

Governing Hajj *Dam* for Livestock Empowerment and Nutrition in Indonesia: A Fiqh Al-Awlawiyyat Model

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Diterima: 10-06-2026

Direvisi: 28-06-2026

Disetujui: 14-07-2026

ABSTRAK

Stunting dan defisit protein masih menjadi tantangan serius di Indonesia, sementara potensi Dam haji (hadyu) yang bernilai sekitar Rp380 miliar per tahun belum sepenuhnya terhubung dengan agenda pemberdayaan peternak dan program gizi nasional. Penelitian ini mengembangkan model tata kelola ekonomi Islam yang menghubungkan Dam haji, pemberdayaan peternak mustahik melalui BAZNAS Balai Ternak, dan Program Makanan Bergizi Gratis (MBG) dengan Fiqh al-Awlawiyyat sebagai kerangka legitimasi normatif. Penelitian menggunakan desain mixed methods sequential exploratory dengan dominasi kualitatif. Data kualitatif diperoleh dari lima dokumen kunci, yaitu regulasi Dam haji, keputusan tarif Dam, laporan BAZNAS, hasil Munas NU 2025, dan statistik haji 2026. Uji coba lapangan dilakukan pada 15 peternak mustahik dengan 37 ekor domba Priangan di Subang dan Ciamis pada Februari-April 2026. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa dari 140.536 pembayaran Dam, 38.499 ekor (27,4%) dialokasikan untuk pemotongan di Indonesia dengan nilai sekitar Rp104 miliar. Uji coba kecil menunjukkan keuntungan tingkat lokasi sebesar Rp400.000-Rp700.000 per ekor dalam satu siklus, dengan total keuntungan Rp19,3 juta. Temuan ini merupakan indikasi awal kelayakan, bukan estimasi dampak yang dapat digeneralisasi. Analisis benefit-cost ratio (BCR) menunjukkan nilai awal 1,09-1,21, tetapi dapat turun menjadi sekitar 0,90-1,14 ketika skenario biaya distribusi 5-20% dimasukkan. Model yang diusulkan meliputi penyaluran pembayaran Dam, pengadaan ternak dari peternak mustahik, pemotongan halal, serta distribusi daging ke wilayah prioritas stunting melalui MBG. Penelitian ini berkontribusi pada ekonomi Islam dengan menggeser pembahasan Dam dari isu fikih normatif menuju model tata kelola, kelayakan ekonomi, rantai pasok, dan mitigasi risiko.

Kata kunci: Dam haji; Fiqh al-Awlawiyyat; Pemberdayaan peternak; Keuangan sosial Islam; Stunting

ABSTRACT

Stunting and protein deficiency remain serious challenges in Indonesia, while the annual economic potential of Hajj *Dam* (*hadyu*), estimated at approximately IDR 380 billion, has not been systematically linked to livestock empowerment and national nutrition programs. This study develops an Islamic economic governance model connecting Hajj *Dam*, *mustahik* breeder empowerment through BAZNAS Livestock Center, and the Free Nutritious Meal (MBG) Program, using *Fiqh al-Awlawiyyat* as a normative justification framework. The study applies a sequential exploratory mixed-methods design with qualitative dominance. Qualitative data were drawn from five key documents: Hajj *Dam* regulations, *Dam* tariff decrees, BAZNAS reports, the 2025 NU National Conference framework, and 2026 Hajj statistics. A field pilot involved 15 *mustahik* breeders managing 37 Priangan sheep in Subang and Ciamis from February to April 2026. The findings show that, of 140,536 *Dam* payments, 38,499 heads (27.4%) were allocated for domestic slaughter, valued at approximately IDR 104 billion. The small pilot generated a site-level profit of IDR 400,000-700,000 per head in one cycle, with total profit of IDR 19.3 million. These figures should be interpreted as preliminary feasibility evidence rather than

generalizable impact estimates. The benefit-cost ratio (BCR) ranges from 1.09 to 1.21 before final distribution costs, but may fall to approximately 0.90-1.14 under 5%-20% distribution-cost scenarios. The proposed model includes *Dam* payment channeling, livestock procurement from *mustahik* breeders, halal slaughtering and processing, and distribution of meat to stunting-priority regions through MBG. The study contributes to Islamic economics by shifting the *Dam* debate from a predominantly jurisprudential issue toward governance, economic feasibility, supply-chain management, and risk mitigation.

Keywords: Hajj *Dam*; Fiqh al-Awlawiyyat; Livestock empowerment; Islamic social finance; Stunting

INTRODUCTION

Child stunting remains a critical development challenge in Indonesia. Based on the 2024 Indonesian Nutrition Status Survey (SSGI) published by the Ministry of Health of the Republic of Indonesia, the national stunting prevalence decreased to 19.8% (from 21.5% in 2023), with East Nusa Tenggara at 37% and Southwest Papua at 30.5% (Kemenkes RI, 2025). Stunting not only impairs physical growth but also reduces cognitive capacity, long-term economic productivity, and increases susceptibility to non-communicable diseases (Khonje & Qaim, 2024; Shapiro et al., 2019). The Free Nutritious Meal (MBG) Program requires stable, sustainable, and affordable animal-source food (ASF) supply, yet faces structural constraints in protein procurement, relying on fragmented and seasonal markets (Priyatnasari et al., 2025).

Indonesia also generates a predictable annual religious-finance flow through the *Dam* obligation of Hajj pilgrims. QS. al-Baqarah (2:196) establishes *Dam* for pilgrims performing *Tamattu' Hajj*, and this obligation has socio-economic consequences beyond individual ritual fulfillment. Ministry of Hajj and Umrah data as of May 22, 2026 recorded 140,536 *Dam* payments by Indonesian pilgrims. Of these, 38,499 heads, or 27.4%, were allocated for domestic slaughter. Using the official 2026 *Dam* price of IDR 2,710,920 per head, the domestic allocation is worth approximately IDR 104 billion, while the total *Dam* value reaches approximately IDR 380 billion (Kemenhaj, 2026; Zaenal et al., 2025). Circular Letter No. S-50/BN/2026 recognizes two implementation channels: slaughter in Saudi Arabia through Adahi and slaughter in Indonesia through BAZNAS, LAZ, religious organizations, or KBIHU (Kemenhaj, 2026).

From a jurisprudential perspective, the key issue is not whether the Shafi'i position should be ignored. The Shafi'i school treats slaughter in the Haram as the ideal rule under normal conditions (An-Nawawi, 2009). The question is whether exceptional conditions allow a broader governance arrangement that better serves urgent public welfare. The 2025 Nahdlatul Ulama National Conference formulated a *tartib* framework that distinguishes ideal, *hajat*, and emergency conditions (Bushiri, 2026; Jannah & Savhira, 2025). This article treats that framework as an important scholarly and institutional reference, but it does not present domestic *Dam* execution as a settled *ijma* or as an already final NU/MUI ruling. Rather, it develops an academic policy proposal whose final legal application requires seasonal validation by competent religious and state authorities.

Fiqh al-Awlawiyyat is used as the main analytical lens because it explains how competing benefits and harms are prioritized when ritual compliance intersects with public welfare. The framework prioritizes higher-order objectives such as *hifzh al-nafs* and *hifzh al-nasl* while also considering *fiqh al-muwazamah* and *fiqh al-taysir* (Hajar & Zaeni, 2022; Ifandy & Hasanah, 2024; Mubarrak et al., 2025). However, this article deliberately limits the *fiqh* discussion to the minimum needed to justify the governance model. The central contribution is not a new fatwa but an economic and institutional model that links *Dam* to *mustahik* breeder empowerment, halal supply chains, and nutrition-sensitive distribution.

Previous studies have examined sacrificial-animal supply chains, contextual interpretation of Hajj *Dam*, smallholder livestock development, and animal-source foods for nutrition (Abidin, 2024; Aswadi et al., 2026; Collishaw et al., 2023; Khonje & Qaim, 2024). Aswadi et al., (2026), for example, reassessed Hajj *Tamattu' Dam* in Indonesia using contextualist interpretation and *maqasid al-shariah*, but their emphasis remained on exegesis and socio-legal analysis. What remains underdeveloped is an operational governance model that connects *Dam* payments, BAZNAS Balai Ternak, halal slaughtering,

distribution logistics, and MBG in a single testable framework. To the authors knowledge, this article is among the earliest attempts to integrate ritual obligation, productive zakat institutions, and public nutrition governance within one Islamic economics model.

The objectives of this study are therefore: (1) to analyze the regulatory basis and priority-based *fiqh* justification for domestic Hajj *Dam* governance in Indonesia, and (2) to develop an integrated governance and feasibility model linking Hajj *Dam*, BAZNAS Balai Ternak, and the MBG Program. The article does not seek to issue a binding religious ruling on domestic *Dam* execution. Its contribution lies in translating a priority-based *fiqh* argument into an Islamic economic governance model that can be assessed through institutional capacity, benefit-cost sensitivity, supply-chain feasibility, food-safety risk, and scaling requirements.

METHODOLOGY

Research Design. This study employs a sequential exploratory mixed-methods design with qualitative dominance (QUAL to quan) (Creswell, 2015). The qualitative stage was conducted first to examine the regulatory foundation, *fiqh* reasoning, governance mechanisms, and institutional actors. The quantitative stage then used a small field-feasibility pilot to explore whether the proposed model could operate at the breeder and cost-structure levels. This design is appropriate because the study aims to generate a governance model rather than estimate causal impact at the population level (Venkatesh et al., 2023).

Document Sampling and Data Sources. The study population consisted of all Hajj policy documents, institutional reports, and related literature on *Dam* governance in Indonesia. Five key documents were purposively sampled: (1) Circular Letter No. S-50/BN/2026; (2) Decree of the Director General of Hajj and Umrah Implementation No. 162/2025; (3) BAZNAS National Zakat Management Reports 2024-2025; (4) the 2025 Nahdlatul Ulama National Conference *tartib* framework; (5) official Hajj statistics from the Ministry of Hajj and Umrah as of May 22, 2026. Livestock population data were obtained from BPS-Statistik Indonesia (2026), Hajj pilgrim data from BPS-Statistik Indonesia (2025) and the Ministry of Religious Affairs, while Balai Ternak program and *Dam* pilot data were sourced from BAZNAS reports (2024; 2025) and Puskas BAZNAS (2021).

Field Pilot Implementation. The pilot was conducted from February to April 2026 in Sagalaherang, Subang and Maparah, Ciamis, West Java. These locations were selected because they had active livestock-empowerment networks and access to halal slaughterhouse infrastructure. The pilot involved 15 *mustahik* breeders, consisting of 8 breeders in Subang and 7 breeders in Ciamis, managing 37 Priangan sheep. Subang received 22 female sheep with an initial average weight of 20 kg and a 60-day rearing period. Ciamis received 15 male sheep with initial weights of 25-30 kg and a 75-day rearing period. The local profit-sharing arrangements were 70% for breeders and 30% for the group in Subang, and 60% for breeders and 40% for the group in Ciamis, reflecting locally agreed differences in input costs.

Data Collection. Primary field data were collected through direct observation, biweekly weight monitoring, financial recording, and interviews with pilot coordinators. The available financial records were sufficient to report site-level purchase prices, selling prices, and profit per head. However, the pilot did not generate complete individual-level cost and weight-gain records for each animal. Therefore, standard deviations for profit and weight gain are not reported; the revised analysis transparently treats the profit range as site-level variability rather than per-animal statistical dispersion.

Qualitative coding and parameter development. Document and interview materials were analyzed using the Miles and Huberman interactive model: data reduction, thematic matrix display, and conclusion drawing. The coding process focused on five themes: regulatory permissibility, religious authority, public-welfare urgency, institutional capacity, and implementation risk. The proposed *hajat* and emergency indicators were not treated as settled legal conclusions. They were developed as illustrative decision-support parameters by comparing public-health indicators, logistical constraints, and the Munas NU *tartib* framework. Their purpose is to structure policy deliberation, not to replace fatwa-making or state authority.

Quantitative Analysis. The pilot data were analyzed using descriptive statistics: number of breeders, number of sheep, purchase price, selling price, profit per head, total profit, estimated costs, and preliminary benefit-cost ratio (BCR). The BCR analysis was developed from BAZNAS-perspective costs and then tested under distribution-cost scenarios of 5%, 10%, 15%, and 20% of meat value. This

scenario approach responds to the practical uncertainty of transporting, storing, and distributing *Dam* meat to MBG service points.

Methodological Limitations. The pilot is small, non-randomized, and limited to two locations, 15 breeders, 37 sheep, and one rearing cycle of 2-2.5 months. It has no control group and does not measure nutritional outcomes among MBG beneficiaries. Therefore, the quantitative findings are interpreted as preliminary feasibility evidence rather than causal or nationally generalizable results (Lancaster & Thabane, 2019).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Scale, Regulatory Foundation, and *Fiqh* Justification of Hajj *Dam* in Indonesia

Indonesia consistently contributes one of the largest Hajj pilgrim contingents globally, generating an annual and predictable *Dam* obligation. Table 1 presents the development of Indonesia's Hajj quota and actual *Dam* payments for 2026. The distinction between estimated and actual figures is important because estimates for 2022-2025 are based on the dominance of *Tamattu'* Hajj, whereas 2026 data represent actual recorded payments as of May 22, 2026

Table 1. Development of Indonesia's Hajj Quota and Actual *Dam* Payments (2022-2026)

Year	Number of Pilgrims	Estimated % <i>Tamattu'</i>	Actual/Estimated <i>Dam</i> (Heads)
2022	92,669	99%	± 91,742
2023	209,782	99%	± 207,684
2024	211,298	99%	± 209,185
2025	221,000	99%	± 218,790
2026	204,362	99%	140,536

Source: BPS-Statistik Indonesia (2025), Kemenhaj (2026), Zaenal et al. (2025)

Data for 2022-2025 are estimates based on *Tamattu'* dominance (99%), while 2026 data are actual realization from the Ministry of Hajj and Umrah as of May 22, 2026, recording total *Dam* payments of 140,536 heads (Kemenhaj, 2026).

The economic value of Indonesia's Hajj *Dam* is presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Economic Value of Indonesia's Hajj *Dam* (2025-2026)

Indicator	2025	2026 (Actual)
Estimated/Actual <i>Dam</i> (Heads)	218,790 (estimated)	140,536 (actual)
Official Price per <i>Dam</i>	IDR 2,520,000	IDR 2,710,920
Total Economic Value	± IDR 551 Billion (estimated)	± IDR 380 Billion (actual)

Source: Kemenhaj (2026); Zaenal et al. (2025)

Based on Ministry of Hajj and Umrah data, total *Dam* payments reached 140,536 heads in 2026, with 38,499 heads allocated for domestic slaughter. This domestic allocation is worth approximately IDR 104 billion, while the total economic value of all *Dam* payments reaches approximately IDR 380 billion. The domestic proportion is meaningful but still limited, indicating that any national model must be phased rather than immediately scaled to all Indonesian *Dam* obligations.

The domestic allocation is shaped by at least three constraints. First, Saudi Arabia has already developed a centralized Adahi system with large-scale slaughterhouse infrastructure and digital tracking (Alkahtani et al., 2024). Second, Indonesia still faces uneven halal-certified slaughterhouse and cold-chain capacity outside major urban centers. Third, there is no formal bilateral agreement that systematically transfers a larger proportion of Indonesian *Dam* to domestic slaughter. These constraints show why the model must be evaluated not only as *fiqh* reasoning but also as governance, infrastructure, and supply-chain economics.

This article adopts a cautious *fiqh* position. It acknowledges the Shafi'i view that *Dam* slaughter should occur in the Haram under normal conditions (An-Nawawi, 2009). It also recognizes the 2025 NU *tartib* framework that discusses ideal, hajat, and emergency conditions (Bushiri, 2026; Jannah & Savhira, 2025). However, the article does not claim that Indonesia has a settled, universally binding

religious ruling for full domestic *Dam* execution. It argues that current evidence provides a plausible scholarly basis for considering at least a *hajat* condition, while final determination should be made by government and competent religious authorities.

Within *Fiqh al-Awlawiyyat*, the policy question is whether ritual-location requirements should be maintained in all circumstances or whether urgent public welfare can justify a prioritized governance arrangement. The *hajat* argument rests on three considerations: persistent nutrition vulnerability, insufficient *mustahik* absorption in the Holy Land, and the existence of an Indonesian policy channel through Circular Letter No. S-50/BN/2026. These considerations support an academic proposal for domestic management, but they do not replace formal deliberation by NU/MUI scholars, the Ministry of Religious Affairs, the Ministry of Hajj and Umrah, and other relevant authorities.

For readability and scope fit with Islamic economics and business, detailed jurisprudential distinctions are moved to Appendix A. The main text uses *Fiqh al-Awlawiyyat* only to justify the direction of priority: protecting life and lineage through nutrition, strengthening livelihood through breeder empowerment, and avoiding unnecessary hardship through more efficient distribution. This framing keeps *fiqh* as the normative foundation while allowing economic feasibility and governance design to carry the main empirical contribution.

Institutional Capacity of BAZNAS and the Balai Ternak Program

Indonesia possesses substantial small-ruminant resources, with combined goat and sheep populations exceeding 24 million heads in 2024-2025. Table 3 summarizes the national trend. The recovery after the sharp 2023 decline indicates resilience, but it also shows that large-scale *Dam* procurement remains vulnerable to disease shocks, feed availability, and market fluctuations.

Table 3. Development of Goat and Sheep Population in Indonesia (2020-2025)

Year	Goats	Sheep	Total Small Ruminants
2020	18,689,711	17,523,689	36,213,400
2021	18,904,347	15,636,251	34,540,598
2022	18,560,835	14,063,214	32,624,049
2023	14,374,014	4,358,322	18,732,336
2024	15,710,055	9,219,176	24,929,231
2025	15,824,305	9,148,928	24,973,233

Source: (BPS-Statistik Indonesia, 2026)

The livestock sector in Indonesia resembles a smallholder livestock system in which production is embedded within mixed household livelihoods rather than specialized commercial farms (Odero-Waitituh, 2021). Livestock ownership can support income stabilization and poverty reduction, but weak market linkages, limited veterinary services, and vulnerability to feed and disease shocks constrain scaling (Collishaw et al., 2023; Pandey, 2024). Therefore, the *Dam* model cannot assume that national population numbers automatically translate into reliable annual supply.

A capacity gap is visible when the domestic *Dam* allocation is compared with the current Balai Ternak network. BAZNAS reports 781 *mustahik* breeders across 11 provinces, organized in 37 groups and 32 villages (BAZNAS, 2024). If each breeder supplies 5-10 heads per cycle, the existing network could supply approximately 3,900-7,800 heads, or only 10-20% of the 38,499 heads allocated for domestic slaughter. In the early stage, BAZNAS would likely need to combine procurement from *mustahik* breeders with procurement from non-*mustahik* smallholders. This would protect supply reliability, but it would also reduce the direct poverty-alleviation share of the model.

For this reason, the proposed model should follow a phased scaling strategy rather than immediate national implementation. In the first phase, BAZNAS should test a controlled regional pilot with individual animal-level records, mortality-adjusted returns, standardized feed protocols, and audited slaughterhouse costs. In the second phase, the model can be expanded to high-stunting provinces while combining *mustahik* breeders with certified smallholder suppliers to prevent supply shortages. In the third phase, domestic *Dam* procurement can be integrated with transparent tender mechanisms, cold-chain investment, veterinary surveillance, and MBG demand planning. This phased pathway makes institutional capacity a condition of feasibility rather than an assumption.

The Balai Ternak ecosystem is nevertheless institutionally relevant because it combines capital support, livestock production, technical assistance, group organization, and market access. **Figure 1** illustrates that the program is not merely animal distribution but a socio-economic production system. Its role in the *Dam* model should therefore be phased: first as a targeted empowerment channel, then as an expanding supplier network, and later as a breeder-based revolving stock system.

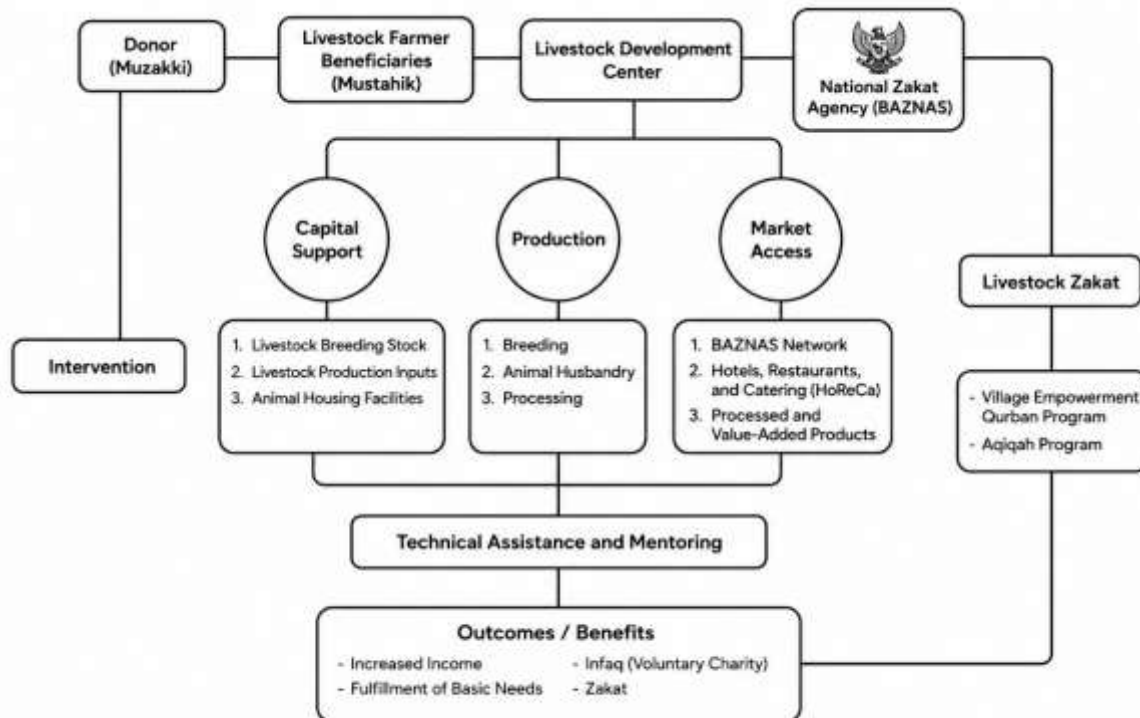


Figure 1. BAZNAS Balai Ternak Ecosystem Model

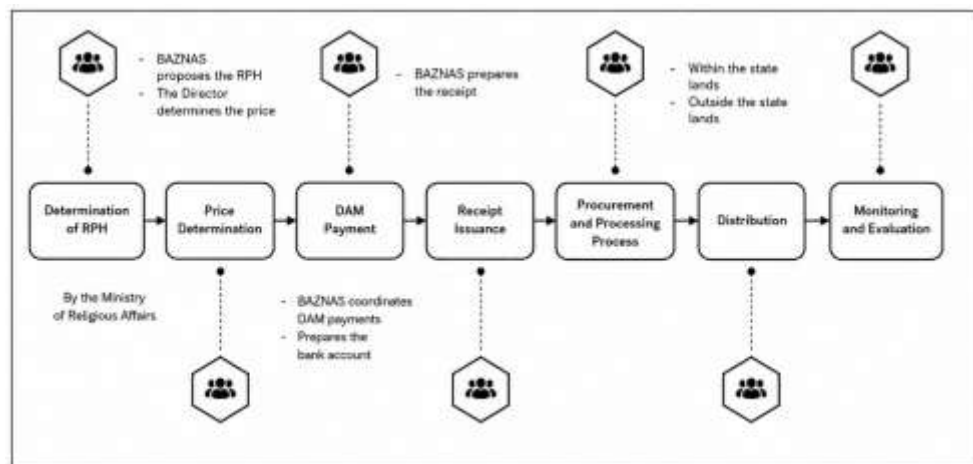
Source: Puskas BAZNAS (2021)

Figure 1 shows that Balai Ternak is not merely a livestock distribution scheme but a complete socio-economic production system linking capital provision, production capacity, and market access. The program operates across 11 provinces, empowering 781 *mustahik* breeders organized in 37 groups across 32 villages (BAZNAS, 2024). The program uses a revolving model with breeding centers, feed production units, auction facilities, and meat processing (Lessy et al., 2020; Majid et al., 2024).

BAZNAS Experience in Managing Hajj *Dam*: Pilot Governance Evidence

The feasibility of integrating Hajj *Dam* into Indonesia's domestic livestock system is supported by previous BAZNAS experience. In 2024, BAZNAS collaborated with AMPHURI to manage *Dam* services for 924 special Hajj pilgrims. The program covered payment collection, livestock procurement, slaughtering, processing, packaging, and meat distribution. BAZNAS also managed *Dam* from 2,000 Hajj officers and 1,810 pilgrims affiliated with KBIHU, with total managed *Dam* funds reaching approximately IDR 17.6 billion (Zaenal et al., 2025).

Figure 2 shows a complete governance chain that includes regulatory coordination, payment administration, slaughterhouse designation, meat processing, beneficiary targeting, and monitoring. This experience provides administrative evidence that ritual-based livestock governance can be institutionalized beyond individual execution. Nevertheless, the 2024 experience remains a governance precedent, not yet proof of national-scale economic efficiency or nutrition impact.

Figure 2. BAZNAS *Dam* Pilot Governance Flow (2024)

Source: Zaenal et al., (2025)

***Dam* Meat as a Nutrition-Sensitive Resource for the MBG Program**

Evidence from low and middle income countries shows that animal source foods can improve child nutrition and reduce stunting when delivered safely, regularly, and in sufficient quantities (Khonje & Qaim, 2024; Paro et al., 2025; Shapiro et al., 2019). If 38,499 heads are slaughtered domestically and each head yields around 20 kg of edible meat, approximately 770 tons of meat could be produced. Allocating 30% of this volume, or 11,550 heads, to MBG would provide approximately 230 tons of animal protein. This figure could supplement around 150,000-200,000 children in stunting-priority regions depending on serving size and distribution frequency.

These nutrition figures are supply-based projections, not measured nutritional outcomes from this study. The pilot did not measure child dietary intake, height for age z-scores, anemia, morbidity, school attendance, or MBG kitchen compliance. Therefore, this article does not claim that *Dam* meat distribution has reduced stunting. It only shows that *Dam* meat could become a nutrition-sensitive resource when integrated with MBG through proper targeting, food safety assurance, cold-chain logistics, and outcome monitoring.

Food safety is also central. Large scale slaughter can generate zoonotic risks, as studies of Hajj abattoirs report exposure to Brucella, Alkhurma hemorrhagic fever, and hepatitis E virus among workers and ruminants (Almasri et al., 2019; El-Daly et al., 2024). Indonesia's domestic *Dam* model must therefore include pre-slaughter veterinary screening, quarantine protocols, personal protective equipment for abattoir workers, cold-chain monitoring, and cooking protocols for MBG kitchens. Without this public-health apparatus, the priority logic of *Fiqh al-Awlawiyyat* could be undermined by preventable harm.

Integrated Governance Model

The integrated governance model is presented in **Figure 3**. It links religious compliance, financial channeling, livestock production, halal processing, distribution logistics, and nutrition-sensitive outcomes. The model separates the Saudi-based pathway from the domestic pathway so that implementation can proceed gradually without assuming immediate full transfer of *Dam* management to Indonesia.

The model consists of four operational stages. Stage 1 channels *Dam* payments through BAZNAS or other recognized institutions, consolidating scattered ritual payments into an accountable Islamic social-finance flow. Stage 2 procures livestock from Balai Ternak breeders and qualified smallholders, with a portion maintained as revolving breeding stock where feasible. Stage 3 conducts slaughtering, processing, packaging, and quality assurance through halal-certified facilities. Stage 4 distributes processed meat to MBG service points in stunting-priority regions.

The model is built on the 2026 domestic allocation of 38,499 heads. However, the field pilot tested only 37 heads, or approximately 0.1% of the target domestic volume. Scaling from 37 to 38,499 heads should therefore be treated as a governance challenge rather than a simple multiplication exercise. Expansion requires verification of breeder capacity, feed availability, animal health, price stability,

slaughterhouse certification, cold-chain continuity, and the ability of MBG kitchens to receive and process meat safely. Without these conditions, the model may be normatively attractive but operationally fragile.

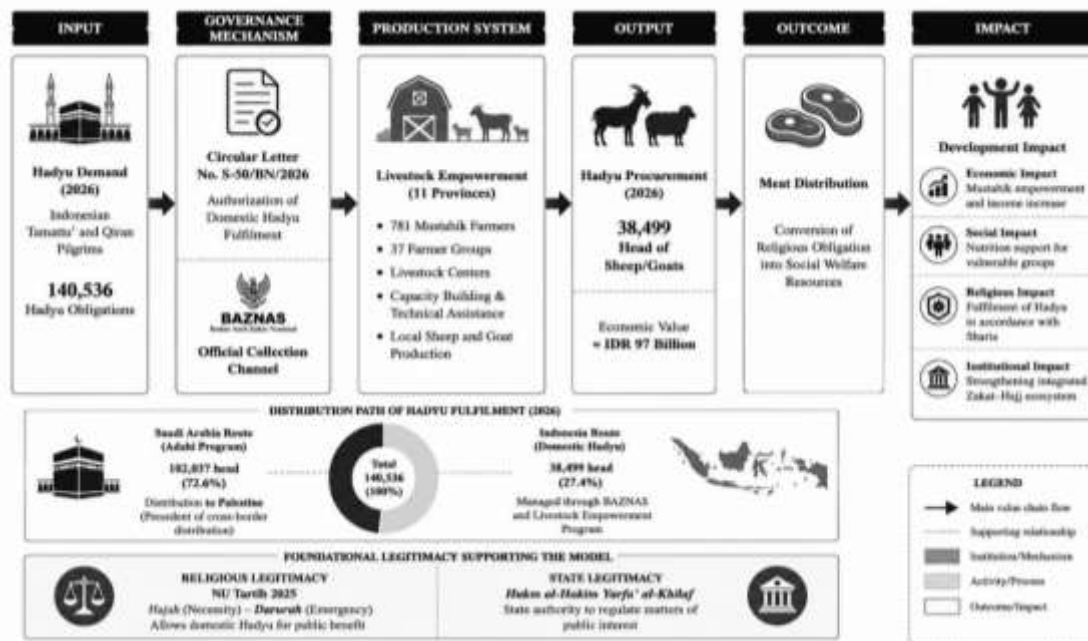


Figure 3. Integrated Domestic Hadyu Value Chain Model Linking Religious Compliance, Livestock Farmer Empowerment, and Nutrition Intervention in Indonesia

Source: Research findings (2026) based on data from Kemenhaj (2026), BAZNAS (2026)

Positioning Against Existing Literature and Cross-Country Practice

This study complements Aswadi et al., (2026), who argue that the *Dam* obligation is not intrinsically confined to the Haram when core spiritual objectives and public welfare considerations are maintained. Their work is primarily exegetical and socio-legal. The present article extends the discussion into operational governance by specifying the institutional chain, cost structure, livestock capacity, BCR sensitivity, and risk matrix. The difference is therefore not opposition but division of contribution: one clarifies interpretive possibility, while the other tests governance feasibility.

A cross-country comparison also helps clarify Indonesia's potential model. Turkey uses centralized religious-authority management and open tender mechanisms, strengthening price transparency and accountability. Malaysia integrates sacrificial distribution with zakat and mosque networks, strengthening social-finance embeddedness. Egypt permits lower cost domestic slaughter but faces animal-health oversight challenges. Indonesia can learn from Turkey's tender transparency, Malaysia's zakat integration, and Egypt's cautionary lesson on veterinary governance. Its distinctive element is the proposed linkage to MBG, a national nutrition program. Whether this linkage improves nutritional outcomes remains an empirical question for future controlled studies.

Field Pilot Findings: Subang and Ciamis

The field pilot involved 15 *mustahik* breeders in Sagalaherang, Subang and Maparah, Ciamis. In Subang, 8 breeders managed 22 female Priangan sheep with an initial average weight of 20 kg and a 60-day rearing period. In Ciamis, 7 breeders managed 15 male Priangan sheep with initial weights of 25-30 kg and a 75-day rearing period. The financial results are presented in Table 4. The table clarifies that the IDR 400,000-700,000 range refers to site-level differences between Subang and Ciamis, not individual-level variation within each site.

The pilot generated profits of IDR 400,000 per head in Subang and IDR 700,000 per head in Ciamis, totaling IDR 19.3 million across 37 heads. For breeders managing 2-4 heads, the indicative income per cycle ranges from IDR 800,000 to IDR 2,800,000. Compared with average rural West Java household income of approximately IDR 2.5 million per month, this suggests potential income supplementation. However, the figure should not be framed as a strong empirical impact claim. It is a preliminary

feasibility indicator because the pilot lacked a control group, lasted only one cycle, and did not capture full individual-level variability.

Table 4. Pilot Financial Results (Subang & Ciamis, February–April 2026)

Location	Sex	N	Purchase Price (Rp)	Selling Price (Rp)	Profit/Head (Rp)	Total Profit (Rp)
Subang	Female	22	1,100,000	1,500,000	400,000	8,800,000
Ciamis	Male	15	1,800,000	2,500,000	700,000	10,500,000
Total		37				19,300,000

Source: Primary data processed (2026)

Operationally, the pilot showed several issues that should be corrected before scale-up. Weight gain was lower than expected in some cases, especially among female sheep in Subang, due to feed quality and inconsistent feeding schedules. One sheep died during the cycle, representing a mortality rate of 2.7%, which is within common smallholder ranges but still relevant for risk management. Partial fund absorption for purchasing offspring also suggests the need to separate procurement funds from revolving-stock funds. These lessons point to the need for standardized recording, veterinary checks, feeding protocols, and financial controls.

Benefit-Cost Ratio and Sensitivity Analysis

From the BAZNAS perspective, estimated per head costs include procurement, feed, veterinary care, transport, slaughtering and processing, packaging, and cold storage. These produce a preliminary BCR range of 1.09-1.21 before last mile MBG distribution. **Table 5** shows that economic viability is highly sensitive to distribution costs. When distribution costs are assumed at 5-20% of meat value, the BCR may decline to approximately 0.90-1.14. This means the model is economically promising but not automatically self-financing. Its viability depends on logistics efficiency, route consolidation, cold chain utilization, negotiated slaughterhouse fees, and possible cross subsidization when distribution reaches remote high stunting regions.

Table 5. Benefit-Cost Ratio Sensitivity to Distribution Costs

Distribution Cost Assumption	Low BCR Scenario	High BCR Scenario	Interpretation
0% of meat value	1.09	1.21	Baseline before MBG distribution
5% of meat value	1.03	1.14	Viable but margin narrows
10% of meat value	0.98	1.08	Borderline; logistics efficiency required
15% of meat value	0.94	1.03	Requires subsidy or cross-subsidization
20% of meat value	0.9	0.98	Not financially viable without external support

Source: Author calculation based on pilot cost estimates and distribution-cost scenarios

The BCR result also has managerial implications. A positive BCR should not be interpreted merely as financial surplus; it indicates whether the *Dam* fund can cover procurement and processing while preserving breeder margins and safe distribution. If distribution costs exceed 10%, the margin becomes narrow and the implementing institution must decide whether to reduce logistics costs, subsidize distribution, or limit early implementation to regions with adequate cold-chain access. This is why the economic model must be accompanied by procurement contracts, transparent pricing, standard operating procedures, and periodic cost audits.

Operational Risk Assessment

Scaling from 37 heads to 38,499 heads introduces operational risks that *fiqh* reasoning alone cannot solve. Table 6 categorizes key risks by probability, impact, and mitigation strategy. The highest-priority risks are zoonotic disease transmission, BAZNAS capacity gaps, disease-related supply disruption, and distribution-cost overruns. These risks should become part of the implementation protocol rather than being treated as secondary technical details.

Table 6. Operational Risk Assessment Matrix

Risk Category	Risk Description	Probability	Impact	Mitigation Strategy
Supply Disruption	FMD/zoonotic outbreaks	Medium-High	High	Veterinary surveillance; diversified procurement; quarantine protocols
	Climate-related feed shortages	Medium	Medium-High	Strategic feed reserves; drought-resistant crops
	Geopolitical tensions	Low-Medium	Medium	Domestic procurement prioritization; bilateral diplomacy
Price Volatility	Feed price fluctuations	High	Medium	Contract farming; price hedging
	Live animal price volatility (27% variation)	High	Medium	Fixed-price contracts; market monitoring
	Exchange rate risk	Medium	Low-Medium	Domestic sourcing; forward contracts
Institutional	Cross-ministerial coordination failure	Medium	High	Formal MoU; dedicated task force
	BAZNAS capacity gap (781 vs. required)	High	High	Phased capacity building; public-private partnerships
	Profit-sharing disputes	Medium	Low	Standardized agreements; grievance mechanism
Food Safety	Zoonotic transmission (Brucella, HEV)	Medium	Very High	Pre-slaughter screening; PPE; cooking protocols
	Cold chain failure	Medium	High	Cold chain investment; temperature monitoring
Logistical	Distribution cost overruns (10-15%)	High	Medium-High	Logistics optimization; cross-subsidization
	Slaughterhouse capacity constraints	Medium	Medium	Strategic partnerships; capacity investment

Source: Research findings based on pilot experience and literature review (Almasri et al., 2019; El-Daly et al., 2024; Priyatnasari et al., 2025)

The *Fiqh al-Awlawiyyat* framework justifies why domestic *Dam* management may be prioritized when urgent nutrition and livelihood benefits are present. It does not, however, quantify risk or design mitigation protocols. For that reason, the model must be complemented by public health, veterinary science, and supply-chain management. This boundary condition is essential for journal fit: the article uses *fiqh* as a normative lens, but the operational contribution lies in economic governance and risk-sensitive implementation.

Challenges, Limitations, and Policy Implications

Five implementation challenges remain. First, only 27.4% of *Dam* was allocated domestically in 2026, so any increase requires diplomatic and institutional negotiation. Second, there has not yet been a formal government declaration that the *hajjat* or emergency condition applies. Third, coordination among the Ministry of Religious Affairs, Ministry of Hajj and Umrah, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Health, BAZNAS, local governments, and MBG operators is complex. Fourth, Balai Ternak's capacity is not yet sufficient for the full domestic *Dam* volume. Fifth, technical assistance, profit-sharing standards, veterinary protocols, and cold-chain logistics require systematic investment.

The study has six limitations. First, the pilot involved only 15 breeders, 37 sheep, two locations, and one cycle. Second, no control group was used, so causal income impact cannot be established. Third, individual-level variability was not fully recorded, preventing the reporting of standard deviations. Fourth, nutritional outcomes are projected rather than measured. Fifth, the *fiqh* classification requires formal validation by competent religious and state authorities. Sixth, the cost-benefit analysis remains preliminary, especially because distribution costs can reduce the BCR below breakeven.

Policy implications follow directly from these limitations. The government and religious authorities should first clarify whether a seasonal *hajjat* declaration is appropriate and under what evidence. BAZNAS should conduct a larger multi-cycle pilot in West Java and eastern high-stunting provinces, with individual animal records, standardized feed protocols, slaughterhouse cost accounting, mortality

monitoring, and measurement of nutritional outcomes. The Ministry of Religious Affairs, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Health, BAZNAS, and MBG implementing agencies should also establish a joint governance protocol covering procurement, halal assurance, veterinary screening, cold-chain logistics, recipient targeting, complaint handling, and public reporting. These steps are necessary to make the model more suitable for Islamic economics and business analysis, not merely for normative *fiqh* discussion.

CONCLUSION

This study develops an integrated Islamic economic governance model linking Hajj *Dam*, *mustahik* breeder empowerment through BAZNAS Balai Ternak, and the MBG Program using *Fiqh al-Awlawiyyat* as a normative lens. The study shows that Indonesian *Dam* payments represent a sizeable and predictable religious-finance flow. In 2026, 140,536 *Dam* payments were recorded, with 38,499 heads allocated for domestic slaughter and an estimated domestic value of approximately IDR 104 billion.

The article supports the domestic management of Hajj *Dam* as a scholarly policy proposal under possible *hajat* conditions, not as a settled religious ruling. The Shafi'i ideal remains acknowledged, while *Fiqh al-Awlawiyyat* provides a logic of prioritization for considering public welfare, nutrition, and *mustahik* livelihood benefits. Final classification of *hajat* or emergency conditions must remain under competent state authority in consultation with recognized religious scholars, including NU, MUI, and other relevant Islamic legal bodies.

The Subang-Ciamis pilot indicates that breeder-level participation can generate site-level profit of IDR 400,000-700,000 per head in one cycle. However, this is preliminary feasibility evidence rather than a generalizable impact finding. The BCR analysis also shows that viability is sensitive to distribution costs: the initial range of 1.09-1.21 can fall to approximately 0.90-1.14 under 5-20% distribution-cost scenarios. Thus, the model is economically promising but depends on logistics efficiency, cold-chain capacity, audited procurement costs, and possible cross-subsidization for remote regions.

The study contributes to Islamic economics and business by moving the *Dam* discussion from a predominantly jurisprudential debate toward a governance model involving Islamic social finance, smallholder livestock farmer empowerment, halal processing, supply-chain management, risk mitigation, and public nutrition. It does not claim to demonstrate reductions in stunting. Future research should test the model through larger multi-cycle pilots, individual animal-level productivity data, controlled nutritional outcome measurement, and comprehensive cost-benefit analysis including last-mile distribution costs.

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APPENDIX A. Illustrative *Fiqh* Parameters for Hajat and Emergency Conditions

The following matrix is not a substitute for a *fatwa* or a government declaration. It is proposed as a decision-support tool to structure consultation among scholars, government, and implementing institutions.

Table 7. Illustrative Decision Matrix for Domestic *Dam* Management

Condition	Main School Reference	Operational Implication	Indicative Evidence	Decision Status
Ideal condition	Shafi'i	Slaughter and distribution prioritized in the Haram	Normal absorption capacity; no urgent external public-welfare need	Default rule
Hajat condition	Hanafi reference in NU <i>tartib</i> framework	Distribution outside the Haram may be considered while maintaining slaughter-location caution	High stunting prevalence; insufficient <i>mustahik</i> absorption in the Haram; recognized domestic distribution channels	Requires seasonal validation
Emergency condition	Hanbali reference in NU <i>tartib</i> framework	Both slaughter and distribution outside the Haram may be considered	Biosecurity restriction, severe logistics barrier, public-health emergency, or cost exceeding reasonable capacity	Requires formal religious and state declaration

Source: Author synthesis based on An-Nawawi (2009), Bushiri (2026), Jannah and Savhira (2025), and *Fiqh al-Awlawiyyat* principles