

Kiyai and Santri in the Islamic Philanthropy Movement in Tasikmalaya: Implementation of Pierre Bourdieu's Theory

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ABSTRACT

The development of the Islamic philanthropy movement, initially seen as a competitor to the government, has begun to find its antithesis. The government, through BAZNAS RI (Badan Amil Zakat Nasional Republik Indonesia), continues to collaborate in efforts to alleviate poverty and improve the welfare of the community. This has been followed by local governments, including the Tasikmalaya Regency, where the Islamic philanthropy movement has gained momentum, marked by the increase in zakat collection by BAZNAS Tasikmalaya. This growth has directly benefited many people, especially those in need within the zakat recipients (asnaf). This study aims to analyze the Islamic philanthropy movement in Tasikmalaya Regency, which is deeply rooted in the traditions of santri, kyai, and pesantren (Islamic boarding schools). The presentation uses Bourdieu's theory and a qualitative descriptive methodology to provide a deeper understanding of the Islamic philanthropy movement.

Keywords: *Islamic Philanthropy Movement, Zakat, Bourdieu, Kyai Santri, Tasikmalaya*

INTRODUCTION

The development of Islamic philanthropy in Indonesia has been growing rapidly, marked by the establishment of numerous religious philanthropic institutions in the late 1990s (Sakai, 2018). Shortly after the economic crisis that struck Indonesia, Fauzia argued that the proliferation and growth of philanthropic institutions were due to the government's weak role in providing social welfare services. This vacuum was then filled by philanthropic organizations, which stepped in to serve the community. (Fauzia, 2016).

Sakai argues that the Indonesian government still seeks to maintain full control

over social services and perceives the social services provided by philanthropic organizations as a threat. This perspective is reflected in policies regulating funding sources for Islamic organizations, which pose challenges for these organizations within society. Theological differences and political views further exacerbate these divides, hindering the formation of inclusive and broad collaborations in delivering social services to the community (Sakai, 2018).

Over time, as the management of funds within philanthropic organizations has developed, it has started to encounter an antithesis to Sakai's viewpoint, particularly regarding the fund management practices of Indonesian Muslims. Fauzia argues that

Indonesia has now reached a balanced point where the government actively encourages the growth of philanthropic institutions (Fauzia, 2016). One form of government support is exemplified by President Joko Widodo's attendance at and opening of the 2024 National Coordination Meeting (RAKORNAS) of BAZNAS across Indonesia. The President expressed appreciation for the progress in zakat fund management and conveyed his message that the management of zakat, infaq, and shadaqah must be more optimized to help the state alleviate poverty through various flagship empowerment programs, while also accommodating public aspirations (BAZNAS Indonesia, 2024). It marks a turning point, indicating that the government is now open to collaborating and cooperating with philanthropic institutions to address social issues.

Support for the performance of philanthropic organizations does not only come from the central government but also from local governments. For instance, Tasikmalaya Regent Ade Sugianto, in his speech at the event on Religious Moderation and Zakat Socialization for Islamic Religious Education Teachers, expressed his appreciation to BAZNAS Tasikmalaya Regency for managing zakat, infaq, and shadaqah efficiently and professionally (BAZNAS KABUPATEN TASIKMALAYA, 2024b). On another occasion, the Regional Secretary of Tasikmalaya Regency shared a similar sentiment, praising BAZNAS Tasikmalaya for its role in addressing social issues that the government is unable to solve. (BAZNAS KABUPATEN TASIKMALAYA, 2024a).

The author is interested in analyzing the Islamic philanthropy movement in Tasikmalaya Regency because BAZNAS Tasikmalaya has become one of the most advanced Islamic philanthropic organizations in West Java. This is evidenced by the achievement of the BAZNAS Jabar Award 2024, awarded to BAZNAS for having the

largest fund collection, followed by Ciamis Regency and Bandung City. (BAZNAS JABAR, 2024). Additionally, BAZNAS Tasikmalaya won the National Sharia Economic Festival organized by Bank Indonesia in 2022, specifically in the field of economic empowerment.

Tasikmalaya is known as the "City of Santri," with a record of 1,344 pesantren out of 8,728 pesantren in West Java, making it the region with the highest number of pesantren in the province (Sekretariat Daerah Provinsi Jawa Barat, 2021). Among the many pesantren, some are considered large and influential, such as Pondok Pesantren Sukamanah, founded by National Hero KH Zainal Musthafa; Pondok Pesantren Sukahideng, founded by KH Zainal Muhsin, the brother of KH Zainal Musthafa; Pondok Pesantren Cipasung, led by KH Ruhiyat; Pondok Pesantren Miftahul Huda, owned by Uwa Ajengan KH Khoer Affandi; and Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, led by KH Sohibul Wafa Tajul Arifin, also known as Abah Anom, the spiritual leader of the Qadiriyyah Naqshbandiyyah Sufi Order.

The statement above further strengthens the author's interest in analyzing the Islamic philanthropy movement in Tasikmalaya Regency, which has progressed more effectively than other regions. The author aims to explain how the values of zakat are propagated amidst the influence of foreign liberal cultures that are increasingly dominant and uncontrollable. The author seeks to analyze this using Pierre Bourdieu's theory, which proposes a more complex approach to understanding social reality. Bourdieu argues that social reality is not merely objective or subjective, but is the result of the complex interaction between objective structures and subjective agents (Lubis, 2014).

The literature review reveals that previous studies have been limited to analyzing philanthropic movements, primarily focusing on philanthropic activism within local environments, such as pesantren,

mosques, and educational institutions (Irham, 2019) (Latief, 2012). However, studies specifically evaluating an entire philanthropic movement remain scarce. Previous research has largely been centered around sociocultural themes. For example, Muhammad Farid's study on the implementation of Bourdieu's theory in efforts to preserve the cultural heritage of Sunan Muria within the Piji Wetan community in Lau Village, Kudus Regency (Farid, 2022). Ada pula penelitian Maria Novenia, Yoseph Yapi Taum dan S.E. Peni Aji mengenai strategi dominasi Pierre Bourdieu dalam Novel Maryam karya Okky Madasari. Additionally, there are studies by Maria Novenia, Yoseph Yapi Taum, and S.E. Peni Aji, exploring Pierre Bourdieu's theory of domination in Okky Madasari's novel Maryam (Maria Novenia & S.E. Peni Adj, 2019). Furthermore, research by Imam Suhardi et al. on the existence of Lengger Lanang and Lengger Wadon in Banyumas analyzed through Bourdieu's perspective (Fatmawaty et al., 2018).

Islamic Philanthropy in Concept

The term "philanthropy" originates from the Greek word *philanthropia*, which means "love and compassion for humanity." Latief defines philanthropy as "generosity," an "altruistic" attitude (prioritizing others) that has become ingrained in both individuals and collectives (Latief, 2010). Payton defines it as a voluntary action for the public good (Payton & Moody, 2008). Philanthropy aims to alleviate suffering or meet the urgent needs of society while improving quality of life. Additionally, the scope of philanthropy can be expanded to include advocacy or the expression of ideas, values, or identities, experimenting with new ideas for social change, and preserving traditions in the face of future challenges.

The concept of generosity within philanthropy is normatively outlined in Islamic teachings, as explained in the Qur'an and Hadith, which have then become deeply rooted in Islamic culture and tradition.

According to Latief, Islamic philanthropy is divided into two categories: first, compulsory acts of generosity, such as zakat, kifarati, fidyah, and others; and second, voluntary acts of generosity, such as infaq, shadaqah, wakaf, gifts, hibah, qurban, and others (Latief, 2010). Fauzia further specifies the discussion of Islamic philanthropy into three key forms: zakat, *infaq*/sedekah, and *wakaf*, as these are the most popular and widely practiced forms of philanthropy in society (Fauzia, 2016).

Latief and Fauzia agree that zakat is an obligatory act that must be fulfilled by a Muslim, with specific criteria regarding who must pay zakat (the muzakki), the types of wealth, the amount to be given, and to whom it should be distributed (mustahik). Latief explains that there is a discourse surrounding zakat: is it considered "generosity" within the concept of philanthropy or not? Theologically, zakat is not viewed as an act of generosity but rather as the fulfillment of an obligation. This is because Islamic teachings state that among the wealth a person owns, there is a rightful share that belongs to others in need. However, this discourse continues to evolve among academics in Indonesia, who argue for zakat as a core element of Islamic philanthropy. The practice of Islamic philanthropy in Indonesia is based on voluntary willingness, rather than compulsion. Although there are regulations governing zakat management, there is no specific law imposing penalties on individuals who fail to pay zakat.

Infaq and sedekah are terms with similar meanings, but there are slight differences in their connotations. Infaq refers to generosity that is specifically associated with spending wealth for the benefit of the community. On the other hand, sedekah has a broader meaning, encompassing acts of generosity that are not limited to material contributions but also include immaterial acts. In fact, in Islamic teachings, even small acts such as smiling are considered a form of sedekah (Latief, 2010). Fauzia argues that *sedekah* is a flexible concept in Islamic law

because it has fewer restrictions compared to other forms of philanthropy, allowing it to be practiced more widely. People from all walks of life, whether rich or poor, can give *sedekah*, and the amount can vary based on one's ability (Fauzia, 2016).

Sustainable *sedekah* and long-term benefits for the giver are best represented by *wakaf*. *Wakaf*, literally meaning to stop or limit certain assets from an individual's ownership, involves transferring ownership of those assets to God for the public good or charitable purposes (Fauzia, 2016). In Islamic scholarship, the concept of *wakaf* is considered the highest level of philanthropy for a Muslim, as it involves giving away the wealth that one holds most dear for the benefit of the community.

The Development of Islamic Philanthropy (Institutionalization and Contestation)

Islamic philanthropy is a dynamic tradition that continues to evolve, shaped by rulers, scholars, and society through interpretations of Islamic teachings. Over time, it has transformed from traditional acts of charity into modern philanthropic activities, while still maintaining many of its traditional practices. This evolution reflects both the institutionalization of Islamic philanthropy and the contestation of ideas and practices as they adapt to the contemporary social, economic, and political landscape. Despite the growth of more structured and formal philanthropic institutions, the core values of generosity and community support remain central, demonstrating a balance between tradition and modernization.

The development of Islamic philanthropy in Indonesia has evolved from the era of kingdoms, where it was practiced either through compulsory or voluntary means, with Islamic philanthropic traditions becoming deeply ingrained in society. During the colonial period, secular rulers provided freedom and privatized the management of Islamic philanthropy, without government intervention. Essentially, Islamic philanthropy

emerged to fill the gap in social services and welfare. The suffering caused by colonialism made Islamic philanthropy a crucial means of providing assistance to the people. Entering the 20th century, before independence, Muhammadiyah emerged as a key actor in the management of modern and organized Islamic philanthropy. Muhammadiyah established PKU (Penolong Kesengsaraan Umum, the General Relief Organization) with three main programs: helping the poor by providing housing for the impoverished, supporting orphans by offering food, clothing, and religious education, and assisting the sick by opening clinics and hospitals (Fauzia, 2016). This initiative marked the beginning of a more formal and systematic approach to Islamic philanthropy in Indonesia.

Since Indonesia's independence, Islamic philanthropic institutions have experienced fluctuations, influenced by political, economic, and social changes. During the Old Order era, there was little attention given to the management of Islamic philanthropy, largely due to the political situation and the struggle for independence. However, attention to Islamic philanthropy began to grow during the New Order period. In 1968, President Soeharto established the Badan Amil Zakat (BAZ, Zakat Management Agency), which was set up in various provinces across the country. According to Latief, the New Order used a pragmatic and structural approach to Islamic philanthropy, optimizing fund collection from bureaucrats and civil servants, while not entirely sidelining the role of civil society (Latief, 2017). This approach was successful in the initial stages, but eventually, resistance emerged against the zakat management policies. A new phase began as the influence of the military and the state decreased, and there was more accommodation for Islamic policies. This shift marked the resurgence of zakat management, starting with the formation of Dompot Dhuafa, a non-governmental zakat management institution that later developed into a modern

philanthropic organization. This period of revitalization led to the professionalization and modernization of Islamic philanthropy in Indonesia.

The 1998 monetary crisis caused significant economic upheaval in Indonesia, leading to widespread unemployment, economic decline, and political instability, which weakened the state's ability to perform its social welfare functions. In such a situation, societal movements emerged to fill the gap left by the state in providing public services and improving the well-being of the community (Sakai, 2018) his was marked by the proliferation of non-governmental Islamic philanthropic institutions that sought to address this void. Following this, a specific regulation was introduced to govern the management of zakat, infaq, and shadaqah, starting with Law No. 38 of 1999 on Zakat Management. This was later replaced by Law No. 23 of 2011, which further refined the management, distribution, and utilization of zakat. The rapid growth of Islamic philanthropic institutions indirectly highlighted the contestation between civil society and the state, as well as the tensions between quasi-governmental bodies and civil society in the management of zakat. This period signaled a shift in the landscape of Islamic philanthropy, where civil society began to play a more prominent role in addressing social issues that were traditionally the responsibility of the state (Latief, 2017).

Teori Pierre Bourdieu

Pierre Bourdieu is a postmodern sociologist who sought to bridge the gap between two paradigms: agency/subjectivism and structure/objectivism. He rejected this dichotomy and proposed a more complex approach to understanding social reality. Bourdieu argued that social reality is not simply objective or subjective, but rather the result of the complex interaction between objective structures and subjective agents. (Lubis, 2014).

Ahyar Y. Lubis argues that there are elements within Bourdieu's theory that can be used to analyze socio-cultural phenomena. These include field, symbolic violence, habitus, capital, and strategy.

Habitus

Habitus can be understood as the tastes, habits, or tendencies of an individual that are ingrained in the subconscious as a result of their experiences within a specific cultural environment. Ahyar Y. Lubis synthesizes Bourdieu's explanation of habitus as encompassing all types of cultural activities, including the production, perception, and evaluation of everyday practices and life routines.

Habitus is dynamic in nature, undergoing cultural reproduction by actors, making it an active force. It has two basic concepts. First, habitus permeates the collective actions of social and individual actors. The actors in this concept are individuals who share a common role within a particular field and engage in similar practices or actions. Second, habitus plays a role in defending hierarchical structures, leading individuals to perceive certain things as natural, legitimate, and inevitable.

Field

Arena (or field) is a structured space where there are rules and norms that can change over time. Within an arena, there are agents or actors who occupy various positions or create new positions in order to compete for control over interests within a social practice. In another formulation, Bourdieu describes the arena as a "social world that is continually in a process of progressive differentiation." Thus, arena is a territory of struggle where agents compete to gain access to material resources or symbolic power (Rey, 2014).

Modal (Capital)

Capital is a concept that has transformed from an economic, materialistic understanding to also include immaterial forms of capital such as education, occupation, social organizations, language style, and others. According to Bourdieu, these forms of capital can become power relations within social spaces. The division of capital is categorized into two types: economic capital and social-cultural capital. (Rey, 2014).

Economic capital refers to the possession of material wealth or assets owned by an individual. Economic capital can be converted into money or ownership of other valuable material objects. On the other hand, social-cultural capital is the ability and facilities related to verbal skills, expertise, level of education, and academic knowledge. Cultural capital can also be linked to access (networking) that enables individuals to reach certain positions, as well as recognition and the accumulation of prestige. According to Bourdieu, ownership of both forms of capital allows actors to display dominance and hold a privileged position to maintain their social hierarchy. (Lubis, 2014).

Strategy and Symbolic Violence

The strategy, as understood by Bourdieu, is a concept to address the dualism of subjectivity and objectivity. It is a concept that, like habitus and field, continues to evolve. Bourdieu divides strategy into two types. First, the strategy of reproduction, which refers to a set of strategies designed to enhance and maintain one's position. Second, the strategy of reconversion, which is related to movements within social spaces and is also linked to the amount of capital available and the structuring of dominant and dominated types of capital (Lubis, 2014). These strategies are, of course, related to the available capital and how it can be used to maintain or improve one's position.

Symbolic Violence occurs in the process of socialization, where values (ideologies) are instilled into everyday life.

Essentially, symbolic violence is a form of "soft violence," meaning it cannot be outwardly recognized as violence due to its subtle nature. It is based on self-confidence, personal loyalty, willingness to accept, indebtedness, recognition, and piety, all of which are accepted as ethical respect (Lubis, 2014). This symbolic violence also happens in the interpretation of taxonomy that carries a doxa—a set of beliefs or common knowledge. Ideology becomes one of the main mediums that causes symbolic violence. Therefore, in Bourdieu's theory, the term "*strategy of domination*" arises as an outcome or result of the symbolic violence game within a certain field.

The practices that occur within a society always involve class domination. Those who possess strong and abundant capital will always dominate those who have little capital. This domination happens because of the differences in class, capital, and field within a group, according to the ideology they adhere to. Symbolic violence operates by allowing dominant representations to prevail. Opinions and things that are already considered "truth" become deeply ingrained in individuals' minds, making the practice of symbolic violence subtle and unconscious.

METHODOLOGY

This research uses a qualitative approach, which aims to describe, capture, construct, and analyze situations, events, social activities, attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, and thoughts, both individually and collectively, to provide clearer and more meaningful insights (Sugiyono, 2010). This method uses descriptive analysis, is employed to explore and/or capture the social situations under study comprehensively, broadly, and in-depth.

The data collection techniques used in this research include in-depth interviews, participatory observation, case studies, and document analysis. In-depth interviews aim to gather detailed information from individuals

directly involved in the philanthropic movement, such as the leaders of major pesantren like Pondok Pesantren KH Zainal Musthafa Sukamanah and Pondok Pesantren Sukahideng. The interviews will also include alumni who are involved as amil (zakat managers), alumni working in various sectors such as bureaucracy, private companies, and others, as well as community leaders in the Tasikmalaya region. Participatory observation involves the researcher directly engaging in the philanthropic activities to gain a deeper understanding. The case study method is used to intensively analyze one or more specific social movement cases. Document analysis is conducted to examine documents related to the social movement, such as annual reports, amil UPZ decrees (Zakat Management Units), RKAT (Annual Budget Plans), and other supporting documents. The data collection process utilizes purposive sampling, selecting sources who are directly involved in the philanthropic movement.

Philanthropy and Piety

Philanthropy today is showing significant growth. According to previous study, this development is driven by religious philanthropic culture (Latief, 2013). A qualitative study conducted in Canada concluded that religious affiliation and self-perceived religiosity greatly influence philanthropic practices. The study revealed that individuals without affiliation to any specific religion tend to be less charitable, while those who identify as conservative Protestants are the most generous (Latief, 2013).

In line with developments in Indonesia, religious inspiration (piety) serves as a stronger motivator for engaging in philanthropic practices than liberal-humanitarian issues. The dominance of religious inspiration significantly impacts philanthropic activities, encouraging greater community involvement both as donors and as administrators. (Latief, 2017).

The motive of piety, which drives the development of Islamic philanthropy, is closely tied to the concepts of Kyai (Islamic scholars) and santri (students) within the paradigm of the Muslim community. Kyai and santri are associated with being pious individuals striving to uphold religious doctrines while adapting to contemporary developments. This connection has implications for the regulations governing Islamic philanthropic institutions in Indonesia, where the involvement of Kyai and santri (community leaders) is often a prerequisite for establishing credible and professional organizations. (Undang Undang No 23 Tahun 2011 Tentang Pengelolaan Zakat, 2011) (Peraturan Pemerintah No 14 Tahun 2014, 2014).

The Condition of Tasikmalaya Regency

Tasikmalaya Regency is famously known as the "City of Santri" (Islamic students). This nickname has been long associated with the region, reflecting its historical connection to religious figures, Kyai (Islamic scholars), santri, pesantren (Islamic boarding schools), and mosques (Zaki Mubarak, 2019). According to data from the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, in 2021, Tasikmalaya had 1,344 pesantren, making it the regency with the highest number of pesantren in West Java. (Sekretariat Daerah Provinsi Jawa Barat, 2021).

The significant presence of numerous pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) in Tasikmalaya is closely tied to the role of ulama and religious leaders who established and developed these institutions in the region. The Islamic struggle in Tasikmalaya can be traced back to the era of Sumedang Larang, with key figures like Prince Aria H. Soeriaatmadja and Haji Soelaiman. This legacy continued with figures such as Mama Kudang or KH Muhammad Soedja'i and Haji Aboe Bakar.

The next phase was marked by influential ulama in different regions, often

referred to as the "guardians of the cardinal directions." In the west, notable figures included KH Ilyas Ruhiat of Cipasung, KH Wahab Muhsin of Sukahideng, KH Fuad Muhsin of Sukamanah, and KH Ishaf Farid of Cintawana. In the south, institutions like Baitul Hikmah in Haur Kuning emerged. To the north, Abah Anom and Abah Sepuh of Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya played central roles. Meanwhile, in the east, the prominent leader was Uwa Ajengan KH Khoer Affandi.

This tradition continued into the post-reform period, driven by the efforts and movements of ulama and santri who sustained and adapted these Islamic traditions to the changing times (Zaki Mubarak, 2019). Islamic scholars (ulama), kiyai, and santri have been central figures in spreading Islam throughout Tasikmalaya Regency. The title "City of Santri" reflects the community's strong ties to the traditions of santri and pesantren. These traditions are deeply ingrained in the culture of Tasikmalaya and include values such as respect and courtesy, particularly toward the learned (ulama and teachers), mutual cooperation (gotong royong), community solidarity, maintaining relationships (silaturahmi), visiting graves (ziarah), and community service (pengabdian masyarakat).

(Field), Habitus Santri and Kiyai

In this study, the arena refers to philanthropy and the pesantren culture, which significantly influence the habitus of the community, shaped by the activities of santri and kiyai. Tasikmalaya Regency, with its predominantly religious traditional background, reflects this dynamic. The role of santri and kiyai in promoting traditions of respect and courtesy, especially toward the learned (ulama and teachers), and community service (pengabdian masyarakat), is highly valued. By integrating with the community, they become essential figures who foster and sustain these cultural and philanthropic traditions.

The researcher focuses on Pondok Pesantren Sukamanah, led by KH Zaenal Musthafa, and Pondok Pesantren Sukahideng, led by KH Zaenal Muhsin, among the many pesantren in the region. This approach aims to concentrate on the Islamic philanthropic movements associated with BAZNAS Tasikmalaya Regency while also providing insights into the roles of other pesantren that contribute to Islamic philanthropic activities.

Histories of Pesantren Sukamanah and Pesantren Sukahideng are interconnected. When KH Zainal Musthafa of Sukamanah was arrested by the Japanese, it led to a period of vacuum (fatrah) in Pesantren Sukamanah lasting approximately 11 years. In contrast, Pesantren Sukahideng, under KH Zainal Muhsin—referred to as ruhul ‘ilmi (the spirit of knowledge)—continued its legacy. However, KH Zainal Muhsin passed away shortly after KH Zainal Musthafa's arrest, and the leadership of Pesantren Sukahideng was handed over to his eldest son, KH Wahab Muhsin, to carry on the mission. (Ii Abdul Basith Wahab), 2023).

The histories of Pesantren Sukamanah and Pesantren Sukahideng are deeply intertwined. The arrest of KH Zainal Musthafa of Sukamanah by the Japanese resulted in a fatrah (vacuum period) at Pesantren Sukamanah, lasting around 11 years. Meanwhile, Pesantren Sukahideng, under the leadership of KH Zainal Muhsin—known as ruhul ‘ilmi (the spirit of knowledge)—managed to continue its legacy. However, KH Zainal Muhsin passed away shortly after KH Zainal Musthafa's arrest, prompting his eldest son, KH Wahab Muhsin, to take over and carry forward the institution's mission. (Yedi Budiana, personal communication, Oktober 2024)

The establishment of BAZNAS (National Zakat Board) in Tasikmalaya Regency is closely linked to the role of Pesantren Sukamanah and Sukahideng. KH Fuad Muhsin was elected as the first chairman of BAZNAS Kabupaten Tasikmalaya. His personality, knowledge, and

extensive network helped the movement gain significant support from the community, including the network of santri (students) and alumni of Pesantren Sukamanah and Sukahideng.

KH Fuad Muhsin's leadership was later succeeded by KH Aep from Pesantren Cintawana. However, not long after, the leadership of BAZNAS Kabupaten Tasikmalaya returned to Sukamanah with KH Acep Thahir Fuad, the son of KH Fuad Muhsin, taking over from 2012 to 2022. He then became a member of the Board of Trustees from 2022 to 2027. This transition further emphasized the increasing influence of the santri and kiyai from Sukamanah and Sukahideng. Many of the santri from these pesantren became integral members of BAZNAS Kabupaten Tasikmalaya, serving as leaders and volunteers both at the district level and in local communities.

The strengthening of Pesantren Sukamanah and Sukahideng is not limited to Islamic philanthropy extends to the broader Islamic movement. For example, KH Acep Thahir Fuad, who was elected as the Chairman of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) of Kabupaten Tasikmalaya for the 2024-2029 period, succeeded KH I. Abdul Basith Wahab from Pesantren Sukahideng, the son of KH Wahab Muhsin. Furthermore, the dominance of Sukamanah and Sukahideng extended into Islamic organizations, with KH Atam Rustam (son of KH Fuad Muhsin) being appointed as the Chairman of the Executive Board (Tanfidziyah) of the Nahdlatul Ulama of Kabupaten Tasikmalaya. *"The figures from Sukamanah and Sukahideng are not only politically powerful, but are also supported by their substantial capacity and knowledge. This is why they are able to dominate the Islamic Movement in Kabupaten Tasikmalaya."* (Miftah Fauzi, personal communication, Oktober 2024)

The Islamic Philanthropy Movement has become dominated by Pesantren Sukamanah and Sukahideng. According to data from 30 Amil, 6 Amil are affiliated with

Pesantren Sukamanah and 6 with Pesantren Sukahideng. These individuals hold strategic positions: 1 serves as a Board of Trustees, 2 are Chairperson and Vice Chairperson, and 3 hold positions as Division Heads. This does not include the organization of 507 UPZ (Zakat Collection Units) that hierarchically fall under the BAZNAS of Kabupaten Tasikmalaya.

Related to the Habitus of the pesantren, KH Acep Thahir provided an explanation:

"The alumni of Sukamanah and Sukahideng in the ranks of the Zakat Movement operate naturally. There were no special instructions from me, including from my father (KH Fuad Muhsin), my teacher (KH Wahab Muhsin), or my older (KH I Abdul Basith Wahab). The education at the pesantren emphasizes Islamic values and how these values are ingrained in the hearts of the santri. However, what I (KH Acep Thahir Fuad) believe is that the alumni want to dedicate themselves to the pesantren and their teachers. Their sense of respect and devotion is one of the reasons why they joined the Zakat Movement". (Acep Thahir Fuad, personal communication, November 4, 2024)

The explanation above illustrates that there is no special education or instruction from the teachers (Kiyai and leaders) of the pesantren to the alumni. The santri and alumni are simply emphasized on the strengthening of character and Islamic values, including the reinforcement that zakat is one of the pillars of Islam and the importance of respect and devotion to their teachers.

The habitus of the alumni from Pesantren Sukamanah and Sukahideng in society is explained by Dadan Bardan, who is the head of BAZNAS Kabupaten Tasikmalaya and an alumnus of Sukamanah: *"If we look at the books and the lessons studied at the pesantren, they are quite ordinary and not too heavy. Most alumni of Sukamanah and Sukahideng do not become well-known Kiyai or Ulama, but they become influential people in their communities and*

are known as figures who are ready to serve society.”.(Dadan Bardan, personal communication, November 4, 2024)

A deeper explanation is provided by Imam Cahyadi, the Treasurer of IKHLAS (Ikatan Alumni Sukahideng Lintas Angkatan):

“Alumni of Sukahideng and Sukamanah are spread across various sectors, including the bureaucracy such as local government, vertical institutions at the regional and national levels, as well as in the private sector, where some become entrepreneurs, and so on. However, in every sector, the alumni of Sukahideng and Sukamanah always hold important positions” (Imam Cahyadi, personal communication, 30 Oktober).

The explanation above illustrates that the habitus formed among the alumni of Sukamanah and Sukahideng is that they are spread across various sectors and hold important positions in the fields they are involved in. This habitus is not only present in the general community but extends to both regional and national levels.

The habitus possessed by the actors (santri) has been shaped by the structure of the pesantren system. It becomes their character to have good manners toward their teachers and to be obedient to them. In addition, the culture of community service is ingrained in the santri, where they are willing to sacrifice their soul and wealth for the community, as part of the doctrine they received while studying at the pesantren.

Capital

Capital, as explained above, consists of both material and immaterial aspects. It is then divided into two main categories: economic, social, and cultural capital. *First*, economic capital in the context of the Islamic philanthropy movement through BAZNAS Kabupaten Tasikmalaya includes the support of grant funds from the regional government. Below is the data on the grant funds received by BAZNAS Kabupaten Tasikmalaya:

Table 1. The nominative grant funds received by BAZNAS Kabupaten Tasikmalaya from 2020 to 2024

No	Source	Year	Amount
1	Pemerintah Kabupaten Tasikmalaya	2020	Rp. 700.000.000
2	Pemerintah Kabupaten Tasikmalaya	2021	Rp. 730.000.000
3	Pemerintah Kabupaten Tasikmalaya	2022	Rp. 1.100.000.000
4	Pemerintah Kabupaten Tasikmalaya	2023	Rp. 1.325.000.000
5	Pemerintah Provinsi Jawa Barat	2023	Rp.1.433.700.000
6	Pemerintah Kabupaten Tasikmalaya	2024	Rp. 1.700.000.000

Source: RKAT BAZNAS Kabupaten Tasikmalaya 2020-2024

The grant funds provided by the government are intended for the operational needs of the institution, including salaries for leadership and other organizational expenses. The goal is to improve the management of zakat at BAZNAS Kabupaten Tasikmalaya to a more professional level. Additionally, this funding helps shape the public perception that the leadership of BAZNAS Kabupaten Tasikmalaya is not paid from zakat funds, but rather from the grant money. As a result, the funds allocated for zakat distribution are larger, allowing more beneficiaries (mustahik) to be assisted.

The second form of social-cultural capital, as described by the author, is the support provided by the Regent of Tasikmalaya during the leadership of Ade Sugianto. This support was in the form of regulations related to the management of zakat, infaq, and sadaqah. The strengthening of these regulations by the Regent of Tasikmalaya indirectly helped BAZNAS

Kabupaten Tasikmalaya become an institution that, according to Latief, possesses authority and credibility in the management of zakat. The regulations made by the Regent of Tasikmalaya include one (1) Regent Regulation and four (4) Regent Instructions, as detailed below:

Table 2. List of Regulations on the Management of Zakat, Infaq, and Sadaqah in Tasikmalaya Regency

NO	REGULATION
1	Peraturan Bupati No 41 Tahun 2018 Tentang Tata Cara Pengumpulan, Penyetoran dan Pendistribusian Zakat Profesi, Infaq dan Sedekah di Lingkungan Pemerintah Daerah dan BUMD
2	Instruksi Bupati Nomor 6 Tahun 2019 Tentang Pengumpulan Zakat Profesi dari ASN dan Pegawai BUMD
3	Instruksi Bupati Nomor 7 Tahun 2019 Tentang Pelaksanaan Gerakan Jum'at Berinfaq 2000
4	Instruksi Bupati Nomor 4 Tahun 2020 Tentang Pemungutan Zakat, Infaq dan Sedekah Kepada Penyedia Barang/Jasa
5	Instruksi Bupati Nomor 009 Tahun 2021 Tentang Pemungutan Infaq, shodaqoh kepada Kepala dan Perangkat Desa

Source; Divisi SAU BAZNAS Kabupaten Tasikmalaya

"The regulations issued by the Regent of Tasikmalaya have become a very important capital. This is because BAZNAS Tasikmalaya Regency has experienced rapid development after these regulations were established. Furthermore, it is supported by the efforts of amil working in collaboration with various parties and proactively reaching out to the regions to conduct widespread

socialization." (Dadan Bardan, personal communication, November 4, 2024)

The role of Regent Ade Sugianto was not only in issuing regulations but also in directly participating in the socialization of zakat to ASN (State Civil Apparatus) within the Tasikmalaya Regency Government. As stated by Lia Robiatul Adawiyah, Head of the Human Resource Development Division at BKPSDM Tasikmalaya:

The Regent always emphasizes to ASN that their duty to Allah, through the implementation of zakat, must be prioritized and carried out. Why? Because he has never reduced any rights of the ASN. For example, during the Covid-19 pandemic, when other regional governments were cutting budgets for Covid-19 handling, our Regent did not do that. Salaries and allowances for ASN continued as usual." (Lia Robiatul Adawiyah, personal communication, Oktober 2024)

Cultural social capital, according to Bourdieu, refers to the resources related to an individual's social background, customs, and traditions. In the context of Islamic philanthropy movements in Tasikmalaya Regency, this is deeply intertwined with the habitus of religious scholars (Kiyai), students (santri), and the local community. This habitus is externalized and becomes ingrained within the society, shaping the culture and traditions within the pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) and subsequently influencing the broader community.

The spread of Kiyai (religious leaders) and santri (students) from Pesantren Sukamanah and Sukahideng across various sectors, such as government, has led to alumni assuming leadership roles in public agencies or divisions. This distribution of influence allows policies set by the Kiyai (from both Sukamanah and Sukahideng) to be more heard and effectively implemented. Dadan Bardan, an alumni of Pesantren Sukamanah and the Vice Chairman of BAZNAS Tasikmalaya, refers to this as the "Sukamanah Connection" or "Sukahideng Connection." He explains that when it comes

to Islamic philanthropy, utilizing this network makes it much easier to bring about change or mobilize action. (Dadan Bardan, personal communication, November 4, 2024).

According to Bourdieu's theory, the possession of economic and social-cultural capital allows actors to hold special positions. If utilized effectively, this capital can ensure the sustainability and even growth of the Islamic philanthropy movement in Kabupaten Tasikmalaya. The dominance of the santri and kiyai actors, coupled with the widespread network of alumni across various sectors, creates a strong foundation for the movement. This network provides both the resources and influence necessary for continued development and success in Islamic philanthropy in the region.

Strategy and Symbolic Violence

The Islamic philanthropy movement in Kabupaten Tasikmalaya has occurred in several periods. The first period used an approach that Latief refers to as a structural and pragmatic strategy. The structural approach is a top-down approach, implemented by the ruling government, to encourage the community to fulfill their religious and political obligations. Meanwhile, the pragmatic approach emphasizes the simplification of zakat practices, which are considered religious practices by many Muslims, applied for the optimization or mobilization of zakat (Latief, 2017).

Latief explains in simple terms that this approach emphasizes the payment of zakat through institutions designated by the government, which has two functions: the function of being a good Muslim (fulfilling religious obligations) and the function of being a compliant citizen (abiding by government regulations). One indicator of this approach, according to Latief, is that the government, with its authority, can deduct the salaries of its employees for zakat payments that have reached the nisab threshold and for infak payments that have not yet reached the

nisab, to the philanthropic institutions designated by the government. The deduction is done automatically or via payroll every month. This approach has been successful for structural ASN (civil servants), but for functional ASN, it has not yet been fully realized.

The second period was initiated by Dadan Bardan, who became the Deputy Chairman for Collection Affairs (a student of KH Acep Thahir Fuad). He began collaborating with organizations that have authority over teachers and education, namely the PGRI (Indonesian Teachers Association) of Tasikmalaya Regency. He partnered with the Chairman of PGRI, Akhmad Djuhana, who still had family ties with the Miftahul Huda Manonjaya Pesantren, and Jajang Iskandar, to serve as advisors for the UPZ (Zakat Collection Unit) within the PGRI branch in 39 sub-districts.

Symbolic violence is evident in how BAZNAS Tasikmalaya utilizes two forms of authority and dominance: PGRI (Indonesian Teachers Association) for functional civil servants (ASN) and the network of alumni, students, and Kyai (Islamic scholars). This is used to recruit muzakki (zakat payers) and munfiq (donors) from among teachers. In every socialization activity conducted by BAZNAS Tasikmalaya and PGRI, the same team is deployed. Dadan Bardan and Muhammad Dian from BAZNAS aim to instill the values and ideology related to zakat, infaq, and sadaqah, along with their benefits when fulfilled through BAZNAS Tasikmalaya. This message is then echoed by alumni from Sukamanah and Sukahideng to persuade their peers. PGRI sends H. Akhmad Djuhana and Jajang Iskandar, who, as top figures in the teaching profession, ensure that the implementation will follow the proper process and that the benefits will be felt by the teachers, both individually and organizationally.

This strategy seems to have been successful and has become a model for the socialization of zakat, infaq, and sadaqah. The

network capital of the santri and kyai, especially from Sukamanah and Sukahideng, was then used to expand the movement of Islamic philanthropy into other sectors, such as businesses and the general public. This movement began to yield results when many members of the community started contributing to fundraising efforts, including entrusting zakat from their businesses and personal donations, which totaled 1 billion IDR through BAZNAS Kabupaten Tasikmalaya.

BAZNAS Kabupaten Tasikmalaya uses a reproduction strategy to improve its position as an institution with credible authority. This includes efforts to receive awards at both national and regional levels. For example, BAZNAS received the BAZNAS Jabar Award 2024 for being the best in fundraising, and also won the National Sharia Economic Festival organized by Bank Indonesia in 2022, specifically in the field of economic empowerment.

BAZNAS Kabupaten Tasikmalaya also employs a strategy of exchange (reconversion), such as organizing meetings with UPZ administrators, where KH Acep Thahir Fuad is invited to explain and share Islamic values, including zakat, infaq, and shadaqah. Regarding the distribution programs, BAZNAS Kabupaten Tasikmalaya continuously strives to accommodate the needs of stakeholders, particularly those related to zakat recipients (asnaf), including initiatives like providing incentives for honorarium teachers and rehabilitating school prayer facilities through collaborations with PGRI. These programs aim to strengthen BAZNAS's position in the hierarchy of the Islamic philanthropy movement.

CONCLUSION

The people of Tasikmalaya Regency exhibit a religious and open character, which is influenced by various interconnected socio-cultural factors. Analyzing this using Bourdieu's theory, the community of Tasikmalaya can be considered quite ideal in

the Islamic philanthropy movement. They possess a positive space/arena with all the resources and cultural values derived from the pesantren (Islamic boarding school). They also internalize the philosophy of being obedient as students of both religion and their teachers. From this, several habitus and philanthropic movements emerged, encouraging the involvement of santri (students) and kyai (religious leaders) in serving society.

Cultural, social, and economic capital, along with a strategy of dominance and cultural awareness, have made key figures—namely the santri (students) and kyai (religious leaders) of Pesantren Sukamanah and Sukahideng—vital players in the Islamic philanthropy movement. Equipped with all of this, the social life of the community is described as religious, with people from various strata feeling a sense of ownership. This has fostered an attitude of mutual respect, contributing to the preservation of traditions and the creation of a more harmonious life.

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