

BEYOND PILGRIMAGE: Exploring the Dynamic Spirituality of the *Hajj* for Shaping Social Engagement in Rural Indonesia

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Abstract: This article examines the concept of dynamic spirituality embedded in the *hajj* by exploring how pilgrimage practices extend beyond individual piety to shape forms of social engagement in rural Muslim communities in Indonesia. Drawing on qualitative fieldwork conducted in Lombok and Madura, this study employs participant observation and in-depth interviews, analyzed through anthropological and phenomenological approaches to the study of religion. The findings demonstrate that the *hajj* functions not merely as a transcendent act of worship but as a socially embedded ritual that generates communal meanings and relationships. First, the meaning of the *hajj* shifts from a purely sacred obligation toward a socio-cultural phenomenon that reorganizes social status and moral authority within local communities. Second, the ritual process undergoes festivalization, wherein local cultural expressions reinterpret and publicly celebrate the *hajj*, reinforcing collective identity. Third, the *hajj* serves as a form of social adhesive, fostering inter-group solidarity and mediating social relations across kinship, class, and communal boundaries. This study argues that the dynamic spirituality of the *hajj* reveals its dual role as both a devotional practice and a catalyst for social cohesion, contributing to broader discussions on lived Islam, ritual transformation, and religion’s role in sustaining social integration in contemporary rural societies.

Keywords: *hajj*, spirituality, social engagement, lived Islam

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Introduction

Hajj, which is one of the pillars of Islamic rituals, in its implementation in Indonesia, has exceeded its essential meaning. *Hajj* initially has only been interpreted as a ritual to visit the Kaaba with a series of teachings to obtain individual piety and goodness. In the context of contemporary Indonesia, especially in rural areas, the interpretation of Hajj has transformed into a social spirituality that transcends the meaning of the ritual itself, namely as a medium to strengthen social cohesiveness. The *hajj* pilgrimage is mostly interpreted as a ritual act of worship to complete the fifth pillar of Islam, and to theologically achieve the piety of *hajj mabrûr*. *Hajj* has not been interpreted as a social ritual that has social functions to build real social cohesiveness. This theological transformation into a socio-cultural activity affirms that Hajj has a strong social role and function.

Studies conducted by Al-Kilani and Kalender & Tari Kasnakoglu inform the importance of interpreting *hajj* in a social context.¹ This interpretation is confirmed by the research of Caidi and Nurhalida HS & Isbah, who found that the values of *hajj* emphasize social awareness.² In the context of Jurisprudence, *hajj* is only understood as a special worship.³ The study of Al-Krenawi & Graham also informs that the concept of Hajj among some Muslims is focused on understanding *hajj* theologically.⁴ From these earlier studies, it can be seen that research on the transformation of the meaning of *hajj* for the Indonesian context is important to be carried out, because existing research focuses on the theological meaning of *hajj* or focuses on the use of aspects of the benefits of *hajj* for individual piety.

Previous studies on Hajj can be divided into at least three trends. First, studies that discuss Hajj from a legal aspect.⁵ This study emphasizes its discussion on legal problems in the *hajj* pilgrimage seen from various perspectives. Second, research that discusses the relationship between *hajj* and several aspects of human life, such as technology,⁶ social,⁷ economic,⁸ health,⁹ and *hajj* management.¹⁰ The authors believe that *hajj* is related to a variety of diverse perspectives. This diversity of perspectives indicates an attempt to frame *hajj* in a specific setting.

Third, studies that describe the values contained in *hajj*.¹¹ There is a study conducted by Gholizadeh & Navarbazadeh that specifically analyzes the relationship between *hajj* ceremonies and social relations, but this study focuses more on the ethnographic aspects of Iranian society,¹² so it does not specifically discuss rural communities in Indonesia. These researchers realize that *hajj* has benefits and uses according to their respective contexts, so it needs to be studied academically. The tendency of these studies is limited to highlighting the dimensions of the study of the theological and social aspects of *hajj*, and the researchers have not explained the implementation of the social transformation of *hajj* in building the cohesiveness of rural communities in the Indonesian context. For this reason, this research was conducted in order to fill the shortcomings of these studies. Notably, there is a theoretical gap regarding this topic in previous research.

Taking into account the above arguments, this paper aims to complement the shortcomings of previous studies that have not specifically analyzed the function of *hajj* as a medium for building social engagement in rural communities in Indonesia epistemologically. This research illustrates the basic foundation of the idea structure, form, and implementation model of *hajj* in the field of community cohesiveness. Overall, this article is directed at three objectives. First, to describe the epistemological structure of *hajj* as a cultural phenomenon; second, to analyze the festivalization of *hajj*; third, to analyze the efforts to transform *hajj* into a model of social bonding. These three objectives are considered sufficient to represent a view of the *hajj* that not only has the spiritual value of worship but also has the value of social engagement between groups in rural communities, especially in Indonesia.

This article presents a hypothesis that the transformation of the value of *hajj* from the aspect of worship and individual piety to the function of social glue, especially in rural Indonesia, is based on specific epistemological factors, namely the structure of *hajj* as a socio-cultural phenomenon; the effort to make *hajj* a festival with adjustments to local socio-cultural conditions; and the creation of a model that *hajj* becomes a medium to foster collective motivation to create strong social engagement.

Hajj, which involves a large number of pilgrims, demands sophisticated management. Hence, the Saudi government's Vision 2030 emphasizes enhancing a good and comfortable *hajj* experience.¹³ Logistical services, including healthcare, accommodation, and transportation, are crucial for managing the diverse needs of international pilgrims, as well as addressing risks such as security threats and miscommunication. Health services are a priority to ensure the pilgrims' *istithâ'ah* (ability) requirements in performing *hajj*, so accommodation, transportation, and logistics services are always well-maintained.¹⁴ Handling cases of pilgrims who have a history of diabetes and hypertension is of particular concern, as well as pilgrims with infectious diseases.¹⁵

Ahn & Juraev's study emphasizes the importance of structured services because it serve pilgrims who have diverse socio-cultural backgrounds.¹⁶ Furthermore, Izza's research confirmed digital-based Hajj services to improve efficiency and convenience for pilgrims after the COVID-19 pandemic.¹⁷ In addition, the concept of worship *afdhaliah* emphasizes the importance of balancing religious obligations with safety, advocating compliance with rules to prevent health risks.¹⁸ Overall, *hajj* is a complex event that requires coordinated efforts across multiple domains to ensure a safe and fulfilling experience for all participants.

Dynamic Spirituality is an inner discipline that intersects with contemporary spirituality and religious practices. It represents a transformative force that reshapes religious mindsets and practices.¹⁹ This intersection is characterized by the fusion of individual spirituality with religious teachings. This form of spirituality revitalizes religious practice by introducing new motivations and approaches, as seen in the revival of religious

practice in Scandinavian countries, where spirituality is a factor in creating a flexible and caring religious consciousness.²⁰ Through the development of digital technologies, there has been a shift in spiritual experiences from the real world to the virtual world, thus creating a hybrid environment that emphasizes new forms of spiritual engagement and has the potential to create an entity gap.²¹

In addition, the intersection of spirituality with other social domains, such as sports and politics, confirms the pervasive influence of spirituality in contemporary life, correcting the assumption that these fields are independent and unconnected.²² In the field of health, the integration of spirituality and religion has been shown to have significant health benefits, suggesting that spiritual practices can play an important role in public health improvement strategies, even in secular societies.²³ In addition, the exploration of spirituality in diverse cultural and religious contexts, such as Islamic proselytization, the practice of religious traditions, and social solidarity, confirms the fine-tuning of spiritual practices to contemporary challenges.²⁴ Philosophical studies of spirituality also analyze its relationship with religion, exploring whether spirituality can exist independently of religion or whether spirituality inherently requires religious references.²⁵ Overall, Dynamic Spirituality influences contemporary spirituality and religious practice by fostering more inclusive, technologically integrated, and culturally adaptive spiritual foundations that transcend traditional boundaries and enrich individual and collective spiritual experiences.

Social engagement is a concept that encompasses a wide range of interactions across various contexts. In urban environments, social engagement is particularly important for migrants who often face alienation due to factors such as age, gender, and education. Effective urban governance can enhance social integration by considering these factors in the planning process.²⁶ In the realm of social media, engagement significantly affects academic performance among students, with both positive and negative impacts depending on how social media is managed.²⁷ Moreover, in commerce and business, customer engagement is driven by social interactions, which increase social presence and trust, ultimately leading to increased customer participation.²⁸ However, the rise of fake engagement services on social media platforms poses a challenge, as these services manipulate popularity and perceived engagement, thus complicating the authenticity of interactions²⁹. In rural communities, entrepreneurs engage with local residents to improve economic conditions and promote empowerment, requiring the role of social engagement in community development.³⁰

During the COVID-19 pandemic, the presence of social engagement in the virtual realm, demonstrating the realization of remote assistance, maintains social connectedness and engagement among actors.³¹ In Iran, community-based engagement strategies during the pandemic emphasized the importance of social innovation in crisis management, promoting health education and empowerment.³² Finally, in the sports industry, social engagement in digital form, facilitated by IT-mediated interactions, increased fan

engagement and sharing, emphasizing the importance of social interaction, identification, and interface in the digital ecosystem.³³ In general, these studies illustrate the multifaceted nature of social engagement and its significant impact on various aspects.

In religions, social engagement is linked to the relationship between humans and God. In Islam, this relationship is further divided into two important aspects: first is the relationship between humans and their god (*ḥabl min Allâh*), and second is the relationship between fellow humans (*ḥabl min an-nâs*).³⁴ Social relations between humans are realized in mutual respect for diversity and mutual assistance.

Methods

This research examines the function of *hajj* spirituality values as an adhesive for social cohesiveness in rural communities in Indonesia. The cohesiveness of rural communities has been formed by cultural elements, not by religious elements, so this research has focused on analyzing it. The material object of this research is the phenomenon of feasting in the context of the Hajj pilgrimage in Lombok and Madura.

Data for this qualitative research were collected during 2023 and 2024 *hajj* seasons. Primary data were acquired using participant observation and in-depth interview methods of social activities within rural communities in Lombok and Madura during the Hajj seasons of the aforementioned years. The Muslim communities in Madura and Lombok were chosen as research areas because both communities still strictly adhere to the traditional values of the *hajj* rituals, which are reinforced by local culture.

The in-depth interview technique was also utilised to emphasize the data collected on the pilgrims in Saudi Arabia, or when they returned to Indonesia, as well as from the rural communities associated with the pilgrims. To enrich the data, a documentation review was conducted from books, journals, photographs, and other relevant sources.³⁵

This research began with a desk review of primary data from observations and interviews and secondary data found in previous studies. The study then focused on analyzing the primary data using anthropological approaches and other social sciences. The next step was to map and categorize the data from the primary sources that had been selected in accordance with the formulation of the questions set. Data analysis followed three stages: reduction, display, and verification. Data reduction is done by sorting and selecting relevant data. Data display is completed by presenting the analyzed data in narrative-analytic form. Data verification tests the validity of the data in accordance with the research themes and approaches used.

Result and Discussion

Hajj as a cultural phenomenon

In Islam, hajj is one of the main pillars of worship as stated in the Qur'an (al-Baqarah [2]: 196-197; al-Hajj [22]: 27). As a pillar of worship, hajj has a spiritual value in every activity in it. The spirituality of hajj is attached to the intention of the impact contained in it when returning to the homeland. In implementing hajj, there is a close relationship between the procedures of worship and the cultural context. This relationship gives birth to cultural traditions that are attached to the entire series of Hajj, from departure, during the pilgrimage, to welcoming during the return. In the specific context of the research location, traditions are a necessity.

Hajj rituals grow out of a system of religious ideas, and in practice form traditions of departure and return rituals that vary from region to region. Hajj rituals in the place of origin have shaped a variety of local cultural systems beyond the obligatory rituals of Hajj in Makkah. Hajj forms a new ethos, radiates meaning, and embodies the unique actions of local Muslim religiosity, where it is located. In Madura, the departure and return of the hajj are marked by *ngalak cara*, or a ritual of salvation that brings relatives and neighbors. In Lombok, the party ritual is called *bagawe*, and in Java it is called *nduwe gawe*. The celebration can include up to 300-500 people, similar to a wedding party and even bigger than that, as can be seen in the picture below.

Picture 1. Hajj Thanksgiving atmosphere



Source: Private collection, 2023

The series of Picture 1 describes that in addition to a large welcome, in every ritual, various types of food are always served, both small and large meals. The subjects of hajj rituals are willing to spend a lot of money to slaughter livestock such as goats and cows, and the meat is served at the event. Related to this, Haji Madeni stated,

It is not enough to serve food at home; the hajj also provides shodaqoh in the form of packages of basic necessities such as rice, cooking oil, and sugar for relatives and neighbors to take home (Interview with H. Madeni, Madura Hajj Figures on September 21, 2024).

The interview data show that *hajj* is constructed as a cultural phenomenon rooted in each locality, Madura or Lombok. This construction can be seen in the title of Hajj before a pilgrim's personal name. The title of *hajj* symbolizes the depth of religious knowledge, religious observance, and economic ability. The new *hajj* is always perceived by the local Muslim community as a figure who has religious knowledge, as well as having wealth above the average Muslim community, who has not yet embarked on the *hajj*. So, in the local cultural system, *hajj* has occupied a special position in the social structure, and the teachings about *hajj* are confirmed by various local rituals that show that *hajj* is a cultural system.

From the data above, there are several important things that prove that *hajj* not only has the spiritual value of worship but also has the value of social engagement. First, as a ritual of worship, *hajj* interacts with the socio-cultural context. Second, interaction with socio-cultural conditions underlies the construction of values in *hajj*, which becomes a socio-cultural symptom. Third, the symptom appears in various cultural symbols that are manifested in various parties, equipment, gifts, and social status. Thus, the construction of Hajj as a ritual transforms into a unique cultural phenomenon.

The existence of the *hajj* festivalization process

In local Muslim communities, such as in Madura, Lombok, and Java, the festivalization of *hajj* can be observed in the festivities of the departure and return rituals. In the run-up to the *hajj* season, one can see many billboards on the side of the road, in front of houses, and on street corners. The billboards, which are scattered on the corners of rural roads and narrow alleys, contain congratulations on performing the *hajj* pilgrimage and prayers to become a mabrur *hajj*. This explanation can be seen in the following pictures.

Picture 2. Hajj welcome event in Lombok



Source: Private collection, 2024

Picture 2 above is the welcoming atmosphere at the Grand Mosque, showing visitors spilling out. Picture 3. below shows the large banners placed on the streets. These images inform us that there are festivals and rituals for the departure and welcome of the *hajj* that are very lively. These festivities are carried out at great expense, exceeding the cost of the *hajj* itself. In addition, the arrival of the *hajj* is greeted with festive banners and gates, as shown in the picture below.

Picture 3: Banners and Gates Welcoming the *hajj* Rituals



Source: Private collection, 2024

The *hajjis* who come provide a festive and costly feast that exceeds the cost of the hajj itself. In local rituals/parties in the country, Hajj pilgrims can spend up to hundreds of millions of rupiah to prepare ritual/party equipment, entertain guests, slaughter goats or cows, transport costs for delivery and pick-up from home to the *hajj* dormitory and vice versa, and give souvenirs to guests. In 2022, the cost of Hajj was 39.89 million rupiah, in 2023 it was 49.9 million rupiah, and in 2024 it was 56.046.17 million rupiah. Some types of *hajj* welcome festivals can be seen in the following table.

Table 1. Returned *hajj* Festivals

No	Festival	Activities	Region
1.	<i>Bagawe</i> Departure	<i>Tetaring</i> installation, billboard/banner installation, <i>hajj</i> release, grilling, banquet, departure prayer, <i>nyosop bawak langkang inak</i> (crawling under parents' crotch)	Lombok
2.	<i>Bagawe</i> Arrival	Welcoming at the village boundary or at the airport, prostration of gratitude at the village mosque, grilling, banquet, and crowning of the new <i>hajj</i> title.	Lombok
3.	<i>Selakaran/ Ratibul haddad</i>	Recitation of <i>shalawat</i> , recitation, dhikr, prayers for the subject of <i>hajj</i> rituals while in the holy land	Lombok
4.	<i>Ngalak Cara</i> Departure	<i>Hajj</i> Departure Ritual, <i>Shalawatan</i> , discharge prayer, marching band	Sampang and Sumenep Madura
5.	<i>Mahalul Qiyam/ Ngalak Cara</i> Arrival	<i>Hajj</i> welcome at the village border or at the airport, blessing at the Mosque, Banquet, gift-giving	Sampang and Sumenep Madura

Source: Primary data, observations in Madura and Lombok, 2023 and 2024

The data in the table confirms that there is a process of festivalization of the pilgrimage. In Madura, the welcoming ritual is called *Mahallul Qiyâm*, while in Lombok it is called *Bagawe*. In both regions, including most of Java, *hajj* is interpreted as a form of worship that has socio-cultural implications in the form of a special ritual, which, in its implementation, undergoes a process of festivalization. *Hajj* is transformed into a momentous festive occasion.

The ritual begins with the installation of a large tent complete with ornamental trinkets. The big tent and its trinkets are called *tetaring* in the Lombok language, or *tarub* in Javanese. People flock to the house of a person who has made the *hajj*. They congratulate, offer prayers for the candidate, ask for prayers for the candidate while in the holy land, eat, drink, and share stories. *Hajjis* even invite traditional and modern art groups, such as tambourine and shalawat groups, in the ritual of departure and return. Their departure is accompanied by marching bands and traditional arts, as is the case on their return.

There are several important points in the data above, including, first, that the *hajj* rituals have a non-spiritual social and cultural meaning in the form of festivals and lively parties as entertainment. Secondly, the festival activities combine religious values with local traditions. Third, there is a transformation of spiritual values towards dynamic non-spiritual values in the series of *hajj* rituals in the form of feast and festival activities that emphasize aspects of local tradition and culture that unite various elements in society. Thus, the *hajj* pilgrimage catalyzes the creation of non-spiritual dynamics in the form of festivals that strengthen social relations in the community.

Hajj celebrations unite groups in society

The procession in the departure ritual is long and complex. It starts with a pilgrimage to the graves of ancestors and religious leaders who have passed away. Farewell to family and neighbors. Then, organizing a farewell ritual filled with recitation, *salawatan*, and prayers led by religious leaders. As for the welcoming ritual, *bagawe* is held up to 40 days after the return, because of the assumption that up to the 40th day, the *hajj* is still surrounded by holy angels.

Bagawe is attended by relatives of the *hajj* performer, office friends, neighbors, and people outside the village. Those who attend are not limited to people with a certain social rank, a certain religious group, but more than that, it also involves individuals with different beliefs. It is a fact that in one rural community, despite having one faith, Muslims are divided into different religious sects and social groups, but the *hajj* ritual has brought them together in one ritual.

In Lombok there are two prominent Islamic groups, *Nahdhatul Wathan* and *Nahdlatul Ulama*. Although in some aspects they differ in religious practice and often differ in political choices, they can unite in the ritual of *hajj*. Such is the case with the

differences of socio-religious groups in local Muslim communities in Indonesia, such as between Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama in Madura and Java. These groups within Islam can still unite in the performance of Hajj rituals, both in the holy land and in the homeland. They visit each other and unite in close social engagement. This is as expressed by the following informant Haji Irmulahwi,

Yes, before departure, then when they are there or during the *hajj*, after arrival, until three or one week at home. Then it is closed with another ritual by inviting the community, extended family, and relatives. So the rituals do not stop from before leaving, in the holy land, and after returning home. We invite all the different communities, even some who have other beliefs, to attend.” (Interview, Irmulahwi, Gili Iyang, Madura, July 18, 2023).

The explanation of the interview data above confirms that the *hajj* welcoming party is attended by various groups of people, including people with other beliefs (non-Muslims). Furthermore, Picture 4 below shows some information about the people who are involved in the departure and return rituals of *hajj*, which are numerous and diverse in origin.

Social solidarity in the celebration of Hajj also involves all individuals who have different social degrees. Adults, teenagers, children, rich, poor, officials, *priyayi*, *wong cilik* all merge into one in the celebration. There is no distance between them in the celebration. All offer prayers to each other and immerse themselves in the same religious activity.

Picture 4: The farewell and welcome party for the *hajj* with a marching band involving all elements of society



Source: Private collection, 2024

These figures confirm the function of the *hajj* as a medium to strengthen social engagement between groups in society. There are several important points in the description of the data above. First, the ritual of sending off and welcoming the *hajj* involves many parties, not just the subjects of the *hajj*. Secondly, the involvement of various parties carries a strong social and cultural meaning in addition to the spiritual

meaning inherent in the *hajj* itself. Third, there are egalitarian social relations among the subjects involved in the whole series of *hajj* send-off and welcome, which become a medium for creating close social relations between various groups in society. Thus, this finding proves that *hajj* not only has the value of spirituality of worship but also has the value of social engagement between groups in society, especially in rural areas.

This study found that the idea of dynamic spirituality contained in a series of *hajj* pilgrimages, and this is evidence that the *hajj* not only has the value of worship spirituality but also has the value of social engagement between groups. Among the evidence that shows the values of dynamic spirituality in the *hajj* are, first, the existence of cultural symbols that show that the *hajj* is a social and cultural phenomenon, second, the process of festivalization of the *hajj* that involves various parties, and third, the social function of the *hajj* that unites various groups in society.

In Clifford Geertz's study, religion is not only interpreted as a set of normative teachings, but religion is "(1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic".³⁶ This emphasizes that religion cannot get out of its socio-cultural context. The social and cultural context that surrounds religion always implies the creation of reciprocity relations between religion and cultural systems.³⁷

This relationship is manifested in various forms of religious phenomena that are full of symbols.³⁸ Symbols in religion reflect a spirituality and holiness in interacting with the dynamics of the profane world.³⁹ Religious symbolization in various manifestations marks the close relationship between religion and social aspects, culture, and locality.⁴⁰ Finally, the symbolization will encourage a person to carry out social activities that are full of spirituality.⁴¹ With this reference, as a religious teaching, *hajj* transforms into a social and cultural event.⁴²

Hajj rituals in local Muslim communities experience festivalization, as a collective fact that has a purpose rooted in group life.⁴³ There is a system of reciprocity and shared responsibility that ensures continuity and participation through the distribution of prestige, power, and production in a ritual. Gerardus van der Leeuw, in his book, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation*, asserts that religious rituals are a series of theological teachings that are loaded with spiritual values.⁴⁴ Rituals reflect the idea of the sacred and supernatural.⁴⁵ This sacredness necessitates a series of activities that are oriented towards spirituality, not other profane goals.

In fact, some religious rituals experience excessive objectification so that they are interpreted as a social and cultural commodity. This interpretation degrades the values of ritual spirituality itself. This fact shows that there has been a process of commodification of values into an economic orientation.⁴⁶ This orientation encourages spiritual activities

to become a tradition that purely follows the flow of cultural movements.⁴⁷ However, the tradition that develops has implications for the involvement of all parties associated with the process. Thus, this process has the side effect of creating a close bond between members in the community.

What is more, other ritual functions include generating an urge to establish close attachments with other subjects. In a ritual, Victor Turner emphasizes the involvement of many elements that lead the core subject of the ritual to an unstructured condition.⁴⁸ This condition makes a ritual process in the community system - a concept that describes the absence of the main structure that supports the entity, thus allowing for the creation of a reciprocal relationship between the subjects involved. For the core subjects of the ritual, after the completion of this ritual stage, they will enter the stage of reaggregation or reenactment, which becomes the foundation of new, more cohesive relations. A celebration to welcome the arrival of the *hajj* will be integrated into this process described by Turner, so that the subjects of the Hajj experience the stage of reaggregation. Here, they will emerge as a new entity, and therefore, the social response of the community places them as a nodal nexus that unites diverse elements.

Robert Putnam, in his social engagement theory, asserts that the values of spirituality in religious teachings expressed in various social and cultural events can unite different groups.⁴⁹ Social events are social capital to build glue in relations between groups in society. This relationship model bridges positive relationships between entities with each other in the frame of a strong social spirituality.

Conclusion

Based on the analysis of this research topic, it is revealed that the *hajj* inherent social spirituality values, which serve as the foundation for creating social engagement through its surrounding rituals. This implies that the study of the Hajj phenomenon is not only focused on aspects of individual spirituality, but also on aspects of achieving social spirituality, namely, creating social engagement between social groups. This study thus verifies the social engagement theoretical framework as a basis for explaining the *hajj*.

The results of this study are an enrichment of previous studies, namely the expansion of theoretical perspectives. Previous studies focused on analyzing *hajj* concentrating on theological aspects and religious law. This study expands the existing perspective in the form of the implementation of the values of *hajj* social spirituality and emphasizes the creation of social engagement based on anthropological analysis.

However, this study involves units of analysis that are limited to specific regions, Madura and Lombok. Other regional contexts related to *hajj* and the socio-cultural rituals surrounding it have not been analyzed. In addition, the perspective developed still concentrates on socio-anthropology, not involving in-depth psychological, theological, and historical aspects. Another context that has not been analyzed is the urban area. Therefore, further research is needed that accommodates these limitations.

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