

Perceiving Utilization of Zakat through Economic Sociology Perspective: Study Case in Badan Amil Zakat Nasional (BAZNAS)

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ABSTRACT

The success of a program in the utilization of zakat often measured quantitatively by economic perspective only, such as the rising of mustahik incomes and the number of beneficiaries in the utilization of zakat. But, on the other hand, there are qualitative aspects in terms of social relations that rarely portrayed by economics itself. The economic aspect basically has three core activities: production, distribution, and consumption; while the role of sociology is seeing how the relation between the people who did those three events, which includes values, norms, and cultural aspect that determines economic motive by its cultural that had the impact on social welfare. This paper will explain that in looking at the utilization of zakat, it's necessary to seeing the economic sociology perspective in order to see more comprehensive about social relations that contained in the process of administrative program activities in the utilization of zakat that given for mustahik such as Fakir, Miskin, Amil, Riqab, Gharimin, Mualaf, Ibnu Sabil and Fi Sabilillah. Using the classic theory of Weber about Value, the flow of Institutional by Veblen and the concept of Cultural Capital by Bourdieu, this paper will clarify the relationship between the values contained in the utilization of zakat which associated with the stakeholders.

Keywords: Utilization of Zakat, Economic Sociology, Institutionalism, Cultural Capital, Value

INTRODUCTION

Recently, the science of economics often considered to be more relevant and prestige compared to social science. While, both of them have a very important role in economic to understanding the process which is identical to the production process, consumption, and distributions. The economic aspect refers to three the process last, while social science focus to the mutual relationship between people who come into close those three events, the combination of these process, in very simple terms, referred to the branch of social science that called Economic Sociology.

Implicitly, the aspect of Economic Sociology constructed by Maximilian Weber (1846-1920) in his book *The Protestant Ethic & The Spirit of Capitalism*. His assumption explained that the protestants who have the value of persistence, honest, frugal, and other good values—that behavior has pushed their wants to participate in the process of capitalism.

Even Weber never claimed that his masterpiece contributed to Economic Sociology, but implicitly he had told it through the analysis and formulation of theoretics. Likewise with Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) and Thorstein Bunde Veblen (1857-1929). They implicitly talk about

Economic Sociology in a quite strong way through the concept of institutionalism (Veblen) and cultural capital (Bourdieu).

But unfortunately, in the recent decade, social science and economy such the very contrast things. Economic science looks better because of the concreteness, forecast of number wage, and how much people can exit from line poverty—which seen more reflexive to describe welfare of people, whereas social science had been marginalized by reason of many discourses or something out rhetoric. Nevertheless, social science had the function to see what is invisible—that basically, in every society had their own values and norms that always being processed in areas of social structure; it was the things that can be the principle of the evolutive social change that can rise to social welfare.

To watch the business process in Badan Amil Zakat Nasional which focuses on poverty reduction programs, it needs to perceive with Economic Sociology perspective, so we could see the implementation of programs more comprehensively. In the utilization program of BAZNAS, recently, BAZNAS relatively still measuring the success of a program within the economic aspect and ignoring the sociological aspect in the process of program implementation.

Economic Sociology basically gives the lesson about the economic phenomenon that having a relationship with production aspect, consumption, and distribution. Conceptually, the term which use is social interaction, group, social structure, institutionalism, and social control which include sanctions, values, and norms (Smelser & Swedberg, 2005). In economic sociology perspective, the actor essentially always tried to fulfill the life-needs. Poverty is the main issue which could be the social phenomenon that can be explained with an economic sociology perspective. This paper

will analyze (i) the application of economic sociology in BAZNAS's Program, especially in utilization programs, and (ii) emphasize the importance of economic sociology perspective to analyzing utilization programs in BAZNAS.

METHODOLOGY

In this research, the method using Study Case. According to Creswell (2007), the study case is exploration from the bounded system, which there is occurs in many cases from time to time that collected through data which tend to deep and collect the information in a given context. In this study, I will explore the particular phenomena in one time and one activity; this is including the detail information and depth data through several steps.

Historically, this approach actually has been familiar with the social scientist, primarily psychologist, politics, and lawyer; in other words, this approach is multidiscipline. Hame, Dufour, and Fortin (1993) are the earliest figures who formulate the study case in social science through anthropology and sociology. On another hand, Yin (2003) was trying this approach to bridging over the qualitative method and quantitative method. The other researcher, Merriam (1998) tried this approach in the education field. Meanwhile, Stake (1995) was formulating the procedure systematically to using the study case.

The procedures are divided into five steps. First, the researcher determines the study case approach associated with the problem of research that could identify as the case. Second, the researcher needs to identify the case that has chosen; whether it relates to an individual case, several individuals, organization, or the other unit of analysis. Third, the researcher classifies the source of collecting data and what will do to describe the problem, just as an observation, depth

interview, documents, and recorder. Forth, the researcher must choose the type of analysis, whether it includes holistic analysis, embedded analysis in a specific case. Last, the researcher reports the lesson learning from the case that chooses, whether the meaning comes from learning about the issue or learning about an unusual situation.

This approach is selected because to analyze using the economic sociology perspective needs the study case in order to concrete example. Furthermore, using this approach can be deepening about meanings and values that understanding by mustahik which accept the utilization programs from BAZNAS, one exception is the Program of Balai Ternak in Lembaga Pemberdayaan Ekonomi Mustahik (LPEM) and Zakat Community Development (ZCD). Those programs are selected in this paper because the concept of community development and value has invented from BAZNAS has a tight relation with economic sociology.

The Power of Value: Spirit of Capitalism's Weber

To understanding economic sociology, the first step to knowing deeply about what Weber discusses to perceive the spirit of capitalism which occurred to Calvinism society in the 18th century. He lived in the transformation between the traditional era towards the modern era. He saw that social change is forcing the spirit capitalism; the factor is the value in Protestant society. That phenomenon is argued by him in his book, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1930). Weber said, the asceticism as the part which caused the growth of capitalism's spirit in the western which he said as inner-worldly asceticism (Weber, 1930:66).

He assumed that fundamentally the ethic of Protestant made the embryo of capitalism's spirit begun cause of the attitude of life which has been an ideology, such as

discipline, frugal and persistence to pursue the advantage and having the rational calculation. These things basically made capitalism has begun.

Even the Protestant ethic had a stronger impact on the capitalism effect, but the orientation is not about what is in the world, just to expect for safety in the hereafter. For Weber, social action was born from an individual orientation that the growth of capitalism. One of the values that owned by Protestant is the perspective about wealth, where the wealth is bad if full of idleness and greediness. This Protestant ethic affects the culture and values that have been rooted strongly. Weber assumed, if capitalism wants to exist, the ethic had to be there.

For Calvinist, the fundamental element is a rational choice, that the world and its content is the gift from God that should be utilized with the best attitude. Work, for the Protestant, is a God calling which had The Absolute and cultivating life as the effort to come closer to God. According to them, there's the fool act if someone could be tempted with 'flesh' that means bliss sleep, intercourse, or eat. Idleness, lies, and greed also include sins. The principle of priorities which are not satisfied with the achievement. These things made social action that oriented not only physically, but the transcendental purpose to God. Thereby, social change in Weber's perspective can be concluded in the scheme in figure 1.

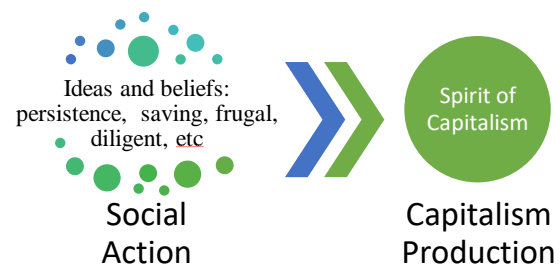


Figure 1. Social Change in Weber's Perspective

According to Weber, social change is a social phenomenon that the production of capitalism could change because of ideas and beliefs from Protestant (Calvinist) that raise the spirit of capitalism. Source: many sources.

Theory of Cultural Modal by Bourdieu and Concept of Institutionalism by Veblen

In 1980, Bourdieu as a sociologist who concerns in capital issues, instead of interested in the structure of state who exercise authority as a ruler, was interested in how people fighting against the structure in their own communities. "Field" is the important concept in his theoretical construction because of there in "habitus" and "capital". He defined habitus as the principle which rooted in people who had consequences that namely the repeated of action and being the habits (Bourdieu, 1990). In short, it is the value that has been internalized into individuals. He divide a capital to struggles in Arena to four, namely (1) economic capital, which refers to the richness, (2) cultural capital, which refers to degree and scientific knowledge, (3) social capital, which refers to the strength of social network, and (4) symbolic capital, which refers to the highness of social status in society.

Cultural capital is the one of concept from Bourdieu, where the cultural capital had the function to make the social relation in practice of economy, that the form is a social asset, such as education, smartness, diction, and etc. In this paper, I will focus on cultural capital as the main point to explain the implementation of utilization programs in BAZNAS with sociology. Basically, there are three types of cultural capital according to Bourdieu. First, is embodied, where there is knowledge aspect that inherited hereditary from socialization or tradition. This knowledge depends on habitus and the social environment where people in, such as

cultural modal of linguistic that include the master of language. Second, objectified, where the capital has a symbolic meaning of social status because of meaning and historical basic. Third, institutionalized, where there is a recognition from formal institution toward cultural capital that somebody had, such as professional title or academic degree.

Besides the theory of capital by Bourdieu, the primary current in other economic sociology is The Institutionalism written by Thorstein Bunde Veblen (1857-1929). According to Veblen, economic phenomena cannot as simple as in the mind from classic and neo-classic (in economic theory). He emphasized that basically, the non-economy aspect such as institution and environment had a big implication on the behavior of societies. Even Deliarnov said that this theory explains the theory of economic developments, but actually the fundamental mind of Veblen's theory includes in sociologist analysis (Adnan, 2015).

For example, there is someone who has a tendency to buy food in a particular market, even to certain traders. Whereas, the prices and qualities is the same. Another example, there are students who would rather get some coffee at Starbucks for photos on Instagram several times but the price is more expensive if compared with the price of regular coffee. Therefrom, the cultural aspect and values are important to understand, according to Veblen. He explains that basically societies always had the evolution periodically in accordance with time progress. These circumstances that called by Veblen as "institution".

This discuss is interesting because the institution generally defined as one of the agencies or government institutions, such as schools, companies, etc. Veblen has uniquely reconstructed the mean of the institution as the cultural aspect which has developed in

society. Obviously, that was something abstract, because it's content about values, norms, behavior, and also the culture that reflect in economic activities that include production, consumption, and distribution. According to him, with this institution theory, it could be a knife analysis to perceive about (1) consumer motivation, and (2) behavior of entrepreneurs.

From these explain, basically, what was said by Bourdieu and Veblen has similarities, they have emphasized in the aspect of values, norms, and knowledge that owned by somebody that has been a behavior (*habitus*). The difference is, Bourdieu in perceiving cultural capital has accentuated education and knowledge that owned by people, meanwhile, Veblen was affirming about the cultural condition of people that can influence the the economic action.

Spirit of Capitalism in Weber's Concept and Implementation of LPEM in BAZNAS

The Institution of Economic Utilization for Mustahik (Lembaga Pemberdayaan Ekonomi Mustahik) is a program institution which formed by Badan Amil Zakat Nasional (BAZNAS) based on SK 18/2018 that has function to increase the quality of the poor (*mustahik/dhuafa*) through the sustainable agriculture, farm, fishery, maritime, plantation, and forestry-based the values of utilization. It is one of the big vision from BAZNAS. The mission of LPEM is: 1) increase quality, capability, and productivity in life of *mustahik* through the distribution of zakat in farm and agriculture; 2) Strengthened and prosperous the poor via farm program in the village; 3) Become the center of development in literacy and the reference in model of poverty reduction, the increase of social welfare and bridging over the social gap through economic utilization, and (4) Become one of the best examples for the other institution to make social welfare ([lpembaznas.com](http://pembaznas.com)).

LPEM has one of economic program called *Balai Ternak*. *Balai Ternak* is an economic utilization program in the cattle sector. In these programs, the poor will be given by BAZNAS to increase their income. The given is a productive asset to manage as the sustainability business. Cattle can be used as business capital to be developed. The concept is the house of the cultivation of cattle, animal feed, the auction of cattle, and the processing of result. This program gives seed assistance, cage and the transfer the knowledge about cattle.

To make the realization for this program, there are several steps who perform professionally. First, BAZNAS was selected who is the right person to accept this program. Second, if somebody known as *mustahik*, the cattlemen was given the capacity of knowledge or capacity building about the world of cattle, such as how to give the cattle a good feed, or how to make the cattle fleshy, etc. Third, there is a process called *asset reform* to *mustahik* in economy capital and the nursery. Forth, to do the implementation of the program, BAZNAS was doing counseling to *mustahik*. so the program will sustainable and give the process of supervision for every cattle community.

For example, in Banyusidi Village, Central Jawa, BAZNAS was made this program which has been managed by 45 family head (Gatra.com, 2018). From 180 cows, the expectation is the cows could be 720 calves.

The amount sold per harvest is 160, which means that within a year, the BAZNAS Animal Husbandry Center can sell as many as 640 tails. The estimated economic impact for the farmers from the livestock business run is an increase in monthly income of farmers by Rp936,500. With this additional income, farmers will increase their producers from Rp1,324,750 to Rp2,261,250. Meanwhile, the UMK Regency of Magelang alone in 2019 was Rp1,882,000. Thus, when

compared with the 2018 National Poverty Line which is Rp1,845,612, the income is higher by 22.8% (Republika, 2017). The activity, which has the title 'Sacrifice Empowered The Village', provides a service for the community in carrying out their worship at Eid al-Adha 1439 H.

BAZNAS encourages people to carry out sacrificial worship with wider benefits. Because sacrifice is not ordinary worship but can awaken the economic welfare of the people, especially the village community. Considering the potential of national sacrifices could reach Rp 10 trillion (wartapilihan.com, 2017), this has also been utilized by BAZNAS as a market result that can improve the welfare of poor farmers to meet national demand. Village empowerment activities are realized by forming a breeder community consisting of 80-100 people per community with capital given as much as 5-10 goats or sheep per breeder (kabar24.com, 2017).

If analyzed using Weber's theory of rational action, the action taken by BAZNAS against farmers is a rational act of values that do not always aim for economic improvement alone, but there is a thought that the mustahik are planted so that in the future they can become muzakki (giving their zakat to the poor) so that increasingly playing a role in alleviating poverty. These values are almost in line with the phenomenon of Calvinists who live frugally, persistently, and Protestant ethical values as expressed by Weber, but the difference is that social capital in the form of network, bridging and bonding is stronger in this case because there are two parties, in the form poor breeders and supported by BAZNAS as a non-structural government institution.

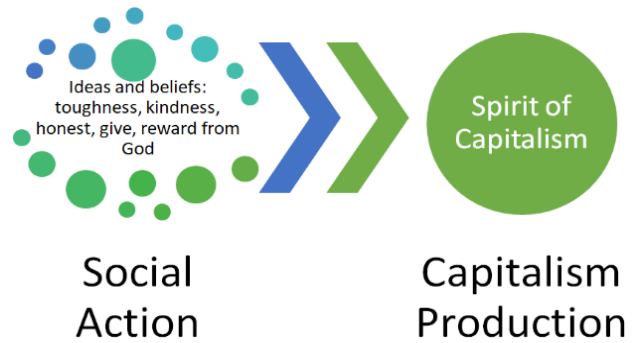


Figure 2.

Figure 2 shows, there are Islamic ethics that are more or less the same as those owned by Protestants so that they can increase the spirit of capitalism to increase livestock productivity.

Thus, poverty alleviation can be more effective because this economic aspect is associated with a social organizational framework that emphasizes the rational act of values but in a professional framework that emphasizes the goals and ways that Weber calls an instrumental rational act. One vision proclaimed by BAZNAS in the form of "improving the quality, capability, and productivity of the poor (mustahik) through zakat distribution in agriculture and animal husbandry" has a deep meaning when using the methods offered by Weber in the form of *Verstehen*. Where, economic empowerment is not merely to eradicate poverty or perpetuate wealth, but also makes people who are empowered and for *amil*, also muzakki, feel more grateful and with it can be devoted, thus civil society can be formed.

Institutionalism and Cultural Capital in Implementation of ZCD in BAZNAS

The main objective of the community development program is basically how to make the community able to empower themselves, both in terms of social, environmental and economic which will contribute to social welfare. The main idea is also trying to provide facilities to the

community more evenly, especially to the poor (Ministry of Religion, 2013). But in reality, it is not easy to make a complete, independent society due to many factors, ranging from cultural poverty, inadequate economic capital, low education, low social networks, lack of access to symbolic capital, to the problem of time. in the process. On the other hand, potentially, zakat funds have great opportunities to carry out distribution and utilization programs, such as 1) empowering the people's economy, 2) alleviating poverty, 3) opening jobs, 4) improving health, 5) improving the quality of education for the mustahik, and 6) improving the welfare of living standards for mustahik (Ministry of Religion, 2012).

Zakat Community Development (ZCD) is one of the empowerment programs implemented by BAZNAS with the main objective of creating a climate that is conducive to the development of community potential so that the poor become prosperous and independent (Puskas BAZNAS 2017). By using Zakat, Infaq and Alms (ZIS) funds distributed from upper and middle-class people, BAZNAS as an official government body that has the authority to manage zakat nationally has a role to bridge those who redistribute assets to lower class people more evenly to reduce social inequality in society. On the other hand, the existence of zakat funds indirectly is also strengthening the social solidarity ties between upper-class people and lower class people (Ministry of Religion, 2013). Conceptually, ZCD has a structured and comprehensive idea by combining social aspects (education, health, religion, environment, and other social aspects) and economic aspects.

Although conceptually has a good idea, in practice it is still not ideal according to what has been conceptualized. In its implementation, ZCD is more directed to output in the form of commodities produced as products sold. Not to mention, there are

various problems in its implementation. The results of various studies show, the ZCD program still has various problems. One of them, a study proposed by Rinol (2017) revealed that in terms of the programs provided by BAZNAS such as ducks, eggs and clean water management, there were still many failures due to lack of public knowledge. In addition, the trust (trust) of the community is also not well established, due to various things, such as the community's assumption that BAZNAS is unfair in distributing zakat, and also the assumption that zakat is only given to people closest to amil (Farikhatusholikhah et al ., 2018; and Mafruhah Izzah et al., 2010).

Another problem, when given economic capital to the poor, but there are still obstacles in the form of supervision and assistance that is not done regularly, causing the poor to misuse the zakat funds given to them (Rinol, 2017). At the ideal level, zakat should also be able to provide access to the public so that they can access what was previously inaccessible, and can also "control the whole process of development initiatives" as proposed by the Ministry of Religion (2013), but due to low public education, it is still difficult to do until now. According to research conducted by Naseer (2016) and Rijalush (2016) shows, the ZCD program has an impact on mustahik income. The average mustahik income after the ZCD program is greater than before the ZCD program.

Various literatures on Zakat Community Development (ZCD) explain that basically, the main objective in conducting Community Development is the idea of the importance of producing communities that can later be independent to determine their potential, and not depend on the program anymore, such as research proposed by the Ministry of Religion (2013), BAZNAS Study Center (2017), and also Mardiah (2018). But in reality, the social-psychological conditions of the poor at this

time, still could not be said to be established due to an increasingly inherent poverty culture. The Ministry of Religion (2013) in his book "Zakat Community Development: Zakat Development Model" says the following:

"The strong shackles of the social psychology of poverty that afflict the community. unwillingness to tackle existing poverty so that zakat issued does not have a correlation with the real condition of the community that requires empowerment."(p. 84)

This evidence is further strengthened by Community Development which was also carried out by PT. Chevron in Garut Regency. The research presented by Rivani and Risna Resnawaty (2010) revealed that there is still a mindset (mindset) of villagers who generally still expect long-term benefits from assistance in the form of physical infrastructure development in their area from PT. Chevron. From this it can be seen that the poverty experienced by most people basically still relies on a culture of poverty or cultural poverty.

Conceptually, BAZNAS is trying to empower is already strong and very sociological, only that its implementation has not been realized significantly. Various studies show, the ZCD program still has various problems. The study proposed by Rinol (2017) revealed that in terms of the programs provided by BAZNAS such as ducks, eggs and clean water management, there were still many failures due to lack of knowledge or cultural capital of the community.

Thus, it can be seen that BAZNAS is still lacking in providing an approach through local wisdom or departing from values and norms that exist in society. Moreover, the community still does not understand the new values and norms brought by BAZNAS, for example, such as tips on how to manage livestock and clean water wisely and well. In

addition, trust (trust) from the community is also not well established, due to various things, such as people's assumption that BAZNAS is unfair in distributing zakat, and also the assumption that zakat is only given to people closest to amil (Farikhatusholikhah, et al , 2018; and Mafruhah Izzah, et al. 2010).

In addition, supervision and assistance that is not carried out periodically, causes the poor to misuse the mandate of zakat funds given to them (Rinol 2017). At the ideal level, zakat should also be able to provide access to the public so that they can access what was previously inaccessible, and can also "control the whole process of development initiatives" as proposed by the Ministry of Religion (2013), but due to low public education, it is still difficult to do until now, coupled with other complex factors in the form of a lack of advocacy ability to the government, so that their aspirations are not met.

As a critique of some of the existing literature, the writer has a temporary conclusion that the ZCD program has conceptually included very sociological aspects, but in its implementation, it is still oriented towards economic capital or what commodities are produced. In fact, community development basically does not only look at what appears to be an increase in people's income, but also on social change, such as people's mindset that changes, from what used to feel inferior to itself now become more confident to be independent, and also other aspects of roles that can be taken over by the community in a steady and established manner. Therefore, it is important to note in the process of community development programs that are grounded in qualitative social changes that require a long process and a lot of hard work from the ZCD program interventors; this is what is meant by Veblen to strengthen aspects of values and norms, or make institutional efforts in its cultural aspects.

Thus, there is no existing literature that discusses the implementation of ZCD in the study of sociological impacts that are specifically examined through cultural capital and institutional theory. By examining through cultural capital and looking at using institutionalism, assessing a more sociological impact can surface more clearly. By looking at aspects of social change, both in changing values and norms, education, health, and various other social aspects, it is hoped that the success of the program can be measured more thoroughly.

CONCLUSION

Basically there are many alternatives to perceiving zakat in the perspective of economic sociology. Unfortunately, not even one scientist has tried to study zakat in this perspective. By looking at the lens of economic sociology, implementation of program becomes more comprehensive and does not forget values as something important in measuring a program's success.

The economic empowerment program launched by BAZNAS provided to poor farmers is quite contextual if seen with Weber's theories, specifically the concept of Social Action, Spirit of Capitalism and Verstehen's methodology within the framework of Social Change. Weber gave a great sociological imagination' it was his contribution to the world of social discourse that has an impact to this day, especially for social academics.

Weber's theory has the strength and is quite contextual for the people of Indonesia today, especially in seeing the phenomenon of economic empowerment in the field of animal husbandry carried out by BAZNAS towards poor farmers. One vision proclaimed by BAZNAS in the form of "improving the quality, capability, and productivity of the poor (mustahik) through zakat distribution in agriculture and cattle" has a profound

meaning when using the methods offered by Weber in the form of Verstehen (in-depth understanding). Where, economic empowerment is not merely to eradicate poverty or perpetuate wealth, but also makes people who are empowered and for amil, also muzakki, feel more grateful and with it can be devoted, thus the good civil society can be formed.

While in the Zakat Community Development (ZCD) program, this can be seen using sociology theory such as Bourdieu's cultural capital and institutional theory from Veblen because zakat institutions basically play a role in creating or igniting conditions so that the values to be instilled in mustahik can be succeeded as expected, so that it has an impact on social welfare that is long term. Success is not only measured through increased mustahik income, but also social changes that occur positively according to the value that is invested in muzakki in the form of persistence, honesty and also never give up in doing something — that understanding can reduce cultural poverty so that it can contribute to eradicating poverty.

REKOMENDATION

The study of economic sociology needs to be developed in the field of zakat so that in measuring a program implementation can be seen more comprehensively; it is not just a matter of increasing income for mustahik, but also a strengthening social network, a process of trust that is built, an improved understanding of Islam, etc. that has an effect on social welfare in the long run, from one generation to the next.

On the other hand, Islamic economics that has developed very rapidly in Indonesia also provides extensive opportunities for the development of Islamic Economic Sociology in Indonesia based on the values contained in

the Al-Qur'an, Hadith, and local wisdom in accordance with Islamic principles.

Before strengthening in empowerment, it is necessary to understand in advance the values possessed by mustahik so that if it is bad it can be corrected, if it is already strong it can be directed so that it becomes better in the process of empowerment; because values will affect a society's social actions.

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