

MANAGEMENT OF GOVERNANCE AND DISTRIBUTION OF ANIMAL SLAUGHTER IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze the permissibility of slaughtering and distributing dam animals outside the Holy Land, including Indonesia, based on the opinions of contemporary scholars and fatwa institutions. This issue is important because of the emergence of the 2024 Indonesian Hajj Mudzakah policy which permits the slaughter and distribution of dam meat outside the Holy Land, including Indonesia. This study uses a qualitative approach with a descriptive approach and library research. This study produced three findings that permit the slaughter of dam meat in Indonesia: the opinions of Ath-Thabari, the Maliki School, the Hanbali School, and the Egyptian Darul Ifta Fatwa, which emphasizes the aspects of welfare and youth for Hajj pilgrims. Meanwhile, two opinions prohibit it, namely Imam Shafi'i and Imam Abu Hanifah, according to which the slaughter of dam meat must be carried out in the Holy Land according to sharia. These results show the flexibility of Islamic law that can be considered in a modern context, especially in the implementation of the Hajj pilgrimage which is oriented towards social welfare.

Keywords: Distribution, Slaughter, Dam

Abstrak

Studi ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis kebolehan penyembelihan dan distribusi hewan dam di luar Tanah Suci, termasuk Indonesia, berdasarkan pendapat ulama dan lembaga fatwa kontemporer. Isu ini menjadi penting karena muncul kebijakan Mudzakah Perhajian Indonesia Tahun 2024 yang membolehkan pelaksanaan penyembelihan dan pendistribusian daging dam di Luar Tanah Haram, termasuk Indonesia. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan pendekatan deskriptif dan jenis penelitian kepustakaan (library research). Studi ini menghasilkan tiga temuan yang memperbolehkan penyembelihan daging dam di Indonesia yaitu pendapat dari Ath-Thabari, Madzhab Maliki, Madzhab Hanbali, dan Fatwa Darul Ifta Mesir yang menekankan pada aspek kemaslahatan dan kemudahan bagi jamaah haji. Sementara itu, dua pendapat yang melarang yaitu Imam Syafi'i dan Imam Abu Hanifah yang menurutnya penyembelihan daging dam wajib dilaksanakan di Tanah Haram sesuai dengan syariatnya. Hasil ini menunjukkan adanya fleksibilitas hukum Islam yang dapat dipertimbangkan dalam konteks modern, terutama dalam pelaksanaan ibadah haji yang berorientasi pada kemaslahatan sosial.

Keywords: Slaughter, Dam, Maqasid Sharia



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INTRODUCTION

Slaughtering dam meat is an important component in the implementation of the Hajj pilgrimage, especially for pilgrims undergoing the Tamattu Hajj. Tamattu Hajj is prioritizing the Umrah pilgrimage, then carrying out the Hajj pilgrimage. Or in other words, the congregation will perform ihram for Umrah in the month of Hajj (1 Shawwal - Wukuf day) then perform Tahalul, after that perform ihram again for Hajj until the Hajj is completed.¹ In general, there are several optional models for performing the Hajj, particularly in Indonesia: ifrad, tamattu, and qiran. However, the majority of Indonesian pilgrims tend to choose the tamattu model, which requires them to pay a dam (fine) as explicitly stated in the Quran, Surah Al-Baqarah, verse 196:

وَأَتِمُّوا الْحَجَّ وَالْعُمْرَةَ لِلَّهِ فَإِنْ أُحْصِرْتُمْ فَمَا اسْتَيْسَرَ مِنَ الْهَدْيِ وَلَا تَحْلِقُوا رُءُوسَكُمْ حَتَّى يَبْلُغَ الْهَدْيُ مَحَلَّهُ ۖ فَمَنْ كَانَ مِنْكُمْ مَرِيضًا أَوْ بِهِ أَذًى مِّن رَّأْسِهِ فَفِدْيَةٌ مِّن صِيَامٍ أَوْ صَدَقَةٍ أَوْ نُسُكٍ ۖ فَإِذَا أَمِنْتُمْ ۖ فَمَنْ تَمَتَّعَ بِالْعُمْرَةِ إِلَى الْحَجِّ فَمَا اسْتَيْسَرَ مِنَ الْهَدْيِ ۚ فَمَنْ لَّمْ يَجِدْ فَصِيَامٌ ثَلَاثَةِ أَيَّامٍ ۚ فِي الْحَجِّ وَسَبْعَةٍ إِذَا رَجَعْتُمْ ۚ تِلْكَ عَشْرَةٌ كَامِلَةٌ ۚ لِّذَلِكَ لِمَنْ لَّمْ يَكُنْ أَهْلَهُ ۚ حَاضِرِي الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ ۚ وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّ اللَّهَ شَدِيدُ الْعِقَابِ ۚ

Meaning: Complete the Hajj and Umrah for Allah. However, if you are hindered (by the enemy), (slaughter) hadyu that is easily available and do not shave your head before the hadyu reaches the place of slaughter. If any of you is sick or has problems with his head and shaves, then he needs to pay fidyah by fasting, almsgiving, or sacrificing. If you are safe, whoever performs Umrah before Hajj (tamattu), he must slaughter hadyu which is easily available. However, if he cannot find it, he (must) fast for three days during the Hajj and seven days after returning. That is a complete ten days for this provision to apply to people whose families do not live near the Grand Mosque. Depend on Allah and know that Allah is strict in his laws.²

What is special in relation to the verse above is that paying the dam is an act of worship that must be carried out by people who perform the Hajj or Umrah pilgrimage for certain reasons, which are caused by violations due to leaving out the obligatory Hajj or the prohibitions of Ihram, either as a consequence of a provision of the Hajj pilgrimage procedure chosen by the congregation (tamattu and qiran) or due to a violation committed by leaving out something that is ordered or actually doing something that is forbidden.³

The obligation to pay a dam for Tamattu and Qiran pilgrims has a deep philosophical basis. Unlike the dam for violations (jinayat), the dam for Tamattu and Qiran hajj (dam nusuk) is actually a form of manifestation of gratitude (syukur al-ni'mah). Tamattu and Qiran pilgrims are granted

¹ U. M. S. Maksum, *Bimbingan Lengkap Haji Dan Umrah* (Media Pressindo, 2013), 19.

² Kementerian Agama Republik Indonesia, *Tuntunan Manasik Haji Dan Umrah Bagi Lansia* (Direktorat Jenderal Penyelenggaraan Haji dan Umrah, 2024).

³ Y. Affandi, *Haji Bagi Generasi Milenial: Paradigma Tafsir Tematik* (Fatwa Publishing, n.d.), 150–51.

leniency (rukhsah) by Allah SWT to be able to perform two acts of worship (hajj and umrah) in one trip, and are allowed to enjoy themselves (enjoy things prohibited during ihram) between the completion of umrah and the start of hajj. Therefore, the slaughter of the dam animal here is not merely a penalty for mistakes, but rather a ransom for the goodness of the ease of sharia facilities received by the pilgrims.⁴

The word "dam hajj" literally means "blood" that flows through the slaughter of sacrificial animals during the Hajj. Terminologically, dam hajj is a fine or ransom that must be paid by every Hajj pilgrim for violating prohibitions or obligations during the Hajj, such as neglecting one of the pillars of Hajj or engaging in prohibited acts during the state of ihram. Payment for the dam is usually made in the form of slaughtering a sacrificial animal such as a camel, cow, or goat, or it can also be made in the form of fasting and charity for those unable to afford to slaughter an animal.⁵ In Hajj jurisprudence, dams are classified into four main categories based on the type of violation and the method of payment:

1. Dam Tartib and Destiny

Dams that have a fixed order of sanctions and the levels have been determined by sharia'. If you are unable to carry out the first sequence, you may move to the second sequence. An example is the dam for the Tamattu and Qiran pilgrimages (slaughtering a goat, if you can't afford it then fasting for 10 days).

2. Dam Tartib and Ta'dil

Consecutive dams, but the fines are adjusted to the equivalent value (price balance). For example, dams for those who have sexual intercourse (jima') before the beginning of the tahallul (slaughtering a camel, if unable to afford it, then a cow, if unable to afford it, then seven goats, etc.).

3. Dam Takhyir and Ta'dil

Dams give the perpetrator the option of paying a comparable fine. For example, dams for hunting or killing game in forbidden lands. The perpetrator may choose to slaughter an equivalent animal, or give food equivalent to the animal's value in charity, or fast.

4. Dam Takhyir and Destiny

Checkers that provide options (optional) with predetermined levels. Examples include dams for violating ihram prohibitions such as cutting hair, wearing perfume, or wearing sewn clothes. The perpetrator can choose between slaughtering a goat, giving alms to 6 poor people, or fasting for 3 days.

⁴ A. Kholiq, *Haji Dan Umrah Modern: Fikih Praktis Dan Pergulatan Isu-Isu Terkini* (KBM Indonesia Publisher, 2025).

⁵ Ahmad Nidjam and Hanan Alatif, *Manajemen Haji*, Edisi Revisi (Mediacitra, 2006), 5.

Currently, the slaughter of meat in Saudi Arabia can only be carried out through the official and legal Adahi Project, which manages centralized and standardized slaughter facilities. However, this faces several obstacles, such as limited slaughter facilities, limited slaughtering personnel, and issues with transparency and meat distribution, which are focused on the Holy Land. This has led to controversy, as pilgrims feel there is a lack of transparency and control over the quality and halal status of the meat they are paying for.⁶ The distribution of slaughtered dam meat in Saudi Arabia has so far been limited to the poor in the Holy Land. This makes it difficult to distribute dam meat to pilgrims or Indonesians in need. This limited distribution system has caused controversy because the social benefits of dam meat are not widely felt by Indonesians. Research recommends the need for breakthroughs such as processing and preserving dam meat in processed forms (canned, rendang, corned beef) and the use of distribution applications so that dam meat can reach Indonesia and be enjoyed by the poor in the country.⁷

On the other hand, there is growing discussion in several countries sending Hajj pilgrims, including Indonesia, regarding the possibility of slaughtering meat outside the Holy Land. Indonesia, with the largest number of Hajj pilgrims, is projected to receive approximately 221,000 in 2025, consisting of 203,302 regular pilgrims and 17,680 special pilgrims.⁸ Based on the Decree of the Indonesian Hajj and Umrah Council in November 2024, the slaughter and distribution of meat outside the Holy Land, including in Indonesia, is permitted and legal. This decision is based on considerations of public welfare, such as distributing meat to the poor in Indonesia and empowering the local economy.⁹ Responding to the dynamic needs of pilgrims and the welfare aspect, the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia held the Indonesian Hajj Mudzakah forum. In 2024, this forum produced a progressive decision regarding dam management. Based on the results of the 2024 Indonesian Hajj Mudzakah decision held in Bandung, it was legally decided that the slaughter and distribution of dam/hadyu meat outside the Holy Land, including in Indonesia, is permissible and legitimate. This decision was made with consideration of the principle of broader benefits, especially for poverty alleviation and improving community nutrition in Indonesia.¹⁰

⁶ Kemenag.go.id, "PPIH Arab Saudi: Pelaksanaan Dam Dan Kurban Di Tanah Suci Hanya Lewat Adahi," May 28, 2025.

⁷ R. S. El Syam and A. Basir, "Konsep Pemberdayaan Daging Hewan Dam (Studi Atas Fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia)," *Jurnal Analisis Kebijakan Kementerian Agama*, 2022.

⁸ Haji Kemenag, "53% Kuota Haji Reguler 2025 Sudah Terisi," February 25, 2025.

⁹ Nasional.kompas.com, "Mudzakah Perhajian: Penyembelihan Dam Untuk Jemaah Haji Bisa Dilakukan Di Indonesia," November 11, 2024.

¹⁰ D. Herdiansyah, *Perjalanan Suci Ke Tanah Suci: Perspektif Pengalaman Penulis Dari Perjalanan Haji Dan Umrah, Ikhtiar Berhaji Dan Umrah Yang Bermakna Dan Mabruk* (Deepublish, 2025).

This study is related to previous research conducted by Mutho'am, Research on the Reconstruction of the Implementation of Tamattu Hajj for Indonesian Hajj Pilgrims Based on the Welfare of the Ummah. which focuses on the normative basis in classical fiqh, the socio-historical context of its sharia, and relevant contemporary Islamic legal theories. Based on the dissertation, the results of this study conclude that the majority of Indonesian Hajj pilgrims choose tamattu hajj because it is considered more important, there are sharia leniencies, and it is more in keeping with physical condition. However, the implementation of dam as a consequence is found to have significant weaknesses, including unsystematic management, inaccurate distribution, and a lot of dam meat being wasted because in the Holy Land it is rare to find poor people.¹¹

This paper revisits the implementation of the tamattu hajj ritual for Indonesian Hajj pilgrims. Unlike previous research, this paper will address the permissibility of slaughtering and distributing dam meat in Indonesia. The author believes this study remains relevant, given the ongoing debate over whether dam meat is permissible in Indonesia. Furthermore, it is hoped that the results of this study can be considered by the government, through the Ministry of Hajj and Umrah, so that the dam meat slaughter process can be implemented in Indonesia.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study uses a descriptive qualitative method, namely library research, which is a type of research used in this study, namely research whose data is collected and compiled from various literature. Library research is research that aims to combine information and materials from sources available in libraries such as books, journals, documents, notes, or reports.¹² This library research focuses on discovering various theories, opinions, principles, laws, propositions, ideas, and other things that can be used to analyze and solve the problem. This research refers to books related to the problem at hand; specifically, library research limits its activities to library collection materials alone, without requiring field research.

Data analysis in this library research uses content analysis, a method that involves in-depth discussion of the content of written or printed information and drawing conclusions based on the data that has been collected and analyzed.¹³ In the book by Nanang Murtono, Smith quotes his opinion regarding content analysis, which is a way to obtain the necessary information objectively and systematically by identifying certain characteristics of a material.¹⁴ This method is used to

¹¹ M. A. Mutho'am, "Rekonstruksi Pelaksanaan Dam Haji Tamattu Bagi Jamaah Haji Indonesia Berbasis Kemaslahatan Umat" (2021).

¹² S. Annur, *Metodologi Penelitian Pendidikan (Analisis Data Kuantitatif Dan Kualitatif)* (Noer, 2014).

¹³ B. A. S. Afifuddin and B. A. Saebani, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif* (Pustaka Setia, 2009).

¹⁴ N. Martono, *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif* (Rajawali Pers, 2012), 46.

explore more deeply the slaughter of meat outside the Holy Land, including Indonesia. This analytical process is expected to provide answers to the issues being researched and produce a more mature and clear concept, thus providing a more precise and accurate understanding of the research.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Permissibility of Slaughtering Dam Meat Outside of Haram Land

1. Opinion of Ath-Thabari

Muhammad ibn Jarir, better known as Ath-Thabari, was a great Persian scholar, historian, exegete, and jurist widely recognized as one of the most influential Muslim scholars in classical Islamic history. He was born in the city of Amul, the capital of Tabristan, Iran.¹⁵ at the end of 224 H/ 829 M 225 H/ 840 M¹⁶ Ath-Thabari has a somewhat different view regarding the location of the hadyu or dam slaughter, particularly in the context of the Hajj. According to him, the hadyu or dam slaughter may be performed anywhere the person performing the hadyu wishes, except for the hadyu of the Qiran Hajj and the fine for killing game during ihram, which must be slaughtered in the Sacred Land (Mecca). This view is based on the understanding that the right to slaughter the hadyu is not necessarily tied exclusively to the location of the Sacred Land, thus providing flexibility for Hajj pilgrims in carrying out their dam obligations.

قَالَ الطَّبْرِيُّ: يَجُوزُ نَحْرُ الْهَدْيِ حَيْثُ شَاءَ الْمُهْدِي إِلَّا هَدْيَ الْقِرَانِ وَجَزَاءَ الصَّيْدِ فَإِنَّهُمَا لَا يُنَحْرَانِ إِلَّا بِالْحَرَمِ

Meaning: "Ath-Thabari said, 'it is permissible to slaughter hadyu wherever the person who is having hadyu wishes, except for hadyu hajj qiran and fines for killing game animals (in the state of ihram) because both cannot be slaughtered except on haram land.'¹⁷

2. Opinions of Imam Malik and Imam Ahmad Bin Hanbal

The Maliki school of thought is known for its more flexible approach to the location of the slaughter of the dam (hadyu). In Maliki jurisprudence, the slaughter of the dam can be performed anywhere, both within and outside the Haram, including in the pilgrim's home country, such as Indonesia. This is based on the principle that the primary purpose of the dam slaughter is to atone for violations of ihram and provide social benefits through the distribution of meat to the poor. Therefore, as long as these goals are achieved, the location of the slaughter does not constitute a barrier to Islamic law. This opinion also considers the

¹⁵ M. A. S. Al Juwaini, *Manahij Fi Tafsir* (Mansya'at al-Ma'arif, n.d.), 301.

¹⁶ M. B. Isma'il, *Ibn Jarir Ath-Thabari Wa Manhajuh Fi al-Tafsir* (Dar al-Manar, 1991), 9–10.

¹⁷ Ibnu Abd Al-Barr, *Al-Istidkar al-Jami' Li Fuqaha'i Madzahib Amshar* (Darul Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 2000), 4:272.

welfare of the community and the real conditions faced by the pilgrims, particularly regarding the limited facilities and logistics in the Haram.¹⁸

قال مالك: يفعل ذلك أين شاء، وهو الصحيح من القول، وهو قول مجاهد

Imam Malik said: "An animal can be slaughtered anywhere and at any time according to one's will." This is the correct opinion in the Maliki school of thought. This is in accordance with the opinion of Imam Mujahid ibn Jabr.¹⁹

Meanwhile, the Hanbali school of thought also exhibits a relatively relaxed stance on this matter. According to the Hanbali school, if slaughtering a dam in the Holy Land is not possible due to emergency or significant difficulties, then slaughtering and distributing the dam meat outside the Holy Land is permissible. This opinion allows pilgrims to legitimately fulfill the obligation of dam without being strictly tied to the location of the slaughter in the Holy Land, as long as the intention and purpose of the pilgrimage remain intact. This also avoids unnecessary hardship for pilgrims and the community receiving the meat.²⁰

3. Opinion of Darul Ifta Egypt

Darul Ifta Egypt is an official fatwa institution in Cairo, Egypt, that issues fatwas. Founded in 1895, it is one of the most prominent fatwa institutions in the Islamic world. Its primary goal is to provide answers to questions about Islamic law from Muslims worldwide.²¹ In theory, Darul Ifta Egypt is based on the Islamic concept of *maslahah* and public welfare. This concept refers to efforts to achieve goodness and benefit for individuals and society in everyday life. Therefore, this Islamic legal institution strives to provide Islamic legal solutions that can benefit and meet the needs of Muslims worldwide.

Egypt's Darul Ifta is the official fatwa body with high authority in establishing Islamic law in Egypt and the wider Muslim world. One important fatwa issued by Darul Ifta concerns the slaughter of animals (fines) for the Hajj. The slaughter of animals does not have to be carried out in the Holy Land of Mecca but may be carried out outside the Haram, including in the pilgrim's hometown or country of origin. This fatwa, numbered 7660, dated January 14, 2023, explicitly states that slaughtering animals outside Mecca is permissible according to sharia and is more appropriate to current conditions.²² This

¹⁸ Tenggaranews.com, "Dam Haji Di Tanah Air: Antara Fatwa, Pendapat Mazhab, Dan Rasionalitas Maqasid," May 17, 2025.

¹⁹ A. M. b. A. A. Al Qurthubi, *Al-Jami' Li-Ahkam al-Qur'an* (Darul Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 2002), 2:385.

²⁰ Detik.com, "Tata Cara Pembayaran Dam Saat Ibadah Haji," May 10, 2025.

²¹ Y. Al-Qaradawi, *Al-Fatwa Baina al-Indibad Aw al-Tasayyub* (Maktabah Wabbah, 1997).

²² Darul Ifta Mesir, "Fatwa Darul Ifta Mesir Nomor 7660: Tentang Penjualan Dam Di Luar Tanah Haram," January 14, 2023.

approach emphasizes that the main purpose of slaughtering the dam is to atone for the violation of ihram and provide social benefits in the form of providing meat to the poor, so that the location of the slaughter does not have to be limited to the area around Mecca.

The arguments used by Darul Ifta Egypt in its fatwa include verses from the Koran and the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad SAW which does not require a specific location for dam slaughter. For example, QS al-Baqarah verse 196 regulates the payment of fidyah without mentioning a specific place, as well as the history of the Prophet who ordered Ka'b bin Malik to pay fidyah outside the Haram.²³ Thus, slaughtering meat outside Mecca is not a bid'ah or innovation, but rather a rational and contextual interpretation of the maqashid sharia.

Prohibition of slaughtering dams outside Haram Land

1. Opinions of Imam Shafi'i and Imam Abu Hanifah

Imam Shafi'i and Imam Abu Hanifah hold differing views regarding the slaughter of animals outside the Holy Land. According to them, slaughtering animals must be done in the Holy Land, and slaughtering animals outside is invalid. This refers to a hadith narrated by al-Bayhaqi from his companion Jabir (may Allah be pleased with him), which states that the entire region of Mecca is a valid place for slaughter.²⁴

عَنْ عَطَاءِ بْنِ أَبِي رَبَاحٍ، أَنَّهُ سَمِعَ جَابِرَ بْنَ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا، يَقُولُ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ
كُلُّ فِجَاجٍ مَكَّةَ طَرِيقٌ وَمَنْحَرٌ

Meaning: From Atha' ibn Abi Rabah, he heard Jabir ibn Abdillah ra say that the Messenger of Allah said: "Every corner of the city of Makkah is a street and a place for slaughtering" (HR. Al-Baihaqi and Al-Hakim)

Management of Governance and Distribution of Dam Meat in Indonesia

The management of the distribution of Dam meat in Indonesia through BAZNAS (National Zakat Agency) involves a series of well-organized and structured processes to ensure that the Dam meat reaches the right targets, especially to those in need in underdeveloped, frontier, and outermost (3T) areas. The distribution of Dam meat that has been slaughtered in the Holy Land is carried out

²³ Islami.com, "Ini Ulama Yang Membolehkan Penyembelihan Dam Di Luar Tanah Haram," June 8, 2025.

²⁴ Majelis Ulama Indonesia, *Fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia Nomor 41 MUNAS VII/2011 Tentang Penyembelihan Hewan Dam Atas Haji Tamattu Di Luar Tanah Haram*, 2011.

based on rules and regulations that refer to Law No. 23 of 2011 concerning Zakat Management and a Circular Letter from the Directorate General of Hajj and Umrah Organization.²⁵ The primary priority in this distribution is to benefit the most needy within the country, ensuring careful and rigorous oversight of the distribution process to ensure fairness and benefit. This distribution is a collaboration between BAZNAS (National Agency for Islamic Azizah), the Ministry of Religious Affairs, the Directorate of Hajj and Umrah, and the Hajj Financial Management Agency (BPKH), demonstrating the implementation of sharia principles based on social welfare.²⁶ Following the Indonesian Hajj and Umrah Council's decision to allow dam slaughter in Indonesia, dam management has entered a new phase with a modern, more accountable management approach that has broad social impact. This management involves synergy between the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the National Zakat Agency (BAZNAS), the country's zakat and social and religious fund management agency.²⁷

In 2025, 211,075 pouches of processed Hajj meat were successfully distributed to 42,215 beneficiaries (mustahik) across seven provinces in Indonesia. The provinces receiving this distribution were West Java, Banten, Central Java, East Java, South Sulawesi, East Nusa Tenggara (NTT), and North Sumatra. Each pouch contained ready-to-eat Indonesian dishes such as rendang, gulai, and curry, with a total package weight equivalent to 1 kg containing 5 pouches. This distribution marked a new milestone as a form of transparency in the management of the Hajj pilgrimage as well as an effort to improve community welfare by fulfilling nutritional needs, especially for pregnant women and a stunting reduction program. The meat came from 8,447 sacrificed sheep/goats, with a total value equivalent to IDR 21.3 billion. The distribution was carried out in collaboration between the Ministry of Religious Affairs and BAZNAS.²⁸

CONCLUSION

Based on an analysis of classical Islamic scholars' opinions and contemporary fatwas, this study concludes that slaughtering dam animals outside the Holy Land, including in Indonesia, is permissible as long as it fulfills the objectives of sharia and upholds the principle of public welfare. The opinions of Ath-Thabari, Imam Malik, Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal, and the fatwa of Darul Ifta Egypt indicate that the location of the slaughter is not an essential element in the dam worship, as long as the meat is distributed to the poor. This opinion strengthens the 2024 Indonesian Hajj

²⁵ Baznas.go.id, "Mengenal Dam Haji Dan Pendistribusiannya," August 22, 2025.

²⁶ Baznas.go.id, "Bersama Menag RI, BAZNAS Mulai Distribusikan Daging Dam Untuk 42.215 Mustahik," September 8, 2025.

²⁷ M. Mahfudzi, "Penerapan Dam Ibadah Haji Dalam Perspektif Islam," *Alim* 3, no. 1 (2021): 1–12.

²⁸ Kemenag.go.id, "Sejarah Baru, Indonesia Salurkan Lebih 211 Ribu Pouch Olahan Daging Dam Haji Ke Masyarakat," September 8, 2025.

Mudzakarah policy which permits the slaughter and distribution of dam animals to be carried out in Indonesia. This permissibility has several important implications, including providing convenience for Indonesian Hajj pilgrims, given the limited slaughter facilities in the Holy Land, increasing transparency and accountability in the slaughter and meat distribution process, and expanding socio-economic benefits through the distribution of dam meat to the poor in Indonesia. Nevertheless, this study suggests the need to develop national standard operating procedures (SOPs) and integrated oversight between the Ministry of Religious Affairs, BAZNAS, and related institutions to ensure professional and sharia-compliant dam governance. Further research based on field data is also needed to assess the overall effectiveness of this policy's implementation.

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