilgrimage). grave), devotion (devotion; become social activists) and right action (right action)(Faiz, 2020). From the diversity of roads leading to this religious community, the Muslim middle class through halal consumption and formal piety or social piety as the author described above, this group enters the sixth method or point of the model to approach religious piety, namely right action. This can be seen in their religious lifestyle, consumption patterns, performance and consistently constructed habitus.

Consumerism and formal piety are two characteristics of the Muslim middle class. The Muslim middle class lives in commodified Islam and self-commodified with Islam for the benefit of life. Thus, there are two entities that unite in the reality of the Muslim middle class, the middle class is attached to material and Muslims are attached to religiosity. There are two models of halal in products and social cognition of middle-class society, Islamic products, Islamic products, namely food products that are well understood and can be labeled as halal, for example: food, beverages and medicines, then Islamized products, products that are imported, namely: non-food products that are Islamized through the provision of halal labels from authorized legitimacy due to requests from the public/market. Halal status is a driving factor that directs them to choose or consume. The practice of consuming halal/syar'i products in the Muslim middle class is symbolic or religious formality. Their existence in the advancement of life and the market makes them bound to the culture of consumption. Consumption of halal products for the middle class provides assurance of moral life and religion.

D. CONCLUSION

The Muslim middle class expresses popular culture and formal/symbolic piety in public spaces. Formal piety means taking the performative form of religion, what can be seen, measured and judged by the senses. The term symbol refers to a sign that is connected by a conventional meaning from its natural state. The religious symbolization of the Muslim middle class can be analyzed phenomenologically on; style of dress, style of vacation and how to fill spare time. Religious performances in displaying formal forms of piety include: wearing Islamic pants, beards -in some groups-, syar'i headscarves, sayr'I robes, veils, sya'ri fashion to syar'i cosmetic equipment and other economical means. A pluralist and eclectic religious model tends to develop in societies that have reached a certain level of industrialization and urbanization, including the Muslim middle class. With the dependence on the consumption of halal products and formal piety, what is the Muslim middle class? plain low tradition in religion. In terms of religious practice (religiosity), they are actively involved in ritual involvement, ideological involvement and consequent involvement, and in terms of religious orientation, they are in an extrinsic orientation in religion. In the mapping of piety, they are in the Islamic category in the form of active piety, and in the model of getting closer to religious piety, they are included in the mapping of right action.

References

- Amal, M. H. (2015). *Kelas Menengah NU: Dinamika Intelektual: Konstelasi Kekuasaan dan Stagnai Demokrasi di Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru*. IAIN Jember Press.
- Anshori, M. H. (n.d.). Consumerism and the Emergence of a New Middle Class in Globalizing Indonesia. Retrieved September 18, 2022, from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/29742917_Consumerism_and_the_Emergence_of_a_New_Middle_Class_in_Globalizing_Indonesia
- Azhar, M., & Ilyas, H. (2000). *PENGEMBANGAN PEMIKIRAN KEISLAMAMAN MUHAMMADIYAH: PURIFIKASI & DINAMISASI*. <http://repository.umy.ac.id/handle/123456789/789>
- Aziz, A. A. (2013). Kebangkitan Tarekat Kota. *Islamica: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, 8(1), 59–83. <https://doi.org/10.15642/islamica.2013.8.1.59-83>
- Bayat, A. (2011). *Pos-Islamisme. Lkis Pelangi Aksara*.
- Dewi, O. S. (2020). *Pengajian selebritas hijrah kelas menengah muslim (2000-2019): Respons atas dakwah Salafi dan Jamaah Tabligh*. Sekolah Pascasarjana

- UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta.
<https://repository.uinjkt.ac.id/dspace/handle/123456789/54401>
- Faiz, A. A. (2020). MUSLIMAH PERKOTAAN: GLOBALIZING LIFESTYLE, RELIGION AND IDENTITY. SUKA-Press. <https://digilib.uin-suka.ac.id/id/eprint/40032/>
- Fischer, J. (n.d.). (PDF) Feeding Secularism: Consuming Halal among the Malays in London. Retrieved September 18, 2022, from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/236713122_Feeding_Secularism_Consuming_Halal_among_the_Malays_in_London
- Fuad, S. (2020). GERAKAN HIJRAH DAN KONSTRUKSI EMOSI KEISLAMAN DI PERKOTAAN. *Mimbar Agama Budaya*, 37(1), 53–61.
- Gallab, A. (2018). Hasan al-Turabi the Last of the Islamists: The Man and His Times" 1932--2016.
- Hardiman, F. B. (n.d.). Agama dan Ruang Publik: Menimbang Kembali Sekularisme Retrieved September 18, 2022, from <https://lib.atmajaya.ac.id/default.aspx?tabID=61&src=a&id=94582>
- Hasbullah, M. (2014). Cultural Presentation of the Muslim Middle Class in Contemporary Indonesia. *Studia Islamika*, 7. <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v7i2.708>
- Jati, W. R. (2015). Islam Populer sebagai Pencarian Identitas Muslim Kelas Menengah Indonesia. *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf Dan Pemikiran Islam*, 5(1), 139–163. <https://doi.org/10.15642/teosofi.2015.5.1.139-163>
- Latif, Y. (n.d.). Inteligensia Muslim dan Kuasa: Genealogi Inteligensia Muslim Indonesia Abad ... - Yudi Latif—Google Buku. Retrieved September 18, 2022, from https://books.google.co.id/books/about/Inteligensia_Muslim_dan_Kuasa.html?id=-2zDpJM19bEC&redir_esc=y
- Mohammad, T. (2017). Kearifan Ritual Jodangan Dalam Tradisi Islam Nusantara Di Goa Cerme. *IBDA: Jurnal Kajian Islam Dan Budaya*, 15(1), 41–58.
- Muchtar, M. (2012). PERILAKU KOMUNITAS MUSLIM PERKOTAAN DALAM MENGONSUMSI PRODUK HALAL. *Harmoni*, 11(2), 129–141.
- Purwandi, L. (2017). Indonesia Middle-Class Moslem: Religiosity and Consumerism.
- Rozaki, A., Suhadi, Kusuma, B. M. A., Faiz, A. A., Rohmawati, W. S. A., & Usman, M. A. (2017). THE TRAJECTORY OF MIDDLE-CLASS MUSLIM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: Religious Expression in the Public Sphere of

- Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand: Vol. (Cet-1; Issue Cet-1). Institute of Southeast Asian Islam (ISAI) Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University. <https://digilib.uin-suka.ac.id/id/eprint/33048/>
- Taufik, Z. (n.d.). Sufisme Perennial pada Masyarakat Perkotaan Kasus Padepokan Thaha Jakarta. Retrieved September 18, 2022, from https://scholar.google.com/citations?view_op=view_citation&hl=en&user=WwEFjNgAAAAJ&citation_for_view=WwEFjNgAAAAJ:Zph67rFs4hoC
- Triasari. (2020). Dakwah Pada Hijabers Community: Studi Kasus Hijabers Community Jakarta. UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta.
- Umi Khusnul Khotimah, 1620010094. (2019). Kelas Menengah Muslim Dan Birokratisasi Halal di Indonesia [Masters, UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta]. <https://digilib.uin-suka.ac.id/id/eprint/40640/>

