



## **The Shifting Meaning of *Istiṭā'ah* in Performing Hajj for the Bone People in the Perspective of Islamic Law**

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**Abstract:** The community's understanding of *istiṭā'ah* (ability) has shifted and narrowed in meaning towards the economic aspect. This study aims to describe the concept of *istiṭā'ah* as understood by the people of Bone, South Sulawesi, the factors that cause the narrowing of the meaning of *istiṭā'ah*, and the economic contents that influence the meaning of *istiṭā'ah*. This study used a qualitative method using the *lughawi* approach and Islamic law as an analytical tool. Data were collected by means of in-depth interview and literature review. This study found that the people of Bone have interpreted *istiṭā'ah* as physical, economic, and security capabilities while in the Holy Land. The shift in the meaning of *istiṭā'ah* narrowly has referred only to economic ability, as influenced by the high costs, the long waiting lists, and a large number of transfers of regular hajj to hajj handled by private travel agents. The shift in the meaning of *istiṭā'ah* towards the economic ability is due to no other indicator other than the economy that makes any constraints or limitations can be overcome through paid services of other people. Those who have economic ability will get more VIP facilities than those who do not. In terms of *lughawi* meaning, *istiṭā'ah* should be understood broadly, not merely physical, non-physical nor economic factors. In Islamic law, the waiting list and security factors can become *illat* (cause) of a person to be able (*istiṭā'ah*) to perform Hajj.

**Keywords:** *Istiṭā'ah*, shift in meaning, hajj, *lughawi* approach, *illat*, Islamic Law

**Abstrak:** *Pemahaman masyarakat tentang istiṭa'ah (kemampuan) terjadi pergeseran dan penyempitan makna yang hanya dimaknai pada aspek ekonomi. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan konsep istiṭa'ah yang dipahami oleh masyarakat Bone Sulawesi Selatan, faktor-faktor penyebab menyempitnya makna istiṭa'ah, dan memetakan kandungan ekonomi yang mempengaruhi makna istiṭa'ah. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan memakai pendekatan lughawi dan hukum Islam sebagai alat analisis. Teknik pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan cara wawancara mendalam dan kajian literatur. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa masyarakat Bone memaknai istiṭa'ah sebagai kemampuan fisik, ekonomi dan keamanan selama di Tanah Suci. Kemudian terjadi pergeseran makna istiṭa'ah secara sempit hanya mengacu pada kemampuan ekonomi semata, hal ini disebabkan oleh biaya yang tinggi, adanya daftar tunggu yang lama dan banyaknya pengalihan haji reguler kepada haji yang diangani oleh travel swasta. Pergeseran makna istiṭa'ah tersebut menjadi kemampuan ekonomi satu-satunya adalah, tidak ada indikator lain yang menjadikan faktor utama selain ekonomi, seseorang yang memiliki terkendala atau keterbatasan dapat diatasi dengan menggunakan jasa dan bayaran kepada orang lain. Seseorang yang memiliki kemampuan ekonomi akan mendapatkan fasilitas VIP yang lebih dari pada orang yang tidak memiliki uang. Secara lughawi makna istiṭa'ah hendaknya dipahami secara luas, bukan hanya fisik dan non fisik juga bukan hanya ekonomi semata. Dalam konteks hukum Islam, faktor waiting list dan keamanan dapat menjadi illat (sebab), mampu atau tidaknya seseorang (istiṭa'ah) untuk melaksanakan haji.*

**Kata Kunci:** *Istiṭa'ah, pergeseran makna, haji, pendekatan lughawi, illat, hukum Islam*

## Introduction

Hajj (pilgrimage) is an obligation in Islamic law whose conditions and pillars must be met. Hajj is a worship that involves not only Muslims as the individuals, but also the families, the countries of residence and even the destination country, Saudi Arabia. This worship practice is inseparable from social, economic, educational, cultural, political, and security issues, whether in the Holy Land, in Muslim-majority countries, or in Muslim-minority countries.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Tarek Ladjal, "Asian Hajj Routes: The Reflection of History and Geography," *Journal of Tamaddun* 8, No. 1 (2013). Moch. Nur Ichwan, "Governing Hajj: Politics of Islamic Pilgrimage Service in Indonesia Prior to Reformasi Era," *Al-Jami'ah* 46, no. 1 (2008), p. 125-151. Dino Bozonelos and Razaq Raj, "Hajj: American Muslims and the Ritual of a Lifetime," *Journal of Hospitality & Tourism* 18, No 2 (2020). Robert Bianchi, "The Hajj and Politics in China", In book, *Muslim Pilgrimage in the Modern World* (2019), p. 68-88. Cedric Jourde, et.al., "The Politics of the Hajj Organisation in Senegal: Security, Legitimation and Clientelism," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 59, No. 1 (2021), p. 1-20.

Hajj has also contributed to the history of the spread of Islam in the Malay Peninsula, and the growth of educational institutions and the rise against colonialists was closely related to the process of interaction between Muslims and the Indonesian community in Haramain. Moreover, the recent postponement of hajj due to Covid-19 for two years is evidence that hajj practice has been related to the health safety.<sup>2</sup>

A variety of factors plays a role in one's motivation and encouragement to perform hajj. Spiritual aspects, e.g., soul satisfaction, forgiveness, and rewards, are not the only reasons that drive Pattani Muslim communities in Thailand to perform hajj. However, based on historical, ethnographic, and theological factors, Mecca is more than just a pilgrimage site and there are various reasons for performing hajj there.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, Muslims who perform hajj will get new cultural experiences in terms of verbal communication, gestures, physical and clothing, use of place, time, touch, sound and smell. Cross-culturally, hajj pilgrims have different perspectives from villagers and from those who have lived in Saudi Arabia for a long time. Hajj pilgrims express differently how they experience cultural changes.<sup>4</sup>

Several reasons, e.g., to perfect the pillars of Islam, improve social status, and seek peace of mind, have motivated current Indonesian Muslims to perform hajj. Likewise, theological-spiritual aspect also motivate people to perform hajj, and the psychological aspect is the more prominent aspect compared to others i.e., the sociological and economic aspects.<sup>5</sup>

The cultural aspect is quite visible related to hajj in Madurese society, e.g., *pestah* along with *ngater hajjiyen*, *slametan sappen malem*, and *ngambek hajjiyen*. People who have performed hajj are considered as very special and their social status will raise even higher than those who have not.<sup>6</sup> In the people

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<sup>2</sup> Maharani Alifah Dhiya Rahmadhanitya and Sidik Jatmika, "The Impact of Covid-19 on Indonesian Muslim Pilgrimage," *Millah: Jurnal Studi Agama* 21, No. 1 (2021), p. 1-22. Endang Jumali, "Cancellation of The Hajj: Analysis of Islamic Law, Regulation, History, Ta'limatul Hajj and Its Impact on The Social and Spititual Aspects of Society," *Jurnal IUS: Kajian Hukum dan Keadilan* 8, No. 3 (2020). p. 584-599. Muh. Saidun, "The Polemic of Hajj Suspension and Autonomous Manasik Guidance Amid Covid 19 Pandemic as An Alternatif to Obtain Mabrur Hajj," *Millati: Journal of Islamic Studies and Humanities* 5, No. 1 (2020), p. 16-33.

<sup>3</sup> Christopher Mark Joll and Srawut Aree, "Images of Makkah and he Hajj in South Thailand: An Ethnographich and Theological Exploration," *Studia Islamika* 27, No. 2 (2020), p. 205-237.

<sup>4</sup> Kamaruzzaman Bustamam Ahmad, "Cross-Cultural Differences Experienced During Hajj: A Case Study of Achenese Hajj," *Studia Islamika* 25, No. 1 (2018), p. 67-96.

<sup>5</sup> M. Zulfa, "Multidimensional Phenomena of Hajj: Study of Javanese Pligrims," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 5, No. 1 (2015), p. 135-162.

<sup>6</sup> Isyanto and Liyanto, "Persepsi Pelaku Ibadah Haji di Desa Tambaksari Rubaru Sumenep dalam Ritual Pemberangkatan dan Penjemputan Ibadah Haji," *Jurnal Maharsi* 2, No. 1

of Gorontalo, people who will perform hajj will carry out the hajj ritual called “*baca doa* (reciting prayers)”. The community divides this ritual into three stages: before leaving for hajj, during the hajj pilgrims’ stay in the Holy Land, and when picking up the hajj pilgrims by the families. Socially, people who have performed hajj will have an impact on status in society, especially in any social and life cycle ceremonies.<sup>7</sup>

Among the Bugis people, especially those who live in the Pangkajene Islands, there is “*Aji Ugi*” (*Haji Bugis*) as an articulation of the encounter between Islam and the Bugis people. From local and universal articulations rise the nuances full of wisdom, e.g., Hajj as *assenu-senungeng*, which means a ritual that brings hope for goodness, Hajj as *were na pammase*, and Hajj as destiny and mercy from Allah. However, there are also articulations of *Haji Pa'gaya* (hajj who likes styling) which is only symbolic, and *Haji Bawakaraeng* (hajj that is local in nature and considered deviant).<sup>8</sup>

Studies on the ability to perform hajj have not discussed the concept of *istiṭa'ah*, instead they tend to examine the practices of hajj and fulfilling the requirements for hajj.<sup>9</sup> In addition, research on hajj also concerns more about hajj management in the terms of improving the quality of hajj services.<sup>10</sup> The issue of the conditions for hajj that must be met and the development of the concept “able” which is central in hajj discussions have not been considered.<sup>11</sup> The concept of ability in hajj is closely related to the quality of hajj in order to achieve a level of spirituality. For this reason, the discourse and understanding

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(2020), p. 19-30.

<sup>7</sup> Muhammad Irfan Syuhudi, “Ritual Berangkat Haji Masyarakat Muslim Gorontalo” *Jurnal al-Qalam* 25, No. 1 (2019), p. 1-14.

<sup>8</sup> Syamsurijal, et al., “Aji Ugi: Pergumulan Islam dengan Tradisi Lokal dan Gaya Hidup di Masyarakat Bugis,” *Jurnal al-Qalam* 26, 1 (2020), p. 19-38.

<sup>9</sup> A. Ma'mun Nashiruddin, “Hukum Haji Bagi Orang Meninggal Dunia (Mengurai Istinbaht “Dasar-Dasar” Hukum Imam Abu Hanifah),” *Jurnal Ummul Quro* 3, No. 2 (2013). Rahman, et. al., “Dana Zakat Sebagai Akses Menunaikan Haji: Sorotan Pandangan Sarjana Islam,” *Jurnal Pengurusan JAWHAR* 7, No. 2 (2013), p. 157-175.

<sup>10</sup> M. Zainul Abidin, “Analisis Investasi Dana Haji dalam Pembiayaan Infrastruktur dan Peningkatan Kualitas Penyelenggaraan Ibadah Haji,” *Jurnal Harmoni* 15, No. 2 (2016). p. 152-164. Rahim, et al, “Manajemen Perubahan Di Rumah Sakit Umum Daerah Haji Provinsi Sulawesi Selatan,” *Jurnal Pasca Sarjana Universitas Hasanuddin*. Qhisti Sabrina, “Kebijakan dan Manajemen Publik Pelaksanaan Program Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional (JKN) Dalam Peningkatan Kualitas Pelayanan Kesehatan di RSUD Haji Surabaya,” *Jurnal Kebijakan dan Manajemen Publik*, (2015). Sudarmana, et al., “Membangun Sistem Pendukung Keputusan Biro Perjalanan Haji,” *Jurnal Simetris* 8, No. 1 (2017), p. 231-242.

<sup>11</sup> Muhammad Noor, “Haji dan Umrah,” *Jurnal Humaniora Teknologi* 4, No. 1, (2018), p. 38-42. Rahman, et al., *Dana Zakat Sebagai Akses Menunaikan Haji...*, p. 157-175. Muhammad Nuri, “Pragmatisme Penyelenggaraan Ibadah Haji di Indonesia,” *Jurnal Salam: Jurnal Sosial dan Budaya Syar-I* 1, No. 1 (2014), p. 143-154.

of the concept of *istiṭā'ah* need to be studied in depth. Hajj studies that consider a social perspective tend to ignore a religious counterpart.

The purpose of this paper is to fill the gap of the studies of shifts in understanding, meaning and practice in Muslim society regarding the concept of *istiṭā'ah* which has experienced a shift and a diversity of meanings. Accordingly, the main problems to be studied here are the meanings of *istiṭā'ah* as understood by the people of Bone, the narrowing of the meanings of *istiṭā'ah*, and the economic contents influencing the meanings of *istiṭā'ah*. These three issues direct the discussion to the dynamics of religion in which the people play a role in determining the legitimacy of a religious practice.

This study follows the assumption that a religious concept is not fixed, but dynamically redefined. The shift in the meaning of *istiṭā'ah*, on the one hand, is tied to the objective conditions experienced by society concerning its socio-economic development. On the other hand, the development of the concept of *istiṭā'ah* shows a shift in religious thought which has implications in beliefs and practices. The dynamic nature of a religious concept like *istiṭā'ah* shows an adaptation to contexts and an open understanding of religious concepts. At the empirical level, a concept is even negotiated that reconciles religious discourse with religious practices based on a religious foundation that continues to be inquired.

The shift in the meaning of *istiṭā'ah* in Bone society is an interesting issue to research considering that much of the literature discussing the concept of *istiṭā'ah* has only discussed it at a normative theoretical level. This study used a qualitative method with a *lughawi* approach and Islamic law as an analytical tool. The *lughawi* approach, also called *bayani*, was used to analyze the meaning of *istiṭā'ah* in terms of language, while the Islamic legal approach, or more precisely the *ta'illi (illat)* approach, was used to analyze the theory of legal discovery.<sup>12</sup>

The study collected data by means of in-depth interviews with the representatives of the Ministry of Religious Affairs in Bone, community leaders, and locals who have performed hajj and those who have not, as well as travel entrepreneurs, and of literature review from articles, books and Islamic textbooks relevant with the study. The data obtained were then analyzed using two theories, namely *lughawi* and Islamic law.

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<sup>12</sup> Bakhtiar, "Epistemologi Bayani, Ta'lili dan Istislahi dalam Pengembangan dan Pembaharuan Hukum," *Jurnal Tajdid* 18, No. 1 (2015). Khairuddin Hasballah, et.al., "Identifying 'Illat through Munasabah in Islamic Law: A Perspective of Imam Al-Ghazali," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam* 5, No. 2 (2021).

## Elaboration of the Meaning of *Istiṭā'ah*

### 1. The Meaning of *Istiṭā'ah* according to Language

The term *istiṭā'ah* has been identified in many studies.<sup>13</sup> *Istiṭā'ah* is derived from the root words *ta'a*, *yati'u*, *tau'an*, which etymologically means obedient, respectful, and submissive. *Istiṭā'ah* is one of the fractions of the word *ta'a* in the form of a noun, which means ability or capability. *Istiṭā'ah* is a derivative form of the word *ṭawwa'a*, which means obedience carried out on the basis of goodness and pleasure.<sup>14</sup> *Istiṭā'ah* refers to the condition of a person to do something that is ordered by sharia in accordance with his/her condition.<sup>15</sup> Hence, *istiṭā'ah* in the context of hajj is a mandatory condition, and not a valid requirement for hajj.<sup>16</sup> *Istiṭā'ah* can be interpreted to be physically, scientifically, and financially capable considering that hajj is carried out in a relatively long time and in a distant location. The concept of *istiṭā'ah* explained by the *fuqaha* (Islamic jurists) is simply related to: (1) matters of the hajj pilgrims themselves, e.g., physical abilities or physical health, and (2) matters outside the hajj pilgrims themselves, e.g., finance, supplies, and travel security.<sup>17</sup>

Being “able” is often interpreted as physical ability and wealth, but when viewed from the passage of time over the years with different conditions, situations and regions, the term has caused differences in the results of the *ulama's* (Islamic scholars) *ijtihad* (reasoning) regarding a law. This departs from the absence of a standard meaning mentioned in the Qur'an or Hadith, making it possible for the *mujtahid*, or *ulama* who have the ability to perform *ijtihad*, to carry out *ijtihad* on the meaning of the term *istiṭā'ah* in hajj.<sup>18</sup> The term *istiṭā'ah* has now experienced an expansion in meaning in which “able” also indicates the

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<sup>13</sup> Silvi Novindri, “Analisis Fikih terhadap Akad Dana Talangan Haji pada Bank Syariah,” *Muqtasid: Jurnal Ekonomi dan Perbankan Syariah*, 4, No. 1 (2013), p. 27-53. Nazra Hafizatul Hasana, “Istitha'ah dalam Ibadah Haji serta Implikasinya terhadap Penundaan Keberangkatan Jamaah Haji di Sumatera Barat,” *Jurnal Ijtihad*, (2019). Abd. Kadir Ahmad, “Haji Di Bontonompo Kabupaten Gowa Tinjauan Sosial Ekonomi,” *Jurnal Al-Qalam*, (2016).

<sup>14</sup> Abu Husain Ahmad Ibn Faris Zakariya, *Mu'jam Maqayis al-Lughah*, Beirut: Dar al-Jail, 1991, p. 431

<sup>15</sup> Nazra Hafizatul Hasana, “*Istiṭā'ah* dalam Ibadah Haji serta Implikasinya terhadap Penundaan Keberangkatan Jamaah Haji di Sumatera Barat,” *Ijtihad* 34, No. 1 (2019).

<sup>16</sup> Anugrah Rachmadi, “Studi Tentang Rekrutmen Calon Jamaah Haji Dalam Keberangkatan Ke Saudi Arabia Di Kantor Kementerian Agama Kota Samarinda,” *Journal Ilmu Pemerintahan* 2, No. 2 (2014).

<sup>17</sup> Achmad Muchaddam Fahham, “Penyelenggaraan Ibadah Haji: Masalah dan Penanganannya,” (2015).

<sup>18</sup> Silvi Novindri, *Analisis Fikih terhadap Akad Dana Talangan Haji...*, p. 27-53. Hudzaifah Achmad Qotadah and Adang Darmawan Achmad, “Ṭawāf Al-Mar'ah Al-Ḥā'id Fi Al-Manẓar Al-Islāmīy: Dirāsah Muqāranah Bayn Al-Madhāhib Al-Fiqhiyyah Al-Islāmīyyah,” *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura* 22, No. 1 (2021).

ability to meet the departure quota.<sup>19</sup> *Istiṭā'ah* is divided into two types: (1) the ability to do it on one's own, and (2) the ability to do it by being represented by others. These two abilities are the cause of the obligation of hajj for a Muslim, and this obligation remains with the Muslim until he/she has fulfilled it. A Muslim who owns assets that are not a mainstay of his/her source of income, and if these assets are sold, it does not result in neglect of the responsibility of providing for the family, then the person has been *istiṭā'ah*.<sup>20</sup>

The concept of "*istiṭā'ah*", which refers to one's abilities that must be fulfilled as a condition for performing hajj, has shifted from time to time. The abilities that were originally spiritual, physical, and material aspects to be fulfilled by a person have shifted to indicate the abilities that are more material in nature. Nowadays, performing hajj is almost solely determined by purchasing power. People from the middle-upper class who are economically well off can gain the widest possible opportunity to go to the Holy Land. Even before the restrictions on umrah were imposed, many Indonesians went on hajj through the umrah programs almost every year. The issue of *istiṭā'ah* becomes significant when the practice of borrowing money to meet the requirements for the ability to perform hajj emerges.<sup>21</sup> The Muslim community interprets financial ability can be overcome by making other efforts including having to loan.

When viewed from the aspect of *lughawi* or *bayani* by using language rules and implications for Islamic law,<sup>22</sup> then the meaning of *istiṭā'ah* has shifted, which is narrowing its meaning by the community. The meaning of *istiṭā'ah* according to Islamic linguists and legal experts does not only suggest economic capacity, but also physical (healthy), psychological, and spiritual abilities, as well as the condition and state of security of a country. In an unsafe country, despite a person being physically and economically capable, if the country is hit by a conflict, then the person does not meet the security capabilities.

## 2. The Meaning of *Istiṭā'ah* according to Islamic Law

The Bone people seem to understand the concept of *istiṭā'ah* not solely based on normative theological aspects and religious norms, but also on other aspects, reflecting a form of diversity of understanding in their society. When referring to the understanding of *istiṭā'ah* in the text of the hadith of the Prophet

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<sup>19</sup> Nasrudin Beik and Irfan Syauqi Anas, "Model Bisnis Kanvas Layanan Haji PT Bank Syariah X Cabang Cibinong," *Jurnal Aplikasi Bisnis dan Manajemen*, (2015).

<sup>20</sup> Budi Kisworo, "Ibadah Haji Ditinjau Dari Berbagai Aspek," *Al-Istinbath: Jurnal Hukum Islam*, 2017.

<sup>21</sup> Zulfaqar Mamat, "Skim Pinjaman Wang Daripada Koperasi Dan Seumpamanya Untuk Menunaikan Fardu Haji Atau Umrah" *Jurnal Muamalat* (2008).

<sup>22</sup> Bakhtiar, *Epistimologi Bayani, Ta'lili dan Istislahi*..., p. 5-18.

Muhammad PBUH related to ability in marriage, the meaning of *istiṭā'ah* does not only include the financial ability, but also the psychological ability.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, according to Wahbah Al-Zuhaily, *istiṭā'ah* includes physical, financial, and security capabilities to get to the Baitullah.<sup>24</sup> In the view of the four *madhhab* (schools of thought), for example, Imam Hanafi is of the opinion that the *istiṭā'ah* in the verse is supplies and vehicles as well as travel safety. Travel safety indicates that it is generally safe traveling around the area even though their place is restricted by the sea to get to Mecca. The Maliki school interprets *istiṭā'ah* by allowing a person to reach the Baitullah, i.e., physically healthy. Therefore, it is not permissible to replace someone else's hajj. The Shafi'i school also interprets *istiṭā'ah* as supplies, vehicles, and travel safety. The Hanbali school gives the interpretation of *istiṭā'ah* in this verse as supplies and vehicles.<sup>25</sup>

*Istiṭā'ah* can also be categorized internally within the prospective hajj pilgrims and externally outside the hajj pilgrims, as is the case with the quota. Based on these descriptions, it can be understood that there is no absolute and textual agreement among the *ulama* regarding which category is said to have met the *istiṭā'ah* requirements. However, when analyzed in depth, there is no single view of the *ulama* that only focuses on one category of *istiṭā'ah*. Even if the concept of *istiṭā'ah* in hajj and marriage is compared, the category of being able physically and non-physically remains a reference for the *ulama*. Not a single valid reference is found to confirm that the concept of *istiṭā'ah* is sufficient in terms of the economic or financial aspect alone. Moreover, with the limitation of the hajj quota set by the government of Saudi Arabia, the meaning of *istiṭā'ah* is thus closely related to the ability to fill the hajj quota even though the hajj quota is a problem outside of the prospective hajj pilgrims.

The diversity of meanings of *istiṭā'ah* that occurs in Bone society does not show a significant relationship between one category and another. Even if one meaning with another can be interrelated, one of the meanings becomes subordinal to the others, and the dominant one is the economic factor. Nevertheless, there are also moderate meanings that relate one *istiṭā'ah* concept to another without any subordination. Thus, there needs to be a systematic effort to place meaning in accordance with the rules of determining law in Islamic teachings. The *Majelis Ulama Islam* (Islamic Ulema Council), as the authority

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<sup>23</sup> Mawardi Sufyan, "Analisis Kritis Makna "Al-Syabab" Dan "Istitha'ah" Pada Hadits Anjuran Menikah, *Al-Ulum: Jurnal Penelitian dan Pemikiran Keislaman* 4, No. 2 (2017), p. 304-317.

<sup>24</sup> Wahbah al-Zuhaily, *al-Fikh al-Islami wa adillatuhu, Juz 3* (Suriah: Dar al fikri, 1985), p. 25.

<sup>25</sup> Nazra Hafizatul Hasana, "Istitha'ah dalam Ibadah Haji serta Implikasinya terhadap Penundaan Keberangkatan Jamaah Haji di Sumatera Barat," *Jurnal Ijtihad*, (2019).



holder to issue *fatwa* (ruling) along with related parties, should conduct an in-depth study so that the concept of *istiṭā'ah* can be addressed universally and comprehensively.

The fact shows that there is a narrowing of the meaning of *istiṭā'ah* which is more inclined to the economic aspect, and so the former meaning which is more comprehensive is being abandoned. This narrowing of meaning is a unique phenomenon in understanding the common term in society that hajj is an obligation for people who can afford it. This narrowing of meaning is in contrast to various Islamic literatures that have been known in the Islamic studies and the academic world. M. Quraish Shihab has indicated that the concept of the ability to carry out the hajj and umrah pilgrimages does not only cover one aspect, but rather several aspects, and one of them is the ability to obtain materials in a *halal* (lawful) manner. He also emphasizes that financial ability is not the result of selling the only source of income or selling something that can cause life difficulties for those concerned and their families. The material capability is not only for the Cost of Organizing the Hajj Pilgrimage (*Biaya Penyelenggaraan Ibadah Haji/BPIH*), but also includes the expenses for the needs of the family left behind during the hajj pilgrimage.<sup>26</sup>

The motivation for repeating hajj or umrah many times is also a narrowing of the meaning of *istiṭā'ah* which is more synonymous with purely economic factors. A study conducted by Salman Faatin found that one of the causes of Muslims repeating hajj was because they considered that the first hajj was not yet optimal to abort the obligation to perform hajj, since the hajj expenses were provided by someone else, e.g., parents, children, relatives, or hajj prizes. Therefore, they had not felt capable (*istiṭā'ah*) and so they had to complete their hajj by repeating it once they fulfilled their financial capabilities independently.<sup>27</sup> This phenomenon shows that there is a growing indicator among the people that the economic aspect is the dominant factor in understanding the concept of *istiṭā'ah*. In addition, the waiting list is quite long in Bone District for new applicants in 2019, up to 39 years of waiting period. This also shows the narrowing of the meaning of *istiṭā'ah* because it is possible that prospective hajj pilgrims at the time of registration can still meet the *istiṭā'ah* requirements, e.g., from physical and psychological health aspects. However, after reaching a long waiting period, the physical aspect will no longer be fulfilled because along with age, the meaning of *istiṭā'ah* which has

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<sup>26</sup> Syarifah Ahmad, "Imas Pengelolaan Dana Umrah Berbasis Investasi," *SALAM: Jurnal Sosial dan Budaya Syar-I I*, No. 2 (2014), p. 281-294.

<sup>27</sup> Salmah Faatin, "Haji Dua Kali: Kajian terhadap Motif Pengulangan Haji Masyarakat Muslim di Kudus," *Jurnal Fikrah* 7, No. 1 (2017), p. 43-72.

solely focused on the aspect of financial ability will be less relevant.<sup>28</sup> Further, the low cost of organizing the hajj pilgrimage (BPIH) for regular hajj is also one of the factors in the large number of waiting lists in various regions in Indonesia, including in Bone District.

The affordability of such costs may result in narrowing the understanding of *istiṭā'ah* towards the economic aspect. BPIH for regular hajj is in the price range of 35 million rupiah per hajj pilgrim, which is an affordable rate for middle and upper economic classes. Yet, the deposition of hajj funds for 39 years will have an unproductive impact on hajj funds included in the waiting list category. The impact of narrowing the meaning related to the financial aspect has become a fertile ground for the growth and development of hajj and umrah travel agents, as evidenced by the high number of users of hajj and umrah travel services who organize special hajj or Hajj Plus, despite having to pay relatively higher costs than the regular hajj.<sup>29</sup>

The narrow meaning of *istiṭā'ah*, due to the implementation of the obligatory hajj, has financial consequences and causes the large number of waiting lists that do not reduce Hajj registrants, leading to the tendency to switch from regular hajj officially managed by the government to the services of private hajj and umrah travel agents. A number of implications may arise because of such circumstances. One of them is the existence of funds deposited from hajj pilgrims over the years. Even though the funds have been utilized for the public interest as an effort to finance the state budget (*Anggaran Pendapatan Belanja Negara/APBN*) through State Sharia Securities (*Surat Berharga Syariah Negara/SBSN*) funds, it has no direct impact on the owners of the funds, in this case the prospective hajj pilgrims.<sup>30</sup> Likewise, many prospective pilgrims are included in the waiting list, systemically resulting in a narrowing of meaning because the physical and mental aspects are not a concern, except solely on financial/economic aspects, even more so with the mushrooming of travel agents in the association of hajj and umrah organizers, which has more economic nuances. Therefore, there is a need for clear efforts by related parties, i.e., the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Ministry of Finance, so that the hajj funds, apart from being able to be used to finance the APBN, can also finance the APBD (*Anggaran Pendapatan Belanja Daerah/regional budget*) for the regions that are the biggest suppliers of the settled hajj funds.

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<sup>28</sup> Nida Farhan, "Problematika Waiting List Dalam Penyelenggaraan Ibadah Haji di Indonesia," *Jurnal Studi Agama dan Masyarakat* 12, No 1, (2017), p. 57-80.

<sup>29</sup> Muhammad Chulaifi and Endang Setyowati, "Pengaruh Kualitas Pelayanan, Persepsi Harga Dan Kepercayaan Terhadap Kepuasan Konsumen Jasa Travel Umrah Dan Haji Pada PT. Sebariz Warna Berkah Di Surabaya," *Penelitian LPPM Untag Surabaya*, (2018).

<sup>30</sup> Ibrahim, et al, "Mabrur Ok (Model Antrian Bijak Prioritas Usia Rentan Orientasi Keefektifan): Solusi Akselerasi Pemberangkatan Jamaah Haji Nasional, Prodising Seminar Nasional Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta (2011), p. 243-252.

The allocation for the use of SBSN has not been based on the relationship between the regions where the waiting lists are the most, especially with individual hajj pilgrims, but rather on national interests, particularly on funding of infrastructure. Supervision of hajj and umrah travel associations and bureaus should also receive special attention, as the increasing number of hajj travellers opens up opportunities for such business to develop. Thus, the Ministry of Religious Affairs not only presents regulations that govern legally, but also provides inherent supervision so that travel agents do not only pursue as much profit as possible, but also offers good services to hajj pilgrims without neglecting the normative theological aspects of the meaning of *istiṭa'ah*.

## Meaning Shift of *Istiṭa'ah* in Performing Hajj for the Bugis Bone Community

### 1. The Meaning of *Istiṭa'ah* for the Bugis Bone Community

*Istiṭa'ah* is a concept that regulates the appropriateness of a Muslim to fulfill the legal aspects of *taklifi* in the implementation of hajj. However, in Bone society the concept of *istiṭa'ah* has various meanings. The people of Bone view the meanings of *istiṭa'ah* in three perspectives. First, *istiṭa'ah* is seen from the perspective of being physically capable. A person is said to be able (*istiṭa'ah*) if he/she has the physical ability (i.e., physical health) to carry out the hajj activities. Physical ability is crucial because almost all hajj activities involve physical work. For example, when performing *tawaf*, a hajj pilgrim is required to walk around the Kaaba seven times, and therefore one shall be physically prepared.<sup>31</sup> However, during hajj, sometimes hajj pilgrims will experience problems in carrying out the hajj rituals e.g., suffering from an illness that requires rest or being hospitalized.<sup>32</sup>

Second, *istiṭa'ah* is viewed from an economically viable perspective. The aspect of economic capability is also a matter that becomes the category of *istiṭa'ah*. This is also the main factor a Muslim is said to be able in terms of financial ability, and distinguishes hajj from other acts of worship.<sup>33</sup> Hajj tends to be synonymous with costs that must be met by a prospective hajj pilgrim. Without the support of adequate funding, one cannot carry out the hajj and umrah pilgrimages.<sup>34</sup> Currently, many travel agencies are promoting hajj or umrah pilgrimage programs, starting from the lowest to the highest prices. Hence, according to a Bone local, who has never performed the hajj and umrah pilgrimages, some have physically fulfilled the formal requirements, but lack of

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<sup>31</sup> Interview with Bahtiar, religious leader, in Bone, June 3, 2021.

<sup>32</sup> Interview with Sofyan, religious leader, in Bone, July 5, 2021.

<sup>33</sup> Interview with Ramli, religious leader, in Bone, July 5, 2021.

<sup>34</sup> Interview with Nurdin, community leader, in Bone, September 10, 2021.

economic support still prevent people to carry out the hajj, as hajj costs a lot of money.<sup>35</sup>

Third, *istiṭa'ah* is seen from the perspective of being able to provide safety. The safety capability for the hajj pilgrims is also an aspect that becomes the norm of decency during hajj. A hajj pilgrim recalled that some sellers in shops around the Haram mosque sometimes behaved inappropriately and harrassed women.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, if women shopped unaccompanied by their *mahram*, they sometimes experienced inappropriate acts.<sup>37</sup> On a different aspect, safety is not only needed when in the Haramain i.e., holy places (Makkah and Medina), or places commonly visited by hajj pilgrims for pilgrimage, but is also needed from the time they leave their houses until they return home because the potential for security disturbances can occur for both female and male hajj pilgrims.<sup>38</sup>

The three concepts of *istiṭa'ah* above show that people's understanding is not only based on Islamic law, but also on economic aspects. This also indicates that there is a diversity of understanding in society regarding the concept of *istiṭa'ah*.

## 2. The Shift in the Meaning of *Istiṭa'ah* in Bone Muslim Community

Normatively, the concept of *istiṭa'ah* has been described in the Qur'an and hadith, as well as in various interpretations by the *ulama*. However, in Bone society, *istiṭa'ah* has experienced a narrow shift in meaning, from a more comprehensive meaning to an understanding that tends to be economic in nature. The narrowing of the meaning of *istiṭa'ah* is caused by three factors. First, hajj is a 'once in a lifetime' mandatory worship, which requires high economic costs, but it does not reduce people's desire and willingness to perform hajj and umrah repeatedly. As such, it is only natural that the government places restrictions on the people to perform hajj, so that those with a lot of money will not perform hajj repeatedly even if they have to pay a high fee.<sup>39</sup>

The Head of Sub-Directorate of Hajj of the Ministry of Religious Affairs in Bone District said that the limit system of repeat hajj not only applies to prospective regular hajj pilgrims, but also to special hajj pilgrims; thus, there is a system of justice for people who can and cannot afford to carry out the hajj

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<sup>35</sup> Interview with Mastan, community leader, in Bone, September 10, 2021.

<sup>36</sup> Interview with Nurlina, a local, in Bone, June 15, 2021.

<sup>37</sup> Interview with Matahari, a local, in Bone, August 2, 2021.

<sup>38</sup> Interview with Yatta, community leader, in Bone, August 2, 2021.

<sup>39</sup> Interview with Nurdin, community leader, in Bone, September 10, 2021.

pilgrimage.<sup>40</sup> Travel agent owners in Bone stated that the public's enthusiasm for hajj had been very high even though the government had placed restrictions on people who had already performed hajj, including the special hajj.<sup>41</sup>

Second, the narrowing of the meaning of *istiṭa'ah* can also be seen from the increasing number of prospective hajj pilgrims on the waiting list. Data from the Ministry of Religious Affairs of South Sulawesi Province showed quite high numbers of people; in 2018, the waiting list was 13,034 people and in 2019, it continued to increase to 13,531 people. If the waiting list number is converted into the waiting year, then the applicants in 2019 will have to wait to arrive at their turn for hajj in 39 years. In the last three years, the cost of hajj (BPIH) has never been adjusted, still at 35 million rupiah per person, even though its components continue to increase every year, e.g., flight, food, and hotel, among others.

**Table 1. Waiting List for Hajj Pilgrims in Bone District**

Year	Waiting List	Waiting Period
2018	13034	37 years
2019	13531	39 years

Source: <https://sulsel.kemenag.go.id>, 2021.

Third, one indicator of the narrowing of meaning to the economic aspect is the switchover from the regular system managed by the government to the service system by hajj and umrah travel association. The people of Bone tend to use many travel agencies since the prospective hajj or umrah pilgrims will get conveniences, which is directly proportional to the costs incurred.<sup>42</sup> The people entrust all matters of hajj to the travel parties, as it is easier and will not cause any inconvenience towards hajj pilgrims even if they have to pay more, especially if they want to get more facilities and priority in the acceleration of hajj.<sup>43</sup> A travel agent owner stated that most prospective hajj pilgrims did not pay much attention to price issues, but rather to the comfort and the facilities that could be gained, and no less important was the certainty of departure obtained from higher cost rates.<sup>44</sup> Hence, in light of these three indicators, the narrowing of the meaning of *istiṭa'ah* seems more inclined to the economic aspect, making the previous comprehensive meaning began to shift.

<sup>40</sup> Interview with Abustan, Head of Sub Directorate of Hajj, in Bone, September 13, 2021.

<sup>41</sup> Interview with Muhaemin, Owner of Travel A, in Bone, September 13, 2021.

<sup>42</sup> Interview with Dahlan, community leader, in Bone, September 11, 2021.

<sup>43</sup> Interview with Jamaluddin, religious leader, in Bone, September 13, 2021.

<sup>44</sup> Interview with Zaenal Abidin, Owner of Travel B, in Bone, September 11, 2021.

### Understanding of *Istiṭā'ah* and Economic Capability in the Perspective of *Lughawi* and Islamic Law

Community understanding in terms of the meaning of *istiṭā'ah* loaded with economic content is part of the mindset, while the mindset itself is part of the culture.<sup>45</sup> However, the root of the meaning should be traced first, including the cultural aspect along with the dynamics of the mindset that surrounds it. Mindsets and even patterns of action formed in society are the result of internal and external influences from individuals. Meanings that are not based on textual and contextual understanding will cause potential erroneous understanding of *istiṭā'ah*. Meanings that are subjective and only emphasize the aspect of feeling rather than rationality will undermine the constructive methodology of Islamic studies.

Thus, the understanding among the people of Bone that the economic aspect is the only category in determining the appropriateness and obligation to perform hajj implies a wrong meaning and must be straightened out. In other words, the people's mindset regarding the economic aspect as the only category in determining the ability (*istiṭā'ah*) to carry out hajj or even negating other aspects outside is contrary to the standard order contained in the Qur'an and Hadith, as well as the views of both classical and modern *ulama*. Such understanding is not in line with the various views of the *salaf al-salih* scholars deeply rooted in the history of Islamic law until today.

Although the narrow meanings of *istiṭā'ah* in Bone society will not necessarily change the normative religious order in Islamic studies, these meanings are still social dynamics that are constantly moving and will gradually obscure the level of religious norms. Therefore, it requires wisdom to synergize with the involvement of stakeholders. It also requires the role of religious leaders to provide Islamic reinforcements. The role of academics in the Islamic field is no less important because strengthening research in Islamic studies is one of the pillars for developing a systematic mindset.

The meaning of *istiṭā'ah* in Bone society comprises at least three economic contents. First, *istiṭā'ah* tends to be the only indicator of someone categorized as capable. A Bone local who has never performed hajj when asked about the reason for not performing hajj answered that hajj was intended for those with a lot of property, and even elderly with lack of physical ability could still perform hajj at any time as long as they had abundant wealth.<sup>46</sup> Likewise, another local explained that with money, anyone could perform hajj as they wishd.<sup>47</sup> In addition, a religious figure of Bone mentioned that people tended to

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<sup>45</sup> Pajar Hatma and Indra Jaya, "Dinamika Pola Pikir Orang Jawa Di Tengah Arus Modernisasi," *Jurnal Humaniora* 24, No. 2, (2012), p. 133-140.

<sup>46</sup> Interview with Salahuddin, community leader, in Bone, September 13, 2021.

<sup>47</sup> Interview with Abdullah, community leader, in Bone, September 20, 2021.

understand the ability in the fifth pillar of Islam as hajj for those who were only financially able.<sup>48</sup>

Second, the meaning of “ability” is the elimination of categories other than finance, previously accommodated due to the technical and non-technical obstacles that emerged in the implementation of hajj and could be overcome economically. In the past, the community understood that the ability to perform hajj was not due to the economic aspect, but today many facilities can make it easier for people to carry out hajj, and most importantly, with money other technical obstacles can be solved.<sup>49</sup> However, academically and normatively one’s ability to meet the *istiṭa'ah* criteria does not only relate to the economic aspect; however, along with modern progress and development, the technical constraints that are often faced by hajj pilgrims can be handled, e.g., paralyzed hajj pilgrims carried out by using a wheelchair, and therefore, sick hajj pilgrims can still perform the pilgrimage more comfortably.<sup>50</sup> In addition, in the Holy Land, many pilgrims experience being assisted by using the services of other people to carry out the hajj activities, and so their physical obstacles can still be overcome.<sup>51</sup>

Third, another economic content that can influence the meaning of *istiṭa'ah* in the Bone community is the ease and certainty of performing hajj through hajj and umrah travel organizers. The presence of hajj travel agents can provide convenience as well as create envy because there are people who have to queue for decades to be able to perform hajj, while some other people can perform hajj every year. If both hajj and umrah are counted, these people can go to the Holy Land three or four times a year.<sup>52</sup> Nowadays there are many hajj travel agencies who provide facilities, i.e., leaving for hajj early, as long as they have money, and some travel agencies even provide facilities, such as loans for hajj and umrah expenses, which can be paid in installments after returning from hajj or umrah.<sup>53</sup> In line with this, a community figure expressed that travel agents are currently competing to promote their services, e.g., having competitive prices with other agents, or providing elite class or VVIP facilities, and even loans for people to hajj.<sup>54</sup>

The three descriptions above show the different meanings of *istiṭa'ah* that are economically charged, either taking the economic aspect as the only factor or ignoring others. Additionally, the development of hajj and umrah travel

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<sup>48</sup> Interview with Ambo Tang, religious leader, in Bone, September 20, 2021.

<sup>49</sup> Interview with Syamsuddin, a local, in Bone, October 7, 2021.

<sup>50</sup> Interview with Abd. Hafid, academician, in Bone, October 7, 2021.

<sup>51</sup> Interview with Karim, a local, in Bone, October 9, 2021.

<sup>52</sup> Interview with Arafah, a local, in Bone, October 12, 2021.

<sup>53</sup> Interview with A. Ampa, community leader, in Bone, October 9, 2021.

<sup>54</sup> Interview with A. Sudirman, community leader, in Bone, October 12, 2021.

bureaus shows an understanding of the people of Bone that *istiṭa'ah* is full of economic interests. It is unsurprising that in the people's mindset, *istiṭa'ah* equals to the economic ability.

On the contrary, in *lughawi* or *bayani* definitions, *istiṭa'ah* not only refers to the economic ability, but also the physical ability, waiting list, as well as health and political security. Therefore, in the *lughawi* approach, *istiṭa'ah* must be returned to its true meaning, and not in a narrow sense. In this case, *istiṭa'ah* shall be understood in a broader context, such as the waiting list in Indonesia which causes a person to wait for more than 30 years and conditions that are safe for health and politics. The Covid-19 pandemic had shown us that hajj in 2020 could not be carried out for all Muslims in the world.<sup>55</sup> Moreover, Muslims in conflict-ridden countries, such as in Myanmar or in Ukraine, can be said to have no ability or *istiṭa'ah* in terms of safety to carry out the hajj pilgrimage. Such factors in the context of Islamic law can become *illat* that causes a Muslim to be exempt from performing hajj.

Therefore, in this context, socialization and coaching by the government and religious leaders are necessary to provide reinforcement of Islamic law regarding the concept of *istiṭa'ah* more thoroughly. In addition, the community leaders and *ulama* play an important role in getting direct contact with the community. Similarly, the academics also contribute in strengthening the studies of Islamic law as a pillar in building a more comprehensive and dynamic mindset of the Muslim *ummah*.

## Conclusion

This study reveals that the understanding of the Bone community regarding the concept of *istiṭa'ah* is quite diverse, as not all of them originate from Islamic law. The Bone community has a more subjective observation and uses a less comprehensive approach. The people of Bone interpret *istiṭa'ah* as the physical, economic, and security abilities while in the Holy Land. However, there is a shift in the meaning of *istiṭa'ah*, narrowly referring it only to the economic capacity, since it is affected by the high costs of carrying out hajj, the long waiting lists, and the large number of regular hajj transfers to hajj handled by private travel agents. The shift in the meaning of *istiṭa'ah* towards the economic ability occurs because no other indicator other than the economy that cause any constraints or limitations to be overcome by using services and paying

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<sup>55</sup> Maharani Alifah Dhiya Rahmadhanitya and Sidik Jatmika, *The Impact of Covid-19 on Indonesian Muslim Pilgrimage...*, p. 1-22. Endang Jumali, *Cancellation of The Hajj ...*, p. 584-599. Dhiauddin Tanjung, "The Effect of Masalikul 'Illat in the Determination of Islamic Law in Indonesia," *Ulul Albab: Jurnal Studi dan Penelitian Hukum Islam* 4, No. 2 (2021), p. 231.



other people. People who have the economic ability will get more VIP facilities than those who do not. In this context, it seems that the waiting list and security (e.g., Covid-19 and/or war) are not a consideration, despite these factors being the determinants of whether a person can perform hajj or not. In the *lughawi* definition, the meaning of *istiṭā'ah* should be understood broadly, not only in terms of finance. The external factors, e.g., the waiting list and security, in the context of Islamic law can also become the *illat* of a person to have the ability (*istiṭā'ah*) to perform hajj.

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### **Interviews**

Interview with A. Ampa, community leader, in Bone, October 9, 2021.

Interview with A. Sudirman, community leader, in Bone, October 12, 2021.

Interview with Abd. Hafid, academician, in Bone, October 7, 2021.

Interview with Abdullah, community leader, in Bone, September 20, 2021.

Interview with Abustan, Head of Sub Directorate of Hajj, in Bone, September 13, 2021.

Interview with Ambo Tang, religious figure, in Bone, September 20, 2021.

Interview with Arafah, a local, in Bone, October 12, 2021.

Interview with Bahtiar, religious leader, in Bone, June 3, 2021.

Interview with Dahlan, community leader, in Bone, September 11, 2021.

Interview with Jamaluddin, religious leader, in Bone, September 13, 2021.

Interview with Karim, a local, in Bone, October 9, 2021.

Interview with Mastan, community leader, in Bone, September 10, 2021.

Interview with Matahari, a local, in Bone, August 2, 2021.

Interview with Muhaemin, owner of travel A, in Bone, September 13, 2021.

Interview with Nurdin, community leader, in Bone, September 10, 2021.

Interview with Nurlina, a local, in Bone, June 15, 2021.

Interview with Ramli, religious figure, in Bone, July 5, 2021.

Interview with Salahuddin, community leader, in Bone, September 13, 2021.

Interview with Sofyan, religious leader, in Bone, July 5, 2021.

Interview with Syamsuddin, Community, in Bone, October 7, 2021.

Interview with Yatta, community leader, in Bone, August 2, 2021.

Interview with Zaenal Abidin, Owner of Travel B, in Bone, September 11, 2021.