

Economic Crisis and Hajj Registration Cancellation after Covid-19: A Socio-Legal Analysis of Rational Choice and Fiqh Priority in Jember

Ahmadiono*

Universitas Islam Negeri Kiai Haji Ahmad Shiddiq Jember

Sofkhatin Khumaidah

Universitas Islam Negeri Kiai Haji Ahmad Shiddiq Jember

*Corresponding Author's Email: ahmadiono.febi@uinkhas.ac.id

Article	Abstract
How to cite: Ahmadiono, et al., 'Economic Crisis and Hajj Registration Cancellation after Covid-19: A Socio-Legal Analysis of Rational Choice and Fiqh Priority in Jember' (2026) Vol. 7 No. 1 Rechtenstudent Journal, Sharia Faculty of KH Achmad Siddiq Jember State Islamic University. DOI: 10.35719/rch.v7i1.422 Article History: Submitted: 15/02/2026 Reviewed: 25/03/2026 Revised: 13/04/2026 Accepted: 13/04/2026 ISSN: 2723-0406 (printed) E-ISSN: 2775-5304 (online)	The Covid-19 pandemic triggered a severe economic crisis that significantly affected the legal and social capacity of Indonesian Muslims to fulfill religious obligations, particularly the performance of hajj. In Jember Regency, a substantial number of registered hajj pilgrims cancelled their hajj registration by withdrawing the initial deposit due to economic hardship during and after the pandemic. This study aims to analyze the phenomenon of hajj registration cancellation from a socio-legal perspective by examining the rational considerations of pilgrims and their normative justification within Islamic law, particularly through rational choice theory and fiqh al-awlawiyyat (jurisprudence of priorities). This research employs a qualitative field approach with a phenomenological method. Data were collected through in-depth interviews, observation, and documentation involving pilgrims who cancelled their hajj registration as a result of pandemic-related economic disruption. The findings demonstrate that declining household income caused by the death of family breadwinners, disrupted business cash flow, and a sharp decrease in small-scale enterprise revenues constituted the primary factors behind hajj cancellation. Faced with urgent legal and moral obligations such as debt repayment, employee wages, and daily subsistence needs, pilgrims made rational decisions to prioritize immediate necessities over maintaining their hajj quota. From the perspective of Islamic law, this decision aligns with the principle of fiqh priority, which emphasizes the fulfillment of human rights and obligations before performing acts of worship related to the rights of God. This study contributes to socio-legal scholarship by illustrating how economic rationality, legal consciousness, and Islamic normative reasoning interact in shaping religious decision-making during times of crisis. Keywords: <i>Hajj Registration Cancellation; Economic Crisis; Socio-Legal Analysis; Rational Choice; Fiqh Priority.</i> Abstrak Pandemi Covid-19 memicu krisis ekonomi parah yang secara signifikan memengaruhi kapasitas hukum dan sosial umat Islam Indonesia untuk memenuhi kewajiban agama, khususnya pelaksanaan ibadah haji. Di Kabupaten Jember, sejumlah besar jemaah haji yang telah terdaftar membatalkan pendaftaran haji mereka dengan menarik deposit awal karena kesulitan ekonomi selama dan setelah pandemi. Studi ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis fenomena pembatalan pendaftaran haji dari perspektif sosial-hukum dengan meneliti pertimbangan rasional jemaah dan justifikasi normatifnya dalam hukum Islam, khususnya melalui teori pilihan rasional dan fiqh al-awlawiyyat (yurisprudensi prioritas). Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan lapangan kualitatif dengan metode fenomenologi. Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara mendalam, observasi, dan dokumentasi yang melibatkan jemaah

yang membatalkan pendaftaran haji mereka sebagai akibat dari gangguan ekonomi terkait pandemi. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa penurunan pendapatan rumah tangga yang disebabkan oleh kematian pencari nafkah keluarga, gangguan arus kas bisnis, dan penurunan tajam pendapatan usaha kecil merupakan faktor utama di balik pembatalan haji. Dihadapkan dengan kewajiban hukum dan moral yang mendesak seperti pembayaran utang, upah karyawan, dan kebutuhan pokok sehari-hari, para jamaah haji membuat keputusan rasional untuk memprioritaskan kebutuhan mendesak daripada mempertahankan kuota haji mereka. Dari perspektif hukum Islam, keputusan ini selaras dengan prinsip prioritas fiqh, yang menekankan pemenuhan hak dan kewajiban manusia sebelum melakukan ibadah yang berkaitan dengan hak-hak Tuhan. Studi ini berkontribusi pada kajian sosial-hukum dengan menggambarkan bagaimana rasionalitas ekonomi, kesadaran hukum, dan penalaran normatif Islam berinteraksi dalam membentuk pengambilan keputusan keagamaan di masa krisis.

Kata Kunci: *Pembatalan Pendaftaran Haji; Krisis Ekonomi; Analisis Socio-Legal; Pilihan Rasional; Fiqh Prioritas.*

Introduction

Within Islamic normative and legal traditions, hajj occupies a distinctive position as a religious obligation that is subject to specific conditions and limitations. As one of the pillars of Islam, hajj is an exclusive form of worship that does not apply universally to all individuals but is obligatory only for those who meet specific requirements.¹ One of the most decisive conditions for the obligation of hajj is economic capability. This requirement encompasses not only the ability to finance transportation, accommodation, and consumption during the pilgrimage, but also the availability of sufficient living expenses for family members left behind. These elements collectively form the core indicators of *istita'ah* in the implementation of hajj.²

Empirical realities indicate that economic capacity has not constituted a major obstacle for Indonesian Muslims in fulfilling the obligation of hajj. As noted by Putuhena, among Muslim–santri communities there exists a strong awareness that wealth should not merely serve material needs, but must also be oriented toward fulfilling spiritual obligations. Within this understanding, once an individual possesses sufficient wealth and capability, allocating financial resources for hajj becomes a religious imperative rather than a discretionary choice.³

This religious commitment is reflected in the various economic strategies adopted by prospective pilgrims. First, some Muslims are willing to sell productive or valuable assets to finance their pilgrimage. Research by M. Sulthoni et al. demonstrates that asset liquidation is a common practice undertaken to secure the means for performing hajj.⁴ Second, prospective pilgrims often utilize bailout funds or bank loans to obtain a hajj registration quota. The Indonesian Minister of Religious Affairs, Yaqut Cholil Qoumas, has acknowledged that financial assistance schemes constitute one of the primary mechanisms through which pilgrims secure their registration. However, the widespread use of such schemes has also contributed to the prolonged waiting list for hajj departure.⁵

¹ Sayyid Sabiq, *Fiqh Al Sunnah*, Vol.1 (Beirut: Dar al Fikr, 1983) 529.

² Ibid.

³ M Shaleh Putuhena, *Historiografi Haji Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: LKIS PELANGI AKSARA, 2007), 339.

⁴ Muhlisin Muhlisin and Mutho'in Mutho'in, "Haji Dan Kegairahan Ekonomi: Mengungkap Makna Ibadah Haji Bagi Pedagang Muslim Di Yogyakarta," *Jurnal Penelitian* 9, no. 1 (2012): 49–65.

⁵ Al Amin Mulia, "Dana Talangan, Penyebab Antrean Haji Mengular," November 2023, <https://alaminmulia.com/blog/detail/5/dana-talangan-penyebab-antrean-haji-mengular>.

The Covid-19 pandemic introduced unprecedented challenges for prospective hajj pilgrims. The pandemic caused a substantial decline in economic activity across all sectors.⁶ According to research conducted by Asep Suryahadi and colleagues, the economic shock resulting from the pandemic was projected to push approximately 8.5 million Indonesians into poverty and severe economic hardship. This macroeconomic downturn directly affected the financial stability of many households.⁷

The economic difficulties described above were also experienced by registered hajj pilgrims in Jember Regency. A number of prospective pilgrims who were severely affected by the pandemic ultimately chose to cancel their hajj registration by withdrawing the initial deposit that had been paid. Ahmad Tholabi, Head of the Administrative Subdivision at the Office of the Ministry of Religious Affairs in Jember Regency, confirmed that the Covid-19 pandemic led many registered pilgrims to cancel their plans to perform hajj and reclaim their deposited funds.⁸ At the level of hajj service administration, the economic impact of the Covid-19 pandemic generated serious administrative consequences for the management of registered pilgrims. In this regard, Ahmad Tholabi, Head of the Administrative Subdivision at the Office of the Ministry of Religious Affairs in Jember Regency, noted that the number of hajj cancellations among registered pilgrims during the pandemic was relatively high. One of the most frequently cited reasons for cancellation was the urgent need for cash to meet basic daily necessities. According to him, many pilgrims stated that they no longer had any remaining financial resources, forcing them to withdraw their hajj registration funds. While cancellations due to illness or death are generally understood, cancellations driven by the inability to meet basic subsistence needs illustrate the extraordinary economic impact of the pandemic.⁹

The decision of pilgrims to withdraw from their hajj plans by reclaiming the registration deposit represents a socio-legal phenomenon that warrants deeper analysis. This is particularly significant for several reasons. First, Indonesia faces an exceptionally long hajj waiting list, ranging from approximately 21 to 97 years in different regions.¹⁰ Second, the policy of limiting hajj quotas imposed by the Government of Saudi Arabia, including post-pandemic restrictions in 2022, has further exacerbated the length of the waiting period.¹¹

⁶ Badan Pusat Statistik, "Laporan Bulanan Data Sosial Ekonomi" (Jakarta: Badan Pusat Statistik, 2020) 23.

⁷ Asep Suryahadi, Ridho Al Izzati, and Daniel Suryadarma, "The Impact of COVID-19 Outbreak on Poverty: An Estimation for Indonesia," *Jakarta: The SMERU Research Institute* 12, no. 3 (2020): 4.

⁸ Ahmad Tholabi, "Wawancara Penulis" (Jember, 1 September 2022).

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Kementerian Agama Republik Indonesia, "Estimasi Keberangkatan," *Haji.Go.Id*, 2026, <https://haji.go.id/estimasi-keberangkatan>.

¹¹ B B C News Indonesia, "Calon Jemaah Haji Dibatasi Usia Maksimal 65 Tahun: 'Kecewa Sudah Ditunda Dua Tahun, Sekarang Ada Pembatasan,'" *BBC.Com/Indonesia*, 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-61696923>.

Third, the overall cost of performing hajj continues to increase in line with rising service fees and living expenses in Saudi Arabia.¹²

In conceptual discussions of Islamic religious obligations, clarity of definition plays a crucial role in understanding the legal nature of hajj. Linguistically, the term hajj derives from the Arabic verb *hajja*, which denotes intention or purpose.¹³ In Islamic legal terminology (*syar'i*), hajj refers to a ritual journey undertaken to the Sacred House (Bayt al-Haram) for the purpose of performing specific acts of worship at designated places, times, and conditions.¹⁴ Indonesian positive law adopts and formalizes this religious understanding. Law Number 8 of 2019 on the Organization of Hajj and Umrah defines hajj as the fifth pillar of Islam for Muslims who possess the capability to perform a series of prescribed rituals at the Baytullah, the sacred sites (*masya'ir*), and other locations determined by religious and legal provisions. This definition confirms that hajj constitutes a mandatory act of worship whose legal obligation applies only to those who meet the requisite conditions of capability (*istita'ah*).¹⁵

Given that hajj must be performed in Mecca, the concept of capability encompasses multiple dimensions, including physical and psychological fitness, personal safety, and economic capacity. Economic capability, in particular, requires the availability of sufficient funds to cover travel and return expenses, as well as the provision of adequate living expenses for family members left behind. The obligation of hajj is firmly grounded in Islamic normative sources, most notably the Qur'an (Ali 'Imran: 97) and the Prophetic tradition that identifies hajj as one of the five foundational pillars of Islam. Classical Islamic jurisprudence further elaborates this obligation through a structured framework consisting of conditions (*syarat*), pillars (*rukun*), and obligatory acts (*wajib*) of hajj, which together establish the legal and ritual completeness of the pilgrimage. This normative framework underscores that while hajj is a fundamental religious obligation, its enforceability is inseparable from the fulfillment of clearly defined legal and material requirements.¹⁶

Hajj cancellation refers to the failure of registered pilgrims to perform the hajj pilgrimage despite having completed the formal registration process. Such cancellation may occur for several legally recognized reasons, including the death of the pilgrim prior to departure, voluntary withdrawal initiated by the pilgrim, or cancellation imposed by the hajj authority based on lawful grounds. In cases where cancellation results from the death of a registered pilgrim, Indonesian hajj administration regulations allow the process to be undertaken by the pilgrim's legal heirs, provided that the death occurs between the time of registration and before entry into the embarkation or intermediate embarkation dormitory.¹⁷ Administratively, heirs are required to submit a written request for cancellation through the

¹² CNBC Indonesia, "Mengungkap Biaya Kerok Mahalnya Biaya Haji 2023," *CNBCIndonesia.Com*, 2023, <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20230218112606-4-414904/mengungkap-biang-kerok-mahalnya-biaya-haji-2023>.

¹³ Muhammad bin Qasin Al-Ghazi, *Fath Al Qarib* (Surabaya: Dar al Ilmi, 1850) 27.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Sekretariat Negara Republik Indonesia, "Undang-Undang Nomor 8 Tahun 2019 Penyelenggaraan Ibadah Haji dan Umrah Pasal 1 nomor 1".

¹⁶ Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, "Al-QUr'an and Its Translation" (Tangerang: Lentera Hati, 2020), .

¹⁷ Office of Assistant to Deputy Cabinet Secretary for State Documents & Translation, "Religious Affairs Ministry Announces Procedures for Hajj Fees Refund," *Setkab.Go.Id*, 2021, <https://setkab.go.id/en/religious-affairs-ministry-announces-procedures-for-hajj-fees-refund/>.

Office of the Ministry of Religious Affairs or via authorized mobile service units, reflecting the formalized legal framework governing hajj administration.

Beyond mortality related cases, hajj registration cancellation frequently arises from the personal decision of the pilgrim concerned, motivated by factors such as deteriorating health conditions, economic hardship, advanced age, or other compelling circumstances. Additionally, the hajj authority retains discretionary power to cancel registrations unilaterally in response to violations that undermine public interest, including the use of invalid identity documents, changes in citizenship or religious affiliation, or specific legal conditions related to death and inheritance status.¹⁸ Within this regulatory context, this article aims to analyze hajj registration cancellation as a socio-legal and administrative phenomenon, with particular attention to cancellations driven by economic pressure during periods of crisis. Furthermore, the study seeks to examine how affected pilgrims rationalize and interpret their decision to relinquish their hajj quota, both from the perspective of positive law and within the normative framework of Islamic legal reasoning.

Research Method

With reference to the context and objectives of the study, the approach employed in this research is empirical legal research. Empirical legal research may also be referred to as sociological legal research, insofar as it examines law by taking into account actual behavior and social phenomena that are not formally documented in written legal sources, as experienced by individuals within the context of collective life. Accordingly, empirical legal research constitutes a methodological approach aimed at understanding law in its real-life context and investigating how legal norms operate within society.¹⁹ This research was conducted in Jember Regency, East Java, with the subjects consisting of Hajj pilgrims affected by the pandemic who subsequently cancelled their Hajj registration. The selection of research subjects employed a snowball sampling technique, which operates progressively from a limited number of initial informants and expands to a larger pool in accordance with developments in the field data. Data collection was carried out through interviews, observation, and documentation. The data obtained were then analyzed through the stages of data reduction, data display, and data presentation.

Results and Discussion

From the results of research conducted on Hajj pilgrims who canceled their Hajj portion in Jember Regency, the discussion of the findings of this research is presented as follows:

1. The option of canceling the Hajj portion by Hajj pilgrims affected by the pandemic

The cancellation of Hajj quotas constitutes a recurring phenomenon observed annually within the administration of Hajj services in Indonesia. In the context of this study, it was found that during the COVID-19 pandemic, spanning the period from 2020 to 2023, there was a significant increase in the number of pilgrims applying for Hajj quota cancellations. According to a statement from an official in the Hajj and Umrah Services

¹⁸ Rustika Rustika et al., "An Evaluation of Health Policy Implementation for Hajj Pilgrims in Indonesia.," *Journal of Epidemiology and Global Health* 10, no. 4 (December 2020): 263–68, <https://doi.org/10.2991/jegh.k.200411.001>.

¹⁹ Muhaimin, *Metode Penelitian Hukum* (Mataram: Mataram University Press, 1969), hlm. 83

Division of the Ministry of Religious Affairs in Jember Regency, the number of cancellation applications in 2021 reached approximately 900 individuals. This circumstance indicates a clear correlation between the crisis conditions caused by the pandemic and the decision of pilgrims to cancel their Hajj quotas, with economic factors emerging as one of the primary underlying reasons for such decisions.

Based on collected field data, it was found that sources who canceled the Hajj during the pandemic cited economic hardship as one of the reasons. Given their diverse professional backgrounds, the impact of the pandemic has naturally varied.

Important statements from informants affected by the pandemic can be seen in the following table:

Informant	Statement	Meaning
Marsuto	Up until now, my family's finances have been supported by my wife and me. So, we both work. I work as a laborer, while my wife works at Mitra Tani Dua Tujuh, the edamami company in front of us. So, when my wife passed away, the family's income automatically fell solely on me.	The informant lost his family's source of income and experienced economic decline after his wife died.
Dodik Widodo	The COVID-19 pandemic has had a tremendous impact on me. I'm a contractor, sir, working with the local government. Between 2020 and 2021, I worked on a lot of projects, including providing fill material for the Probolinggo toll road, renovating a market, and procuring sinks for the Jember Regency Government. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the government couldn't pay for much of the work I've done.	The informant experienced problems in business activities due to non-payment for work completed during the pandemic.
Wawan Gunawan	During the COVID-19 pandemic, it was incredibly difficult to earn money. Even trying to earn 200,000 rupiah was incredibly difficult. Even before COVID-19, we could earn an average of 800,000 rupiah a day. Even during Ramadan, our daily sales exceeded 1 million rupiah.	Informants experienced a decrease in turnover of up to 80% from normal conditions

The informant's situation above confirms the government's publication regarding the pandemic's impact on various economic sectors. Nearly all economic sectors experienced a decline. The economic downturn experienced by the informant was a factor in the decision to cancel the Hajj.

Meanwhile, the reason for withdrawing their Hajj fund deposits was to fulfill obligations that needed to be settled immediately. Key statements related to this finding can be seen in the informants' statements in the following table:

Informant	Statement	Meaning
Marsuto	So why did I cancel my Hajj registration? Well, it was because of my family's economic situation after my wife passed away. Her death was followed by demands for the distribution of her inheritance, which ultimately led to me going into debt.	The cancellation of the Hajj was carried out due to the economic downturn and to pay off debts.
Dodik Widodo	To cover operational expenses, I went all out. First, I had to sell existing assets. I sold four cars and transferred the sound system. Second, I was even forced to withdraw my and my wife's Hajj funds from the Ministry of Religious Affairs. My and my wife's Hajj registrations were canceled.	The need for cash for business operations was a factor in the cancellation of the Hajj for the informant and his wife.
Wawan Gunawan	The COVID-19 economic situation has been devastating. Yes, because business is no longer profitable, we need money to cover our needs. I was forced to cancel my wife's portion of the Hajj.	The cancellation of the Hajj was carried out to meet living needs due to declining business.

Hajj cancellations due to economic reasons were also found in Ardian Saputra's research on the Implementation of Hajj Cost Refunds for Prospective Hajj Pilgrims Who Failed to Depart at the Mataram City Ministry of Religious Affairs Office in 2021. One of the reasons for Hajj cancellations in Mataram City was living expenses. Other factors cited were Hajj quota restrictions, death, illness, inability to pay for Hajj, and school fees.

In Islamic law, the cancellation of the Hajj is permissible and does not constitute a sin where there exists a valid *shar'i* excuse, such as financial hardship or serious illness, since the obligation to perform the Hajj applies only to those who possess the requisite capability (*istita'ah*). According to Makmun²⁰, the cancellation of the Hajj during the pandemic is a reflection of religious provisions, that carrying out important obligations takes into account the actual context of life.

In the context of the Hajj, the most important factor is *istita'ah*, or the financial ability to undertake the pilgrimage. Sulaiman Rasyid even stated that this requirement of financial ability must be met by pilgrims, as the Hajj takes place in a special location within the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, including Mecca, Muzdalifah, and Mina²¹.

²⁰ Makmun, "Teologi Haji dan Umroh di Tengah Pandemi: Studi Kasus di Desa Riak Siabun 1 Kecamatan Sukaraja Kabupaten Seluma" dalam *Jurnal Manthiq*, Vol. 6., No. 1 (2021), 65.

²¹ Rasyid, *Fiqh Islam*, 248.

In a legal context, cancellation of the Hajj pilgrimage due to economic hardship is an acceptable reason for the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Besides death, cancellation of a pilgrim's registration can also be based on the wishes of the pilgrim concerned. Registration cancellations arise for various reasons, such as illness, economic hardship, age, and others. Regarding these various reasons for cancellation, the Hajj organizer, namely the Ministry of Religious Affairs, provides services in accordance with the provisions of the law.²²

Meanwhile, sociologically, the decision to cancel the Hajj by pilgrims affected by the pandemic aligns with rational choice theory. This theory, according to Nur Syam, emphasizes humans as rational agents who constantly maximize their own interests. In maximizing these interests, humans consider both costs and rewards.²³

The decision to cancel the Hajj pilgrimage by informants in this study was based purely on rational considerations. Economic factors were the primary driver behind the decision. The actors' cancellations were intended to address the economic challenges they faced during the pandemic. The most important principle for the actors was to resolve their financial challenges with the Hajj funds they had already deposited. This practice aligns with the basic tenet of rational choice theory, which states that actions are undertaken to achieve goals consistent with the actor's hierarchy of preferences.²⁴

2. The congregation's interpretation of the choice to cancel the Hajj

The decision to cancel the Hajj pilgrimage represents a significant milestone in the lives of pilgrims affected by the crisis. Dogmatically and theologically, the Hajj is one of the obligatory acts of worship in Islam, alongside the Shahada, prayer, fasting, and zakat. The Quran, Surah Al-Imran, verse 197, states that the Hajj is a divine right and an obligation upon mankind.²⁵ The determination of the Hajj as an obligation was also put forward by the Prophet Muhammad who stated that Islam was built on five foundations, namely the Shahadah, prayer, zakat, fasting and carrying out the Hajj pilgrimage.²⁶

Sociologically, in the context of Indonesian society, the Hajj is not merely viewed as an act of worship. Those who have performed the Hajj are not only considered to possess a mature level of religiosity but also represent themselves as an elite group, both economically and socially, in society. Those who have performed this pilgrimage are given the title "haji" (pilgrim). Therefore, as illustrated in the research of M. Sulthoni et al., in order to perform the pilgrimage and earn the title "haji," it is not uncommon for Muslims to sell their assets to meet the costs of the Hajj, which requires significant funding.²⁷

Muhammad Zainuddin has found various research findings that indicate that the Hajj is not only a symbol of religious doctrine but also a symbol of social strata. As a social doctrine, the Hajj also provides a set of institutions that can elevate social status within society.

²² Peraturan Menteri Agama Republik Indonesia Nomo 13 Tahun 2019 Tentang Penyelenggaraan Ibadah Haji Reguler

²³ Nur Syam, Model Analisis Teori Sosial, 334.

²⁴ George Ritzer dan Douglas J Goodman, *Teori Sosiologi*., 448

²⁵ Al-Qur'an

²⁶ Imam Nawawi, *Arba'in Nawawi fi Ahadits al Nabi* (Surabaya: al-Hidayah, 1987), 3.

²⁷ M Shulthoni, Muhlisin dan Mutho'in, "Haji dan Kegarirahan Ekonomi: Mengungkap Makna Ibadah Haji Bagi Pedagang Muslim di Yogyakarta", in Jurnal Penelitian Vol. 9, Nomor 1 (Mei 2012), 50.

The Hajj is considered a transitional tool for people to elevate their social standing within society.²⁸

Amidst the aforementioned social conditions, the choice of canceling the Hajj by pilgrims presents a dilemma. Therefore, when reflecting on their choices, pilgrims' interpretations of the cancellation of the Hajj can be categorized as follows:

a. A disappointing choice

All informants felt that the decision to cancel the Hajj was a disappointing one in their lives. This is evident in the statements they made, as follows:

Informant	Statement	Meaning
Marsuto	..yes actually, when I had to make that decision (cancelling the Hajj, ed) I felt sorry.	The Hajj cancellation option is disappointing
Dodik Widodo	Like most Muslims, the Hajj pilgrimage is a dream, right? Who doesn't want to go? I did too. That's why, during the COVID-19 pandemic, when I had to cancel the Hajj, I had to negotiate with my wife for a long time. My wife objected.	The choice of canceling the Hajj is difficult and disappointing
Wawan Gunawan	We finally agreed with my wife, with mutual understanding, to cancel her portion of the Hajj, even though it was a shame.	Wawan's wife's cancellation of the Hajj was chosen despite being disappointing

The use of the words "eman," "berat," and "hajj as a dream" illustrate the congregation's disappointment in deciding to cancel their pilgrimage. This disappointment is understandable, given that, first, empirically, the informants' Hajj portion was between two and five years old. This means that during that time, they were already on the waiting list. Second, the option of canceling the Hajj could deprive them of the opportunity to fulfill their dream of performing the Muslim pilgrimage. This is due to the long waiting list. According to information from the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs, the Hajj waiting list in this country ranges from 21 to seven years.²⁹ Of course, with the source's age being over 55 years, the opportunity to perform the Hajj was almost impossible.

b. Choice based on priority

Beyond being perceived as a disappointing decision, the decision to cancel the Hajj during the pandemic was seen as a decision based on prioritization. This is evident in the following key statement from the source:

Informant	Statement	Meaning
Marsuto	...canceling my Hajj registration to	Priority of paying debts

²⁸ Mu Zainuddin, "Haji dan status Sosial: Studi tentang Simbol Agama di Kalangan Masyarakat Muslim, dalam *el Harakah*, Vol. 15 No. 2 Tahun 2013, 179.

²⁹ <https://haji.kemenag.go.id/v4/waiting-list> diakses tanggal 18 September 2022

	fulfill my brother-in-law's request, rather than having a debt like that...,	
Dodik Widodo	The choice to cancel the Hajj was to fulfill my obligation to pay employees, that is my priority, sir.	Priority of paying employees
Wawan Gunawan	..Everything was indeed a difficult situation. ...So, we were thinking at that time, what should come first?	Priority to meet needs

Sociologically, pilgrims' choices based on priorities align with rational choice theory. In determining their priorities, pilgrims consider their primary goals in deciding each option. Prioritizing debt repayment, paying employees, and meeting living expenses were the most important reasons for informants' decisions to cancel the Hajj. This demonstrates the actions of pilgrims to achieve goals consistent with their hierarchy of preferences.³⁰

From the perspective of normative religious doctrine, priority-based consideration (*fiqh al-awlawiyyāt*) constitutes a recognized approach within Islamic teachings in determining courses of action. The thought of Yusuf al-Qaradawi emphasizes that religious teachings provide a framework for individuals to act based on rational and contextual prioritization. Within this framework, the obligations (*taklīf*) imposed by Allah are not situated on a uniform level; rather, they are structured hierarchically, reflecting varying degrees of importance. Accordingly, under certain circumstances, a Muslim is required to prioritize obligations of greater urgency over others, as a manifestation of the application of the principle of prioritization in Islamic law.³¹

From Yusuf Qardawi's perspective, pilgrims' choice to cancel the Hajj to immediately fulfill their humanitarian obligations is justified. Basic religious principles teach that fulfilling obligations related to God's rights can be tolerated, while obligations that are human rights must be fulfilled immediately. Therefore, according to Qardawi, it is not permissible for a Muslim to prioritize the Hajj before repaying his debts.³²

c. Cancellation of Hajj as destiny

In addition to the rational interpretations described above, nearly all informants in this study stated that their decision to cancel the Hajj was part of Allah's decree or destiny. This tentative conclusion can be gleaned from the following key statements from the informants:

Informant	Statement	Meaning
Marsuto	..yes maybe this is my destiny that I can't go on the Hajj..	Restriction of Hajj as destiny

³⁰ George Ritzer dan Douglas J Goodman, *Teori Sosiologi..*, 448

³¹ Yusuf Qardawi, *Fikih Prioritas*, ter. Moh Nurhakim (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 1995), 15.

³² Ibid., 157.

Dodik Widodo	What happened at this time made me even more convinced that we as believers, we only plan, but Allah is the one who determines everything, right, sir?	Believe that God is the one who decides
Wawan Gunawan	I thought during the COVID-19 pandemic, it wasn't just me who was affected; everyone in my profession was definitely affected. We just had to surrender and leave the matter to those above us.	Surrender to God's Will

In the perspective of Islamic law, the concept of *qadar* (divine decree) occupies a fundamental position in understanding the relationship between human beings and God as the Creator. Belief in divine decree constitutes an integral component of the pillars of faith, forming a core element of the theological framework in Islam. Terminologically, *qadar* is understood as the manifestation of Allah's determinations as the sovereign and regulator of the universe, whereby all events occurring within it are inseparable from His pre-eternal decree.

Within this conceptual framework, the decision of pilgrims to cancel their Hajj pilgrimage may be interpreted as part of the realization of divine will. The efforts undertaken by the pilgrims to perform the Hajj, initiated through formal registration with the relevant authorities, ultimately could not be fulfilled due to external circumstances, namely the COVID-19 pandemic. Consequently, the pilgrims opted to cancel their registration by withdrawing the initial deposit of IDR 25,000,000 that had been paid to the Ministry of Religious Affairs as the organizing authority. This occurrence, from the perspective of the informants, is understood as an expression of Allah's decree, which must be accepted within the framework of faith.

Believing that the cancellation of the Hajj was part of God's decree, some of the pilgrims remained optimistic, refusing to give up on the lost opportunity to perform the pilgrimage. Informants like Mr. Wawan Gunawan were optimistic that he and his wife would be able to perform the Hajj in the future. This optimism was based on his awareness that the Hajj was one of the most important goals in his life. Gradually and meticulously, he began collecting funds to re-register his wife for the Hajj, which had been canceled. In a religious context, optimism and continued effort are integral to the concept of destiny. In Fazlur Rahman's words, the concept of destiny does not leave humans in a passive position, but rather makes it an integral part of all human endeavors.³³

Conclusion

Hajj cancellations by withdrawing initial deposits were made by pilgrims due to the economic downturn during and after the COVID-19 pandemic. This economic downturn was caused by different factors experienced by each pilgrim. These factors included the death of a family member who was a source of income, companies experiencing cash flow problems due

³³ Fazlur Rahman, *Islam* (Bandung Pustaka, 2001), 8.

to delayed payments, and culinary businesses experiencing a decline in turnover. Amid these economic challenges, pilgrims faced obligations such as paying debts, paying employees, and meeting daily living expenses. Therefore, the initial deposit, which served as a sign of Hajj registration, was withdrawn to meet these obligations.

The experience of canceling the Hajj is interpreted by pilgrims as, firstly, a disappointing choice. Their disappointment is evident in various expressions suggestive of disappointment, such as "eman" and "heavy heart." Secondly, they prioritize fulfilling their obligations rather than maintaining their Hajj portion. These immediate obligations include debt repayment, employee payments, and family living expenses. Choices based on priorities are a strong indicator in rational choice theory for each actor to take action. This principle is also crucial in the governance of religious life.

Bibliography

Book

Al-Qur'an dan terjemahnya, Kemenag RI, Tahun 2017.

Creswell, John W. *Penelitian Kualitatif dan Desain Riset*, terj. Ahmad Lintang Lazuardi. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2015.

Rahman, Fazlur, *Islam*. Bandung Pustaka, 2001.

Ghazi, Muhammad bin Qasin al. Fath al Qarib. Surabaya: Dar al Ilmi, tt.

Putuhena, M Saleh. *Historiografi Haji di Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2007.

Qardawi, Yusuf. *Fikih Prioritas*, ter. Moh Nurhakim. Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 1995.

Rasyid, Sulaiman. *Fiqh Islam*. Bandung Sinar Baru Algensindo, 2010.

Ritzer, George dan Douglas J Goodman, *Teori Sosiologi*, terj. Nurhadi. Jakarta: Yogyakarta, 2010.

Sabiq, Sayyid. *Fiqh al Sunnah*, Vol.1. Beirut: Dar al Fikr, 1983.

Soetopo, "Pengumpulan dan Pengolahan Data dalam Penelitian Kualitatif", dalam Masykuri Bakri, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif: Tinjauan Teoritis dan Praksis*. Malang: LP UIN Press, 2002.

Suryahadi, Asep. Ridho Al Izzati dan Daniel Suryadarma, "The Impact of Covid 19 Outbreak on Poverty: An Estimation for Indonesia", dalam Semeru Working Paper Tahun 2020.

Journal

Armansyah, Mahel, Mellyana Puteri, Nurikas yumaini dan Yuli Astuti "Persepsi Publik Terhadap Pembatalan Haji Dua Tahun Berturut-turut", dalam *Senkim*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Agustus 2021.

Hasan, Asyari., Nofrianto dan Muhammad Raja Perkasa Alam Harahap, "Analisis Keputusan Menteri Agama Republik Indonesia tentang Pembatalan Keberangkatan Jamaah Haji: Studi Pendekatan Qawa'id Ushuliyyah dan Fiqhiyah dalam Lingkup Fikih Muamalah", dalam *Al-Mizan*, Vol.17, No.2 (2021), 316.

Nawawi, Imam, *Arba'in Nawawi fi Ahadits al Nabi*. Surabaya: al-Hidayah, 1987.

Makmun, "Teologi Haji dan Umroh di Tengah Pandemi: Studi Kasus di Desa Riak Siabun 1 Kecamatan Sukaraja Kabupaten Seluma" dalam *Jurnal Manthiq*, Vol. 6., No. 1. 2021.

Muhammad Zainuddin, "Haji dan status Sosial: Studi tentang Simbol Agama di Kalangan Masyarakat Muslim, dalam *el Harakah*, Vol. 15 No. 2 Tahun 2013.

Rosidin, "Analisis Teori Pilihan Rasional terhadap transformasi Madrasah", dalam *Madarah*, Vol.7., No. 2 Januari-Juni 2015.

Shulthoni, M., Muhlisin dan Mutho'in, "Haji dan Kegarirahan Ekonomi: Menguak Makna Ibadah Haji Bagi Pedagang Muslim di Yogyakarta", dalam Jurnal Penelitian Vol. 9, Nomor 1 Mei 2012

Online Source

<https://haji.kemenag.go.id/v4/nilai-dana-talangan-perpanjang-antrian-haji-menag-akan-ambil-kebijakan>

<https://haji.kemenag.go.id/v4/waiting-list> diakses tanggal 18 September 2022

<https://haji.kemenag.go.id/v4/waiting-list> diakses tanggal 18 September 2022

<https://nasional.tempo.co/read/491690/begini-alasan-arab-saudi-soal-batasan-kuota-haji>

<https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-61696923>

<https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20230218112606-4-414904/mengungkap-biang-kerok-mahalnya-biaya-haji-2023>

Jemberkb.go.id/2021/02/19 diakses tanggal 2 Mei 2023

Legislations

Peraturan Menteri Agama Republik Indonesia Nomo 13 Tahun 2019 Tentang Penyelenggaraan Ibadah Haji Reguler

Undang-undang Nomor 8 Tahun 2019 Tentang Penyelenggaraan Ibadah Haji dan Umroh