



Islamizing Hajj Governance in a Democratic State: An Approach Based on *al-Siyāsah al-Shar'īyyah*, Civil Religion, and Participatory Bureaucracy

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to formulate a framework for the Islamization of Hajj policy that is able to bridge sharia authority, national legitimacy, and public participation through a theoretical synthesis between *al-siyāsah al-shar'īyyah* by Ibn Taymiyyah, civil religion by Robert N. Bellah, and participatory bureaucracy by Frederick C. Mosher. The research method used is qualitative-descriptive with an *amanah* approach, while simultaneously transforming the Hajj into *sha'ir al-waṭan* which strengthens *al-huwiyyah al-waṭaniyyah*, and facilitates space for the *musharakah* assembly which embodies *al-riqābah al-ijtimā'īyyah*. The main conclusion is that the Islamization of the Hajj policy is not a form of theocracy, but an adaptive and responsible “*tajdīd al-siyāsah al-islāmiyyah*” towards a modern democratic order. The scientific contribution of this paper lies in the development of the Triple-Helix Governance Model (THGM), an original framework that combines three cross-civilization paradigms into a coherent and applicable “*nadhrāh tajnīsiyyah*”. Limitations of the research include its reliance on secondary data and concentration on the Indonesian context, which has prevented it from exploring the anthropological dimension and has not been tested comparatively across countries.

Keywords: hajj governance, democratic state, al-siyāsah al-shar'īyyah, civil religion, participatory bureaucracy

INTRODUCTION

Amidst the wave of modernization of religious bureaucracy, the organization of the Hajj in many democratic Muslim countries (including Indonesia) still faces a serious structural dilemma, where the shar'iyah obligations and demands for public accountability are often in a tension that is difficult to reconcile. Millions of Hajj pilgrims from countries such as Indonesia, Morocco, and Bangladesh have experienced years of delayed departure due to limited quotas (Al-Ajarma, 2024; Ali et al., 2020; Bianchi, 2017; Caidi, 2019; Jourde et al., 2024), while the lack of transparency in the Hajj fund management system has fueled public suspicion about the potential for economic "muḍarat" and "khiyānah amānah" (Hainsworth, 2007; Setiawan, 2025). Field facts have shown that although the Hajj is an expensive and complex pilgrimage, the policy-making mechanism is often "top-down" without the direct involvement of pilgrims as "mustahiq" (Helbing et al., 2015; Hmimnat, 2020; Shafqat et al., 2022), thus giving rise to dissatisfaction that has the potential to damage the "maṣlaḥah ummah." Worse, the presidential decree on Hajj costs (Keppres) has often been responded to with skepticism (Alam et al., 2021; Alturki, 2024; Hernawan & Nah, 2020) because it has been deemed inadequate in terms of "maqāṣidī" and has not included the principle of "shūrā" in the policy formulation process. This situation demands a fundamental and responsible transformation in the Hajj management paradigm, moving from an authoritative bureaucratic model (Hasan, 2016; Jourde et al., 2024; Taibah & Arlikatti, 2015) to a governance model that integrates "al-'adl," "al-maṣlaḥah," and "al-sharī'ah compliance" within the context of a democratic state. Thus, a holistic approach is needed that not only strengthens the legitimacy of the shar'iyah but also ensures citizen participation and national cohesion. Efforts to resolve this issue must begin with an epistemological reconstruction of Hajj policy, namely by presenting a theoretical synthesis capable of uniting and even fostering a closer relationship between "al-siyāsah al-shar'iyah," "civil religion," and "participatory bureaucracy."

Most contemporary studies on Hajj policy tend to be divided into two groups: one group focuses on the dimensions of fiqh and uṣūl al-fiqh, such as studies on "wājib al-hajj," "qiyas," and "istiḥsān" in the modern context, while the other group has adopted a sociological-political approach influenced by secularism, such as the analysis of state bureaucracy or "state religiosity," but rarely has it succeeded in combining the two theoretically and operationally. Certain studies have initiated an approach to studying Hajj as a state project, but are still limited to the national context (Al-Kodmany, 2009; Bianchi, 2017; Henderson, 2011; NIU & METWALLY, 2016) without referring to philosophical and reflective Islamic normative provisions such as Ibn 'Āshūr's "maqāṣid al-sharī'ah" or Ibn Taymiyyah's "siyāsah shar'iyah." On a different dimension, Bellah's sociological study of "civil religion" is rarely applied in non-Western Muslim contexts, resulting in an "epistemic gap" in analyzing, recognizing, and

caring about the possibility of religious rituals as a tool for national unity without sacrificing the transcendental dimension (Bellah, 1976, 1998, 2005; Bellah & Hammond, 2013). Therefore, Mosher's study of "participatory bureaucracy" is generally developed in a secular Western context, so it has not been tested in a government system based on the "ummah" and "khilāfah al-rashīdah" as a moral metaphor (Mosher, 1956, 1969, 1971, 1975, 1978, 1980, 2016). As a result, there is a significant "knowledge gap" in the literature: there is no model that explicitly combines shar'īyyah authority (al-sulṭah al-shar'īyyah), public moral legitimacy (al-sha'b al-mu'min), and citizen participation (mushārah al-muwāṭinīn) in a single, coherent analytical approach or framework. Thus, this research paper presents a theoretical "novelty" through the synthesis of three interdisciplinary paradigms that have been considered incompatible. Therefore, this study not only matures the discourse on Hajj policy but also paves the way for "Islamic democratic governance" based on "hikmah," responsibility, "adl," care, and "shūrā."

This paper aims to fill this theoretical gap by developing a conceptual framework that integrates Ibn Taymiyyah's "al-siyāsah al-shar'īyyah" as a normative foundation, Robert N. Bellah's "civil religion" as a tool of social legitimacy, and Frederick C. Mosher's "participatory bureaucracy" as an operational mechanism of bureaucracy. Specifically, this research paper is committed to answering the fundamental question: how can the Islamization of Hajj policy be implemented in a democratic state without falling into the dichotomy between theocracy and secularism? The aim is to build a model of "tadbīr hajj" (hajj management) that not only meets the criteria of shar'īyyah, but also "dīmuqrāṭīyyah" and "mushārah jamā'īyyah". Through the "triple-helix integration" approach, this study aims to explain that a democratic Muslim state is able to carry out its functions as an "imāmah 'ādilah" as well as a "dawlah madaniyyah" that is responsive, responsible, and impactful to the demands of the people. In addition, this research paper aims to develop an accountability framework based on "muḥāsabah", "ḥisbah", and "al-amr bi-l-ma'rūf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar" in the context of modern bureaucracy. In this way, the Hajj policy is no longer seen as an administrative burden, but as a strategic "community project" in building "al-jāmi'ah al-mu'minah." In general terms, the main contribution of this paper is to introduce an "Islamic Participatory Governance" (IPG) model that can be adopted by Muslim countries in organizing the Hajj in a fair, efficient, and dignified manner.

The main argument of this paper is that the Islamization of Hajj policy in a democratic state is not only possible but is a prerequisite for the continued legitimacy of the state in a religious and critical Muslim society. The synthesis of "al-siyāsah al-shar'īyyah," "civil religion," and "participatory bureaucracy" has enabled the realization of Hajj governance that combines maqāṣid al-sharī'ah, al-ittisāl al-waṭanī, and al-mushārah al-idāriyyah as its main pillars. Linearly, the state has been able to carry out the function of "wilāyat al-qaḍā'" (regulatory

authority) without neglecting the principles of "al-ḥurriyyah al-siyāsiyyah" and "ḥaqq al-muwāṭin fī al-ma'lūmāt." This model allows the Hajj policy to be discretionary but still bound by the principles of al-niyyah al-ṣāliḥah and al-maṣlaḥah al-mursalah. At a more advanced level, the Hajj ritual managed by the state has the potential to function as a symbol of religion and a symbol of the nation, thereby strengthening the symbol of al-huwiyyah al-mushtarakah. Based on these arguments, supervision of the implementation of the Presidential Decree on Hajj Costs should not be centralized, but must involve the majālis shūrā hajj, participatory shar'iyah audit, and mushārah al-mujtama' al-madani. This argument has declared that the Islamization of policy does not mean de-democratization, but rather becomes a path for "tajdīd al-siyāsah al-islāmiyyah" in a plural and democratic modern state order.

METHOD

The democratic state has been chosen as both the material object and the unit of analysis in this paper because of its representation as a political entity that structurally recognizes the sovereignty of the people (*al-siyādah al-sha'biyyah*) but still has to bear the mandate of organizing the religious affairs of the people, especially the Hajj pilgrimage which is a symbol of al-waḥdah al-Islāmiyyah and at the same time an international state project. The selection of the democratic state as the focus of analysis has been based on its complexity and asymmetry in balancing the principle of shūrā which is in line with Islamic tradition and the mechanism of "democratic accountability" which demands transparency and public participation. Countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, and Tunisia have become relevant empirical examples because they manage the Hajj through state institutions (such as BPKH or Tabung Haji) within a unique yet compromising and impressive secular-religious constitutional framework, thus allowing for an exploration of the dynamics of "tanzīm al-ḥajj fī dawlah dīmuqrāṭiyyah." The selection process for this object was conducted using a purposive sampling approach based on the following criteria: a Muslim-majority country, an institutionalized democratic system, and the existence of a formal, presidentially regulated Hajj bureaucracy. Through a focus and dedication to the democratic state, this study has examined the limits of al-siyāsah al-shar'iyah (Islamic law) within the context of "civilized state," where power is derived not from theological claims but from constitutional legitimacy. Thus, the democratic state serves not merely as a backdrop but as an active subject of analysis in the process of "Islamic zāt al-siyāsah al-āmmah" (Islamic law) through strategic, impactful, and value-laden Hajj policies.

The research design employed was qualitative-descriptive with a conceptual-synthetic analysis approach (Fatahillah & Luhuringbudi, 2025; Fitra et

al., 2025; Luhuringbudi, Fatahillah, et al., 2025; Luhuringbudi, Yahya Komarudin, Mowafg Abrahm Masuwd, et al., 2025), chosen for its ability to unravel the normative, political, and administrative complexities of the Islamization of Hajj policy without falling into quantitative reductions that ignore the dimensions of hikmah, maqāsid, and hurriyyah. This design has enabled researchers to build a coherent theoretical framework (Liza, Luhuringbudi, et al., 2025; Luhuringbudi, Yahya Komarudin, Mowafg Abrahm Masuwd, et al., 2025) across three cross-civilizational paradigms: “al-siyāsah al-shar‘iyyah” (classical Islam), “civil religion” (Western sociology), and “participatory bureaucracy” (modern public administration), without sacrificing methodological interpretation and reflective awareness (Liza, Abdiguno, et al., 2025; Luhuringbudi, Abdiguno, Komarudin, et al., 2025; Luhuringbudi, Putra, Masuwd, et al., 2025; Syarif et al., 2024). Through the context of the democratic state as the unit of analysis, the qualitative-descriptive approach has facilitated the exploration of the state’s interpretation of the Hajj not only as a “fardiyyh obligation,” but also as sha‘ir al-waṭan that binds the ummah and al-waṭan in one collective ritual. The working process of this design has involved the deconstruction of policy texts, institutional narratives, and public discourse to uncover the “underlying logic” of Islamic yet democratic Hajj governance. This method has also enabled the identification of “tensions” between al-sulṭah and al-sharī‘ah, between bureaucratic efficiency and social justice, and between religious identity and civil nationalism. Based on this explanation, qualitative-descriptive design has become the most appropriate epistemological instrument for building an original and sustainable “nadhrah tajnīsiyyah” (synthetic framework).

The primary sources in this study are textual data that include official policy documents (such as the Presidential Decree on Hajj Costs, BPKH regulations, and the annual reports of the Ministry of Religious Affairs) and recent academic literature discussing “tadbīr al-ḥajj” in the context of the modern state. The selection of textual data as primary sources has been based on the assumption that Hajj policies are not only administrative products, but also normative texts containing “ma‘nā,” “niyyah,” and “qaṣd” that have the potential to be revealed through political-religious hermeneutics (Fatahillah et al., 2024; Fatahillah & Luhuringbudi, 2025; Luhuringbudi, Putra, Liza, et al., 2025). Based on the context of a democratic state, policy documents have become “āthār al-siyāsah” or traces of state authority that must be read not only literally, but also in terms of maqāsidī and siyāsī. The text selection process was carried out through “thematic sampling,” with a focus on documents containing dimensions of shar‘iyyah, nationalism, and public participation. For example, the Presidential Decree on Hajj Costs is analyzed not only in terms of numbers, but also in terms of “qaṣd al-mushannif” (the policy maker’s objective) and “atharuhu ‘alā al-mustahiqqīn.” By utilizing the text as a basis for the first, this study emphasizes that “al-ḥukm yadūr ma‘a wujūdihī wa ‘adamihī,” and based on this consideration,

every Hajj policy must be evaluated based on "wujūd al-dalīl al-sharʿī" and "maqāṣid al-mashlahah al-ʿammah."

Data collection techniques were conducted through library research and documentation (Fatahillah et al., 2024; Liza, Luhuringbudi, et al., 2025; Suwendu et al., 2025), systematically developed to capture the dynamics of the Islamization of Hajj policy within the democratic state system in Indonesia. This technique was chosen for its ability to access "al-maṣādir al-maftūḥah" (open sources) such as official documents, scientific journals, digital archives, and reports from state institutions, which serve as direct representations of contemporary "siyāsah al-ḥajj." The collection process involved selecting key texts, identifying ideologically charged linguistic elements (such as the use of terms like "quality Hajj services," "productive Hajj funds," or "national rituals"), and reviewing relevant previous studies to map the academic landscape and identify theoretical gaps. Furthermore, analytical recording and screenshots of digital documentation were conducted to ensure data authenticity and facilitate cross-referencing between policies, discourses, and field practices. This technique enabled researchers to capture "nuances of discourse" often invisible in quantitative data, such as the state's use of "maqāṣid" rhetoric to legitimize budgetary decisions or the dynamics of combining the symbols of "al-Kaʿbah" and "national flag" in the narrative of Hajj organization. Through this elaboration, literature and documentation studies are not merely passive techniques, but active methods for uncovering and proving the discursive formations underlying the "tanzīm al-ḥajj fī al-dawlah al-dīmuqrāṭīyyah."

Data analysis techniques were conducted in three complementary, integrated stages: first, Ibn Taymiyyah's al-siyāsah al-sharʿīyyah approach was used to identify whether the Hajj policy meets the principles of "lā ḍarar wa lā ḍirār" and "maqāṣid al-sharʿīah," particularly in terms of ḥifẓ al-māl and ḥifẓ al-naḥs. Second, Robert N. Bellah's Civil Religion Theory has been applied to analyze the nationalization (Bellah, 1976, 1998, 2005; Bellah & Hammond, 2013) of the Hajj ritual through rituals, farewell speeches, and state symbols, thus triggering a sacred canopy that strengthens al-huwiyyah al-waṭaniyyah. Third, Frederick C. Mosher's Participatory Bureaucracy framework has been used to evaluate the dynamics of the Hajj bureaucracy's openness to public participation, including access to information, complaint mechanisms, and collective oversight (Mosher, 1956, 1969, 1971, 1975, 1978, 1980, 2016). All data have been analyzed textually and contextually through a thematic-casuistic and accountable thematic content analysis, where each policy statement is examined in terms of qaṣd, athar, and maṣlahah. The analysis process has been carried out iteratively, comparing findings from the three theoretical lenses to initiate a coherent and evidence-based synthesis. Through these considerations and methods, this research paper not only describes the reality of the Hajj policy, but also embodies the original "naẓrah tajnīsiyyah" as a model of "tadbīr ḥajj islāmī dīmuqrāṭī" which is rooted in al-ʿadl, responsible, al-shūrā, and al-mushārah al-ijtimāʿīyyah.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Islamization of Hajj Policy through Al-Siyāsah al-Shar‘iyyah

The Decree of the Minister of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia Number 503 of 2025 indicates that the modern state has the legal capacity and Islamic authority to regulate the distribution of special Hajj quotas, in line with Ibn Taymiyyah's principle of al-Siyāsah al-Shar‘iyyah, which allows the government to establish policies as long as they do not conflict with "nuṣūṣ shar‘iyyah" (Islamic principles) and are oriented toward "maṣlaḥah al-‘āmmah." The gradual arrangement of filling the remaining quota based on the number of pilgrims and the readiness of the pilgrims illustrates a form of "tadbīr dawlah" (civil administration) that is not authoritarian but rather responsive to administrative realities and distributive justice ('adl fī al-tawzī'). The procedures stipulated in the Third and Fourth dictums—where PIHK must propose filling quotas and attach a letter of absolute responsibility if they deviate from the sequence—have indicated the state's efforts and dedication to maintaining "al-amānah" and preventing "khiyānah al-wilāyah" in the management of public affairs. By placing verification in the hands of the Director of Umrah and Special Hajj Development (Fifth Dictum), this policy declares the existence of "ḥudūd al-raqābah al-idāriyyah" which is in line with the concept of "al-ḥisbah" in classical Islamic tradition, namely the prevention of "mudharat" and the enforcement of "ma'rūf". The shar‘iyyah legality of this policy has been strengthened by the Sixth provision which bridges the verification agreement with the SISKOHAT system, in order to reveal the existence of a combination of bureaucratic authority and modern technocratic mechanisms that remain within the corridor of shūrā and "niyyah ṣāliḥah". Thus, this decree is not merely an administrative regulation, but a representation of "siyāsah tasharrufiyyah" (the principle of "usulī" or "lawful allocation") that is legitimate and acceptable within the framework of Islamic democratic states such as Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei, and several other countries in Asia and Africa.

Figure 1. Administrative realities and distributive justice

 KEPUTUSAN MENTERI AGAMA REPUBLIK INDONESIA NOMOR 503 TAHUN 2025 TENTANG TATA CARA PENGISIAN SISA KUOTA HAJI KHUSUS TAHUN 1446 HJIRIAH/2025 MASEHI DENGAN RAHMAT TUHAN YANG MAHA ESA MENTERI AGAMA REPUBLIK INDONESIA,	
Menimbang : a. bahwa pengisian kuota haji khusus Tahun Hijriah/2025 Masehi berdasarkan Keputusan Menteri Agama Nomor 74 Tahun 2025 tentang Petunjuk Tata Cara Pengisian Kuota Haji Khusus Tahun Hijriah/2025 Masehi masih menyisakan kuota Khusus akibat jemaah haji lunas tunda; b. bahwa berdasarkan kesimpulan Rapat Kerja Komisi VIII Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat dan Badan Penyelenggara Haji serta Rapat Dengar Pendataan Komisi VIII Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat dan Direktur Jenderal Penyelenggaraan Haji dan Kementerian Agama tanggal 29 April 2025, persidangan III Tahun Sidang 2024/2025, menyatakan mendesak Direktur Penyelenggaraan Haji dan Umrah Kementerian Agama untuk mengoordinasikan Penyelenggara Ibadah Khusus agar memaksimalkan pemenuhan kuota Khusus; c. bahwa berdasarkan pertimbangan dimaksud huruf a dan huruf b, perlu menetapkan Keputusan Menteri Agama tentang Tata Cara Pengisian Sisa Kuota Haji Khusus Tahun 1446 Hijriah/2025 Masehi.	tentang Pengelolaan Keuangan Haji (Lembaran Republik Indonesia Tahun 2018 Nomor 13, Tambahan Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Nomor 6338); 3. Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 8 Tahun 2022 tentang Koordinasi Penyelenggaraan Ibadah Haji (Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 2022 Nomor 10, Tambahan Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 2022 Nomor 6765); 4. Peraturan Presiden Nomor 152 Tahun 2024 tentang Kementerian Agama (Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 2024 Nomor 348); 5. Peraturan Menteri Agama Nomor 5 Tahun 2021 tentang Standar Kegiatan Usaha Penyelenggaraan Penyelenggaraan Ibadah Umrah dan Penyelenggaraan Ibadah Khusus (Berita Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 2021 Nomor 263); 6. Peraturan Menteri Agama Nomor 6 Tahun 2021 tentang Penyelenggaraan Perjalanan Ibadah Umrah Penyelenggaraan Ibadah Haji Khusus (Berita Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 2021 Nomor 264); 7. Peraturan Menteri Agama Nomor 33 Tahun 2020 tentang Organisasi dan Tata Kerja Kementerian Agama (Berita Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 2020 Nomor 1070); 8. Keputusan Menteri Agama Nomor 72 Tahun 2020 tentang Biaya Perjalanan Ibadah Haji Khusus; 9. Keputusan Menteri Agama Nomor 73 Tahun 2020 tentang Kuota Haji Khusus Tahun 1446 Hijriah/2025 Masehi; 10. Keputusan Menteri Agama Nomor 74 Tahun 2020 tentang Petunjuk Teknis Tata Cara Pengisian Kuota Haji Khusus Tahun 1446 Hijriah/2025 Masehi.
Mengingat : 1. Undang-Undang Nomor 8 Tahun 2019 tentang Penyelenggaraan Ibadah Haji dan Umrah (Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 2019 Nomor 10, Tambahan Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 2019 Nomor 6338) sebagaimana telah beberapa kali diubah terakhir dengan Undang-Undang Nomor 6 Tahun 2022 tentang Penetapan Peraturan Pemerintah Pengganti Undang-Undang Nomor 2 Tahun 2022 tentang Kerja menjadi Undang-Undang (Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 2023 Nomor 41, Tambahan Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 2023 Nomor 10); 2. Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 5 Tahun 2018 tentang Pelaksanaan Undang-Undang Nomor 34 Tahun 2009	MEMUTUSKAN: Menetapkan : KEPUTUSAN MENTERI AGAMA TENTANG TATA CARA PENGISIAN SISA KUOTA HAJI KHUSUS TAHUN 1446 HJIRIAH/2025 MASEHI. KESATU : Pengisian Sisa Kuota Haji Khusus Tahun 1446 Hijriah/2025 Masehi diberikan kepada: a. Jemaah Haji Khusus; dan b. Petugas Penyelenggara Ibadah Haji Khusus. KEDUA : Pengisian Sisa Kuota Haji Khusus Tahun 1446 Hijriah/2025 Masehi bagi Jemaah Haji Khusus berdasarkan nomor porsinya sebagai berikut: a. berbasis Penyelenggara Ibadah Haji Khusus (PIH); b. berdasarkan kesiapan Jemaah Haji Khusus dan Petugas Penyelenggara Ibadah Haji Khusus. KETIGA : Proses Pengisian Sisa Kuota Haji Khusus diusulkan kepada Direktur Jenderal c.q. Direktur Bina dan Haji Khusus bagi Jemaah Haji Khusus yang memiliki nomor porsinya paling singkat 1 (satu) tahun terakhir.

- 3 - sejak Keputusan ini ditetapkan. KEEMPAT : Dalam hal usulan pengisian sisa kuota haji khusus sesuai dengan nomor urut porsi berikutnya berbasis PIHK wajib melampirkan surat pernyataan tanggung mutlak dengan format sebagaimana tercantum Lampiran yang merupakan bagian tidak terpisahkan Keputusan ini. KELIMA : Direktur Bina Umrah dan Haji Khusus melakukan verifikasi permohonan sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Diktum K dan Diktum KEEMPAT. KEENAM : Dalam hal hasil verifikasi permohonan sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Diktum KEEMPAT disetujui, permohonan dikonfirmasi ke SISKOHAT pada Direktorat Pengkajian Biaya Operasional Haji. KETUJUH : Dalam hal usulan pengisian sisa kuota Haji Khusus diajukan melebihi dari sisa kuota yang dipergunakan pengisian sisa kuota Haji Khusus dilakukan berdasarkan nomor urut porsi. KEDELAPAN : Waktu konfirmasi pada Bank Penerima Setoran Perjalanannya Ibadah Haji Khusus dan pembayaran selanjutnya Biaya Perjalanan Ibadah Haji Khusus pengisian kuota dilakukan paling lambat 7 (tujuh) hari kerja terhitung sejak Keputusan ini ditetapkan. KESEMBILAN : Dalam hal pengisian sisa kuota Jemaah Haji Khusus berdampak pada penambahan alokasi Haji Khusus pada PIHK, Direktorat Jenderal Penyelenggaraan Haji dan Umrah memberikan alokasi kuota Petugas Penyelenggaraan Haji Khusus sesuai dengan ketentuan peraturan perundang-undangan. KESEPULUH : Keputusan ini mulai berlaku pada tanggal ditetapkan. Ditetapkan di Jakarta pada tanggal 19 Mei 2025 MENTERI AGAMA REPUBLIK INDONESIA  NASARUDDIN UMAR	- 4 - LAMPIRAN KEPUTUSAN MENTERI AGAMA REPUBLIK INDONESIA NOMOR 503 TAHUN 2025 TENTANG TATA CARA PENGISIAN SISA KUOTA HAJI KHUSUS TAHUN 1446 HJIRIAH/2025 MASEHI FORMAT SURAT PERNYATAAN TANGGUNG JAWAB MUTLAK PENGISIAN SISA KUOTA HAJI KHUSUS TAHUN 1446 HJIRIAH/2025 MASEHI KOP PIHK SURAT PERNYATAAN TANGGUNG JAWAB MUTLAK PENGISIAN SISA KUOTA HAJI KHUSUS TAHUN 1446 HJIRIAH/2025 MASEHI Yang bertanda tangan di bawah ini: Nama : (sesuai KTP) Jabatan : (Direktur Utama/Direktur) Alamat : (rumah) Menyatakan untuk dan atas nama Penyelenggara Ibadah haji Khusus PT..... yang beralamat di....., bahwa saya: 1. Bertanggung jawab penuh atas keabsahan seluruh dokumen Jemaah haji khusus yang disampaikan/diajukan kepada Direktorat Jenderal Penyelenggaraan Haji dan Umrah. 2. Bertanggung jawab penuh apabila dikemudian hari terdapat pengembalian atau keberatan dari jemaah haji yang nomor porsinya dilewati atau dikonfirmasi kesiapan pengisian sisa kuota haji khusus. 3. Bertanggung jawab penuh atas keberangkatan, kepulangan, pelayanan Jemaah haji khusus pengisian sisa kuota haji khusus di Indonesia dan di Arab Saudi. 4. Tidak akan menuntut Direktorat Jenderal Penyelenggaraan Haji dan Umrah Kementerian Agama apabila Jemaah haji khusus disampaikan/diajukan tidak dapat terakomodir dalam pengisian sisa kuota haji khusus Tahun 1446 H/2025 M. (kota, tanggal/bulan/tahun) (meterai cukup, tanda tangan dan stempel) { } Direktur Utama/Direktur MENTERI AGAMA REPUBLIK INDONESIA  NASARUDDIN UMAR
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Data source: Decree of the Minister of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia Number 503 OF 2025 concerning Procedures for Filling the Remaining Special Hajj Quota for 1446 Hijriah/2025 AD

The structure of the decree reveals a high degree of policy flexibility, particularly in the Second and Eighth Dictums, where quota filling not only follows a rigid sequence but also carefully considers the readiness of the pilgrims and the PIHK (Islamic Student Organization), and the seven-day payment confirmation deadline is a strong indication of the principle of "taysir" (ease) recommended in "al-madkhal al-fiqhi." This flexibility reflects "al-maṣlaḥah al-mursalah," which Ibn Taymiyyah recognized as the basis for the legitimacy of

public policy, particularly in the context of logistical efficiency and optimal resource allocation. The establishment of a short deadline (EIGHTH) has demonstrated the state's efforts to minimize "ta'khīr" and "ta'attul," two forms of administrative harm that have the potential to undermine public trust in *tadbīr al-hajj*. On the other hand, the provisions in NINTH that allow for additional officer quotas if necessary reveal the existence of responsible "discretionary power," in accordance with the concept of "al-istihsān" in "uṣūl al-fiqh" which encourages contextual justice. This decision-making pattern has triggered a taxonomy of Hajj policy that is not "jāmid" (rigid), but "mutaḥarrik" (dynamic), which has meant being able to adapt to changing conditions without sacrificing the principle of "sharī'ah compliance." Based on these considerations and explanations, this decision has become a real example of the potential of a democratic state to implement *siyāsah shar'īyah* pragmatically, but still based on *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* such as *ḥifẓ al-māl*, *ḥifẓ al-waqt*, and *ḥifẓ al-'adl*.

The construction of the meaning of this document has outlined that the accountability of the Hajj bureaucracy is not only administrative, but also "taqwā-ethical", where every policy step must be measured and evaluated in terms of "muraqabah" (divine supervision) and "muḥāsabah nafsīyah" (moral introspection) by policy actors. The statement of absolute responsibility required in the FOURTH is not only a legal document, but also a form of "iqrār bi-l-mas'ūliyyah" which contains the dimension of "taklīf dīnī", where it has meant that the recognition that the management of the Hajj quota is an "amanānah" which will be accounted for before "al-Raqīb al-'Alīm". The verification process by the Director of Umrah and Special Hajj Development (FIFTH) and confirmation to SISKOHAT (SIXTH) has presented the existence of "takāful idārī" or a system of mutual supervision between institutions which is a modern manifestation of "al-amr bi-l-ma'rūf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar" in the context of Indonesian bureaucracy. This framework has supported "al-shafāfah al-idāriyyah" and has prevented "ghulūw" in decision-making, has been in line with Ibn Taymiyyah's message that "al-sulṭah" must be balanced with al-'adl and al-ḥifẓ 'alā al-ra'īyyah. At a more advanced level, the NINTH regulation on the allocation of officers has demonstrated that accountability also encompasses the dimension of "ta'dīl al-niyābāt," namely the assignment of representatives who are proportional, responsible, and non-discriminatory. Thus, this decision not only regulates the technicalities of filling quotas, but also establishes "naẓdhrāh akhlāqīyyah" within the Hajj bureaucracy, where efficiency is not removed from piety, and power is not removed from "mas'ūliyyah ruḥīyyah."

Islamization of Hajj Policy through Civil Religion

Circular Letter B-20006/DJ/Dt.II.IV.2/HJ.00/5/2025, although technically administrative in nature, at the symbolic level encompasses fundamental and adequate civil religion content, as it unites thousands of Hajj

and Umrah Organizers (PIHK) throughout Indonesia under a uniform procedure reflecting "al-waḥdah fī al-tanfīdh," a unity in policy implementation that resembles the collective ritual of "al-ʿibādāt al-maḍmūnah fī al-dawlah." Standardized instructions, from the SKTM format to the email submission mechanism, have served as a "script" in the Hajj bureaucratic ritual, not only ensuring efficiency but also triggering and inspiring a sense of belonging among organizers and pilgrims as part of the "ummataṇ wasaṭaṇ" managed by the Indonesian state. The use of the phrase "Se-Indonesia" in the destination address and the distribution of copies to the Provincial Office of the Ministry of Religious Affairs has demonstrated the state's commitment and dedication to expanding the reach of "al-tarbīyah al-waṭaniyyah" through the Hajj process, making it a subtle yet effective tool of social integration. More than just technical coordination, this circular has sparked a "shared experience" among PIHKs who, despite operating independently, remain subject to "al-sulṭah al-markaziyyah" represented by the Directorate of Umrah and Special Hajj Guidance. The limited quota filling process within two days (May 20–21, 2025) and the deadline of 4:00 PM WIB (Western Indonesian Time) have represented "temporal synchronicity" or shared time rhythms that are characteristic of collective rituals in Civil Religion, as Bellah has analyzed in the context of national ceremonies. Considering these explanations, this circular, while seemingly technocratic, is essentially a "performative text" that reproduces "al-huwiyyah al-waṭaniyyah" through rhythms and procedures that are "sanctified" or "objectified" by the state.

Table 2. A sense of belonging among organizers and pilgrims as part of the "ummataṇ wasaṭaṇ" managed by the Indonesian state

 KEMENTERIAN AGAMA REPUBLIK INDONESIA DIREKTORAT JENDERAL PENYELENGGARAAN HAJI DAN UMRAH Jalan Lapangan Banteng Barat No. 3-4 Jakarta 10119 Telepon (021) 5811842-5811843-5811844, Faksimili (021) 5831115 Website hajj.kemendagri.go.id		Lampiran 1
Nomor : B-20006/DJ/DL/IV.2/H/005/2025 Sifat : - Lampiran : 1 (satu) berkas Hai : Pengisian Sisa Kuota Haji Khusus Tahun 1446 H/2025 M		KOP PINK
Yth. Pimpinan Penyelenggara Ibadah Haji Khusus (PPIHK) Se-Indonesia Assalamu'alaikum W. M.B. Dalam rangka pengisian sisa kuota Haji Khusus Tahun 1446 H/2025 M berdasarkan Keputusan Menteri Agama Nomor 503 Tahun 2025 Tentang Tata Cara Pengisian Sisa Kuota Haji Khusus Tahun 1446 H/2025 M, dengan ini kami sampaikan hal-hal sebagai berikut: 1. Pengisian PPIHK dapat menggunakan Jemaah Haji Khusus sesuai kriteria dalam Keputusan Menteri Agama Nomor 503 Tahun 2025 Tentang Tata Cara Pengisian Sisa Kuota Haji Khusus Tahun 1446 H/2025 M. 2. Pengisian PPIHK membuat Surat Keterangan Tanggungjawab Mutlak (SKTM) sebagai format pada Keputusan Menteri Agama Nomor 503 Tahun 2025 sebagaimana format lampiran 1. 3. Pengisian PPIHK dalam menggunakan Jemaah Haji Khusus terlebih dahulu berkoordinasi di pemegang user haji konsorsium PPIHK terkait pengurusan kontrak layanan haji khusus di Saudi (ketersediaan tenda, Armuuta dan layanan pada masing-masing user) untuk memastikan bahwa setiap Jemaah Haji Khusus yang melurus dan berangkat berangkat mendapatkan be di Arab Saudi. 4. Dalam hal koordinasi sebagaimana poin 3 di atas, PPIHK melampirkan berita : kesepakatan antara user dan PPIHK sebagaimana format dalam lampiran 2. 5. Jemaah Haji Khusus yang diusulkan oleh Penyelenggara Ibadah Haji Khusus memiliki n persi paling singkat 1 (satu) tahun terhitung sejak Keputusan Menteri Agama atau ini pendafatan tanggal 15 Mei 2024. 6. Pengisian Sisa Kuota Haji Khusus Tahun 1446 H/2025 M dapat kami proses si edaran ini disampaikan kepada PPIHK. 7. Pengisian pengisian sisa kuota Jemaah Haji Khusus Tahun 1446 H/2025 M disampaikan email info@hajj.kemendagri.go.id dalam bentuk file excel untuk marking jemaah surti dalam bentuk pdf pada Tanggal 20 sd 21 Mei 2025 paling lambat pukul 16:00 sebagaimana format dalam lampiran 3 & 4. Demikian, atas perhatian dan kerjasamanya disampaikan terima kasih.  Nugraha Sitawon Wastafan a.n. Direktur Jenderal Direktur Biro Umrah dan Haji Khusus,		SURAT PERNYATAAN TANGGUNG JAWAB MUTLAK PENGISIAN SISA KUOTA HAJI KHUSUS TAHUN 1446 H/2025 MASEHI Yang bertanda tangan di bawah ini: Nama : (sesuai KTP) Jabatan : (Direktur Utama/Direktur) Alamat : (rumah) Mengatakan untuk dan atas nama Penyelenggara Ibadah haji Khusus PT..... yang beralamat di..... bahwa saya: 1. Bertanggung jawab penuh atas kebenaran seluruh dokumen Jemaah haji khusus disampaikan/diajukan kepada Direktur Jenderal Penyelenggaraan Haji dan Umrah. 2. Bertanggung jawab penuh apabila dikemudian hari terdapat pengaduan atau ke dari jemaah haji yang nomor pasinya dilewati atau tidak dikonfirmasi kelapangan pe sisa kuota haji khusus. 3. Bertanggung jawab penuh atas keberangkatan, kepulangan, dan pelayanan Jemaah khusus pengisian sisa kuota haji khusus selama di Indonesia dan di Arab Saudi. 4. Tidak akan menuntut Direktorat Jenderal Penyelenggaraan Haji dan Umrah Kementerian Agama apabila Jemaah haji khusus yang disampaikan/diajukan tidak dapat terak dalam pengisian pengisian sisa kuota haji khusus Tahun 1446 H/2025 M. (kota, tanggal/bulan/tahun) (mekanik cukup, tanda tangan dan stempel) (.....) Direktur Utama/Direktur
Tembusan: 1. Kepala Badan Pengelola Keuangan Haji; 2. Direktur Jenderal Penyelenggaraan Haji dan Umrah; 3. Sekretaris Utama Badan Penyelenggara Haji; 4. Sekretaris dan Para Direktur pada Ditjen Penyelenggaraan Haji dan Umrah; dan 5. Kepala Kantor Wilayah Kementerian Agama Provinsi se-Indonesia.		

Lampiran 2 BERTAKA ACARA KESEPAKATAN PENGURUSAN KONTRAK LAYANAN HAJI KHUSUS DI ARAB SAUDI TAHUN 1446 H/ 2025 M Yang betanda tangan di bawah ini : Nama :*) Jabatan : Pemegang User*) Alamat : Telp : Bertindak untuk dan atas nama Pemegang User yang selanjutnya disebut sebagai PERTAMA: Nama : Jabatan : Direktur/Direktur Utama PIHK Alamat : Telp : Bertindak untuk dan atas nama PT. yang selanjutnya disebut sebagai KEDUA. Pada hari ini tanggal bulan Tahun 2025 (dua ribu dua puluh lima), PERTAMA dan PIHK KEDUA sepakat dalam hal pengurusan kontrak layanan haji khusus Saudi Tahun 1446 H/2025 M dengan jumlah Jemaah. Demikianlah Bertaka Acara Kesepakatan pengurusan kontrak layanan haji khusus di Arab Saud 1446 H/2025 M ini dibuat untuk dipergunakan sebagaimana mestinya. Jakarta, ... Mei 2025 <table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; vertical-align: top;"> PIHK PERTAMA Materai 10000 Pemegang User </td> <td style="width: 50%; vertical-align: top;"> PIHK KEDUA Direktur/ Direktur Utama </td> </tr> </table> *) Diisi dengan nama salah satu user dari eroun user (Makassar/Tonja/Patene/Akuna/ Iteaga/ Inrua/Indrak/Kitale/ Maghrib/ Waada/Parato/Ritoh)	PIHK PERTAMA Materai 10000 Pemegang User	PIHK KEDUA Direktur/ Direktur Utama	Lampiran 3 Format lampiran surat bentuk pdf KDP PIHK <table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%;"> Nama : Lampiran : Perihal : Pengisian Sisa Kuota Haji Khusus Tahun 1446 H/2025 M </td> <td style="width: 50%;"> Yth. Direktur Jenderal Penyelenggaraan Haji dan Umroh c.q. Direktur Bina Umroh dan Haji Khusus J.l. Lapangan Banteng Barat No 3-4 Jakarta </td> </tr> </table> Assalamu/alaikum wa'rab. Semoga Bapak dan jajaran dalam keadaan sehat wal'afiat dan selalu dalam lindungan SWT dalam menjalankan tugas sehari-hari. Memperhatikan surat Direktur Jenderal Penyelenggaraan Haji dan Umroh Nomor 20006/DJ/DI.IV.2/HJ.00/5/2025 tanggal 30 Mei 2025 perihal pengisian sisa kuota khusus Tahun 1446 H/2025 M, terlampir kami sampaikan pengajuan pengisian sisa haji khusus Tahun 1446 H/2025 M. Atas perhatian dan kerjasamanya, kami ucapkan terima kasih. Wassalam PT..... (td nama dan stempel) Direktur Utama/ Direktur	Nama : Lampiran : Perihal : Pengisian Sisa Kuota Haji Khusus Tahun 1446 H/2025 M	Yth. Direktur Jenderal Penyelenggaraan Haji dan Umroh c.q. Direktur Bina Umroh dan Haji Khusus J.l. Lapangan Banteng Barat No 3-4 Jakarta
PIHK PERTAMA Materai 10000 Pemegang User	PIHK KEDUA Direktur/ Direktur Utama				
Nama : Lampiran : Perihal : Pengisian Sisa Kuota Haji Khusus Tahun 1446 H/2025 M	Yth. Direktur Jenderal Penyelenggaraan Haji dan Umroh c.q. Direktur Bina Umroh dan Haji Khusus J.l. Lapangan Banteng Barat No 3-4 Jakarta				

Data source: Circular Letter on Filling the Remaining Quota for Special Hajj Pilgrims for 1446 H/2025 M Number: B- 20006/DJ/Dt.II.IV.2/HJ.00/5/2025 on May 20, 2025

The structure of the circular, with its official Ministry of Religious Affairs letterhead, standardized letter number, and copies to various state institutions, has formed, or at least illustrated, a "semiotics of power" that integrates state symbols into religious processes, thus creating a "sacred canopy" that unites "al-dīn wa al-waṭan" within a single symbolic order. The distribution of copies to the Head of the Hajj Financial Management Agency (BPKH), the Directorate General of PHU, and the Provincial Office of the Ministry of Religious Affairs has proven the hierarchy of "al-sultāh al-dīniyyah al-waṭaniyyah" which is extended to the local level, in order to realize a network of moral legitimacy that resembles "al-khilāfah al-idāriyyah" in the modern context. The use of digital formats (excel and pdf files) sent via official emails has revealed that contemporary Civil Religion is not only manifested through physical ceremonies, but also through "digital rituals" which are part of "al-ta'bīd al-mu'āṣir" in the organization of the Hajj. The coordination procedure between PIHK and the "e-Hajj consortium users" (point 3) is not only a logistical matter, but also a form of "negotiated loyalty" between private and state organizers, where the state remains in its position as "al-rāqīb al-a'lā" that regulates access to "al-ḥaramayn". The combination of the

e-Hajj system, SISKOHAT, and service contracts in Armuzna has proven that the state is not only physically present, but also “digitally theocratic”, in order to expand its authority into the virtual realm that remains imbued with sacred content. Through these explanations, this circular has become a “textual shrine” that “sanctifies” or objectifies the bureaucratic process of the Hajj as part of al-‘ibādah al-waṭaniyyah, where efficiency, responsibility, order, awareness, and adherence to procedures have become new forms of “institutional piety”.

In the context of Civil Religion, the Hajj Financial Management Agency (BPKH), mentioned in the copy as the recipient of the first copy, is not only a financial institution, but also the “moral guardian” of “al-māl al-ḥaram” (the sacred hajj funds) that must be protected from “khiyānah” and “fasād.” The existence of BPKH in the copy structure has proclaimed that hajj management is not merely an administrative matter, but a “tazkiyat al-māl wa al-nafs” project that has become a reflection of “al-‘adl al-mālī” (economic justice) in the state order. The moral narrative formed through this document is that every rupiah of hajj funds, every second of the application process, and every coordination between institutions must be carried out with iḥsān, amanah, and taqwa, as values that are then reproduced as “national ethics.” This circular letter, although it does not mention Pancasila or the 1945 Constitution explicitly, has implicitly encouraged “al-dīn wa al-dawlah” in the dimension of “dawlah madaniyyah dīniyyah”, where the state has become the guardian of “maqāṣid al-sharī‘ah” as well as “maqāṣid al-waṭan”. The role of BPKH as “raqīb mālī” and the Ministry of Religion as “raqīb manasikī” has triggered a duality of supervision that represents “takāful al-mas’ūliyyah” between the material and spiritual dimensions in the implementation of the Hajj. Thus, this document has become a moral script that not only regulates procedures, but also builds “al-shakhs al-ḥajjī al-waṭanī” as a religious, devout and nationalist subject of Hajj which is the core of Indonesian Civil Religion in an Islamic context.

Islamization of Hajj Policy through Participatory Bureaucracy

Minister of Religious Affairs Regulation No. 28 of 2024, with its transparent structure and detailed terminology in Articles 1 to 4, outlines the state's commitment to the principle of “al-shafāfah al-idāriyyah”—bureaucratic transparency—a key pillar of Mosher's “participatory bureaucracy.” Every element of Hajj administration, from transportation to consumption, is explicitly described as part of “al-mas’ūliyyah al-mālīyyah.” The use of categories such as transportation, accommodation, consumption, and general services is not merely a technical classification but also a form of “decentralization of knowledge” that allows the public to fully understand the components of Hajj costs and services, thereby preventing information asymmetry between the bureaucracy and Indonesian pilgrims. This openness to operational definitions has exemplified the state's efforts to transform Hajj policy from a bureaucratic “black box” into an

"accessible text," empowering civil society, Islamic organizations, and academics to conduct "muḥāsabah" (informed review) of resource allocation. At a more advanced level, the stipulation that the provision of goods/services has been carried out by a "provider" (Article 4) has initiated a space for "public scrutiny" of the procurement process, including the potential for open tenders and vendor performance evaluations, in line with the principle of "al-amānah fī al-tanfīz" in Islamic tradition. By officially publishing this regulation, the state has not only fulfilled its administrative obligations but has also established "al-sayghah al-ma‘rifīyah," or a collective knowledge framework that enables pilgrims to become "mustahiqq wā‘ī" (rights-aware recipients of services). Thus, this regulation has become an "instrument of empowerment" that transforms pilgrims from a passive position into subjects entitled to demand accountability, aligning with Mosher's vision of the bureaucracy as a "public trustee," not a "regulatory elite."

Table 3. Commitment to the principle of *al-shafāfah al-idāriyyah* (bureaucratic transparency)

- 3 -	- 4 -
di Arab Saudi selain Transportasi, Akomodasi, dan Pelayanan Umum. 8. Swakelola adalah pelaksanaan pekerjaan pada operasional penyelenggaraan ibadah haji reguler di Arab Saudi yang direncanakan, dikerjakan, dan dilaporkan kepada KPA. 9. Penyediaan Langsung adalah metode penyediaan untuk mendapatkan Penyedia barang/ penyelenggaraan ibadah haji reguler di Arab Saudi berdasarkan pada pertimbangan tertentu. 10. Biaya Penyelenggaraan Ibadah Haji yang selanjutnya disingkat BPIH adalah sejumlah dana yang digunakan untuk operasional penyelenggaraan ibadah haji. 11. Kementerian adalah kementerian yang menyelenggarakan urusan pemerintahan di bidang agama. 12. Badan Penyelenggara Haji adalah lembaga pemerintah yang dibentuk oleh Presiden untuk melaksanakan tugas pemberian dukungan penyelenggaraan haji. 13. Kantor Urusan Haji yang selanjutnya disingkat KUH adalah kantor urusan haji Indonesia di Jeddah. 14. Menteri adalah menteri yang menyelenggarakan urusan pemerintahan di bidang agama. 15. Kepala Badan Penyelenggara Haji adalah kepala yang melaksanakan tugas pemberian dukungan penyelenggara haji. 16. Direktur Jenderal adalah pejabat pimpinan tinggi madya yang membidangi penyelenggaraan ibadah haji dan umrah. 17. Kuasa Pengguna Anggaran yang selanjutnya disingkat KPA adalah pejabat yang memperoleh kuasa pengguna anggaran untuk melaksanakan tugas kewenangan dan tanggung jawab pengguna anggaran BPIH pada KUH. 18. Pejabat Pembuat Komitmen yang selanjutnya disingkat PPK adalah pejabat yang diberi kewenangan pengguna anggaran/KPA untuk mengambil keputusan dan/atau melakukan tindakan yang mengakibatkan pengeluaran anggaran BPIH dan bertanggung jawab atas kebenaran formal dan material serta akibat yang ditimbulkan. 19. Staf Teknis Haji adalah pegawai Kementerian yang diperbantukan pada kementerian yang menyelenggarakan urusan pemerintah di bidang haji. 20. Petugas Penyelenggara Ibadah Haji yang selanjutnya disingkat PPIH adalah petugas yang diangkat dan ditetapkan oleh Menteri yang bertugas melakukan pembinaan, pelayanan, dan perlindungan, serta pengendalian dan pengoordinasian pelaksanaan operasional ibadah haji di dalam negeri dan/atau di Arab Saudi. 21. Pejabat Penyediaan adalah personil yang bertugas untuk mengelola pemilihan Penyedia.	22. Tim Penyediaan adalah tim yang dibentuk oleh Direktur Jenderal untuk melakukan proses penyediaan pelayanan Transportasi, Akomodasi, Konsumsi, dan Pelayanan Umum. 23. Penyelenggara Swakelola adalah personil yang menyelenggarakan kegiatan secara Swakelola saat operasional penyelenggaraan ibadah haji reguler di Arab Saudi. 24. Panitia Penyediaan adalah panitia yang dibentuk untuk melaksanakan penyediaan Barang/Jasa Lain dengan pagu anggaran di atas nominal kewenangan Pejabat Penyediaan. 25. Penyedia Barang/Jasa yang selanjutnya disingkat Penyedia adalah pelaku usaha yang menyediakan barang/jasa berdasarkan kontrak. Pasal 2 (1) Menteri melaksanakan Penyediaan Barang/Jasa. (2) Kepala Badan Penyelenggara Haji memberikan dukungan pelaksanaan Penyediaan Barang/Jasa sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1). (3) Dalam melaksanakan dukungan Penyelenggara Barang/Jasa sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (2), Kepala Badan Penyelenggara Haji berkoordinasi dengan Menteri. Pasal 3 Penyediaan Barang/Jasa sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 2 meliputi: a. Transportasi; b. Akomodasi; c. Konsumsi; d. Pelayanan Umum; dan e. Barang/Jasa Lainnya. BAB II PENYEDIAAN TRANSPORTASI, AKOMODASI, KONSUMSI, DAN PELAYANAN UMUM Bagian Kesatu Umum Pasal 4 Penyediaan Barang/Jasa sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 3 huruf a, huruf b, huruf c, dan huruf d dilaksanakan oleh Penyedia. Bagian Kedua Pelaku Penyediaan Barang/Jasa Pasal 5 Pelaku Penyediaan Barang/Jasa sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 4 terdiri atas: a. KPA; b. PPK;

Data source: Regulation of the Minister of Religious Affairs Number 28 of 2024 concerning the Provision of Goods/Services in the Implementation of Regular Hajj Pilgrimage in Saudi Arabia

Presidential Decree Number 6 of 2025, with its detailed BPIH amounts per embarkation point, reaching 13 different points, has triggered a "cost

inequality map" that indirectly initiated space for pilgrims' critical participation in assessing the fairness of the distribution of Hajj costs, as mandated by the concept of "adl tawzi'i" (distributive justice) in the Islamic jurisprudence. The significant price variation—from Rp80.9 million in Aceh to Rp94.9 million in Surabaya—has not only represented logistical factors, but has also evoked a public response that allows it to function as a natural “feedback loop” on the performance of the Hajj bureaucracy, in accordance with Mosher’s principle that bureaucratic efficiency must be measured or considered from its responsiveness to the needs of citizens. This data transparency has enabled pilgrims, the media, and supervisory institutions such as the BPKH to conduct comparative analysis of cost components, including “Bipih” and “benefit value,” thereby supporting the public’s capacity to conduct “al-riqābah al-ijtimā’iyyah” regarding the management of Hajj funds. Meanwhile, at a more advanced level, the determination that Bipih has been used for “flight costs, accommodation, and living costs” (Sixth Dictum) has provided a normative basis for pilgrims to question efficiency if there is “mubādhalah” (waste) or “tafriṭ” (substandard service). The review of this mechanism, while not explicitly providing a complaint channel, has structurally created a pressure point for the bureaucracy, as every financial decision becomes the object of public scrutiny, encouraging self-correction in policy implementation. Thus, this Presidential Decree, while decretal in nature, has essentially become a catalyst for participatory oversight, transforming budget transparency into an effective tool of democratic accountability within the context of an Islamic democratic state.

Table 4.

**PRESIDEN
REPUBLIK INDONESIA**

SALIN

KEPUTUSAN PRESIDEN REPUBLIK INDONESIA

NOMOR 6 TAHUN 2025

TENTANG

**BIAYA PENYELENGGARAAN IBADAH HAJI
TAHUN 1446 HJIRIAH/2025 MASEHI YANG BERSUMBER DARI B
PERJALANAN IBADAH HAJI DAN NILAI MANFAAT**

DENGAN RAHMAT TUHAN YANG MAHA ESA

PRESIDEN REPUBLIK INDONESIA,

Menimbang : bahwa untuk melaksanakan ketentuan Pa
Undang-Undang Nomor 8 Tahun 2019
Penyelenggaraan Ibadah Haji dan Umrah dan Pasal 1
Undang-Undang Nomor 34 Tahun 2014 tentang Pe
Keuangan Haji, perlu menetapkan Keputusan Presiden
Biaya Penyelenggaraan Ibadah Haji Tahun 1446 Hijri
Masehi yang Bersumber dari Biaya Perjalanan Ibadah
Nilai Manfaat;

Mengingat : 1. Pasal 4 ayat (1) Undang-Undang Dasar Negara
Indonesia Tahun 1945;
2. Undang-Undang Nomor 34 Tahun 2014
Pengelolaan Keuangan Haji (Lembaran Negara
Indonesia Tahun 2014 Nomor 296, Tambahan L
Negara Republik Indonesia Nomor 5605);
3. Undang-Undang Nomor 8 Tahun 2019
Penyelenggaraan Ibadah Haji dan Umrah (Lembar
Republik Indonesia Tahun 2019 Nomor 75, T
Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Nom
sebagaimana telah beberapa kali diubah terakhi
Undang-Undang Nomor 6 Tahun 2023 tentang P
Peraturan Pemerintah Pengganti Undang-Undang
Tahun 2022 tentang Cipta Kerja menjadi Unda
(Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Tahu
Nomor 41, Tambahan Lembaran Negara Republik
Nomor 6856);

4. Perat

SK No 223224 A

**PRESIDEN
REPUBLIK INDONESIA**

- 2 -

4. Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 5 Tahun 2018 tenta
Pelaksanaan Undang-Undang Nomor 34 Tahun 20
tentang Pengelolaan Keuangan Haji (Lembaran Neg
Republik Indonesia Tahun 2018 Nomor 13, Tambah
Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Nomor 6182);
5. Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 8 Tahun 2022 tenta
Koordinasi Penyelenggaraan Ibadah Haji (Lembaran Neg
Republik Indonesia Tahun 2022 Nomor 38, Tambah
Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Nomor 6765);

MEMUTUSKAN:

Menetapkan : KEPUTUSAN PRESIDEN TENTANG BIA
PENYELENGGARAAN IBADAH HAJI TAHUN 14
HJIRIAH/2025 MASEHI YANG BERSUMBER DARI BIA
PERJALANAN IBADAH HAJI DAN NILAI MANFAAT

KESATU : Menetapkan Biaya Penyelenggaraan Ibadah Haji atau BI
Tahun 1446 Hijriah/2025 Masehi yang bersumber d
Biaya Perjalanan Ibadah Haji atau Bipih dan Nilai Manfa

KEDUA : Besaran BPH Tahun 1446 Hijriah/2025 Masehi per jema
sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Diktum KESATU seb
berikut:

a. Embarkasi Aceh	sebesar	Rp80.900.841,
b. Embarkasi Medan	sebesar	Rp81.955.039,
c. Embarkasi Batam	sebesar	Rp88.310.259,
d. Embarkasi Padang	sebesar	Rp85.760.259,
e. Embarkasi Palembang	sebesar	Rp88.390.259,
f. Embarkasi Jakarta	sebesar	Rp92.854.259,
(Pondok Gede dan Bekasi)		
g. Embarkasi Solo	sebesar	Rp89.457.009,
h. Embarkasi Surabaya	sebesar	Rp94.934.259,
i. Embarkasi Balikpapan	sebesar	Rp91.213.929,
j. Embarkasi Banjarmasin	sebesar	Rp93.310.259,
k. Embarkasi Makassar	sebesar	Rp91.649.429,
l. Embarkasi Lombok	sebesar	Rp90.743.309,
m. Embarkasi Kertajati	sebesar	Rp92.854.259,

KETIGA : .

SK No 223225 A

 PRESIDEN REPUBLIK INDONESIA	 PRESIDEN REPUBLIK INDONESIA
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KETIGA : Bipih sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Diktum diperoleh dari: a. Jemaah Haji; b. Petugas Haji Daerah atau PHD; dan c. Pembimbing Kelompok Bimbingan Ibadah Umrah atau Pembimbing KBIHU.	KESEMBILAN : Besaran Bipih sebagaimana dimaksud dalam KEENAM dipergunakan untuk biaya:
KEEMPAT : Nilai Manfaat sebagaimana dimaksud Diktum KESATU diperoleh dari nilai manfaat Setor Jemaah Haji Reguler dan Jemaah Haji Khusus.	a. penerbangan; b. akomodasi; c. konsumsi; d. transportasi; e. pelayanan di Arafah, Mudzaliyah, dan Mina; f. pelindungan; g. pelayanan di embarkasi atau debarkasi; h. pelayanan keimigrasian; i. premi asuransi dan pelindungan lainnya; j. dokumen perjalanan; k. biaya hidup (<i>living cost</i>); l. pembinaan Jemaah Haji di tanah air dan Arab Saudi; m. pelayanan umum di dalam negeri dan Arab Saudi; n. pengelolaan BPIH.
KELIMA : Besaran Bipih Jemaah Haji Reguler Tahun Hijriah/2025 Masehi berdasarkan Embarkasi berikut: a. Embarkasi Aceh sebesar Rp46.92; b. Embarkasi Medan sebesar Rp47.97; c. Embarkasi Batam sebesar Rp54.33; d. Embarkasi Padang sebesar Rp51.78; e. Embarkasi Palembang sebesar Rp54.41; f. Embarkasi Jakarta sebesar Rp58.87 (Pondok Gede dan bekasi); g. Embarkasi Solo sebesar Rp55.47; h. Embarkasi Surabaya sebesar Rp60.95; i. Embarkasi Balikpapan sebesar Rp57.23; j. Embarkasi Banjarmasin sebesar Rp59.33; k. Embarkasi Makassar sebesar Rp57.67; l. Embarkasi Lombok sebesar Rp56.76; m. Embarkasi Kertajati sebesar Rp58.87.	KESEPULUH : Besaran BPIH Tahun 1446 Hijriah/2025 Masehi bersumber dari Nilai Manfaat terdiri atas:
KEENAM : Bipih Tahun 1446 Hijriah/2025 Masehi yang diperoleh dari PHD dan Pembimbing KBIHU sebesar BPIH sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Diktum KEDUA.	a. Nilai Manfaat untuk Jemaah Haji Reguler digunakan untuk membayar selisih BPIH besaran Bipih sebesar Rp6.831.820.756.658,00; b. Dalam hal diperlukan untuk peningkatan pelayanan Jemaah Haji, Kepala Badan Pelaksana BPPIH melakukan transfer terlebih dahulu sebagian Manfaat sebagaimana dimaksud dalam huruf Menter Agama untuk pembayaran biaya pelayanan di zona Arafah, Mudzaliyah, dan Mina; dan c. Nilai Manfaat untuk Jemaah Haji Khusus sebesar Rp9.490.138.000,00.
KETUJUH : Bipih sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Diktum KELIMA disetorkan ke rekening atau Badan Pengelola Keuangan Haji pada Bank P Setoran Bipih yang ditunjuk oleh Badan Pengelola Keuangan Haji.	KESEBELAS : Nilai Manfaat untuk Jemaah Haji Khusus sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Diktum KESEPULUH dipergunakan untuk biaya: a. pelindungan; b. dokumen perjalanan; c. pembinaan Jemaah Haji di tanah air; d. pelayanan umum; dan e. pengelolaan BPIH.
KEDELAPAN : Besaran Bipih sebagaimana dimaksud Diktum KELIMA dipergunakan untuk: a. biaya penerbangan haji; b. sebagian biaya akomodasi di Makkah; c. sebagian biaya akomodasi di Madinah; dan d. biaya hidup (<i>living cost</i>).	KEDUA BELAS : Ketentuan lebih lanjut mengenai pelaksanaan Keputusan Presiden ini ditetapkan oleh Menteri Agama dan/atau Kepala Badan Penyelenggara Haji.
SK No 223226 A	SK No 223227 A

Data source: Presidential Decree Number 6 of 2025 concerning the Costs of Organizing the Hajj Pilgrimage in 1446 Hijriah/2025 AD Sourced from the Costs of the Hajj Pilgrimage Travel and the Value of Benefits

Based on the framework of Presidential Decree Number 6 of 2025, there is potential to develop a participatory monitoring model that combines the principles of *al-shūrā*, *al-riqābah*, and *al-mushārah al-ijtimā'iyah*, in which pilgrims, religious organizations, and academics have been involved in a

“participatory audit committee” to review the realization of the use of BPIH according to the established components. This model has the potential to be realized through a “majlis hisbah haji” or community-based hajj monitoring forum that is given access to budget realization data from BPKH and the Ministry of Religious Affairs, thereby realizing “tadbīr mashārah” in accordance with the concept of “al-isti‘ānah bi-ahl al-ḥall wa al-‘aqd” in classical Islamic tradition. This committee has the potential to evaluate whether the allocation of benefits is truly used to reduce pilgrim costs or whether it is distorted by non-transparent operational costs, thus preventing “istighlāl al-māl al-ḥaram.” Meanwhile, on a different dimension, an “e-complaint” system integrated with a public dashboard can be created to allow pilgrims to report service discrepancies such as non-standard accommodation or inappropriate meals, which then becomes the basis for “corrective action” by the bureaucracy, which creates a continuous “feedback mechanism.” This model has also made it possible to involve “ulama and citizen councils” from each embarkation to ensure that the Hajj policy is not only administratively efficient, but also maqāsidī in shar‘iyyah, with a dedication to ḥifẓ al-naḥs, ḥifẓ al-māl, and ḥifẓ al-karamah. Therefore, participatory oversight has not only supported accountability, but has also transformed the Hajj bureaucracy from a top-down entity into a “networked governance” that is inclusive, responsible, responsive, impactful, and rooted in amanah and shūrā, as conveyed by Mosher and inspired by “al-siyāsah al-shar‘iyyah”.

Reflection of Islamization of Hajj Policy

This research has successfully proven that the Islamization of Hajj policy in a democratic state is not only possible, but is actually a structural necessity to ensure legitimacy, accountability, and welfare in the implementation of sacred, asymmetrical, and complex worship. Through the integration of three theoretical frameworks such as “al-siyāsah al-shar‘iyyah” by Ibn Taymiyyah, Civil Religion by Robert N. Bellah, and Participatory Bureaucracy by Frederick C. Mosher, this research paper has emphasized that Hajj policy can be designed in a shar‘iyyah manner without sacrificing democratic principles, but instead supporting them. Analysis of the Decree of the Minister of Religious Affairs Number 503 of 2025 and Circular Letter B-20006/DJ/Dt.II.IV.2/HJ.00/5/2025 has indicated that the state has the shar‘iyyah authority (al-sultāh al-shar‘iyyah) to regulate the Hajj quota as long as it is based on maqāsid al-sharī‘ah and al-maṣlaḥah al-‘āmmah, as explained by Ibn Taymiyyah in the context of “siyāsah tasharrufiyyah”. The findings have also confirmed that administrative rituals such as filling the Hajj quota function as a civil religion that unites pilgrims from all over Indonesia in one “al-‘ibādah al-waṭaniyyah”, in order to support the collective identity as a “wasāṭan ummatan” managed by the state. At a more advanced level, the transparency of information in Minister of Religious Affairs Regulation No. 28 of 2024 and the transparency of Presidential Decree on Hajj Costs No. 6 of 2025

have demonstrated a commitment to participatory bureaucracy, where pilgrims are no longer "passive beneficiaries" but also "active stakeholders" in policy oversight. Based on these findings, this theoretical synthesis successfully addresses the research objective, namely, to establish an Islamic, legitimate, and participatory Hajj governance model within a democratic state. These findings also declare that the Islamization of policy does not mean theocracy, but rather a form of "reformed Islamic governance" that is concerned with and adaptive to modernity.

Thematic and case-based interpretations of policy documents indicate that the process of Islamization of Hajj policy does not occur through dogmatic-ideological declarations, but through subtle yet systematic "normative embedding," where the values of shari'ah, nationalism, and participation are institutionalized within a systematic and transparent bureaucratic structure. For example, the requirement for a Certificate of Absolute Responsibility (SKTM) is not merely an administrative formality, but also a modern representation of "al-iqrār bi-l-mas'ūliyyah" (religious obedience) which contains piety and trustworthiness, as two central values in "al-siyāsah al-shar'īyyah." Based on this interpretation, the standardization of quota application procedures via email and digital formats triggers a "bureaucratic ritual" resembling "sha'ā'ir dīniyyah," where order, obedience, and uniformity become symbols of "al-waḥdah al-waṭaniyyah," as Bellah has analyzed in the context of the "sacred canopy." This interpretation reveals that the state does not merely manage the Hajj (Ahmed et al., 2006; Basahel et al., 2021; Memish et al., 2014), but "disciplines faith" through administrative mechanisms sanctified or objectified by moral narratives. Meanwhile, at a more advanced level, the transparency of Hajj cost data per embarkation initiates a space for "public mujādalāh" (Arlikatti et al., 2022; Fauzie et al., 2016; Jourde et al., 2024; Setiawan & Soewarno, n.d.; Showail, 2022), where pilgrims are enabled to question the fairness of distribution, thus facilitating "al-amr bi-l-ma'rūf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar" in a modern form. Consequently, the meaning of the Islamization of Hajj policy is not merely the addition of religious symbols (Katz, 2004; Walker, 2016), but the transformation of the bureaucracy into a "majlis taqwā" that operates or activates the functions of *ḥifẓ al-dīn*, *ḥifẓ al-māl*, and *ḥifẓ al-'adl* simultaneously. In conclusion, the results of this study declare that contemporary "tadbīr al-ḥajj" is a "tazkiyat al-niyyah al-idāriyyah" project that combines efficiency with moral integration.

The findings of this study can only be fully analyzed and reflected upon if placed within the context of three interacting structural logics: first, the logic of "al-siyāsah al-shar'īyyah" which allows a democratic state to act as an "imāmah 'ādilah" authorized to regulate the Hajj as long as it does not violate "nuṣūṣ shar'īyyah" and is oriented towards "maṣlaḥah". Second, the logic of Civil Religion which outlines the mechanisms and dynamics of the nationalization of the Hajj ritual through procedures, symbols, and narratives that promote "al-huwiyyah al-waṭaniyyah" and the moral legitimacy of the state. Third, the logic of Participatory Bureaucracy which demands that the Hajj bureaucracy must be

responsive, transparent, responsible, and open to citizen participation for the sake of efficiency and accountability. Meanwhile, in the Indonesian context, these three logics converge in a single “governance ecosystem” where the BPKH, the Ministry of Religious Affairs, and PIHK operate within a network that monitors and supports each other. For example, verification by the Directorate of Umrah Guidance (KMA 503/2025) reflects “*ḥudūd al-riqābah*” (obedience to God) in harmony with “*al-ḥisbah*,” while the distribution of copies of the circular to the Provincial Offices of the Ministry of Religious Affairs indicates “*takwīn al-sha‘b al-mu‘min*” (obedience to God) as a collective moral entity. Furthermore, the determination of the quota application deadline (May 20–21, 2025) has created “sacred administrative time” that supports “*al-‘ibādah al-mu‘assasah*” (obedience to God) as part of “*al-dīn al-madani*.” Therefore, this contextualization demonstrates that the Hajj policy is not merely a product of technocracy, but rather the “*naḥṡ al-maqāṣid*” (obedience to God) within contemporary political realities, where *al-shar‘ah*, *al-waṭan*, and *al-sha‘b* mutually confirm their legitimacy.

Unlike previous studies that have focused on the political dimension of the state in managing the Hajj but have not touched on the aspect of citizen participation, this research paper broadens the discourse by integrating Mosher's Participatory Bureaucracy as an operational framework that has positioned the congregation as an “agent of change”. While other studies have concentrated on the legitimacy of Civil Religion in the context of nationalism, this research paper has facilitated the dimension of “*al-siyāsah al-shar‘iyyah*” as a normative foundation that ensures that national rituals do not replace, but support and strengthen the transcendental dimension of the Hajj. Other previous studies on the efficiency of the Hajj bureaucracy, although relevant, are still technocratic and have not bridged efficiency with *maqāṣid al-shar‘ah*, while this paper has succeeded in synthesizing efficiency with *ḥifẓ al-māl* and *ḥifẓ al-karamah*. On a different dimension, previous studies have tended to distance the *shar‘ah* and administrative aspects, while this paper has revealed that the two are intertwined through the concept of “*tadbīr islāmī dīmuqrāṭī*.” The main difference lies in its theoretical novelty. No previous studies have explicitly combined these three cross-civilizational paradigms into a single, coherent analytical model. Therefore, in conclusion, this paper not only complements but also transcends existing discourse by presenting “triple-helix governance” as a “new epistemology” in the study of Hajj policy. This comparison has declared this paper's contribution to be “groundbreaking,” as it paves the way for “Islamic democratic policy studies” based on *hikmah*, ‘*adl*, and *shūrā*.

CONCLUSION

Penutup diambil dari Bab IV skripsi, berisi ringkasan hasil penelitian, dan saran untuk penelitian selanjutnya, ditulis dengan kalimat berbeda dari bagian hasil dan pembahasan, berisi 400-500 kata, tidak ada subjudul, *numbering* atau *bulleting*. (*Style Jurnal*_2.3 Body Artikel Paragraf 1). Penutup merupakan ringkasan dari hasil dan pembahasan, jelaskan sesuai dengan poin setiap sub judul. Di penutup, tidak perlu ada penomoran dan kutipan Daftar Pustaka. Referensi yang dicantumkan haruslah ada di dalam naskah. Jangan mencantumkan referensi yang tidak dikutip.

One of the most significant and unexpected findings in this research process is that the Hajj policy documents that appear technocratic and administrative, such as the Decree of the Minister of Religious Affairs Number 503 of 2025 and Circular Letter B-20006/DJ/Dt.II.IV.2/HJ.00/5/2025, in essence function as “*nusūs idāriyyah muqaddasah*” (bureaucratic texts sanctified by ritual context) that form “*sha‘ā’ir al-waṭan*” in the legal and democratic state order. This finding indicates that Ibn ‘Taymiyyah’s *al-siyāsah al-shar‘iyyah* is not only relevant in the context of a theocratic state, but is more effectively actualized in a legal, democratic, and Muslim-majority state that uses the mechanisms of “*shūrā*,” “*muḥāsabah*,” and “*niyyah ṣāliḥah*” as a substitute for theological authority claims. More surprisingly, administrative procedures such as quota submissions via email and a 4:00 PM WIB deadline have apparently initiated a “modern sacred time” that resembles “*awqāt al-ṣalāh*,” where punctuality becomes a form of “institutional piety” required by the state. This finding has explained that “civil religion” does not have to take the form of a large ceremony, but can be manifested through “bureaucratic rituals” that bind the congregation in *al-‘ibādah al-mu‘assasah*, where efficiency, discipline, and obedience become collective moral values. Meanwhile, on the next side, it has been revealed that “participatory bureaucracy” by Mosher does not contradict *wilāyat al-qadā’* in Islam, in fact, they complement each other when public participation functions as a form of “*al-amr bi-l-ma‘rūf wa al-nahy ‘an al-munkar*” in the context of the modern state. Therefore, this finding has dismantled the classic dichotomy between Islam and democracy, while proving that *tadbīr al-ḥajj* can be a “*tajdīd project*” that integrates *al-ḥaqq*, *al-masūliyyah*, *al-‘adl*, and *al-shafāfah* within a single governance framework.

The main contribution of this research is seen in the development of the Triple-Helix Governance Model (THGM) as a new theoretical framework that originally synthesizes “*al-siyāsah al-shar‘iyyah*” by Ibn Taymiyyah, “civil religion” by Robert N. Bellah, and “participatory bureaucracy” by Frederick C. Mosher into a coherent and applicable analytical paradigm for the study of Hajj policy. This

theoretical novelty lies in its ability to reconcile three traditions of thought previously considered incompatible: classical Islamic law, Western political sociology, and modern public administration, without compromising the integrity of each. This model has echoed the concept of “*tadbīr islāmī dīmuqrāṭī*” (Islamic-democratic Hajj governance) which not only fulfills the criteria of “*maqāṣid al-sharī‘ah*” but also democratic accountability and social cohesion. In a different dimension, this research has introduced new terms such as “*nusūs idāriyyah muqaddasah*,” “*al-‘ibādah al-mu‘assasah*,” and “*majlis hisbah digital*,” which add to the repertoire of “Islamic governance studies” with contemporary concepts rooted in Islamic tradition. This contribution has also paved the way for “inter-civilizational policy analysis,” where public policy is no longer analyzed solely through a Western secular lens, but through an inclusive, accountable, and just “*nadhrāh tajnīsiyyah*.” Thus, this research not only deepens the discourse on Hajj policy, but also presents a new epistemology for the study of Islam and the modern state, which can be adopted in the context of “civil state” throughout the Islamic world.

Although this study successfully formulated an adequate and accountable theoretical framework, its limitations lie in its reliance on secondary data in the form of policy documents, which do not fully capture field dynamics such as pilgrims' perceptions, hidden corruption practices, or resistance from private organizers (PIHK). Meanwhile, in other dimensions, this analysis concentrates more on the normative and structural dimensions, thus failing to uncover case-by-case and in-depth anthropological aspects, such as the interpretation of bureaucratic procedures by pilgrims as part of their Hajj spirituality. Another limitation is the focus on the Indonesian context, which, while representative, does not lend itself to generalization to other democratic Muslim-majority countries with different bureaucratic structures and religious traditions, such as Turkey, Malaysia, or Tunisia. Therefore, further research is needed using a “mixed methods” approach, which means combining text analysis with case-by-case and in-depth field research at various embarkation points, including interviews with pilgrims, officials, and PIHK managers. It is also recommended to develop a cross-national comparative study to test the validity of the Triple-Helix Governance Model in different political and religious contexts. Future research directions also allow for exploring the integration of “digital *shūrā* platforms”, “blockchain-based hajj finance”, and “AI-powered accountability systems” as a form of “*tajdīd al-hisbah*” in the era of the industrial revolution 4.0, thus ensuring

that “tadbīr al-ḥajj” remains responsive, responsible, transparent, and dignified in an increasingly complex global order.

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