

PHILANTHROPIC ZAKAT FOR EMPOWERING INDONESIA'S POOR:
A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF RECIPIENT EXPERIENCES AT RUMAH ZAKAT

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my parents, Muhammad Lessy and Fatima Lessy, for allowing me to study abroad for seven years, even though they knew it meant that I would be, and was, unable to see them for a last time before they passed away.

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ABSTRACT

Zulkipli Lessy

Philanthropic *Zakat* for Empowering Indonesia's Poor: A Qualitative Study of Recipient Experiences at Rumah Zakat

Existing *zakat* research reports little information about the living conditions of Indonesian *zakat* recipients. This study examined the perceptions of *zakat* recipients at Rumah Zakat, a charitable institution, in Yogyakarta. Semi-structured interviews solicited seven economic empowerment and seven socio-health program respondents' narratives. This data collection method incorporating multiple approaches to data analysis, including phenomenology, revealed that economic empowerment respondents with more education and spousal support could better subsist after utilizing Rumah Zakat's interest-free loans. And, compared to individual efforts or group support, spousal support helped significantly with business growth. These respondents typically earned incomes above the national standard of poverty. As their businesses grew, four respondents planned to employ the jobless. In the socio-health program, respondents had minimal education and incomes that fell below the national standard of poverty. A Rumah Zakat clinic gave these respondents four to five years of free health care services; it also facilitated collaborative learning. Although the services lowered their expenses, three respondents requested food distribution in addition to health care. Respondents benefiting from both programs reported a significant positive impact on their home economies, health, and social lives. Thus, an integrative program offering assistance with micro-credits, health care, food security, and education would better serve the poor.

Margaret E. Adamek, PhD, Committee Chair

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Problem

Standing as the third of the five pillars of Islam,¹ *zakat* is the obligatory religious donation that has been established in the Islamic law or *shari'a*² as the basis for Muslims to be considered faithful believers (Al-Qardawi, 1999). *Zakat* means “growth in purity of the soul through honest actions and dealings” (De Zayas, 2007, p. 3). According to a *hadith* (sayings of the Prophet Muhammad), when assigning Mu'adh ibn Jabal to govern Yemen in the 7th century, the Prophet Muhammad ordered him to levy *zakat* on the rich among the community and to bestow proceeds upon the poor (Al-Bukhari, 1997; Al-Qardawi, 1999; Bonner, 1996; Mattson, 2011). By modern times, Al-Qardawi (1999) and Visser (2009) noted an extension of the purpose of *zakat*, which is now intended to solve social problems and be used to help the poor and the destitute. Visser (2009) maintained that another purpose of *zakat* was to improve Muslim society through education, manpower training, social welfare programs, and economic development projects.

Few studies have examined *zakat*'s role from the *zakat* recipients' point of view because of limited access to recipients, and much of the existing research focuses on management and institutions. This limited access and narrow focus have left a gap in understanding the *zakat* system comprehensively. Part of this researcher's study at the Indiana University School of Social Work was to conduct a survey of Indonesian *zakat*

¹ The other four pillars, which also stand as necessary duties for the Islamic faithful, are *shahada* (testimony), prayers, fasting during *Ramadan*, and pilgrimage to Mecca.

² Islamic law or *shari'a* is the code of conduct in the Qur'an and *hadith* (sayings of the Prophet Muhammad). Muslims believe that *shari'a* is derived from two primary sources of Islamic law: the precepts set forth in the Qur'an, and the examples set by the Prophet Muhammad or *sunna*.

donors. This survey examined two forms of *zakat*, one called *zakat fitr*, which is based on food needs, and the other called *zakat maal*, which is based on disposable wealth. The survey found that donor respondents gave *zakat fitr* (63%) and *zakat maal* (29%) directly to mosques and contributed *zakat fitr* (47%) and *zakat maal* (53%) to the poor instead of giving to LAZIS institutions or BAZIS boards³ (Lessy, 2010). One reason most of the donor respondents preferred giving to mosques or individuals was the difficulty they faced in finding the availability of *zakat* institutions, so they gave their *zakat* to individuals from their poor extended families and neighbors (Lessy, 2010). Another survey also revealed that 39% of donor respondents preferred giving *zakat* to individuals because of a lack of trust of institutions (PIRAC,⁴ 2004). These direct methods have led to inadequate distributions of *zakat* funds because giving *zakat* to mosques and individuals will not address *zakat* recipients' long term needs. Hence, research is needed to investigate methods of *zakat* giving that empower as many recipients as possible.

The initial research into *zakat* for the poor found that *zakat* researchers in Indonesia focused on anecdotal research, a sharing of experiences, rather than rigorous research; therefore, it was necessary to conduct qualitative inquiries to better understand the conditions of the impoverished, emphasizing women in poverty (Lessy, 2011). To this end, research is needed to explore the personal experiences of this poor population who receive *zakat* funds and participate in Rumah Zakat's economic empowerment and socio-health programs. Additionally, interviewing this population to understand their situations of impoverishment is needed to suggest best *zakat* practices for Rumah Zakat.

³ In this study, the word *institution* (*lembaga*) is used for indicating the non-government organizations, such as LAZIS (*Lembaga Amil Zakat, Infaq, dan Shadaqa*) in order to make it distinct from the governmental sponsored organizations' board (*badan*), such as BAZIS (*Badan Amil Zakat, Infaq, dan Shadaqa*). Rumah Zakat is one of the LAZIS institutions.

⁴ PIRAC stands for Public Interest Research and Advocacy Center, a non-profit organization.

This initial research also found that *zakat* research in Indonesia is basic and practical. It is not generally embedded in any theoretical framework, such as phenomenology (Lessy, 2011). Therefore, conducting theory-based inquiries to investigate the perspectives of *zakat* recipients at Rumah Zakat is necessary to guide Indonesian social workers in understanding the life knowledge of the *zakat* recipients and in establishing the efficacy of empowerment programs to reduce the recipients' dependency on *zakat*. Such life knowledge often challenges standard preconceptions about the ways in which social workers can provide assistance (Krumer-Nevo, 2005, 2008).

Exploring life knowledge of Rumah Zakat's recipients and learning to listen well to their stories and interpret them, as well as retell their narratives is necessary because, according to the Badan Pusat Statistik or BPS⁵ (2011), the number of the Indonesian population living below the national poverty line is 33 million or 13% of the total population (246 million). Rumah Zakat programs, including economic empowerment and socio-health services, are designed for these recipients. These programs are comprised of training, education, health care, and micro-finance loans intended to help impoverished recipients economically and socially so that they can overcome disadvantages and be able to independently support themselves and their families (Dobias, 2002; Lessy, 2011; Rumah Zakat, 2011).

Context of the Problem

This researcher lived in several larger cities which are located on the island of Java, such as Jakarta and Surabaya, which hold more than 30 million of the 246 million Indonesians (CIA World Factbook, 2011). This researcher observed many slums and saw

⁵ An official statistical board of the Indonesian government.

beggars soliciting *zakat* alms from door to door. To make a living, these beggars scrambled for what little food was available. At the end of the fasting month of *Ramadan*,⁶ the researcher observed that the poor stood in long lines to receive *zakat* funds at mosques or private donors' houses. The researcher wondered why those poor continued to beg alms in these traditional ways even though the government had supposedly established programs for poverty alleviation through its semi-autonomous *zakat* collecting boards called BAZIS (*Badan Amil Zakat, Infaq, dan Shadaqa*) (Abdullah, 1991). Part of the explanation is that the government's role is limited. Hence, LAZIS institutions have initiated their empowerment programs for the poor since 1999 (Al-Falah, 2011; Dobias, 2002; Dompot Dhuafa, 2011; Rumah Zakat, 2011). Despite this, previous research revealed little information about the impact of LAZIS programs, including Rumah Zakat; therefore, further research to address this issue is needed.

The *Undang-Undang Dasar 1945* (the Indonesian Constitution), a non-*shari'a* law,⁷ governs Indonesia's thirty-three provinces. Initially, the Indonesian tax system developed secularly without clearly embedding *zakat*, but the Indonesian Constitution has been adapted over time to reflect evolving social needs. This included the establishment of Islamic charity systems and social work initiatives (Hakim, 2010). However, the Constitution is a secular document that does not incorporate the *shari'a* law. Therefore, Indonesian Muslims have not attained the expected potential of national *zakat* collection because they lack clarity about how to fulfill their obligations as donors (Bamualim, 2009).

⁶ *Ramadan*, the fasting month, is the ninth month in the Islamic lunar calendar. Muslims believe that giving *zakat fitr* or *zakat maal* during the *Ramadan* is more blessing.

⁷ The *Undang-Undang Dasar 1945* is the state constitution established in 1945 after Indonesia proclaimed its independence from the Netherlands. Most of the laws in the Constitution were inherited from the Dutch colonial government. Since then, however, the Constitution has accommodated current social needs.

Historically, in other Islamic cultures, the practice of *zakat* has varied over time and place, and it has usually been implemented by state structures. Islamic governments provide protection and guidance for *zakat* which functions as a tax to support the states' income and expenditures (Al-Qardawi, 1999; Bonner, 2003; Cole, 2003; Gusfahmi, 2007; Mattson, 2003). In non-Islamic governments, the *zakat* giving is practiced by communities when it is not explicitly included in the state's tax system. In Indonesia, Muslims pay taxes to the state as an obligation based on the Constitution, and additionally, they pay *zakat* to poor individuals, mosques, orphanages, or charity foundations as a religious imperative according to the *shari'a* law (Alfitri, 2006). In 2001, Indonesia decentralized the national collection of *zakat* funds, so the country's regencies and municipalities became the key administrative units responsible for most government services (CIA World Factbook, 2011). This involved 33 BAZIS boards collecting and distributing *zakat* funds (Abbas, 2010).

Indonesia's *zakat* continues to be collected and distributed through the semi-autonomous boards (BAZIS) and the autonomous institutions (LAZIS). However, in both scenarios, it remains difficult to find research focusing on the narratives of *zakat* recipients because analyses of *zakat* research have stressed theories, legal details, economic functions, management issues, donation types, or recipient duties (Al-Ghazali, 1974; Al-Qardawi, 1999; Asnaini, 2012; Chalikuzhi, 2009; Khairah, 2011; Singer, 2008). Some empirical investigations have examined several *zakat* institutions in Indonesia's three provinces: the Capital District of Jakarta, West Java, and Lampung (Anriani & Beik, 2010; Purnamasari, Hartoyo & Beik, 2010; Thani & Beik, 2010 cited in Beik, 2011) and (Beik, 2010). Other research has studied the Indonesian political dynamics

that prompted the Indonesian government to regulate *zakat* collections and distributions (Buehler, 2008; Salim, 2006, 2008a). However, little research has focused on recording the narratives of *zakat* recipients with regard to the role and impact of *zakat* on their lives.

Al-Ghazali (1974) discussed *zakat* recipients' duties in the medieval era of Islam (C.E., 1058-1111), but he did not examine the responses of *zakat* recipients with regard to *zakat* they received. Al-Ghazali (1974) determined four duties of *zakat* recipients. The first duty of recipients was to thank God that *zakat* was given for the purpose of relieving their woes. The second duty of recipients was to wish the givers well. The third duty of recipients was to examine what they received and make sure *zakat* was not obtained unlawfully. The last duty was to be grateful for what they received from *zakat* donations. Al-Ghazali (1974) focused more on the obligation of *zakat* recipients than on their need for *zakat* and the extent to which they benefited from it.

Al-Ghazali (1974) maintained that in the era of medieval Islam, *zakat* recipients were obligated to consider the amount of their givers' obligations. If a *zakat* recipient learned that he or she was offered more than one-eighth of the entire *zakat* collection, then he or she was obligated to refuse to accept it because it exceeded the amount of that recipient's entitlement. Al-Ghazali's point followed eight categories of recipients in the Qur'an who are entitled to *zakat* funds (Appendix A). This researcher questions whether, if a *zakat* manager's economic needs are adequately met, it is necessary for him or her to receive the same portion as the poor. The absence of rigorous study on the compliance of the poor throughout the history of Muslims might have resulted in an ineffective treatment of the poor. Analyses of *zakat* distribution according to people's needs would

allow social workers in Indonesia to suggest appropriate amounts and procedures for *zakat* giving to BAZIS boards or LAZIS institutions.

Lack of narratives of *zakat* recipients as a guide for the Indonesian *zakat* system occurs due to the fact that Islamic philanthropy in the Muslim world--from the medieval era of Islam to the 20th century--has been characterized by a focus on givers but not an assessment of the needs of recipients. Kozlowski (1998) asserted that there is a need for reformation in the Muslim philanthropic system because, in this system, givers considered their donations as a vehicle to be closer to God; therefore, they paid little attention to the need to empower recipients. The 20th century saw the rise of the influence of Western philanthropy, e.g., the establishment of the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations. Because of this establishment, since the 1980s, some Muslim scholars, such as Al-Qardawi (1999) and De Zayas (2007), have interpreted the Qur'an texts with the intent of modernizing *zakat* systems in Muslim communities, laying the foundation of modern outlooks on Islamic philanthropy.

In the Indonesian modern era, several *zakat* laws were enacted, but they were more responsive to the needs of rulers, donors, and institutional managers than to *zakat* recipients (Lessy, 2011). This may reflect decision-makers' biases of overlooking the basic needs of recipients. Muhtada (2007) investigated the views of managers at Rumah Zakat on their service to *zakat* recipients and found that the managers based their discussions only on scriptural texts and not on the actual needs of the recipients. This resulted in *zakat* recipients being deprived of the assistance that would promote long term poverty eradication. Today, 33 million Indonesians continue to live in poverty (BPS, 2011); thus, more research is needed to investigate *zakat* recipients' needs in relation to

zakat collections and distributions. Researchers should also examine what recipients actually receive and determine whether that support moves them from *zakat* reliant to becoming socially and financially independent.

Purpose of the Study

The diverse background of *zakat* scholars--Islamic studies, public policy, and social welfare--has contributed to a variety of perspectives on *zakat*. Most of their work was based on qualitative research and has included some descriptive methods. Midgley (1984) first highlighted the function of *zakat*, which is to lay the foundation of Islamic welfare. However, some contemporary *zakat* scholars, such as Hasan (2006) and Hud (2006), seem to study *zakat* through dogmatic and legal perspectives. They focused more on the theological aspects of *zakat* than on modern outlooks to improve the *zakat* systems in Muslim communities (Lessy, 2011). More research is needed to examine the perspectives of *zakat* recipients for developing the *zakat* systems, and to investigate if *zakat* funds can empower recipients to become financially independent, such as using *zakat* monies for providing entrepreneurial training and job opportunities and giving medical services. For this purpose, by using qualitative methods, this research seeks to discover the living conditions of *zakat* recipients, understand how these recipients construct knowledge about themselves, and gather their evaluation of the *zakat* system at Rumah Zakat in order to propose improvements in collection and distribution of *zakat*.

Objectives of the Study

This exploratory dissertation research investigated perceptions of *zakat* recipients at Rumah Zakat and examined their perspectives about *zakat* with regard to issues related

to fulfilling their basic necessities and improving their self-sufficiency. In order to effectively attain the best results, this researcher established the following objectives:

- To document participants' personal background, including economic history before and while receiving *zakat*,
- To examine how *zakat* was used in participants' families, and how Rumah Zakat has influenced their lives,
- To review satisfaction levels of participants in Rumah Zakat programs with regard to fulfilling their basic needs and achieving their goals.

Research Questions

To address these objectives, a questionnaire (Appendix B) was designed to specifically determine recipients' background, the role of *zakat*, and recipients' experience and assessment of Rumah Zakat. In addition, to present the results of this research more precisely, the researcher summarized the questionnaire into three major topics:

- What factors led *zakat* recipients to seek financial and health support from Rumah Zakat?
- What roles did *zakat* play in recipients' lives?
- How satisfied were *zakat* recipients with Rumah Zakat programs?

Importance of the Study

In 1998, the state of Indonesia collapsed because President Soeharto (1966-1998) did not maintain economic development (Beard & Dasgupta, 2006; Suryahadi & Sumarto, 2001). The income rate per individual was low; no single civil servant could live by his or her governmental income alone because the official income amounts were

only sufficient to meet approximately half of his or her essential monthly needs (Quah, 2003). This situation led to an increase in the number of the poor (Brown, 2006; Lukman, 2009). By March 2010, 13% or 33 million of 246 million Indonesians lived below the national poverty line; 36% lived in urban areas, and 64% lived in rural areas. Based on the current policy of the government, only an individual who earned less than Rp 5,000 (50 cents) per day could be categorized as poor or destitute (BPS, 2011).

Stampedes and the trampling of the poor seeking *zakat* alms, mainly women, have occurred during *zakat* distributions to the masses which resulted in hundreds of *zakat* recipients injured and 21 among them died (Boediwardhana, 2008; Gilling, 2008; Latief, 2009). These incidents indicated that the traditional method of *zakat* distribution required review in order to prevent future incidents. The poor still come to seek *zakat* in LAZIS institutions or private donors' houses, and usually during Indonesian Muslim festivals of *Ied Fitr*⁸ and *Ied Adha*⁹ when *zakat* is favorably distributed. Because of the stampedes, the status of *zakat* alms seekers is unclear; therefore, establishing a fair and transparent determination of who should and should not receive *zakat* is challenging. The lack of a fair poverty measurement system in LAZIS institutions may create further problems in distribution of *zakat*. Thus, more research is needed to understand how to distribute *zakat* in a safer manner.

Another problem is that men are the dominant gender collecting, managing, and distributing *zakat*. Women's victimization is not the consequence of their fate but of men's cultural domination. Stampedes and the trampling of the poor in *zakat* alms

⁸ A holiday celebrating the end of fasting during the month of *Ramadan*.

⁹ A holiday for slaughtering animals, such as goats and cows, to benefit the poor; celebrated during the month of *Zulhijja*, the twelfth month in the Islamic lunar calendar.

distributions have been partly the result of insensitivity in men's attitudes toward women because of gender biases. Often, men donors unconsciously want to be closer to God because of their mercifulness to the poor, but devout Muslims should also devote time to considering public safety. *Zakat* donations continue to be distributed during *Ied Fitr* and *Ied Adha* festivals through traditional ways, such as queuing in a long line instead of through check payments.

Because of poverty and destitution, as well as economic gaps among the people and the problems in the distribution of *zakat*, this researcher believes that this study is needed; no research addresses the basic needs of the poor through *zakat*, nor does research measure standards of poverty that Rumah Zakat should follow. Therefore, *zakat* is only given to the poor and the destitute or those who are categorized as the entitled. Empirical studies are needed to better understand what standards are used by Rumah Zakat to fulfill the basic needs of the recipients through *zakat*.

Scope of the Study

This research focused on Rumah Zakat in Yogyakarta, one of the LAZIS institutions in Indonesia and portrayed the distribution system of *zakat*. This research limited its scope to solicit only 14 respondents of the economic empowerment and socio-health programs. This sample was not a representation of the whole of Indonesian *zakat* recipients but focused on the practice of *zakat* in Yogyakarta. This research excluded respondents of education and youth programs. Because there was a cycle of target recipients, this research limited its scope to current enrollment recipients who were involved in those programs in the last five years.

Definition of Poverty

The Arabic word to express the condition of poverty is *faqir* which means “a poor person” (Qur’an, al-Qamar: 15). The word *faqir* refers to someone who is “needy, insufficient, and dependent” on God as the provider of necessities (Singer, 2008, p. 157). The word *faqir* is opposite to the characteristic of God Himself as *ghani* which means “rich, sufficient, and independent” (Gibb & Kramers, 2001, p. 98). The term *faqir* also encompasses “indigent, penury, neediness,” and people whose wealth is, in spite of their best work or because of physical disability, insufficient to adequately support the basic material necessities of life (De Zayas, 2007, p. 228). Holman (1978) defined the term *poor* as those whose means may be sufficient but are “barely sufficient enough for decent independent life” (p. 3). Al-Qardawi (1999) and Bewley and Abdalhakim-Douglas (2001) further explicated the term *faqir* to be those who have some means of support but not sufficient to cover their needs, or persons who are in need but are also modest enough not to beg. They may have income, but it is not sufficient to cover the basic living expenses for themselves and their families.

Scholars compared the term *faqir* that comes from the context of pre-Islam era in the 7th century when Islamic scholars claimed the Qur’an was revealed in Mecca (Sanneh, 1976) and the term *pauper* that originates in the history of Europe’s Middle Ages (Mollat, 1986; Singer, 2008). The term *pauper* indicates someone who has nothing and does not (or is not able to) work. Without help, he or she is unable to scrape together even a day’s subsistence (Singer, 2008). Mollat (1986) offered the word *pauper* instead of poor as a person who permanently or temporarily has found himself or herself in a

situation of weakness, dependence, or humiliation, without the means to empowerment and social esteem.

Most importantly, the word *pauperism* is not limited only to lack of food, money, or one's clothing budget, but also includes the lack of nobility of birth, relation, personal freedom, dignity, influence, power, knowledge, skill, or ability to sustain life. The word *pauperism* also indicates a person's status, regardless of time, region, or social setting, such as the frustrated, the misfit, the antisocial, or the marginal (Mollat, 1986). Thus, social assistance is necessary to help paupers to improve their lives because they lack the means of subsistence. The term *pauperism* is broader than the term *faqr* (poverty) because *pauperism* encompasses multiple dimensions of human need, whereas *faqr* describes the situation of impoverishment in which one lacks means to meet his or her basic needs.

Definition of Destitution

The Arabic word to express the condition of destitution is *maskin* or "a destitute person," which refers to one who owns nothing (De Zayas, 2007, p. 284). De Zayas (2007) maintained that the term *maskin* or the indigent includes those whose wealth is, in spite of their best attempt or due to some physical constraints, either totally lacking or so deficient as to deprive them of the basic material necessities of life. Alshech (2003) stated that the destitute were people who had no property and no income. They might find themselves in this situation due to a calamity that had befallen them or a disability that prohibited them from generating income, or they may have owned property which they no longer have access to.

Bonner (2005) claimed that a *miskin* is a needy person, one who barely has the means to cover the most basic needs. The word *miskin* includes the working poor, who, despite their labors, cannot make ends meet, as well as people who have been well off and are now unable to maintain themselves at their accustomed level, as dictated by their status. Similarly, Holman's (1978) definition of *miskin* referred to the term *very poor* or those who are chronically poor, which indicates those whose means are insufficient for attaining their basic needs.

The term *faqir* denotes the poor or paupers, whereas the term *miskin* refers to the destitute and the very poor. According to *shari'a*, both the *faqir* and *miskin* are exempt from being *zakat* donors. A general definition of poverty has been determined by Rumah Zakat as individuals who need help to relieve their economic burdens and maintain basic needs, such as fulfilling daily necessities of food, housing, and clothing (interview with Pak Didik).¹⁰ Rumah Zakat has a specific standard to determine poverty and destitution as those whose earnings are below their needs and who do not have a house to live in nor a car or motorcycle (interview with Agung Nugroho).¹¹

United Nations' Standard of Poverty

Over the last few years, although the standard of poverty analysis has been pinpointed at \$2 a day,¹² new non-monetary approaches to poverty analysis have also been used, such as social exclusion, hunger, or malnutrition (United Nations, 2009). These non-monetary standards are also used because the definitions of poverty have changed over the years, ranging from focusing on inadequate physical needs, such as

¹⁰ Pak Didik was the head of Integrative Community Development of Rumah Zakat Yogyakarta. This interview took place in the Rumah Zakat office on December 12, 2011.

¹¹ Agung Nugroho was an officer of community partnership for Rumah Zakat. This interview took place in his library on March 25, 2012.

¹² The \$ symbol represents U.S. dollar.

health and life expectancy, to self-development and social needs, such as education and participation (Misturelli, 2010). The term *needs* not only denotes physical and material assets or subsistence but also refers to service provisions. One may have fulfilled his or her basic needs but still must fulfill his or her psychological or social needs (Maslow, 1999).

Social exclusion, the first alternative approach to poverty analysis, can be divided into four categories. The first category is limited capability of individuals, families, and communities to possess endowments and assets because of lack of social opportunities. The second category is the exclusion of some people from economic activities, which can hamper their ability to generate income and exercise their economic rights. The third category is poverty caused by the prohibition of obtaining social security and satisfying basic needs, such as food, housing, education, or health. The fourth category occurs when individuals, families, and communities have been denied equality and justice, which have prevented them from exercising their political rights (United Nations, 2009).

In addition to social exclusion, the United Nations (2009) also believes that hunger and malnutrition are the main symptoms of poverty. According to the United Nations (2009), the number of people who are poor and hungry worldwide is “963 million or approximately 14.6% of the world’s 6.6 billion population today, and most of these hungry people live in developing countries” (p. 1). Because hunger affects people’s health and threatens their lives, the United Nations (2009) considers it important to fulfill this basic need. The Food and Agricultural Organization (1996) emphasized nutrition insecurity leading them to recommend people follow dietary guidelines. Securing adequate food and nutrition is not merely essential for people’s survival but also for the

maintenance of their health and functions. It is clear that the percentage of the world's poverty was sufficient to determine that helping those who are hungry and poor in developing countries requires social solidarity through international cooperation (Dudziak, 2005; Ellwood, 1993; Leonard, 1997). Included in the concept of social solidarity is that *zakat* institutions in wealthy communities or countries should help the destitute in poor Muslim communities or countries (Dusuki, 2007). Thus, *zakat* collection and distribution globally could be beneficial for Indonesian social workers to help the poor.

Indonesia's Standard of Poverty

Economic development during the reign of President Soeharto (1966-1998) was high by the standards of Indonesian modern history (Brown, 2006; Thomas, 1990). But it had not found its parallel in the success of democracy and civic society because the state had severely limited public participation in politics and criticism of the government and effectively curtailed opportunities for public protest. Some people were even skeptical of development programs under Soeharto because poverty was perpetuated by his programs due to the unequal distribution of welfare among Indonesians. There were economic discrepancies between the urban and rural citizens and between those who lived on the island of Java and those who lived on other islands. In the era of President Soeharto, only his cronies and other elite enjoyed much of the state's welfare. The 1998 civic power movement then toppled Soeharto's presidency (Beard & Dasgupta, 2006). By that time, an economic crisis had struck Indonesia, and the number of poor people began to increase (Suryahadi & Sumarto, 2001).

Banerjee and Duflo (2008) found that 55% of Indonesian households had a daily consumption rate of less than \$2, which falls under the United Nations' standard of poverty. However, under the current policy of the Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS) (2011), only Indonesians who spend less than Rp 5,000 (50 cents) per day are categorized as poor. The BPS (2011) reported that as of March 2010, 33 million of the 246 million people lived below the national poverty line. Moreover, the monetary standard established by the United Nations and the BPS to measure the levels of poverty cannot be used by BAZIS boards or LAZIS institutions because these institutions and, particularly, Rumah Zakat must establish a local standard to accommodate only those who are truly poor, destitute, and deprived.

For the purpose of analysis, this researcher used the definition of poverty that identifies the poor as an individual instead of a household who earns less than Rp 5,000 (50 cents) per day. This individual does not have a house, nor does he or she have a car or motorcycle (interview with Agung Nugroho).¹³ Rumah Zakat mandated its workers, volunteers, or mentors in a neighborhood to observe those who are destitute in order to determine the poverty status of recipients (interview with Noviyanto).¹⁴ This researcher also followed the criteria of poverty and destitution outlined by the United Nations in which poverty is indicated by several conditions of individuals, such as social exclusion, lack of education and opportunities in public decision-making, and the individual's economic status (United Nations, 2009).

¹³ This interview took place in the respondent's library on March 25, 2012.

¹⁴ This interview took place in the respondent's house on February 26, 2012.

Definition of *Zakat*

Standing as the third of the five pillars of Islam, *zakat* is the obligatory religious donation all Muslims must make to subsidize social establishments and the welfare of the poor. Literally, the word *zakat* is derived from the Arabic verb *zaka* meaning “to improve, to purify, and to increase” (Al-Qardawi, 1999, p. xliii). The definition of *zakat* then gradually evolved from its early origins to currently mean “blessing, growth, cleanliness, or betterment” (Al-Qardawi, 1999, p. xliii; Bewley & Abdalhakim-Douglas, 2001, p. 18; De Zayas, 2007, p. 3). Al-Qardawi extended the definition, quoting *Lisan al-‘Arab*, to state that the root of the word *zakat* in Arabic includes “cleanliness, growth, blessing, and praise” (Al-Qardawi, 1999, p. xliii). All these meanings of the word *zakat* are used in the Qur’an and *hadith*. The Qur’an states, “Take their goods as *shadaqa* (*zakat*) to cleanse and purify them thereby, and pray over them” (Qur’an, at-Tawba: 103); also, “What you give for usury that it may increase amongst the wealth of the people will gain no increase with God; but what you give as *zakat* desiring that favour of God--these are the ones who gain the double” (Qur’an, al-Rum: 39). The two verses explain by giving *zakat* to the needy, Muslims will cleanse their souls and their properties. From their properties, there is a part that should be given to the needy. In addition, when giving *zakat* as pure charity, Muslims will gain double rewards from God.

A consensus among the majority of authors implies that the root *zakat* means increase and growth. With respect to plants, *zakat* means to grow, and with respect to material goods, *zakat* means to increase. But since plants grow only if they are clean of insects and other detriments, then the word *zakat* suggests cleanliness and cleansing. If the word *zakat* is used with respect to persons, *zakat* then means betterment and

righteousness, and this indicates that the person has good character. The word *zakat* can also act as a verb “*zaka*.” For example, to say that a judge “*zaka*” witnesses means he or she decides their testimony is credible (Al-Qardawi, 1999).

Zakat, as required of all Muslims, takes several forms, depending on purpose and use for the recipients and on source and valuation from the donors. The two forms of *zakat* primarily examined in this research are *zakat fitr* and *zakat maal*.

Definition of *Zakat Fitr*

Zakat fitr, which is usually paid at the end of the fasting month of *Ramadan*, is the annual donation equal to one-day’s food expenditure for solvent Muslims (Adnan, 2009). According to Al-Qardawi (1999, p. 24), the word *fitr* means “returning to purity.” *Zakat fitr* was obligated to Muslims in 624 in Medina as self-purification for fasters and happiness for the poor on the Day of the Feast (*Ied Fitr*). Distinct from other forms of *zakat*, *zakat fitr* is levied on persons and not on wealth or income. Each Muslim may choose to pay *zakat fitr* in money or in food which is required to equal to the donor’s typical daily expenditure for food (Al-Bukhari, 1997). A *zakat fitr* payment is the cash equivalent of 2.5 kg (one *sa*’) of the local staple food, such as rice, wheat, lentils, or corn (Al-Bukhari, 1997). This amount is equivalent to a *hadith* reported by Ibn Umar, who stated, “The Prophet Muhammad imposed the *zakat* of breaking the fast of *Ramadan*, making it one *sa*’ of dates or one *sa*’ of barley, on every Muslim, free or slave, male or female” (Al-Qardawi, 1999, p. 570). In modern times, some Muslims have converted the staple foods into money to be given as *zakat fitr*. For example, in 2010, some Muslims in Indonesia paid their *zakat fitr* as Rp 20,000 (\$2). In the same year, Muslims in the United States paid \$8 (Rp 80,000) as their *zakat fitr* (ISNA, 2010) in accordance with to the

economic standards of this wealthier country. In both societies, *zakat fitr* is paid directly to the poor or through *zakat* collecting institutions. Muslims who cannot pay *zakat fitr* because their daily consumption is below the local standard of living then qualify to receive *zakat (mustahiq)*.

Definition of *Zakat Maal*

The Arabic noun *maal* means goods or wealth. *Zakat maal* is an alms-tax levied on one's productive wealth that has been held for at least one lunar year. It is calculated in the form of a certain percentage levy for each taxable asset after allowing for spending on basic needs. The typical rate levies of *zakat maal* are 2.5% on productive assets, such as merchandise items, and 5% on irrigated crops, and 10% on non-irrigated crops at harvest (De Zayas, 2007; Kuran, 1986; Wilson, 2004). Wheeler (2004) provided the list of items on which *zakat maal* is determined by Muslim jurists: two types of minerals (gold and silver not used for ornamentation); four types of animals (camels, cows, sheep, and goats); two types of grain (wheat and barley); two types of produce (dried dates and raisins). Wheeler (2004) stated that a number of Muslim jurists specified *zakat maal* be levied on these items only. However, some of these foods are not found in regions with tropical climates. *Shari'a* allows Muslims in these regions to pay *zakat maal* in the form of local staples, such as rice (Al-Qardawi, 1999).

To determine the value of *zakat maal* to be given, a *hadith* (sayings of the Prophet Muhammad) from the 7th century assigned an exact monetary value (*nisab*) that Muslims are not required to pay *zakat maal* if their wealth's value is less than 143.3 g of silver or 180 kg of food (Al-Bukhari, 1997). In the present day, Kodir (2004) noted that Indonesian *nisab* is reinterpreted for ordinary earnings and salaries, and it requires

Muslims to pay *zakat maal* when their annual income exceeds established threshold.

Farmers pay *zakat maal* when their earnings are more than Rp 2,000,000 (\$200) or about 653 kg of rice during each harvest, and office workers should pay *zakat maal* when their net annual income is more than Rp 6,800,000 (\$680) (Kodir, 2004).

This researcher used the aforementioned definitions of *zakat fitr* and *maal*. There is no difference in opinions about *zakat* among Muslims with regard to both types and amounts of *zakat* payments. Therefore, the researcher used the definitions of *zakat* that are commonly accepted by Muslims. One of these definitions means 2.5% is taken from one's properties for *zakat maal* and money or food equal to a single day consumption for *zakat fitr*, during or at the end of *Ramadan*. This researcher did not examine the amount of *rupiah* Rumah Zakat received from donors but examined whether the income of *zakat* recipients was below the standard of living. By investigating the income of the respondents, this researcher determined whether respondents were entitled to *zakat*.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Zakat in the Early Era of the Middle East

Zakat, the third pillar of Islam, addresses social-financial duties to Muslims (Al-Qardawi, 1999). The other four pillars, which also stand as necessary duties for the Islamic faithful, are *shahada* (testimony), prayers, fasting during *Ramadan*, and pilgrimage to Mecca (Lapidus, 2002; Senturk, 2007; Shariati, 2007; Singer, 2005). In 610 (C.E.), God revealed these five pillars to the Prophet Muhammad in Mecca. In the earliest Islamic tradition, God praised the pious who fed the poor and destitute even though God had not yet imposed *zakat* on Muslims (Lapidus, 2002; Qur'an, al-Ma'un: 1-7).

In 622, the Prophet Muhammad and his companions resettled in Medina because the pagan Quraysh tribe had persecuted them in Mecca. The Prophet Muhammad encouraged Medina Muslims to share their valuable assets, such as livestock, food, clothing, and shelter, with the unfortunate Meccan Muslims. During this time, *zakat maal* became a formalized compulsory transfer system, and Muslims were required to create periodic payments to a common community treasury under the guidance of the Prophet. The *zakat maal* collection became essential to support, among others, Meccan emigrants (Kuran, 2003).

After the Prophet's death in 632, Muslims expanded their territory into North Africa, where *zakat* remained as a respected religious obligation. At the same time, other voluntary gifts became important sources of Muslim community revenue and were stored in the public treasury or the *bayt al-maal*. According to a *hadith* (sayings of the Prophet

Muhammad), when assigning Mu'adh ibn Jabal to govern Yemen, the Prophet Muhammad also ordered him to levy *zakat maal* on the rich among the community and to bestow proceeds upon the poor (Al-Bukhari, 1997; Al-Qardawi, 1999; Bonner, 1996; Mattson, 2011). Weiss (2002) argued that the appointment of Mu'adh established a fundamental teaching for the *zakat maal* mechanism. According to De Zayas (2007), Mu'adh's appointment institutionalized two key aspects of *zakat maal*: (a) the collection of funds, custody of funds in the *bayt al-maal*, and distribution of funds; (b) the establishment of the official legal right and responsibility of a governor to administer *zakat* funds.

The Prophet's successor and the first caliph, Abu Bakr (r. 632-634), further strengthened the state's role in *zakat maal* by vowing that he would fight Muslims who refused to pay *zakat*, because he considered them to be guilty of apostasy (*ridda*). The policy of claiming *zakat maal* under Abu Bakr's administration was similar to the policy of the Prophet because the Prophet oversaw and directed the assessment, collection, and distribution of the revenues by appointing collectors and entrusting the faithful with guarding and dividing it. After the death of the Prophet, Tulayha al-Asadi, along with his clan, was reluctant to pay *zakat*. They assumed that the death of the Prophet was the end of the new religion, even though they still declared their faith in God and continued their regular prayers. The Caliph Abu Bakr interpreted their action as an act of apostasy and undertook an expedition against them to impose the obligation (Al-Qardawi, 1999; Bonner, 2003; Mattson, 2003; Nanji, 1985).

Umar ibn al-Khattab (r. 634-644) was the second caliph. After conquering Egypt, he collected money from *zakat*, *ushr* (land-tax), *shadaqa* as well as goods from the rich

and stored these valuables in the public treasury. Donations were disbursed to recipients, such as the *ulama*,¹⁵ the needy and their children, as well as dependents. The Caliph Umar increased donations and took measures to enforce the legal claim for *zakat* payments. Umar's policy after he conquered Egypt was to maintain the tradition and legal imperative for state assistance to the poor and destitute, as posited by the Qur'an and the *hadith*. The impetus was (and is) to circle back wealth from the rich to the poor via the requirement of *zakat* and by other means (Al-Qardawi, 1999; Bonner, 2003; Cole, 2003; Gusfahmi, 2007; Mattson, 2003). In addition, the Caliph Umar prohibited Muslims from hoarding wealth, especially those who had excess gold (Sabra, 2003). An innovation in Umar's policy, which was not found in the era of the Prophet nor in that of the Caliph Abu Bakr, was the imposition of *zakat maal* as a levy on horses owned by *zakat* payers because he found that horses had become very expensive (Al-Qardawi, 1999).

In the era of the Prophet Muhammad, the Chapter at-Tawba of the Qur'an was interpreted as including *zakat* recipients. However, in the Caliphate eras and afterward, Muslim scholars further interpreted the meaning of this Chapter based on their cultural, social, economic, and political outlooks. Influenced by societal dynamics and the development of science, Muslim jurists' interpretations of this Chapter contributed significantly to *zakat* developments in the modern day. As a result, Islamic philanthropic jurisprudence has been elaborated over time. The notable difference between the perception of *zakat* in the era of the Prophet Muhammad, in the 7th century, and the perception in modern times is that modern interpretations are more contextual to suit modern needs.

¹⁵ The collective term for the scholars or learned of Islam.

When the Caliph Umar invented the new policy (640-644), it allowed the community to increase the public revenue. This policy also inspired an innovation in *zakat* after the First World War occurred when Muslim leaders met in Damascus to discuss drawing 10% from the *zakat* industry. In Indonesia, community organizations have implemented a withholding practice of deducting 2.5% from the salaries of the *zakat* payers (*muzakki*) (Dobias, 2002). However, this practice was never obligated by any government in the Muslim world as had been done in the era of Zia Ul-Haq of Pakistan in the 1960s (Clark, 2001).

According to Singer (2008), the third caliph, Uthman ibn Affan (r. 644-655) decided that collectors could levy *zakat maal* not only on visible property, such as livestock and crops, but also on invisible wealth, such as gold, silver, and money. Payers, however, could pay this invisible wealth *zakat*, which was not strictly assessed, either to the collectors or directly to recipients with no intermediary. Singer (2008) argued that the policy of drawing *zakat* on invisible wealth was the result of collectors' reputation for being greedy in their duties. Singer's argument has been accepted, but another view suggested that because Uthman was a rich caliph with economic visions to manage the state, he utilized societal resources for the public good (Gusfahmi, 2007). This policy was in line with the policy of the Caliph Umar that invisible wealth, such as gold and money, should not be hoarded but should be used for economic development of the state.

In the period of Ali ibn Abi Thalib (r. 656-661), who was the fourth caliph, the governors in Islamic territories were required to levy *zakat* as the Muslim communities expanded to parts of North Africa and Central Asia. The role of the state changed again during this period. *Zakat maal* was still collected, but local *imams* and *qadis* (Islamic

juries) managed the funds. In 661, after the Caliph Ali was assassinated by Mu'awiya (r. 661-680), who became the first caliph of the Umayyad Dynasty in Damascus, Muslims split into two theological sects: (a) the Sunni sect, who were followers of Mu'awiya; (b) the Shiite sect, whose members continued to consider themselves as followers of Ali while denying Mu'awiya's leadership (Visser, 2009). In some ways, the jurisprudence of the Sunni, including the *zakat* system, differs from that of the Shiite (Hodge, 2005). The majority Sunni sect recognizes *zakat* as a religious obligation; but in their history, it has come to be viewed primarily as just another tax levied by the state. The minority Shiite sect, however, considers *zakat maal* to be more an obligation arising from piety than a tax to be paid to temporal governments (Burr & Collins, 2006; Calder, 1981).

Zakat in the Mid-Era of the Middle East

In the subsequent five medieval centuries of the Abbasid Caliphates (750-1258),¹⁶ Muslim communities experienced a variety of *zakat* practices administered under different governmental systems. *Zakat maal* was the foundation of state revenue to be used as the resource for community welfare and support for the military (Alshech, 2003; Hourani, 1991; Kuran, 2003; Lapidus, 2002). Sabra's study (2006) reported that unlike the voluntary giving of *infaq*, *shadaqa*, *waqf*, and *qurban* (Appendix E), the practice of *zakat maal* became the state's responsibility. Some generous individuals might still give *zakat maal* directly to worthy recipients, especially to beggars, but Islamic governments had acquired the legal duty to collect and distribute *zakat*. During this period, many Muslims paid their 2.5% alms-taxes in the form of livestock, grains and fruit, commercial items, gold and silver, as well as other precious metals as annual payments made during

¹⁶ The third of the Islamic caliphates; it was ruled by the Abbasid caliphs, who built their capital in Baghdad.

Muharram, the first month of the Islamic lunar calendar. In this same era, Muslims continued to pay *zakat fitr* to poor individuals or orphanages at the end of *Ramadan*.

The Abbasid Caliphates collected taxes known as *shadaqa al-'Arab*, and tributes from the people in their vast land holding, and the caliphates' local governments usually structured their districts for taxation purposes. The tax collection process depended on organized support from landowners, merchants, and money-changers. The caliphs chose different people to head tax collections and the judiciary in order to ensure that no official would become too powerful. In contrast to the Caliph Uthman's policy of levying an invisible property tax, the governments of the Abbasid times (8th-9th centuries) allowed individuals to pay such taxes at their discretion directly to the poor and to beggars (Afsaruddin, et al., 2004; Lev, 2007).

In the era of medieval Mamluk Egypt, many Cairenes paid *zakat maal* in gold, silver, and commercial items. Meanwhile, the state levied *zakat* on productive assets and also deducted *zakat* from gifts. Once an individual accumulated 200 dirhams or 20 dinars within one year, he or she was required to pay an equivalent of 2.5% from their holdings. In terms of beneficiaries, Sultan Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi (1171) disbursed the money among the poor, debtors, and travelers. After deducting portions for the tax officials, for non-Muslim leaders who aided Islam, for those who were on the path of God, and for slaves, al-Ayyubi deposited the remaining portion in the public treasury or the *bayt al-maal* (Sabra, 2000).

In the era of Egyptian Sultan Malik Aziz (r. 1193-1198), *zakat maal* collectors appropriated the practice of *zakat* to the point where they even levied “*zakat* on a poor man selling salt from a basket on his head” (Sabra, 2000, p. 39). Moreover, in the reign

of Malik Kamil (r. 1218-1238), the portions of *zakat maal* that should have been allocated for the poor were paid instead as salaries to the *ulama* or the scholars of Islam. This situation made the wealthy reluctant to pay tax if they believed that *zakat* should be given only to the eight classifications of recipients specified in the Qur'an, and always including the poor and destitute. As a response to such demurrals, the *zakat* administrators began using harsh methods like those employed by Aziz to impose heavy burdens on citizens. Anyone who refused to pay *zakat maal* was punished, even by death in the case of apostates, or by lesser discretionary punishment in the case of misers. For those who died without paying *zakat maal*, the tax was deducted from legacies (Sabra, 2000).

During the Ottoman Empire, *zakat* evolved together with philanthropic activities, such as the *waqf* system. Motivated by piety, Muslims organized the *waqf* under the auspices of *shari'a* and society. Even though the Qur'an does not require *waqf*, several verses in the holy text advise the faithful to be charitable over and above the requirement to pay *zakat*. Sultan Suleyman I (r. 1520-1566) and his wife, Hurrem, sponsored the construction of mosques, colleges, and public kitchens (*imarets*) to feed the employees of civic endowments, the poor, the miserable, the needy, and the weak. Also, Sultan Suleyman I built *waqf* complexes that included: high schools (*mektebs*), which were attended by poor boy citizens; inns (*caravansarays*), which housed travelers, such as the Muslim pilgrims who journeyed to Mecca for pilgrimage (*hajj*), and community hospitals that served mainly the weaker citizens in society (Sabra, 2006; Shefer, 2003; Singer, 2005, 2008).

Zakat has survived within changing times and places since *shari'a* was first decreed for Muslims in Mecca in the 7th century. The Islamic states had a great role in managing the mechanism of *zakat*. Within its long history, few detailed records have revealed how the Islamic states gave voice to the poor about *zakat* they received. The provision for *zakat* under *shari'a* is similar to law about taxes in modern times. Even though the Qur'an does not explain the explicit mechanism for poverty alleviation objectives, the deepest meaning of *zakat* rests in the Islamic states' structure and functions as wealth circulation among the communities. In the time of the Prophet Muhammad until the late Ottoman Empire, money from *zakat* was mixed with *shadaqa* (voluntary giving). In the second caliph era, Umar established the *waqf* system first in Islam, and it was further developed in the Ottoman Empire. Knowing the conditions of true beneficiaries during eight centuries is difficult; obviously, the poor, the destitute, and the other six recipient categories (Appendix A) were all historically relevant as *zakat* beneficiaries.

Zakat in the Early Era of Indonesia

Islamic kingdoms¹⁷ in the Indonesian archipelago adopted the practice of *zakat* in the Ottoman Empire (1280-1453). In both systems the state collected *zakat maal* only on visible property, such as crops and commodities. *Zakat maal* on invisible property, such as gold, silver, and money, was voluntarily paid. The state collection of *zakat* was not executed by a fixed office in each community, but instead was included in various parts of state administration, any of which could be a tax office or public treasury. *Zakat fitr* continued as a voluntary practice (Fauzia, 2008).

¹⁷ Before Indonesia became a united nation, there existed several dominant Islamic Kingdoms, such as Mataram, Demak, Aceh, Ternate, and Tidore.

Zakat maal functioned as a religious tax system in the early history of Islam. From the 13th to 16th centuries, the Islamic kingdoms in Indonesia apparently emulated the same general system. In the Aceh Kingdom, the local ruler strongly regulated *zakat*, but almost no such regulation operated in the other Islamic kingdoms. The private voluntary practices of *zakat maal* and of *zakat fitr* did remain in existence. In the long run, the state-run *zakat* policies gradually disappeared as the Islamic kingdoms became politically weak (Fauzia, 2008).

Zakat maal systems in those Islamic kingdoms deteriorated for two reasons. The first reason was the weakening of the kingdoms during the Dutch colonization in Indonesia. During the early Dutch era (17th-18th centuries), religious leaders took part in collecting and distributing *zakat*. The Muslim leaders used *zakat* funds to support education and welfare for the people and to resist the Dutch colonization. These practices did not last long because the Dutch administration effectively controlled *zakat* institutions by regulating and limiting Muslim financial sources in *zakat* charity, thereby weakening the struggle against colonization (Salim, 2008b; Susanto, 2003).

The second reason for the decline of *zakat* was due to the fact that Muslims lived in their varied nation states. As a result, the concept of *zakat* was interpreted differently according to the various political, social, and cultural situations. Even though the essence of *zakat* practice was similar to the earlier practices of *zakat* in Islam in the 7th century and afterward, the governments no longer supported the *zakat* system. *Zakat* became a personal matter instead of an official part of the state's affairs. The decline in *zakat* in Indonesia paralleled the European colonial process in which the state imposed taxes but not *zakat* (Fauzia, 2008; Scott, 1987; Singer, 2008; Susanto, 2003; Van Hoven, 1996).

The practice of *zakat* has been known as Islamic philanthropy since the 13th century of the Islamic kingdoms that levied *zakat* on the communities. This practice, to some extent, carried over as an influence by Muslim Arab and Gujarati traders and *sufis* on the indigenous Indonesians. These Islamic propagators persuaded the communities to pay *zakat* which was easier for the communities to accept than the prohibition against drinking alcohol or gambling, among others (Fauzia, 2008). The early Islamic practice of *zakat* was centered at the kings' palaces and mosques, where the kings routinely distributed *zakat* to the people during ceremonial rites. The nature of the Islamic philanthropic tradition did not change even under the subsequent colonial rule (Azra, 2003; Hakim, 2010).

Little evidence showed the institutionalization of *zakat* in the early Islamic kingdoms until the appearance of the Dutch in the 17th century. *Zakat* practice was not officially embodied in the tax system of the kingdoms. The Dutch Advisor for Indonesian Indigenous Affairs, Christian Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936), declined any government practice of *zakat* in the kingdoms. Hurgronje argued that since Muslim traders and *sufi* travelers evangelized Islam culturally, it was, therefore, impossible for them to politically impose *zakat* upon the kings (Salim, 2006; 2008b).

The practice of collecting and disbursing *zakat* among Indonesian Muslims in the 17th century was dominated by direct giving methods. People gave their charity directly to the individuals who were poor and destitute or to members of the other six recipient categories (Appendix A). Salim's study (2006) found that mosque care takers (*ta'mir*), Qur'anic study teachers (*guru mengaji*), and religious leaders (*penghulu*) were intermediaries in this practice. Even though *zakat* by hand was due to all of the entitled,

the greatest portion of *zakat* was given to those who had much respect in the community, such as *ulama* and *qadis*, whose positions as administrators made them legitimately entitled according to the Qur'an. These officials claimed the larger portion because their jobs did not receive money from the rulers, and only a smaller portion was given to the poor and the destitute.

Zakat in the Secular State of Indonesia

After Indonesia proclaimed its independence from the Dutch in 1945, the practice of *zakat* changed several times. In President Soekarno's government (1945-1966), *zakat* was at first maintained largely as it had been practiced in the Dutch colonial government in the late 19th to the early 20th centuries. During this time, Muslims were allowed to fulfill their *zakat* obligation without the Dutch government's intervention, and Muslims did not have official *zakat* institutions as they have now. In the 1950s, Muslims unsuccessfully tried to persuade President Soekarno to establish Islamic law or *shari'a*, and this resulted in a political agreement in what is called the Jakarta Charter.¹⁸ Subsequently, the Muslim demands persisted into President Soeharto's era (1966-1998) and ultimately pushed him to administer *zakat*. The compromise between Muslims and Soeharto did not mandate the BAZIS boards, but Soeharto himself chose to do so. Politically, the establishment of BAZIS was more to meet the interest of power in monopolizing *zakat* collection than to serve people's needs. Because of this monopoly, Salim (2006, 2008a) believed that the BAZIS boards appropriated *zakat* monies that were stored in Soeharto's accounts. However, after Soeharto's government collapsed in 1998,

¹⁸ In the Jakarta Charter, politically minded Muslims were urged not to keep regretting the fact that the state did not have an explicitly Islamic basis. There was an omission from the Indonesian Constitution of the seven words translated into "belief in the one supreme God with the obligation to live according to *shari'a* (Islamic law) for Muslims."

several community organizations formed the LAZIS institutions that have used *zakat* funds to support the poor (Fauzia, 2008).

Indonesia is not a *shari'a* law state but has accommodated social needs by facilitating LAZIS institutions to collect and distribute *zakat* as it previously facilitated its BAZIS, which are semi-autonomous *zakat* collecting boards established by President Soeharto in 1968 at the federal and provincial levels. Even though *zakat* is considered an obligatory religious donation, it is regulated by civic rules, known as *shari'a* by-laws. The state considers *zakat* the obligatory religious donation, as it is required by Islam, but does not impose sanctions against Muslim citizens over their failure to pay *zakat*. Instead, the state has facilitated the payment of *zakat* either through BAZIS boards or LAZIS institutions which were mandated by Act No. 17 (2000). Previously, President B.J. Habibie (1998-2000) issued the first *Zakat* Act, No. 38 (1999), which stated that solvent Muslims and corporate bodies should pay *zakat maal* to the poor or charity foundations. In response to these Acts, community organizations have established LAZIS institutions to facilitate *zakat* payers to claim a tax deduction.

According to the Decision of the Director General of Taxation No. 542 (2001), *zakat* can be considered a tax deduction from one's net income (Tax Directorate General, 2001). Hence, the Indonesian government provided a structure so that Muslims who paid *zakat* could deduct it from their taxes, e.g., Act No. 25 (2010) stipulated *zakat* payments to be tax deductible (cited in Susanto, 2003). However, tax officials have been concerned that making *zakat* tax deductible will drastically reduce tax revenues (Yani, 2010). Some have even reported concern about the possibility of false claims, but there is a lack of studies to confirm this issue. Hence, an effective recordkeeping system for

zakat payments is critical, and regulations that better facilitate BAZIS institutions will maximize the collection of *zakat* funds and their immediate redistributive economic impact that benefits the poor.

Because the success of LAZIS institutions in raising *zakat* monies became public, in 2005, the government attempted to take over the LAZIS. Former Minister of Religious Affairs Maftuh Basyuni proposed that the BAZIS should be the only *zakat* institution that would collect and distribute *zakat*. However, this caused some protest from the LAZIS institutions because they believe that unrealized *zakat* payer potential had been significant, and the number of *zakat* institutions working with society had been too few to meet the needs of both the *zakat* payers (*muzakki*) and the entitled (*mustahiq*). Lessy's research (2009) indicated that LAZIS institutions have historically worked well in serving the poor, and LAZIS officers have proven to be far more effective in collecting and distributing *zakat*. Therefore, the government should not eliminate the roles of LAZIS institutions because they support some of the governmental duties that have not been fulfilled due to the government's limited budget to deal with poverty issues.

Some have suggested that supporting LAZIS institutions are necessary for raising *zakat* monies to help the poor in Indonesia because the government is dependent on taxes (Fauzia, 2008; Salim, 2008). LAZIS institutions could play an important role to fill this gap because the *zakat* potential in Indonesia is tremendous because of the large population (Dobias, 2002). Of the 246 million Indonesians, Muslims constitute 87%, and 40% of these are wealthy enough to offer *zakat* (Doa, 2005). The combination of *zakat* with other voluntary gifts has the potential to generate Rp 19 trillion (\$1.9 billion) yearly to be used to help the needy. In 2009, only Rp 1.2 trillion (\$120 million) was collected

(Bamualim, 2009), and in 2010, Rp 1.5 trillion (\$150 million) was collected, as well as Rp 1.8 trillion (\$180 million) in 2011 (Suara Merdeka, 2012). This prediction included only *zakat* distributions at institutions. The lack of accurate data of *zakat* giving to institutions and the absence of data on direct *zakat* giving to individuals is one reason for this gap, in our knowledge of *zakat* distribution.

Role of *Zakat* in Recipients' Lives

There has been no research that has revealed comprehensively the economic and socio-health conditions of *zakat* recipients. Some recent research has indicated that almost all *zakat* recipients live with an income below the national poverty line, and that the presence of *zakat* empowerment programs reduced the number of the poor (Indonesia Magnificence of Zakat, or IMZ, 2011). Statistics have revealed the improvement of the living conditions of *zakat* recipients, e.g., 62% of the respondents, aged 30 to 31, were found to be productive. Almost all of these recipients had basic skills for generating income. Thus, the potential for poverty eradication would increase if *zakat* institutions targeted this population as recipients. IMZ (2011) noted that of this population, the majority of respondents were breadwinners with jobs, even entrepreneurs, at micro levels. This shows that the *zakat* empowerment programs reached those with such jobs.

IMZ (2009) also revealed that most of the respondents (57%) were married heads of households with spouses present and that the rest of these respondents were single parents, either unmarried or widowed. These respondents headed poor households and had the responsibility of raising children without adequate job support. Furthermore, IMZ (2011) reported that 59.3% of respondents had 4 to 6 persons in their families, and 29.2% of respondents had 1 to 3 persons in their families. The households of the

majority of respondents, by consisting of 4 to 6 persons, mirrored the average Indonesian household size, which is 4.7 persons per family (BPS, 2011). Respondents receiving *zakat* had previously lived below the poverty line, and the presence of *zakat* was able to reduce the level of poverty among the poor (Suara Merdeka, 2012).

IMZ (2011) also reported that 41.5% of respondents had at least six years of elementary school education and worked in informal job sectors without long term guarantees. There was no respondent with education beyond twelve years or high school. Previous research on entrepreneurial respondents did not reveal educational backgrounds because the recruitment process for potential respondents was often not based on credentials pursued by respondents, but was based on their ability to return the capital. With *zakat* increasingly being managed by modern institutions, such as LAZIS, there has been an effort to modernize management so that LAZIS can remain viable in order to sustain the social and economic survival of recipients.

LAZIS and Economic Empowerment

LAZIS are operating for charitable purposes in Indonesia, and LAZIS have several institutions which affiliate with community organizations in society. One of the biggest LAZIS is Dompot Dhuafa, which established its economic empowerment program to encompass two areas: micro-finance loans and small-scale enterprise development. Beik (2011) asserted that this economic empowerment program aims to motivate *zakat* recipients to start businesses and provides beginner entrepreneurs with modest capital. This program also trains recipients in automotive repair, sewing work, and plumbing skills. Furthermore, Dompot Dhuafa has established an Islamic Savings and Credit Cooperative called the *Bayt al-Maal wat Tamwil*, and in partnership with the

Shari'a Credit of Bank Rakyat Indonesia, lends money to *zakat* recipients who want to start businesses. The economic empowerment program also provides interest-free loans to agricultural producers to ensure production continuity and price stability. In addition, working with partner organizations, Dompot Dhuafa provides seed capital and revolving funds (Beik, 2011; Dobias, 2002; Dompot Dhuafa, 2011).

Darut Tauhid, another LAZIS, has an economic program that provides financial and training support for farmers, so they can become independent. Darut Tauhid supports *zakat* recipients through financial aid to renovate their business shops because this assistance helps their gainful activities continue. The method used is to give a revolving loan every month primarily to those who lack a place of business. This economic program also gives micro-finance loans to poor farmers who want to breed sheep (Beik, 2011; Dobias, 2002).

Another LAZIS, Pos Keadilan Peduli Umat (PKPU), has an economic program that lends money to farmers, artisans, retailers, and fishermen who lack resources to start businesses (Dobias, 2002). One recent program, which is called PROSPEK or community economic empowerment, encourages community-based economic empowerment through partnerships. Over the last ten years, PKPU has developed the potential of *zakat* through these partnerships, such as cooperation with health care institutions to help poor families with no access to health care, and collaboration with educational institutions to help unfortunate children and youth. Therefore, they all may have access to health care services and education (Beik, 2011).

In terms of building capabilities, PKPU emphasizes manpower training for recipients, so they can become independent socially and economically. Building skills is

essential to help deprived recipients develop their entrepreneurial efforts. In certain cases, this help can be provided by PKPU through lending capital support, such as interest-free loans, or providing facilities, such as tents, cookware, and utensils, so recipients can run their businesses (Beik, 2011).

The final LAZIS, Bayt al-Maal Bank Rakyat Indonesia, has provided a program since 2009 called community economic empowerment, which operates through giving capital to recipients, including potential small entrepreneurs and agricultural and cattle farmers, who want to start businesses. The Bayt al-Maal Bank Rakyat Indonesia provides loans to individuals and to groups and builds partnerships with them. Capital loans are given priority to enable groups to enhance their income so that they are able to return the loans. In addition, the Bayt al-Maal Bank Rakyat Indonesia helps them promote their products through exhibitions with the aim of increasing independence and competitiveness in the market (Beik, 2011).

Azra (cited in Beik, 2011) claimed that 33 million of the Indonesian poor are eligible for *zakat*. This number is equal to the number of Indonesian poor determined by the BPS (2011). A survey by PIRAC (2004) from 2001 to 2002 reported that the proportion of *zakat* distribution was 53.3% of those eligible, and only 3.3% was distributed by BAZIS and LAZIS. The remaining *zakat* giving was initiated by individuals. However, Azra (cited in Beik, 2011) maintained that over the last ten years, the amount of *zakat* collection rose with a yearly average increase of 38.79%.

Observing *zakat* literature in Indonesia, this study did not find that LAZIS institutions had enough information to report the true conditions of their recipients, nor did *zakat* recipients have ways to reveal the money they received from *zakat* for survival

or the struggle for participating in the institutional programs. Rather, much research focused on management and the nominal amounts of money LAZIS successfully collected, but not on the stories of recipients about *zakat* and what the recipients experienced. Hence, these issues were the focus of this study.

LAZIS and Health Care

In 1998, citizen participants in democracy were enthusiastic about charitable work, as recognized through various community organizations in Indonesian society wanting to help the poor with regard to limitations of the state's capacity. Shortly thereafter, the programs of Dompot Dhuafa and other LAZIS, such as Darut Tauhid and Pos Keadilan Peduli Umat (PKPU), began to focus on promoting the quality of people's health through giving additional nutrition to babies and educating those indigent mothers with insufficient access to health care services. These LAZIS institutions emphasized the importance of consuming healthy food as well with methods that include health services on wheels and programs for general check-ups, dental services, and prenatal care (Beik, 2011).

Rohilah and Nasrullah (2008) reported that Dompot Dhuafa, widely found in the Capital District of Jakarta and West Java Province, was the first of the LAZIS to give free medical services to the poor. Since 2001, Dompot Dhuafa's health clinics have served the poor from diverse backgrounds, including garbage pickers, rickshaw pullers, and street vendors. These people had no ability to pay at public hospitals. The clinics are free of charge for the poor and the destitute, and clinic services are offered only to the poor and the destitute as a parallel to what the rich receive from the public hospitals. One doctor of the Dompot Dhuafa's health clinics explained:

We have discussed the possibility of establishing free clinics for a long time, and eventually we built these free clinics only for the poor because we did not want any differences in smiles and services from doctors and nurses toward those who paid and those who did not pay. So in order to make those who came here smile, we only served the poor and did not receive the rich. The poor usually have been denied by the public hospitals, as the rich are rejected now by the clinics. (Rohilah & Nasrullah, 2008, p. 5)

In order to have access to medical care services, the poor are required to bring photocopies of their household cards and letters of certification from local community leaders stating that the potential applicants are destitute. Dompot Dhuafa evaluates the situations of the applicants, and if the applicants' proposals are accepted, they receive their membership cards, which can be renewed yearly (Rohilah & Nasrullah, 2008). Beik (2011) noted that as of 2011, 150,000 people have visited Dompot Dhuafa's health clinics for medical check-ups and treatment. As general health clinics, Dompot Dhuafa and Rumah Zakat have similar methods of recruitment and processing for applicants to become members. One difference is that Rumah Zakat focuses on pregnant women, who then can bring their husbands and children to become members as well.

Darut Tauhid, another LAZIS, involves the poor in its socio-health program, oversees a yearly charitable event, assists in the process of fostering orphans, supports prenatal care, provides free ambulances for funerals, gives rescue and recovery training to prepare for disasters, and assists in the needs of the disabled (Dobias, 2002). According to Beik (2011), Darut Tauhid enables free health services to the poor who are under treatment in the hospital. This service can be carried out by giving cash to help them afford medical treatment, medication, and transportation.

From interviews and observations, this researcher recognized similarities in programs under LAZIS, including Rumah Zakat, that give health services to the poor.

There is a need for deeper exploration to map differences among LAZIS, but this is not the focus of this research presented herein. From initial study, this researcher did not find any researchers who had surveyed *zakat* recipients in order to reveal and document their lived experiences with *zakat* subsidies in economic initiatives and health programs.

There is a need to give voice to recipients' stories and experiences, including their opinions and personal evaluations of *zakat*, in order to understand whether and how the recipients are assisted by *zakat*.

Current *zakat* research in Indonesia is adequate yet nascent, and it had tended to focus on the success of program implementation and management rather than on effects as perceived by recipients. There have been no in-depth interview studies to reveal *zakat* recipients' needs and wants. Rigorous qualitative research is needed in order to investigate the success of the *zakat* system from the recipients' perspectives. To this end, independent researchers, who have not been involved either in BAZIS boards or LAZIS institutions, need to objectively assess the *zakat* system in order to provide better input for improving the *zakat* system.

Rumah Zakat

Founded in 1998, Rumah Zakat, one of the LAZIS institutions, has become the largest *zakat* collecting institution in Indonesia. As of 2009, Rumah Zakat had collected Rp 107.3 billion (\$10.73 million) from 54,000 donors (Lessy, 2011). With these funds, it has developed programs to address economic needs of impoverished communities and health care for the poor. Economic programs provide non-profit micro-credit and loans that enable poor households to start businesses and change their status from *zakat* recipients to *zakat* donors. Health care treats primarily family-based situations.

Umar (2008) reported that Rumah Zakat developed two methods, namely to give *zakat* funds to the public for building an infrastructure which benefits the needy indirectly and to establish *zakat* programs that benefit needy individuals directly, as in giving food, or clothes, or cash to spend for the other basic necessities. Muhtada's (2007) study found that Rumah Zakat has empowered the poor and has helped them solve some of their problems. However, it has not effectively changed their economic and social status in ways that can overcome human exploitation and injustice in poor Muslim societies. Latief (2010) offered preliminary data on Rumah Zakat program services, such as health care clinics for the poor but did not examine how such programs could empower recipients.

Rumah Zakat's health care programs support service delivery, such as free ambulances and free medical clinics. The Rumah Zakat's partner hospitals provide Rp 500,000 (\$50) toward medical care for the poor who cannot afford hospital fees, while the bulk of the fees are paid by Rumah Zakat. Free medical clinic services include: general check-up, immunization, family planning consultation, nutrition counseling, prenatal care, circumcision for young boys, and tumor and cataract operations. Rumah Zakat also dispatches health care services, including medicine, food, clothes, and tents, for humanitarian aid to victims in disasters and communal conflict zones (Rumah Zakat, 2011).

In general, the use of *zakat* funds by Rumah Zakat has focused on such programs, including economic empowerment and health care. Analyses of LAZIS institutions concluded that these programs seem to follow the trend of *zakat* programs, and that these institutions have overlapping programs, but those issues are not the focus of this study.

Instead, this study starts from the lack of any evidence that recipients have been asked to discuss their perspectives about *zakat* programs. This study, therefore, investigated responses of *zakat* recipients at Rumah Zakat in order to gain important input for refining the system of Rumah Zakat in the future.

Gaps in the Current Knowledge

In this study, the word *institution* (*lembaga*) is used for the non-government organizations (NGOs) in order to distinguish them from the government-sponsored organizations' *board* (*badan*), such as BAZIS. The NGOs operate for charitable purposes in Indonesia today, and their structures are called *Lembaga Amil Zakat Infaq dan Shadaqa* or LAZIS. LAZIS institutions have been more transparent than BAZIS. No *zakat* abuses have been reported in regard to these institutions. Even so, further research is warranted into the budget allocations and proper funds management of LAZIS institutions. The roles of LAZIS institutions have been discussed extensively in Lessy (2011), but the roles of BAZIS boards are more difficult to report, and they require further research because they are obscured by lack of governmental transparency. Internet access to BAZIS is available only to a headquarters office, and there is a lack of access to its offices at the provincial level. The researcher's fieldwork experience has revealed that when he came to BAZIS in the Province of Yogyakarta, he did not find adequate information about its *zakat* collection and distribution, and there was even a suggestion that BAZIS does not manage *zakat* productively (interview with an officer).¹⁹

The formation of LAZIS institutions has occurred as a significant shift in *zakat* practice in Indonesia, away from the direct method of giving to needy individuals and toward the method of giving to institutions (Salim, 2008). Happily, the LAZIS

¹⁹ This interview took place in the office of BAZIS Yogyakarta on February 7, 2012.

institutions have remained approachable for purposes of research, and they are increasingly notable phenomena because they have become significant resources for the poor seeking *zakat*. LAZIS institutions offer empowerment programs that seem to have similarities to one another, and the programs include health services, training and education, scholarships, prenatal care, and financial loans. In a study focusing on whether Rumah Zakat programs empowered poor peasants, Muhtada (2007) asserted that the programs did not empower them but simply gave them *zakat* as temporary monetary aid. Rumah Zakat treated the peasantry as the poor (*faqir*) (Appendix A) but not as disenfranchised servants.

To date, most *zakat* research has focused on social, health, economic, and religious functions, but little research analyzes the causes of poverty in Indonesia that affect poor women, the widowed, the elderly, and other vulnerable persons who need economic empowerment programs from *zakat* and need to receive *zakat* fairly and safely. Also, there appears to be limited research on experiences of *zakat* recipients who need to improve their health. Finally, little research has focused on investigating narratives, interviews, or observations of *zakat* recipients on what is needed for a suitable standard of living to enable the *zakat* recipients to change their capacity from being recipients to becoming financially independent and self-sufficient. This researcher accordingly set out to examine perceptions of *zakat* recipients at Rumah Zakat and what they thought was needed to further improve the lives of the poor.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODS

Population and Demographics

Qualitative interviews were arranged and conducted during the sixteen weeks from the second week of December 2011 through the fourth week of March 2012 (Appendix C). The study respondents came from a population which was a defined subset of adults, 18 to 70 years old, who had received assistance in the form of services or direct *zakat* from Rumah Zakat's economic empowerment and socio-health programs. The population did not include adults with cognitive disabilities who needed assistance in self-expression, nor pregnant women whose status required particular protection. Also not included were non-Muslims, who comprised a minority of recipients and whose eligibility for *zakat* is less certain and thus more irregular.

The language used during this study was *Bahasa*, the national language of Indonesia. In their daily lives, all respondents can speak Javanese, which is different from the researcher's mother tongue. In addition, Rumah Zakat program recipients at locations outside Yogyakarta Province were excluded. Yogyakarta Province provided a large base of recipients accessible for interviews because Rumah Zakat is one of the largest LAZIS institutions in the area. Rumah Zakat has external auditors who count income and expenditures of *zakat* funds in order for its operations to be transparent to the public. Therefore, abundant and accurate data were available for this study (Rumah Zakat, 2011).

This study examined two categories of *zakat* recipients, the poor (*faqir*) and the destitute (*miskin*) (Appendix A), and it classified 14 respondents into two categories.

One group was comprised of seven *zakat* recipients who were involved in the economic empowerment program. In the other group were six married females, who were primary recipients of socio-health services, and a married male (see Table 1).

Prior to the recruitment process, this researcher gathered 14 names of Rumah Zakat program recipients with their contact information from staff of Rumah Zakat. From this list, 12 respondents were successfully solicited through convenience sampling, whereby the researcher chose respondents without randomizing, but based on location accessibility. In addition, as the researcher recruited and interviewed respondents one at a time (Padgett, 2008), six more recipients were identified by the interviewees. Two of these six were then recruited to become respondents, effectively solicited through snow-ball sampling (Engel & Schutt, 2005). Four of these six, and two of the original 14, potential respondents were not contacted because the researcher had met the intended quota.

To recruit respondents successfully, this researcher submitted letters of permission (Appendix F) to the administrative officers of Rumah Zakat to give them the opportunity to understand the intent of this research. After obtaining Rumah Zakat's agreement, the researcher solicited respondents one at a time and further made contact with them through letters in which stamped return envelopes were provided or through phone calls to avoid delays. Only those who had previously agreed to the researcher's invitation were recruited.

Of the 14 respondents, six were recruited from Yogyakarta City, and eight were recruited from Bantul Regency. The Yogyakarta City respondents all lived in densely populated ghetto neighborhoods, where houses typically sit immediately adjacent to one

another. These houses generally were narrow; so narrow in fact that one respondent's house had no bedrooms. The main room of this house also functioned as a bedroom, and there were no chairs and tables. This small house did not have a ceiling. Another house, which was situated in a small alley, had some broken walls and a damaged roof. There was a small living room which functioned as a dining room. There was only one family bedroom. According to the owner, when it rained, the house was full of water, just like a creek flooding. All houses were made of bricks with rough cement floors and were equipped with low-voltage electricity. The toilet in any such house was located either in small closet-sized room or in an outdoor shed and utilized a septic tank. Among the six respondents in Yogyakarta City, there were two whose homes were situated just a short distance from each other.

This researcher's fieldwork experience of visiting the six respondents in Yogyakarta City showed that three of them lived in their own homes on plots of land that were relatively small. Some parts of the walls of these houses had been renovated after the damage caused by the earthquake that occurred in 2006.²⁰ The other three respondents from Yogyakarta City did not own houses. One of the three had rented a house located near the bank of a creek and thus was vulnerable to flooding. The second of these three lived in a relatively big house incorporating two other households, which made it difficult for the residents to maintain personal boundaries. The third lived in her parents' house, which included two other households.

Bantul Regency has a more sprawling setting for houses because it is a rural area. Four of the eight Bantul Regency respondents lived in houses that were not near any of

²⁰ The 2006 earthquake in Yogyakarta City and Bantul Regency destroyed 127,000 houses and killed at least 6,000 people.

the others, whereas four other respondents were neighbors. Of the eight Bantul respondents, three did not have their own houses. One of these three was a resident of the Pleret District (Appendix G) and lived in a medium-sized house shared by two other households. The house had been renovated due to the earthquake. The second of the three Bantul Regency renters lived in a semi-permanent house with a dirt floor in the rice field area of Sewon District (Appendix G). The structure served as the blacksmith's house, where the family processed used iron. The respondent did not own the land but rented it temporarily. The third of the three Bantul Regency renters was also a Sewon resident, and she lived in one of her relatives' houses that were located next to the site of her previous house, which had been demolished due to the earthquake.

The other five Bantul Regency respondents had their own houses. Two of these five lived in a house located in Sewon. Their dwelling was home to four households, including the two respondents, who were related by blood. Two of the five Bantul Regency house-owner respondents were neighbors who lived in the Banguntapan District (Appendix G). Their houses had been damaged during the earthquake. The government had provided funds for rebuilding, but these respondents had not completed the renovations due to insufficient money. The fifth Bantul District house-owner respondent lived in Sewon in her own partially renovated house.

Table 1: Respondents' Demographic Characteristics

	Yogyakarta (n=6)	Bantul (n=8)
Gender		
Females	3	6
Males	3	2
Residential Status		
Self-owned	3	5
Rental	1	1
Parent/Relative	2	2

These households represented the conditions of the lives of *zakat* recipients in Yogyakarta City and Bantul Regency. Although there were houses and environments worse than those described here, Rumah Zakat had determined that, based on the overall criteria of poverty, these situations provided evidence that the recipients were entitled to *zakat*.

Of the 14 respondents in this study, seven were in the economic empowerment program--three females and four males. One of these three females had six years of education, and the other two had twelve years (see Table 2). One male had six years of education; two of them had nine years; the other one had twelve years. The seven other respondents were six married females and a married male in the socio-health program. Two of these six females had six years of education; three had nine years; the other female and male had twelve years.

Table 2: Gender and Education

	Economic Empowerment (n=7)	Socio-health (n=7)
Females		
Years of Education		
Six	1	2
Nine	0	3
Twelve	2	1
Males		
Years of Education		
Six	1	0
Nine	2	0
Twelve	1	1

6 yrs-elementary school; 3 yrs-junior high school; 3 yrs-senior high school

According to Table 2, there was a slightly higher number of economic empowerment program respondents who had finished twelve years of education as compared to respondents with six and nine years. In contrast, there was a slightly higher number of socio-health program respondents who had completed nine years of education as compared to respondents with six and twelve years.

Journey to the Fieldwork

I found some difficult circumstances beyond what I had anticipated. I was required to update my identification card. This took around 15 days amid a manual system still used in the governmental offices. The active card was needed in order to get permission from multiple local governments to conduct research. The procedure for getting permission started with the Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga, then

proceeded to the governor's office, and continued at the city office of Yogyakarta (Appendix F). A letter from the city office was given to Rumah Zakat. Eventually, I received final permission from Rumah Zakat, but the long procedure added an extra month to the data collection process. My research was originally scheduled to start in early November 2011, but due to the delay, it was not until mid-December that I was able to begin my work.

My first appointment occurred in the evening because the scheduled respondent was not available during the day. Facing a lack of public transportation to the respondent's village in Bantul Regency, the only transportation I could afford was a hired rickshaw. The rickshaw owner and I departed at 6:00 on a rainy evening. We encountered roads that were dark because there were no street lights on the route to the village. Wearing a raincoat, the rickshaw owner drove slowly, and I was covered by an umbrella protecting me from the rain. Nonetheless, my clothes got wet from the rain. I worried about my recorder and materials in my bag, and I hoped they were not wet. I sometimes stepped out from the rickshaw and walked when the rickshaw climbed up or rolled down the hills. The cart was old and there was a problem with the wheels, as evidenced by the *crak... crak... crak...* sounds coming from underneath.

After an hour we arrived. The respondent welcomed me warmly although the respondent was surprised that the rain had not prevented me from coming. I had been unable to cancel the interview, even in view of the rain, because I could not reach the respondent by phone. Before the interview began, I was served hot tea. Our conversation then ran smoothly for about two hours, and at its conclusion I made another appointment with the respondent. With the same rickshaw and its owner, I returned

home and arrived at midnight. Other interviews with this respondent were also conducted at night because the respondent worked during the day.

During interviews with another respondent in Bantul, I found that the respondent lived in a home which accommodated four households. Each household occupied a room, but all shared the kitchen, the bathroom, and the living room. Each household had at least one child. Conducting interviews in the living room, we sat on the floor in front of the television while the children were watching various sports programs. This casual situation did not bother me because I respected differences in cultures. I was able to audio-record the interview despite the noise. In addition, in order to build trust between the respondent and myself, I tasted food that was offered by the respondent, notably eels, which I had not eaten before. The spouse of the respondent had caught the eels in the rice field at night in order to generate extra income for the family.

Also in Bantul, I interviewed a respondent who worked as a mechanic and who was fixing motorcycles while we spoke. When the respondent was cleaning carburetors, I could hear loud sounds from the compressor, and the respondent's voice sometimes competed with the sounds. These conditions were unavoidable because the respondent had no free time during the day and he always stayed busy with the job.

In Yogyakarta City, some of my interviews were conducted in a community common hall, and others occurred in respondents' houses, which were located near the train station and the railways. The neighborhood was densely populated, and houses were close together. In this setting, it was sometimes difficult for me to make audio recordings of the interviews. Accordingly, some of these interviews were recorded only by my written notes. In one of the Yogyakarta City respondents' houses, the 6-by-9-foot

living room was located at the front of the house, which was close to both the street and the railways. Although the interviews ran smoothly, I could not audio-record them due to the outside noise. These interviews could not be conducted in the community common hall because the respondent could not leave the small business located in the house. During the interviews, I heard loud noises made by children, trains, and motorists. During one interview with this respondent, I heard two people yelling at each other in the house. This made me stop the interview because it aroused my caution; therefore, I rescheduled my appointment.

These were some of the unexpected challenges in the situations I encountered. Success in achieving my research goals was due to my commitment to complete my plan despite the one month's delay. However, I had to balance my plan with respect for the respondents' freedom and dignity. I did not want to be intrusive with respondents because interviews were entirely voluntary (Appendix D). A benefit was that as a qualitative researcher, encountering new situations constituted valuable experience in relation to the dynamics of respondents and their environments. It is worth noting that a researcher cannot always achieve what he or she had imagined because political, cultural, and economic situations can have unexpected influences in respondents' environments. Therefore, in order to be successful, the researcher should adapt to situations and strive to better understand differences in respondents' lives.

Definition of Phenomenology

The term *phenomenon* originates from the Greek *phaenesthai*, which means “to let what shows itself be seen from itself, just as it shows itself from itself” (Krell, 1977, p. 82), or “to let things become manifest as what they are, without forcing our own

categories on them” (Palmer, 1980, p. 128). Phenomenology is “an epistemology that inextricably links [the] subjective and [the] objective insofar as the primary focus is on the way individuals subjectively assign meaning to the objects of their consciousness” (Daly, 2007, p. 94); similarly, it is the explanation of objects as phenomena which present themselves to humans’ consciousness (Van Manen, 1990). Phenomenology is thus a research method for capturing the lived experience or existential meanings and accounts of people. It is concerned with the study of human experience and the way in which things present themselves to human minds, whether they are seen or thought (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2005). The objects are empirically measured through description by humans because they touch the humans’ interest, and because the objects “are subjectively felt” (Russell, 2006, p. 6).

As the father of phenomenology, Edmund Husserl (1859-1938) claimed that objects in the universe are mutually exclusive, and that information about them is reliable. Hence, researchers can become certain about how these objects appear in, or present themselves to, their consciousness. In reaching for such information, the objects outside the lived experience of humans should be denied. In this way, the universe is reduced to the contents of personal experiences (Groenewald, 2004).

Moran (2000) asserted that the phenomenological approach provides the audience with narratives which match the proximity of objects to the experience itself, and he claimed that phenomenology is the “world of action [that] represents the highest sphere of human engagement, especially when it emerges in joint co-operative undertakings and in discussion” (p. 312). Palmer (1980) further explicated Moran’s ideas by asserting that

phenomenology itself is a vehicle of “being led by the phenomenon through a way of access genuinely belonging to it” (p. 128).

Phenomenology is examined purely in the study of philosophy, but this researcher follows Van Manen (1990), who claimed that phenomenology can be used to study essences so that it can examine objects of research as they show their meanings to researchers. Van Manen also asserted that the essences of a phenomenon are inclusive, and thus they can be described through a study of the structure that governs the occurrences or particular evidences of that phenomenon. Focusing on the essences, phenomenology seeks to systematically explain the internal meaning of structures and lived experience. Using phenomenology as an approach for data collection and analysis in research, these definitions imply a shift in the researchers’ role from verifying the object to allowing the object to reveal itself.

In general, *zakat* recipients in this study had approximately undergone a three-year economic empowerment program and a four-year socio-health program. Their experiences, therefore, are considered as phenomena which can be reflected through their consciousness. Phenomenological reflection is thus retrospective, backdated, or after the fact. According to Van Manen (1990), “reflection on lived experience is always recollective; it is reflection on experience that is already passed or lived through” (p. 10). Because the phenomenological approach was used to study the lived experience of *zakat* recipients, it required the researcher’s exposure to phenomena as part of the respondents’ lives. Therefore, the phenomena were studied, investigated, and approached in ways that contrast to the old view about phenomena as objects or facts that researchers could

identify, conceptualize, categorize, and reflect on without engaging in fieldwork (Russell, 2006).

Aims of Phenomenology

Being a methodological framework in social work (Creswell, 2007; Padgett, 2008), the phenomenological approach aims to explore knowledge about how participants experience life, or to understand participants' experiences of self and the world (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2005). Patton (2002) suggested that the use of the phenomenological approach to document the lived experience of participants should be conducted directly rather than through second-hand experiences. Thus, emphasizing direct observation, this approach required the researcher to investigate participants' reality and describe it in a way that consciously reflects participants' perceptions because the relationship between perception and an object is not passive, and participants' perception of an object is shaped by many experiences (Bernard, 2000; Holstein & Gubrium, 1994).

An effective narrative that describes participants' perceptions accurately is phenomenological, especially if the researcher is able to stimulate participants to describe their lives comprehensively through disclosures (Bernard, 2000). This researcher solicited the narratives of the poor and the destitute about their socio-economic background and how and why they became *zakat* recipients. This solicitation focused on the experiences of Rumah Zakat's participants, including personal information about participants' economic background and how they used *zakat*, the role of *zakat* in the participants' lives, and assessment of their level of satisfaction in using *zakat*. By this means, the researcher gained knowledge about how participants interpreted their

experiences (King & Horrocks, 2010; Leonard, 1989). Hence, the phenomenological approach requires the researcher to describe thoroughly how the participants perceive a phenomenon, to “feel about it, judge it, remember it, make sense of it, and talk about it with others” (Patton, 2002, p. 104).

Historical Underpinnings

Phenomenology has a long history within philosophy. Aristotle (B.C.E., 300) first explored the philosophy of logic and particularly the meaning of “being” through the theory of syllogism,²¹ referring to the Greek word for inference (Smith, 2007). The word *phenomenology* itself was first introduced by philosophers, such as Edmund Husserl (1889-1938) and Martin Heidegger (1889-1976), in their writings during the 19th century (Groenewald, 2004; Moran, 2000). Developing Aristotle’s philosophy of logic, Husserl approached the realm of knowledge with an idea of bringing into view the functioning of consciousness as transcendental subjectivity: “a stream of consciousness which is no longer an abstract part of the world” (Palmer, 1980, p. 125; Smith, 2007).

Husserl’s phenomenology is categorized into two stages, namely pure and transcendent. Pure phenomenology has three main principles, namely “presuppositionlessness, pure reflection, and essential intuition” (Hopkins, 2011, p. 6). Phenomenology is presuppositionlessness in the precise sense that it is directed toward the cognitive goal of avoiding philosophical claims that rely on knowledge claims not based on the direct apprehension of their objects. According to Husserl, empirical sciences and epistemologies often use presuppositions to establish knowledge claims and are in contrast to “pure reflection” in that all empirical facts and empiricistic theories are

²¹ Logical argument in which one proposition (the conclusion) is inferred from two or more others (the premises) of a certain form.

methodologically excluded from it. The word *pure* is characterized as “reflective” (Hopkins, 2011, p. 6). In addition, Husserl calls the apprehension of an *eidos* (content of phenomenological cognition) as “seeing of essences,” precisely understood as the intuition of essences (Hopkins, 2011, p. 7).

Transcendental phenomenology is the science of all conceivable beings; it provides the “*logos* to all *onta*,” and it is ontology in the genuine sense of the term. Transcendental phenomenology explains how “each being derives its meaning and the validity of its being from corresponding intentional acts of constitution” (Kockelmans, 1994, p. 254). This definition implies “a genuine metaphysical decision concerning the ontological status of phenomenological reduction and descriptive phenomena” (Ricoeur, 2007, p. 9). The reduction is simply the phenomenological *époché*, extended to encompass the whole world and carried out consistently as a philosophical method. Once it is achieved, the development is complete, whereby the descriptive psychology of Husserl’s *Logical Investigations* (1901) is transformed into a transcendental philosophy (Carr, 1974, p. 27).

Husserl’s *Logical Investigations* evinced an alternative advance in the understanding of formal science and was a landmark in the development of the theory of knowledge. In this book, phenomenology is distinguished as a descriptive psychology designed to clarify the fundamental ideas of formal reasoning (Farber, 1976). However, Husserl often did not describe the objective that phenomenology is to achieve in the same way, e.g., on the one hand, phenomenology was meant to contribute to the foundations of formal sciences, and on the other hand, phenomenology was meant to relate to every science and every form of knowledge. The *Logical Investigations* provided an alternative

to post-positivism (Sadala & Odorno, 2002), in that Husserl argued that the philosophy of uncovering was a “rigorous science” consisting of the description of what is self-evident and not of causal explanation (Moran, 2000, p. 7). This implies that phenomenology cannot begin straightforwardly, as do the positive sciences, which base themselves on the presupposed foundation of humans’ experience of the world as something pregiven or obviously existing independent of human observation (Kockelmans, 1994).

The publication of Husserl’s *Experience and Judgment* (1939) added much to the understanding of his philosophy of logic, in which Husserl provided a basis for appreciation of his philosophy and a point of departure for further fruitful work along phenomenological lines (Farber, 1976). Also, the publication of his other writings indicated an advance in the philosophy, which posited no separation between mind and body. From this point of view, the philosophy of subjectivity developed as the antithesis of positivism; “[it] approached humans’ understanding of the human subject, not through existentialist description...but through a re-articulation of the relationship between man and the world” (Schurmann, 2008, p. 57).

During the 20th century, Martin Heidegger came to be recognized as one of the greatest philosophers, whose writings have had a huge impact not only in Europe and English-speaking countries but also in Asia (Guignon, 1993). Heidegger’s concept of “being” has become the central work of phenomenology; he defined the term *phenomenology* as “to make clear or to permit something to appear of itself, make itself seen and that which shows itself as it is” (Richardson, 1967, p. 46). Thus, phenomenology, according to Heidegger, means “to permit that [phenomenology] which of its own accord manifests itself to reveal itself as it is” (Richardson, 1967, p. 46).

Like his teacher Husserl, Heidegger cemented the fundamental ontology of “being of there-being,” for which he claimed that phenomenology must be attentive to the history of being (historicality) and to the temporality of concrete living in time (being), and that it must not remain content with the description of the internal consciousness of time--as a derivative form of interpretation (Moran, 2000, p. 20). Heidegger was more advanced than Husserl in using phenomenology because he wanted to interpret the concept of “being.” Heidegger’s *Time and Being* (1927), which is concerned with the realm of the vital medium of man’s being in the world, discusses phenomenological understanding and interpretation. It may be summarized as follows:

- “cognition is a form of taking-as, that is, all attending is attending-as,
- “the as-structure constitutes interpretation,
- “interpretation is derivative of understanding, and
- “therefore, cognition is derivative of understanding” (Blattner, 2007, p. 11).

Using phenomenology, how do researchers come to know the objects of their studies? Phenomenology is the human attempt to uncover essential meanings of human endeavors, and it is related to the epistemology of inquiry (Ray, 1994). Researchers will know objects when they describe and clarify the essential structure of respondents’ lived experiences. In this context, the researcher reflects on the origins of respondents’ experiences. Through interacting with respondents and reviewing research field notes, the researcher develops thick, detailed descriptions about respondents in order to capture the essence of consciousness. Accordingly, this researcher developed a description of the participation of respondents in *zakat* programs and the availability of *zakat* programs for

respondents. In this sense, this researcher used descriptive and phenomenologic language so that the original experiences of respondents became evident.

Phenomenological description has a place in the thorough investigation of consciousness because its close attention is oriented to qualitative features of lived experience. The central task of phenomenology is to reveal, as much as it is possible to do so, an unfiltered description and documentation of the respondents' world, rather than skipping ahead to explanations or generalizations. For this purpose, this researcher met respondents often and observed not only their environments, but also their education and familial situations, as well as their economic, social, and health statuses. The researcher then contemplated the data again and again in order to better understand the respondents. From deep contemplation, the researcher shared the data with respondents as peer review. This was to make sure that the truth of descriptive data remained valid and credible. In peer review, the researcher asked respondents to review transcripts so that respondents would understand that the description was based on their own conscious experiences. Although there is no ultimate truth in descriptive data, to thickly describe it, based on recordings and observations, provides ways to uncover the reality and the world of respondents. In accordance with Husserl, thick description is used to make connections between the subjects of researchers and the objects being researched. This researcher thereby sought to understand respondents through description and repeated reflections.

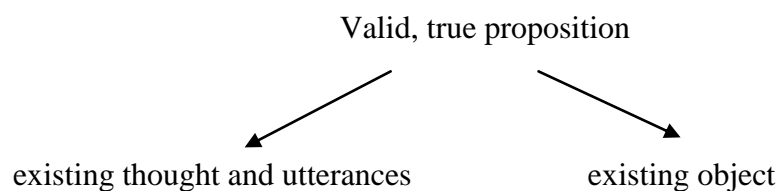
Hermeneutic Phenomenology

Hermeneutic phenomenology rose with the intent of Heidegger to promote phenomenology as the tool to describe science and not to explain the causality of it. The word *hermeneutics* etymologically is derived from the Greek noun *hermeois*, referring to

“the priest of the Delphic oracle,” (Blattner, 2007, p. 13), from the Greek verb *hermeneuein*, generally translated "to interpret" and the Greek noun *hermeneia*, translated as “interpretation” (Blattner, 2007, p. 12). *Hermeneutics* in its broadest sense suggests the idea of a text as it is interpreted (Ihde, 1971). Hermeneutics thus insists that a researcher must seek the meaning of words and actions from the perspective of the subject’s world view. Context is essential in order to relate whole to part and part to whole. Close reading of text or transcripts from subjects is required in order to analyze and interpret interview material. Interpretation in context is the basis of hermeneutics.

Inspired by the descriptive phenomenology of Husserl, Heidegger offered for consideration five assumptions as the basis for hermeneutic phenomenology. The first of Heidegger’s assumptions of hermeneutic phenomenology is “the theory of theory,” which is a shift from the symbolic logic or formal logic of Bertrand Russell (1872-1970) to logic in the broadest sense, which investigates the condition of knowing in general. Logic is the “theory of theory,” which means the task of logic is, to explain how theoretical claims can be meaningful and true (Polt, 1999, p. 12).

Figure 1: Validity of Researched Objects



(Adapted from Polt, 1999, p. 12)

According to Heidegger, the word *validity* is an atemporal mode of “being,” which should be distinguished from the ordinary, time-bound existence of ourselves, humans’ statements and thoughts, and the objects that they usually discuss. Word

expressions should be valid as essential meanings that are timelessly true, independent of whether humans are thinking about them or expressing them. Accordingly, Heidegger claimed that logic is the study of how people actually happen to think rather than how people ought to think in order to conform to the principles of the timeless realm of validity. Although Heidegger was confident with this principle, later he realized that the truth of a scientific statement about an object depends on a much more basic “unconcealment” (Polt, 1999, p. 13). Heidegger claimed that the world of life existed before a theory came, and the world of life was situated and historical and was then opened up for humans. However, the presence of theory alienated humans from the world which was meaningful to them (Polt, 1999).

The second of Heidegger’s assumptions of hermeneutic phenomenology is the practice of hermeneutics. Understanding existed before temporal moments in shared background practices and in humans’ languages (Blattner, 2007). The practice of hermeneutics plays an important role in uncovering culture. At this point, according to Heidegger, researchers should use their skills in their activities to understand inter-subjective and common meaning (Plager, 1994). Wrathall (2011) maintained that part of this practice can be applied through “language [which] is a house of being” (p. 120), which means that humans are required to declare the view of the “being,” and that declaration depends on linguistic expressions through thinking about that being. The role of language, therefore, is not only to cover but also to open up the world and to constitute beings as what they are, thus “...we find out the nature of being when we listen to the *logos* or to language” (p. 120).

The third of Heidegger's assumptions of hermeneutic phenomenology is that humans are always already in a hermeneutic circle. Text is understood by reference to the context in which "what is" was generated. The text further produces an understanding of the originator and context. Parts of the text are understood by reference to the whole, and the whole is understood in terms of its parts (Holloway, 1997). Scott (1990) explained that the hermeneutic circle is entered by researchers whose dialogue with the text becomes part of the circle, and this point, in turn, creates meaningful understanding or hermeneutic inquiry. This is in line with Van Manen (1990) who maintained that lived experience is grasped through language, which he calls "the human science of text," and it is interpreted (p. 2). Researchers observe and examine humans as texts to find underlying meanings, and these actions provide access to the meaning of context (Holloway, 1997; Usher & Bryant, 1989).

The fourth of Heidegger's assumptions of hermeneutic phenomenology is that interpretation presupposes a shared understanding. Using hermeneutic phenomenology, researchers gather data from language, texts, and behaviors. To better understand participants, researchers often need to review the data, and ask the participants questions about the data as what it means to them, because meanings sometimes need to be modified. Whenever researchers come into the participants' world, researchers become more knowledgeable about their world (Holloway, 1997). The final of Heidegger's assumptions of hermeneutic phenomenology is that interpretation involves the interpreter and the interpreted in a dialogical relationship. In this circumstance, researchers go beyond the accounts of participants. The participants as "the original creators of the data, and the researchers as their interpreters, together generate the data" (Holloway, 1997, p.

88). The participants' understanding and the researchers' understanding are combined in order to generate a common understanding. Researchers seek to gain an understanding of the context which contributes meaning to the data (Holloway, 1997).

The role of the researcher herein was to interpret and analyze language, words, and behaviors *zakat* recipients represented in their social world (Mason, 1996). These oral and body languages were used to determine the different ways recipients perceived *zakat* and empowerment. The researcher also used a concept map throughout his data analysis to help clarify the distinctions and overlaps among the different categories. These categories established the basis of the remaining data analysis. The central analytic task then was to determine why these distinctions prevailed. By reflecting on the data and consulting colleagues and committee members, an impartial discourse about the data became clearer explicitly and implicitly.

Moreover, the researcher sought to understand respondents' experiences by exploring their narratives, and his explorations, in turn, allowed possibilities of reality to appear and to let the opportunities of the phenomena reveal themselves (Diekelmann & Ironside, 2005; Patton, 2002). Because distinctions and overlaps among the different categories would show up in the texts and because the researcher wanted to share meanings of the phenomena, he repeatedly studied respondents' narratives and thoughts (Sadala & Odorno, 2002, p. 283). Thus, the researcher "determined the themes, relationships, and assumptions" that describe the respondents' view of the world in general and of the topic in particular (Basit, 2003, p. 143). The researcher also described what respondents had in common and came up with new understandings of these *zakat* recipients' experiences (Creswell, 2007). The convergences of perspectives from

participants led the researcher to perceive common experiences and shared meanings of the phenomena (Sadala & Odorno, 2002).

Data Collection

To better understand the respondents' lived experiences, this researcher used in-depth interviews that explored *zakat* recipients' narratives to reveal the contexts, processes, and interactions of the recipients and their environments. Semi-structured questions (Appendix B) were used in face-to-face interviews to solicit respondents' feelings, experiences, and knowledge about the challenges of becoming *zakat* recipients and about the obstacles they encountered. Semi-structured questions, namely probe-mixed questions in addition to the fixed written questions, were used to explore additional details and the context-specific elements of answers. Semi-structured questions extracted various respondents' interpretations that otherwise might not be fully revealed by the structured questions alone. The flexibility of semi-structured questions allowed respondents to respond to the particular dynamics of each interaction with the researcher and, as a result, helped to fully represent their individual perspectives (Mason, 1996). The use of semi-structured questions also facilitated a common understanding between the researcher and respondents and ensured that respondents had "the opportunities to report on their own thoughts and feelings" (Holloway, 1997, p. 95).

Prior to the start of the interview phase, the respondents' acceptance of the researcher's invitation was made through mail or telephone contact. When they had confirmed the time and place of the interview for each first meeting, the respondents were encouraged to read the informed consent (Appendix D) so that they understood the objectives of the interview. Each respondent signed an informed consent.

Upon building trust with the respondents, this researcher introduced himself as a Ph.D. candidate at the Indiana University School of Social Work and lecturer at Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta. Some other documents were shown to respondents, including a letter of permission (Appendix F) to conduct research from the city office of Yogyakarta. To start the interviews smoothly, the researcher provided a digital recorder and other materials so that the interviews could be recorded. All respondents allowed the researcher to record their voices.

In transcribing and writing the results of interviews, the researcher guaranteed anonymity by using pseudonyms and by veiling any references to actual identities in the report, even though the majority of respondents allowed the researcher to cite their names. Transcripts were stored securely in the researcher's personal computer, which did not connect to the internet and which was accessed only by this researcher. Data will be destroyed by overwriting the files after one year or after the researcher has completed writing the dissertation.

In-depth interviews were conducted face-to-face, with each interview lasting approximately two hours. Contingent follow-up interviews lasted up to one hour, depending on the extent to which clarification from respondents was needed. Approximately, two interviews with transcriptions were accomplished weekly so that the initial interviews plus any follow-ups could occur according to the planned schedule (Appendix C). Interviews were conducted in the community common hall and the respondents' houses or places of business so that the interview locations were away from Rumah Zakat to protect the respondents from worrying about institutional conflicts and to

provide the respondents with secure settings in which to communicate sensitive information.

Data Analysis

This researcher analyzed and categorized data according to themes and synthesized data through his descriptions, interpretations, and conclusions. The following data analysis approaches, incorporating the phenomenological approach, was comprised of three levels, namely reflexive, literal, and snapshot.

Reflexive analysis, the first level, was a continuing process of reflecting the researcher's own perspective and value position (Mason, 1996). This implies that the researcher should be objective when interpreting a phenomenon of respondents, such as each respondent might have a different cultural tendency for how they approached Rumah Zakat and how they felt about getting benefits from *zakat* during the previous five years. For every respondent's narrative, the researcher identified themes and questions in a field memo book, which helped him differentiate between the meanings of respondents' phenomenon as it showed itself and the researcher's own view, as well as the interpretations he made of others' points of view.

Literal data analysis, the second level, was conducted after transcribing the interviews. This literal analysis was comprised of the examination of behaviors, interactions, contexts, the sequence of texts, and repetitions in word choice (Mason, 1996). To this end, the researcher performed three steps: (a) reading transcripts and personal memos thoroughly and writing notes on the margin of each page to expand his familiarity with the data; (b) reading the transcripts again and again, and coding them according to five literal categories that emerged: participants' economic history, use and

influence of *zakat*, participants' needs fulfillment, self-satisfaction, and achievement of goals; (c) using these categories to support links across different data sources and facilitate the sorting and retrieval of data (Lincoln & Guba, 2005; Mason, 1996). This literal data analysis helped the researcher to expand the meanings of *zakat* and empowerment across participants and was antecedent to an interpretative analysis of the transcripts.

A snapshot approach, the last level, focused on discourse in a particular moment and on connections between previous findings in *zakat* research and current practices of *zakat* by observing and describing the effects of the *zakat* system of Rumah Zakat. It analyzed the language spoken by the respondents with four steps in the analytical process which are of particular relevance for this analysis: "selecting the researcher's topic, knowing the researcher's data, identifying themes, categories, and objects of discourse, and looking for evidence of the inter-relationship between discourses" (Carabine, 2001, p. 281). To this end, the researcher focused on drawing conclusions from his reflections based on how the observations and interviews gave evidence of *zakat* effects, rather than on the history and theory of *zakat*, which were not the direct topic of the study findings.

Validity and Trustworthiness

To strengthen validity and trustworthiness, the researcher sought to achieve authenticity by relating the construct to the data. Authenticity in this context is showing a fair, honest, and balanced account of social life from the perspectives of *zakat* recipients as they live their everyday lives (Carpenter & Suto, 2008). To inquire into recipients' conditions with applicability, consistency, and neutrality, the researcher used six criteria

to assess the soundness of qualitative inquiry: credibility, triangulation, transferability, auditability, confirmability, and thick description.

Credibility, the first criterion, examines the fit between the understanding, ideas, and statements about the social world and what actually occurs in it (Neuman & Kreuger, 2003). This implies fit between respondents' views and their interpretations. It is important to demonstrate that when a researcher describes the respondents, the picture should be close to the respondents' actual situation, which can be achieved through prolonged engagement with the respondents in their environments (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). To achieve the best results in representing the respondents and their environments, the researcher extended his time to explore the culture of respondents by setting up regular visits to their places of business and/or their houses. Building credibility through time extension was also done by asking the respondents to provide their own clarification (Holloway, 1997). In addition, the researcher met *zakat* practitioners to discuss *zakat* issues and read local Indonesian newspapers and books about *zakat* so that his knowledge could elucidate the interviews.

Building credibility was further accomplished through verifying the researcher's findings with respondents or member checking. Using the respondents' personal information in the informed consent for follow-ups (Appendix D), this researcher met them to share his interview transcripts in order to make sure he represented their ideas accurately. In this process, the researcher consulted with the respondents often so that they gave him feedback and had an opportunity to agree or disagree with the content. Member checking was useful to solve misunderstandings that naturally occurred between the researcher and respondents. Barbour (2007) suggested researchers give the

respondents a review opportunity directly after an interview session or at a later date and allow them to request that certain of their comments be deleted. In this study, the researcher's member checking averaged four times per respondent, and usually occurred before starting a new interview subject to make sure that respondents' accounts were fully represented.

Triangulation, the second criterion for the soundness of qualitative inquiry, is used to compare one source of data to the other. The purpose of triangulation is to understand the complexity of the phenomenon as it is differently situated and interpreted across "different sources" and contexts (Mason, 1996, p. 25). This is not necessarily to imply that the researcher should compare the authenticity of one source to another. Rather, the researcher contrasted one source with another in order to gather comprehensive results about the respondents' conditions and their perceptions of *zakat*. Data triangulation also was applied when checking the interpretation of data either formally or informally with *zakat* practitioners (Hoffart, 1991).

Transferability or theoretical generalizability, the third criterion for the soundness of qualitative inquiry, is a method of generalizing the research findings which posits the application of one set of findings to the findings of another study (Melnik & Fineout-Overholt, 2005). In such a situation, the focus is on subjective meanings and on the depth of meaning (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). For research using the phenomenological approach, this criterion is useful if the population of one sample has similar characteristics to another sample. In this study, the researcher identified some similarities between Rumah Zakat programs, but these similarities were not always found among LAZIS recipients in general because the population at one LAZIS institution may

differ socially, economically, and politically from the population at another LAZIS institution. Finding variation among responses would allow the researcher to compare and contrast them and allow him to become aware of unfounded generalizations.

Auditability, the fourth criterion for the soundness of qualitative inquiry, is the responsibility of researchers to “trace the process of research” from beginning to end in order to maintain “the logic of the research’s procedures” and to make sure that it “makes sense to others” (Padgett, 2008, p. 181). The researcher wrote a record of the study process in a 12-by 8-inch log book in addition to digitally recording the data and manually transcribing the interviews verbatim. Auditability provides “a transparent way to show how data were collected and managed so that anyone could trace the steps” and be able to replicate the procedures (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 221). In the process of this study, the researcher often checked the research method steps to maintain research focus on the narratives of *zakat* recipients. Also, the researcher continually checked the responses of *zakat* recipients to determine if his questions were clear enough. If they were not clear, then he would return to the process to evaluate the questions. Prior to this study, pilot tests were conducted by means of interviewing colleagues who role-played as respondents to provide feedback for improving the questionnaire.

The input which was given by colleagues who role-played respondents included five important elements. First, there should be introductory and closing elements for the questionnaire. Second, the questionnaire had been tested, and the interview time fell between 80-90 minutes, which made the interview not too short nor too long. Third, several questions were taken out of the questionnaire because they were considered irrelevant to the research objectives. Fourth, subtitles to the questionnaire were necessary

to facilitate the researcher's analysis of the data. Finally, open-ended questions were included to stimulate natural responses from interviewees (Appendix B). During the interviews, the researcher did not use some questions from the questionnaire because they were not relevant to certain individual respondents.

Auditability is also a process that comprises the involvement of outside persons who examine the research process and product through auditing field memos. According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), memos are the written records that contain the product of researchers' analysis and represent the written forms of their abstract thinking about data. To this end, the researcher asked colleagues to read his memos to make sure that his research had focus and accuracy of analysis on an ongoing basis. The other type of auditability is writing analytic coding schemes. As noted by Strauss and Corbin (1990), "coding represents the operations by which data are broken down, conceptualized, and put back together in new ways, and it is the central process by which theories are built from data" (p. 57). Through this approach, the researcher began to code data of the two respondent groups, namely economic empowerment and socio-health programs, according to the study objectives. The data for each respondent was categorized into subdivisions according to the researcher's analysis of his or her responses. Each respondent group was examined with respect to applicability of these subdivisions. This analysis was done via coding schemes implemented manually through color highlighting and spatial sorting of subdivisions on separate coding sheets of paper. This resulted in observing that the findings for the economic empowerment program respondents were not the same as the findings for the socio-health program respondents.

Confirmability, the fifth criterion for the soundness of qualitative inquiry, is achieved by demonstrating that research “findings and interpretations are grounded in the data” (Melnik & Fineout-Overholt, 2005, p. 151). To ensure confirmability, Marshall and Rossman (2011) identified guidelines, such as applying “peer debriefing” among colleagues (p. 221). Peer debriefing utilizes other researchers or external persons to read and comment on the researcher’s work (Holloway, 1997). These persons should be skeptical about the findings and should provide questions and counterpoints to help the researcher to attain a strong level of rigor and coherence in the work (Glesne, 2006; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In this study, the researcher consulted his colleagues who were not familiar with *zakat*.

Writing “thick description of social life recounted” by respondents is the final criterion to achieve the soundness of qualitative inquiry (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, p. 95). This thick description includes extensive explanatory detail about respondents’ experiences that allows the researcher to interpret the meanings of respondents’ experiences and readers to enter the context and reach a conclusion as to whether the transfer of findings to a similar cohort would be possible (Melnik & Fineout-Overholt, 2005). Thick description also builds up a clear picture of the respondents in the context of their culture and the setting in which they live (Holloway, 1997). In addition, the researcher classified problems based on themes and categorizations so that one part of the description would be distinct from the others. Thick description can improve the readers’ comprehension of a large stock of narrative data (Janesick, 1994). To apply thick description approach, the researcher recorded in detail the respondents’ familial situations, environments, economic and social statuses, as well as the ways in which they

were involved in the *zakat* programs and how they described their situations. This provided very full descriptions from which the researcher could draw forth observations, interviews, and reflections on which to base his findings (Chapter IV).

Researcher Bias

The first issue of researcher bias is the influence of expectations. A bias in terms of expectation may occur when the researcher relates respondents' answers to their appearance or living situations (Neuman & Kreuger, 2003), e.g., bias can occur when respondents mention their addresses, which sometimes are located in the same areas where more wealthy people live. This might lead the researcher to suspect that the respondent is not poor. In this study, the researcher did not find this bias because he found no respondent lived in middle class or wealthy areas.

The second issue of researcher bias is making promises to respondents. This can occur when the researcher seeks to make promises to solve the respondents' problems (Neuman & Kreuger, 2003). Rather than making promises, the researcher had to share knowledge and results of the study with other knowledgeable persons, such as colleagues at the Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, who were better situated to proceed further with respondents' needs while his focus remained on gathering narratives. In this study, this researcher positioned himself as respondents' partner to explore respondents' information related to their status as *zakat* recipients at Rumah Zakat. In addition, the researcher did not offer interventions either in the form of aid or programs in addition to those they received from Rumah Zakat.

The third issue of researcher bias is a lack of probing responses properly. Glesne (2006) explained that when interviewing respondents, the researcher should maintain a

respectful demeanor, be an active listener, attend to key messages, seek clarification for unclear words, and be certain that he or she understands what is being said by respondents. In this study, the researcher tried to make sure that respondents' voices were being accurately, fully, and impartially heard. This focus improved the researcher's ability to probe answers and to strengthen the validity of the research. Attending carefully to respondents' answers is necessary for the researcher in order to gather data accurately or to understand the responses comprehensively, and this would allow the researcher to be consistent in gathering information.

The last issue of researcher bias is insider's subjectivity and monitoring it in research. The researcher should control subjectivity to minimize biases in interpretations. To this end, the researcher acknowledged how he perceived *zakat* as being the third of the five pillars of Islam. Since his faith confirms that *zakat* should be offered by solvent Muslims, the researcher believes that Muslims who have not paid *zakat* have not yet fulfilled their obligations and that the evidence of this is seen by the fact that poverty persists in Muslim society. As an insider, the researcher guarded against analyzing the data from his internal belief because he did not want insider status to influence any results. To this end, the researcher examined the distribution of *zakat* at Rumah Zakat only from the perspective of recipients.

As an insider within the tradition of *zakat*, the researcher was required to minimize his personal biases because he has known *zakat* practices as a part of Muslim traditions. The researcher considered himself as an outsider who was deployed into an unfamiliar society for conducting research. Many Muslims may believe that they live in poverty because of God's will; therefore, they have given up trying to find ways out of

their situations. The researcher did not allow this perception to influence his analysis. To minimize personal biases, the use of phenomenology to understand *zakat* recipients' problems would allow the researcher to spend more time with them because the researcher became more attuned to the viewpoints of the recipients.

Ethical Considerations

Researchers should be concerned with ethics when dealing with human research participants and when encountering ethical dilemmas during the research process. Ethics conveys a message of what researchers "should do" and "should not do." Glesne (2006) and Padgett (2008) claimed that researchers should adhere to research ethics because they are not only beneficial to the participants but are also advantageous to researchers.

To achieve better results, the researcher must establish a strong basis for the research protocol as reflected in the informed consent. One element of the informed consent is that the researcher should state clearly the objectives of research when they involve participants into the research, and he should inform participants that involvement in the research is voluntary. The informed consent further maintained that participants can decline involvement in the research or do not have to answer every question, can skip some questions without being penalized while in the process of being interviewed, and can withdraw from the research at any time without fear of consequences (Appendix D).

Another example of treating the participants well with the informed consent is to respect the participants' rights by offering them not only minimal risks but also occasional benefits (Padgett, 2008). The participants have a right to derive advantages from the research. It may be appropriate to offer incentives related to participation; however, to qualify and quantify acceptable incentives is difficult. Padgett (2008) argued

that “payment” after research is not incentive but “reimbursement” (p. 65). This researcher acknowledged that after the research has been conducted, it is usual that recognition, publications, and royalties from the research are enjoyed only by the researchers, whereas the participants receive nothing and are not entitled to those benefits. Even so, in light of the fact that researchers gain data from the participants and are thereby able to be published, the question may be debated about to whom the materials belong.

Glesne (2006) pointed out that some researchers believe that they are “using” their relationships with participants only to acquire data, and because of such a perception, researchers are concerned about what benefits to offer to their participants in return. This researcher believes that giving presents after interviewing the participants was reimbursement for expenses they incurred in helping him to conduct research. Such compensation included vouchers to buy food at local groceries. At the end, each respondent received a voucher valued no more than Rp 30,000 (\$3) to compensate time they spent for this research.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH FINDINGS

This exploratory research was conducted in two locations, namely Yogyakarta City and Bantul Regency, and it focused on interviews with recipients participating in two programs of Rumah Zakat, namely economic empowerment and socio-health. Results were gathered and analysis was done by identifying categories and themes relevant to the objectives of the research. Pseudonyms were used to protect the identities of respondents. This chapter begins with a description of the economic history of each respondent and why he or she was interested in the programs. Each discussion about a respondent continues with the description of the use and influence of *zakat* in the respondent's life, followed by a description of needs fulfillment, self-satisfaction, and the achievement of goals. This structure was meant to facilitate uncovering the unique context of each respondent.

Economic Empowerment Narratives

Respondent 1 - Warno

After graduating from high school (Table 2) in 1987, Warno (age 45) took a year-long automotive course, specializing in motorcycles, which covered machine repair and body painting. From 1988 to 1997, he repaired old motorcycles while working for a company. Warno also kept updating his knowledge about the technological development of motorcycles. As a mechanic, his salary was more than enough for his needs, especially while he was single, but in 1998 an Indonesian monetary crisis wrecked the economy and decreased job opportunities. Corporations faced bankruptcy due to high inflation, which caused Warno's economic situation to deteriorate. Because of the crisis,

Warno lost his job and became self-employed, fixing motorcycles at his house. He told this researcher that profits from this job were low due to his lack of efficient machinery.

The 2006 earthquake, which destroyed much of Bantul Regency and Yogyakarta City, caused the loss of Warno's house. To rebuild the house, Warno requested aid from the government. While waiting for the aid, Warno and his family lived in a tent for six months. Before the disaster, Warno's house was relatively large, 7 by 9 meters, and the front part of it was used for his repair business. Based on the government's recommendation, the house was downsized to 6 by 6 square meters only because the smaller size is considerably more resistant to earthquakes.

After the earthquake, Warno was out of work because his self-employment business location was damaged. His wife quit her job at an accessories manufacturing plant for a while to take care of their baby. For daily needs, Warno and his family received some limited aid and food from the public kitchen in his neighborhood, which were provided by community organizations. Warno recalled that in the last five years he also received *zakat fitr* of Rp 10,000 (\$1) during *Ramadan* from the local mosque and *zakat maal* of Rp 25,000 (\$2.50) twice from a neighbor who, at that time, was a successful businessman living in Bali. At the time of the interview, Warno had two children: a 9-year-old son in elementary school and a 4-year-old son in pre-school.

During the financial crisis and earthquake, meals from the public kitchen were not sufficient for the family; therefore, Warno sought additional income by leasing his 500 square meters of land to a farmer to grow rice. Warno supervises and helps the farmer irrigate the plants. The harvest is dependent on weather and on how well the farmer nurtures the plants. Three times a year, Warno's land produces eight sacks of dry husks

(*gabah kering*), which gives him 240 kg of white rice per harvest. The production cost of each sack of dry husks (*gabah kering*) is Rp 8,000 (80 cents). In addition, Warno deducts Rp 50,000 (\$5) for the tractor operator and Rp 40,000 (\$4) for the farmer, as well as Rp 25,000 (\$2.50) for buying the seed. Warno's net income, therefore, is Rp 200,000 (\$20) per harvest.

In 2010, Rumah Zakat's Integrative Community Development (ICD), in partnership with the Pawn Shop Department (*Perum Pegadaian*), implemented a micro-credit-based community program or *kelompok usaha kecil mandiri* (KUKMI) to encourage the poor with entrepreneurial potential for running businesses but who lacked capital support. To facilitate such a program, the ICD contacted the neighborhood government (*kelurahan*) to share program information and facilitate meetings between the ICD and the poor residents. The ICD further assessed poor residents' past activities and experiences and their motivations for partnering with the ICD. The selection was then made based on reviewing participants' proposals. According to Warno, in his neighborhood, the ICD successfully involved participants in the meetings. In Warno's cohort, ten people were selected. He used the loans to modernize the equipment in his repair business to generate higher profits.

Since being selected in 2010 as a recipient of the economic empowerment program of Rumah Zakat, Warno's use of the loans has been overseen by an ICD supervisor. In the first period, Warno received an interest free-loan of Rp 1,000,000 (\$100) for seven months and needed to return Rp 143,000 (\$14.30) each month through a bank. In 2011, Warno was able to manage and return the first loan of 1,000,000 (\$100), thereby becoming qualified for a second loan of Rp 2,000,000 (\$200), which he used to

buy a Rp 700,000 (\$70) compressor to replace a manual pump. The compressor efficiently cleans motorcycle engines and helps Warno repair an average of five motorcycles a day, compared to only two motorcycles when using manual pumps.

The loans have enabled Warno to move forward with his business. He asserted that after receiving and using the loans, he felt more confident than before getting the loans. Warno maintained that the loans were stimulus toward growth for his business, and that he felt satisfied with the effects. Warno mentioned that one day a bank officer came to offer him credit with interest, but he rejected it because he preferred taking the interest-free loan with a repayment schedule.

Warno further asserted that the investment from *zakat* has contributed to his family's participation in their community. Warno donates some of the profit to needy relatives, and he is able to help pay for a wake (*takziah*) when anybody in the community dies. Warno usually visits the grieving family to bring coffee, cakes, sugar, or 1 kg of rice. His wife and other women in the community also assume significant roles in organizing the collection of vegetables and other donations.

Warno has planned for a more secure future by means of the progress afforded by the loans. He claimed that if one day Rumah Zakat cannot help him anymore, he will not be worried about his future because *zakat* money is only an instrument to seek a better life. Since receiving the loan, Warno has saved a minimum of Rp 26,000 (\$2.60) every day. This money is used for electricity, the needs of his family members, and sustainability of the business. Warno said he wants to leave the business to his two sons. The average of Warno's daily gross profit is between Rp 75,000 (\$7.50) and Rp 80,000 (\$8), but he must deduct the oil that he buys for Rp 50,000 (\$5). Warno described how

the *zakat* money he uses for business can multiply, and that it is sufficient for himself, the education of his two children, and the family's health care needs.

Respondent 2 - Rodiyah Ulya

Rodiyah Ulya (age 42) is a mother and a high school graduate. Her labor history began as a grocery store vendor who earned 15% of her total daily sales. She sometimes received bonuses based on her performance. Her husband was a cigarette store salesman who received approximately Rp 25,000 (\$2.50) daily. Later he worked in a non-secure job in a furniture manufacturing plant with a weekly salary between Rp 75,000 (\$7.50) and Rp 100,000 (\$10). Before being involved in the economic empowerment program, Rodiyah and her family received a rice allowance (*beras miskin*) from the government of Rp 300,000 (\$30) every three months. However, as reported by Rodiyah, with three children, the rice allowance (*beras miskin*) was not sufficient for daily subsistence.

In 2006, before receiving loan support from Rumah Zakat, Rodiyah was starting her own business in a traditional market in Bantul. She shared that one morning when she first opened her business, a sudden earthquake occurred and ruined her shop and house. As a result, she and her family lived in a tent for six months, waiting for financial support from the government to rebuild her house.

Rodiyah lives with her husband and three children. The first child, a 26-year-old son, has been a *zakat* recipient of Rumah Zakat; thereby he has become economically independent. The second child, a 21-year-old son, completed high school but did not continue his studies. The third child, a 13-year-old girl, is going to junior high school. As stated by Rodiyah, before receiving the loan support, her and her husband's incomes

were not sufficient for the family. Her daughter often asked for a bicycle, but Rodiyah could not afford it.

After recovering somewhat from the earthquake's devastation, Rodiyah and her husband sold fruited ice cream from an unmovable stand in the pedestrian walkway on a busy street in Bantul. After several months, the neighborhood government (*kelurahan*) banned their business because it disrupted the traffic due to their unmovable stand. As a result, Rodiyah abandoned her business. After being absent from this business for almost two and a half years, she eventually found a new place of business on another busy road. Rodiyah said that this place is strategic for selling fruited ice cream because many motorists pass on this road from Yogyakarta City to rural areas in Bantul.

Finding this new location provided new momentum for Rodiyah to recover from her deprived economic situation. Rodiyah reopened her small business with the intention of not living in constant debt. Based on the assessment made by the ICD with the Pawn Shop Department (*Perum Pegadaian*), Rodiyah's application was accepted; hence, she was eligible for the first loan of Rp 1,000,000 (\$100), which she used to buy a rolling cart for Rp 1,200,000 (\$120) to replace the old unmovable stand. She added the additional Rp 200,000 (\$20) from her own pocket. This purchase did not include jars, glasses, plates, or cartons, which took almost Rp 200,000 (\$20). Rodiyah bought these items herself because she was determined to be successful in business.

As part of running the business, Rodiyah's husband goes to a traditional market at 5:00 in the morning every other day to buy fruit, ice bars, milk, or cream for between Rp 250,000 (\$25) and Rp 300,000 (\$30). After a day of selling her fruited ice cream,

Rodiyah typically brings home between Rp 350,000 (\$35) and Rp 400,000 (\$40) when the weather is warm. Rodiyah stated:

In the first day, my business was sold out, and due to [the fact that] successfully managing the first loan, I received the second loan of Rp 2,000,000 (\$200). Also, in the other sunny days, I made much profit. I was so happy because when someone bought my fruited ice cream, he or she would come back again. They said that my food was delicious. This caused my profit to increase.

Having made profits over the last two years, Rodiyah feels she should thank God (*alhamdulillah*). She believes that the interest-free loan from the micro-credit program is a blessing. Rodiyah's current business is more promising than her previous business, and from the very first day's profit, Rodiyah was able to buy a bicycle for her daughter.

Rodiyah pointed out:

When I lost my job, my daughter often asked me to buy her a bicycle. I did not respond to her because my first business was shut down by the neighborhood government (*kelurahan*), and I needed to fulfill basic needs of my family. When I received first profit from my business, I bought my daughter a bicycle.

Rodiyah said that she is satisfied with the loans because she can make her own food and sell it. For the future, she plans to expand her business to another location in front of a university campus in Bantul with access to the many students living in that area. She will ask for her husband to run this new business. She will establish new infrastructure by using some of the money from the second loan. Rodiyah was thinking of expanding her business in the future when she said:

I will employ those who are jobless to work with me and prepare facilities. Thank God (*alhamdulillah*) that by this business, the basic needs of my family have been met. Also, I will use some money from the profit to help relatives who are in need, including families whose members pass away or are sick.

Respondent 3 - Raha Basuki

In 1985, Raha Basuki (age 44) finished junior high school and did not continue to a high school level. Instead, Raha went to Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia, looking for a job. From 1987 to 2007, he worked as a mold maker at a Nike and Reebok manufacturing plant. There he met a fellow worker who later became his wife with whom he had a son, who is now 7 years old. Raha enjoyed this job because the manufacturer gave bonuses to employees based on their achievement, and the company sometimes paid for vacations for the employees and their families.

As a worker with a junior high school education (Table 2), Raha's wage was considered higher than average, so he allocated some of his salary to buy cameras and even sent some of the money to help his parents in Yogyakarta. From his job, Raha earned between Rp 1,500,000 (\$150) and Rp 2,000,000 (\$200) monthly, but he had not thought yet about saving for the future.

When the monetary crisis struck Indonesia in 1998, many manufacturing plants closed or downsized. This crisis also affected Raha and his wife. As a result, they went back to Yogyakarta. There Raha began to do any insecure jobs that gave him and his family a better life, including a job as a truck conductor to transport merchandise outside Yogyakarta Province, to East Java, Bali, and West Nusa Tenggara Provinces. He did not receive a fixed wage from this job because it was dependent on how much money he and the truck driver generated. Raha maintained that if the travel took seven days total, he would bring home approximately Rp 500,000 (\$50). Ambitious, he committed to run his own business, and through a referral by someone with a connection to Rumah Zakat, Raha then became a member of Rumah Zakat.

Rumah Zakat, through ICD, surveyed the feasibility of Raha's business and then agreed to support him. To start the business, Raha used the first interest-free loan of Rp 750,000 (\$75) to purchase chairs, plates, glasses, utensils, a stove, charcoal, and food, and to rent a rolling cart for Rp 6,000 (60 cents) per day. After six months, he returned the first loan, so he qualified for the second loan of Rp 1,000,000 (\$100). He used this money to purchase a used rolling cart for Rp 700,000 (\$70) rather than a new rolling cart for Rp 1,200,000 (\$120).

Raha sells his food from the rolling cart (*angkringan*) on a busy road in Yogyakarta. He orders the food that he sells, and he sells items on behalf of people who ask for his help to sell their cakes, boiled nuts, rice, or crackers. People who put their food in Raha's cart do not demand that their food should be sold. They come every other day to collect their money from him. He also sells hot noodles for Rp 2,800 (28 cents); a cup of coffee for Rp 2,000 (20 cents); a cup of tea for Rp 1,500 (15 cents); one cigarette for Rp 1,000 (10 cents); or a small wrapped rice with vegetables for Rp 1,000 (10 cents). He accumulates many purchases per day and receives a net profit between Rp 25,000 (\$2.50) and Rp 50,000 (\$5) daily, in spite of the fact that the price of each item is small. He opens his business every day except for Sundays from 11:00 in the morning to 5:00 in the afternoon. He sometimes closes the cart later, depending on daily demand. Raha said that his job as a food vendor is more promising than a job as a truck conductor with uncertain payment.

From this business, Raha is able to fulfill the basic needs of his wife, who helps him provide the packaging and all the equipment. She makes certain that glasses, bowls, and utensils are clean in the morning. Raha's 9-year-old son is going to a free elementary

school, but Raha must pay other expenses. For housing, he pays the electric bill each month. For a social life, Raha and his wife often go to neighborhood gatherings, such as a wake (*takziah*) or a weekly raffle (*arisan*).

Raha saves Rp 25,000 (\$2.50) in a bank every week if he makes a profit. He recalled that he wanted to run his own business, and that Rumah Zakat made it a reality. After receiving the second loan, Raha tried to save a small amount, as encouraged by Rumah Zakat. When meeting Raha at his kiosk (*angkringan*), this researcher was shown the transactions in his bank book, and it showed that he also uses some of the profits to repay his younger brother's loan from a bank.

Raha is able to fulfill the needs for feeding and housing his family and for educating his son. For health care, there is no problem with payment when family members are sick and go to see doctors. As Raha reported, they go to the Community Health Center or *Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat (Puskesmas)*, which is less expensive because the government subsidizes this institution. Raha gave this researcher an example:

My business is small, but I love it because I do not need to spend much energy to do it compared to other people selling their merchandise by walking from door to door. They travel through neighborhoods, despite the fact that their goods are not sold. I provide a rolling cart (*angkringan*) near my house, and people supply the food. In the future, I will expand my business in another location by employing someone. I believe that this business gives my family a better life if I run it with patience.

Respondent 4 - Waluyo Utomo

A neglected child from a young age, and an orphanage shelter dweller since he was 15 years old, Waluyo Utomo (age 42) completed only elementary school. Waluyo became independent at an early age, and he chose a variety of jobs as circumstances

permitted. He worked as a general construction laborer who helped a stonemason, but the economic crisis caused him to lose this job. Later he was employed as a pharmacy store salesman until 2004, earning a monthly salary of Rp 450,000 (\$54). He also was a ceramic seller during tile exhibitions in several large cities in Java and a pet fish seller in elementary schools. Waluyo did not receive a fixed amount of money from those last two jobs since his earnings were dependent on his sales, so these jobs did not give him a long-term income guarantee.

Currently, Waluyo serves as a teacher for children and teenagers in an afternoon mosque class in his neighborhood. The salary he earns from teaching is considered inadequate to support the living expenses of his wife, an elementary teacher with a master's degree in Islamic economics, and of his three daughters, who are 6, 3, and 1.5 years old. Waluyo rents a small house for Rp 3,000,000 (\$300) per year, which is less than the market price of Rp 8,000,000 (\$800). The land owner asks a lower rent because he wants Waluyo to stay in the neighborhood since Waluyo teaches in the afternoon mosque class and is active in the community.

Waluyo's family began using *zakat* money when his wife was pregnant with their third daughter. Routinely, his wife visited doctors at the free maternity ward of the Rumah Zakat Health Clinic (*Rumah Bersalin Gratis* or RBG) in Yogyakarta City to ensure that she was healthy, and the baby's development was appropriate for its age. From her fifth month pregnancy to her delivery, expenses were RBG's responsibility. Because his wife has been a member of RBG, Waluyo and their children are automatically included in the socio-health program. According to Waluyo, the family members visit RBG for medical check-ups or when they are sick.

Apart from his wife's status as the main recipient of the socio-health program, Waluyo has received from Rumah Zakat a loan of sewing tools; this non-monetary aid of Rp 7,000,000 (\$700) is in the forms of a sewing machine, a serger, fabrics, leathers, and a rolling cart, and are kept in the living room of his house. Waluyo's wife, who has sewing experience, has been teaching him how to sew. Moreover, Rumah Zakat supports him in marketing products to help his entrepreneurial potential, and it helps him advertise his products online and through volunteers.

The *zakat* money enables Waluyo to produce purses, bags, clothes, and accessories from *batik*²² fabrics and leathers. Waluyo and his wife work together in producing original items. For example, Waluyo usually purchases materials, and his wife sews. But Waluyo also makes accessories, such as flowers, straps, and leashes. In addition, Waluyo learns to sew. They collaborate together on this work because they must respond to customers' orders. To market the products, Waluyo distributes some of them to street vendors in downtown Yogyakarta. He usually makes higher sales during holidays than during the rest of the year because domestic tourists flock into Yogyakarta. Waluyo said:

During holidays, I often receive Rp 300,000 (\$30) daily, because I have many buyers, mainly those who visit Yogyakarta. Recently, I could sell women's long *jilbab*²³ (*mukenah*) with the profit of Rp 500,000 (\$50).²⁴ However, during normal days, I often make a profit between Rp 10,000 (\$1) and Rp 20,000 (\$2). The fabrics of most of my products are *batik*, and some are leathers. They are unique to visitors. I am happy running such a business, and I thank God (*alhamdulillah*) because my children and wife can eat from it.

²² *Batik* is a cloth that is traditionally made using a manual wax-resist dyeing technique.

²³ *Jilbab* refers to any long and loose-fit coat or garment worn by Muslim women.

²⁴ A telephone interview with Waluyo on July 27, 2012.

Most of the goods are sold in Yogyakarta, but some of Waluyo's acquaintances from South Kalimantan Province have ordered his products. Waluyo claimed that his business is growing; therefore, it has become the focus of his attention. He gave a price list to this researcher, and this shows adult clothes priced between Rp 70,000 (\$7) and Rp 90,000 (\$9); a *batik* purse priced at Rp 20,000 (\$2); and a leather bag priced at Rp 25,000 (\$2.50).

By making his own business profit assisted by the loans, Waluyo said that he is satisfied. He asserted that the satisfaction is not only material, but also psychological. He faces challenges in being an entrepreneur; hence, he has to manage time and be ready in the competitive market. Working at home, Waluyo is productive and has extra time to take care of his daughters. He spends some of his time teaching children in the afternoon mosque class and also serves the community by holding a secretary position in his neighborhood.

As noted by Waluyo, the role of Rumah Zakat has been helpful in achieving the goals of economic security and socio-health of his family. The *zakat* aid is meant to enable his family to become economically independent, and it also allows them to be active in the community and have access to health care. Waluyo received an interest-free loan with a flexible return. He claimed that he will return this loan when he is financially able. Waluyo shared that his repayment time, according to the terms of the loan, was in fact extendable and penalty-free, and that he can wait until he is enabled by success in running the business. He repeated a Rumah Zakat officer who said, "Please use this money and return it when you succeed." Waluyo stated that he thought of developing his business by seeking his own shop, and he further would employ the poor.

Respondent 5 - Istiqomah

Istiqomah (age 53) graduated from high school in 1979 and was married a year later. Her husband worked in a plywood company in South Kalimantan Province, and Istiqomah followed him to live there. Then in 1998, when the economic crisis hit Indonesia, her husband lost his job. As a result, they moved back to Yogyakarta. Istiqomah and her husband have two children. The first child is an adult married woman; their second child is a 17-year-old son, who is a high school student. Since the monetary crisis, Istiqomah has tried to sell *lotek*,²⁵ and other foods displayed in a case located in the front room of her house. Each portion of *lotek* is sold for Rp 4,000 (40 cents). Few customers buy her food every day, however, since many other people also sell food in this neighborhood. She feels happy if she can earn Rp 40,000 (\$4) daily from ten customers who buy her food. In addition to selling *lotek*, Istiqomah sells soaps, toothpaste, and snacks.

Istiqomah reported that after the economic crisis, her husband did not have a permanent job, and it was difficult for him to make a living. This phenomenon was seen everywhere in Indonesia, making life difficult for those who did not have secure jobs. She felt that the same conditions had affected her business too. The number of customers who bought her foods had decreased; therefore, less money was earned, and it was only sufficient for the daily necessities of the family. The 2006 earthquake in Yogyakarta added much difficulty to her psychologically as well.

At the time of the interview, Istiqomah performed a second job as a community helper (*pekerja sosial masyarakat*), assisting the neighborhood government (*kelurahan*) in dealing with the poor and their needs. She helped them negotiate their medical bills

²⁵ Rice which is topped with nut juice and vegetables.

with hospitals and had, therefore, become an intermediary for the needy. She was active in the community and was involved in such activities as caring for an aging population (*lansia*) and pregnant women. Since 2009, she has been a liaison between the locals and Rumah Zakat, which introduced its programs to the community in that year. The government reasonably compensates her for time, bus fares, and meals. This job as a community helper, however, is paid as a temporary position.

Istiqomah first started to use *zakat* money in 2010 when she and her nine friends were involved in a cooking program supported by the ICD with the intent to help them generate additional income. Istiqomah's group had diverse backgrounds in small-scale business, such as selling different foods and vegetables in their homes. They participated in the ICD cooking training because they saw the potential for profits in the bakery business. Cakes, muffins, pastries, *bakpia*,²⁶ or *martabak*²⁷ were made and sold to the middle and lower classes.

Istiqomah and her friends learned to make these bakery items when facilities were provided by Rumah Zakat, including a location, cooking materials, utensils, and cookware. After the training, they felt motivated, and they started to make baked goods. To this end, they first provided capital from their own pockets. Their products were sold mainly to local clients for community gatherings, neighborhood government (*kelurahan*) meetings, wedding parties, and religious ceremonies. To attract customers, the Kemangi Group, as they called themselves, promoted the baked items as less expensive than others in the market. With their capital, they shared profits. They also left aside some profits to sustain and develop their business.

²⁶ Small, round-shaped sweet roll cakes, usually stuffed with green beans.

²⁷ A stuffed pancake or pan-fried bread mixed with eggs and meat.

According to Istiqomah, after three baking efforts, they had not received significant profits, so they asked Rumah Zakat again to provide a tutor with specific knowledge of profit management and marketing. Meanwhile, each individual member of the Kemangi Group had her own separate business; thus, making the baked items had been a side job, and it fluctuated with customers' orders.

In 2011, Rumah Zakat first gave an interest-free loan with gradual returns of Rp 750,000 (\$75). The Kemangi Group bought jars in large quantities for Rp 350,000 (\$35) and flour, sugar, eggs, other materials, and equipment for Rp 400,000 (\$40). Their products gave them their first significant profit, and they earned between Rp 60,000 (\$6) and Rp 70,000 (\$7) for each individual. This share was a net profit after leaving aside 25% to return the capital to the bank and another 25% for the capital foundation of the group to sustain their business.

The baked items were sold mainly during the fasting month of *Ramadan* and the celebration of *Ied Fitr*. Istiqomah asserted that in several periods of production, the profit was similar to the profit of the first production, and the money was used to purchase the basic materials for making breads and cakes and repay the bank. Therefore, they were able to return the first loan of Rp 750,000 (\$75) gradually. In several early productions, the baked items were sold out. Over time, the sales declined because of market competition, so the Kemangi Group members met only when they received orders. The second loan for this group was distributed partially to each member. For example, one member received Rp 1,000,000 (\$100) for the *bakpia* cake business, and another one received the same amount to sell nut ingredients.

At this point, the Kemangi Group is not officially united as a cohesive entity; they come together only during holidays. Istiqomah maintained her original personal business of selling foods in her kiosk in her house, but the results were still small. She noted that because the bakery business had stagnated, the Kemangi Group members had broken apart. Each member except Istiqomah had subsequently tried her own business using the Rumah Zakat loan. Istiqomah was waiting for a good moment to start her own cake business. The lack of fulfillment of basic needs explains why she wanted to apply for the interest-free loan from Rumah Zakat again. When this researcher met her in March 2012, Istiqomah said that she would propose the loan by the end of that year. According to Istiqomah, by opening this food kiosk, she realized her ambition to run a small business. Moreover, all family members could eat from the business.

Zakat can be helpful as a springboard for motivated participants. In Istiqomah's words, "Rumah Zakat is only a facility, and we are actors in this community." She stated that some of her goals had been met through Rumah Zakat because she had worked as a community facilitator for social and cultural benefits, such as women's gatherings, children and teenagers' educational programs, the aging population's health care, and local neighborhood government (*kelurahan*) programs. Istiqomah claimed:

I have been involved in the community's activities, taking a role as a neighborhood cadre positioned in the Community Health Center or *Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat (Puskesmas)* to deal with medical check-ups of children (*Posyandu*) and with the aging population (*lansia*). To be effective, Rumah Zakat uses our services so that Rumah Zakat's programs are accepted because we are the locals who better know our situations.

Rumah Zakat not only injected capital, but also supported its members and partnered with them in useful ways. Rumah Zakat staff met the Kemangi Group at least once every two weeks during their early development. Later the frequency decreased,

and at the time of the interview, Rumah Zakat staff met the members as necessary. Rumah Zakat taught the group skills and knowledge as assets for their future. Indeed, Istiqomah asserted that she was able to receive and fulfill cake orders using her own money.

Respondent 6 - Ahmad Soleh

Ahmad Soleh (age 32) graduated from junior high school in 1995. He was unable to continue his study to a higher level due to economic reasons, and he began to work at a wood manufacturing plant in 1997. His job was to make door and window frames. The employer was his relative, and the salary he earned was below the minimum wage standard.²⁸

In 1998, Ahmad shifted to another job helping someone load and unload merchandised *batik* clothes from a truck to retailers. Ahmad and his employer usually distributed these *batik* clothes to the retailers at tourism places, such as Borobudur Buddhist Temple, Parang Tritis Beach, and Yogyakarta King Palace. Ahmad and his employer often departed at 2:00 in the afternoon and returned home at 11:00 at night. For such a job, there was no fixed schedule because the supplies of *batik* clothes to the retailers were dependent on immediate demands. Thus, they sometimes started working from early morning. Ahmad's wage was based on daily sales volume. For each day's delivery, he usually made Rp 25,000 (\$2.50) to Rp 30,000 (\$3), and his employer periodically gave him bonuses.

In 1999, Ahmad began a new job as an ice cream seller, working for a company in Yogyakarta. The wage he received from this business was Rp 200 (4 cents) for every

²⁸ The monthly minimum wage standard of Yogyakarta Province in 1998 was Rp 122,500 (\$12.25).

piece of ice cream he could sell at the price of Rp 1,000 (10 cents). The ice cream usually was offered to customers while travelling through neighborhoods in a rickshaw. From these sales, he saved and bought a basket for selling sweet green beans for the price of Rp 500,000 (\$50).

After purchasing the basket in 2006, Ahmad changed his profession to a sweet green bean seller on a rickshaw. He usually meets his customers in his neighborhood and the areas nearby. To this end, Ahmad wakes up at 3:00 in the morning to cook the beans and prepare the ingredients. Three hours later at 6:00, he pulls his rickshaw with the beans. When all of his food has been sold, he comes home, usually at 9:00 in the morning, but on some days by noon. Ahmad's wife supports his business by purchasing the beans and black rice, and cleaning the bowls, utensils, and cookware. She also helps him cook and load the food into the rickshaw. In addition, she shares her husband's problems and becomes an active listener when he comes home from the business. Most importantly, she prays for her husband's business to sell, and she takes care of the children so that her husband can be more productive.

Every day, while working six days a week, Ahmad is able to sell between 90 and 95 bowls with each bowl's price of Rp 1,000 (10 cents), so his daily total gross profit is between Rp 90,000 (\$9) and Rp 95,000 (\$9.50). Ahmad deducts expenses for buying the beans, coconut milk, sugar, black rice, ginger, and lemon grass for between Rp 40,000 (\$4) and Rp 50,000 (\$5). Hence, his net profit is between Rp 40,000 (\$4) and 50,000 (\$5) per day. The profit is reliable because, based on his observation, customers buy his food anytime, rain or shine.

Zakat has had a role in Ahmad's life through the RBG clinic program, which he learned of when his wife was pregnant. She met a friend at a community gathering, where she gathered information that RBG provides free services to the poor, mainly pregnant women who want medical check-ups. When Ahmad's wife was five months pregnant, she registered as a member of RBG, and then she visited RBG doctors at least once a month. Closer to delivery time, she went to RBG twice or three times a month. After delivery, she continues to visit RBG for medical check-ups and immunizations for her baby. Ahmad visits doctors at RBG, but less often and only when he needs treatment, due to the distance from his house to RBG.

Although Ahmad and his family live in his parents' house, he contributes to paying for the electricity every month. In addition, from his business profits, he pays the school tuition for his elder son, who is now 8 years old, and the basic needs of the family, and he saves for his children's future.

Ahmad plans to apply for an ICD micro-credit later in 2012. But he has received material aid, such as pans, bowls, and other sale equipment with an approximate price of Rp 300,000 (\$30) to assist in the sale of sweet green beans in a permanent kiosk. The interest-free loans he hopes to receive, according to Ahmad, will be used to extend his business of selling sweet green beans to operating in the afternoon as well as in the morning. If this venture succeeds, Ahmad will employ someone to stay in his kiosk. He also plans to continue to use some business profits for social activities. For example, he never forgets to donate Rp 200 (2 cents) every night as a pitch-in contribution, and with his profits he expects to have money to donate when someone in the community dies. Such donations are often used to purchase shrouds and to hire people to dig the grave.

For a wake, he brings a minimum of Rp 5,000 (50 cents). In addition, his wife spends Rp 20,000 (\$2) for a weekly raffle (*arisan mingguan*).

Respondent 7 - Sri Umiyati

Sri Umiyati is a 59-year-old widow who lost her husband many years ago. From her marriage, she has four children, of whom the oldest is a 33 year-old son, and the youngest is a 16 year-old girl. Sri has an elementary school education (Table 2). Over the last three decades, Sri has sold rice, vegetables, fish, and other foods from the basket of her bicycle. She usually offers the foods to her customers in neighborhoods in Yogyakarta. At 4:30 in the morning, she starts her job by purchasing the foods in a traditional market. Sri then drives her bicycle to meet her customers until 10:00 in the morning, or sometimes until noon, depending on how much food she sells for the day. She has done this job for almost 30 years, and according to her oldest son, Sri sometimes carried him in the basket on the bicycle when he was a baby.

In 1998, the economic crisis affected Sri's business, and she received less profit due to fewer people buying her foods. She reported that as a result, she earned only approximately Rp 5,000 (50 cents) to Rp 10,000 (\$1) daily. She added that even though she made less profit, the most important thing is she did not lose the job.

In 2006 at 6:00 in the morning, while riding her bicycle and holding rice and coconuts on her shoulders, Sri fell off her bike due to the earthquake. She was forced to quit the business for a while because the roads through the neighborhoods or her route were full of ruins and debris.

In 2008, through an acquaintance with one officer of Rumah Zakat, Sri proposed a loan. Sri had met the officer because he was one of her frequent customers. According

to Sri, because of their acquaintance through her business, he knew well her economic situation. However, in order to become a member of Rumah Zakat, Sri had to accept an agreement to be surveyed. She had agreed by saying, “You can come tomorrow and survey my place, but please add some capital for my business because I need it.” On the day they agreed on, the officer came for the survey, which included taking pictures of her house. After the survey, Sri waited for one and half months to receive the first interest-free loan of Rp 500,000 (\$50). Based on the contract, Sri was expected to pay the loan within 100 days with the returns of Rp 12,000 (\$1.20) per day. Sri had to thank God (*alhamdulillah*) because she managed to pay back the money. She returned the deductions directly to the officer who had referred her to the Rumah Zakat loan program.

Because of her success in returning the first loan, Sri qualified for the second loan of Rp 1,000,000 (\$100) which she used to add to her capital. Sri used the first and second loans to purchase basic foods, such as chicken, vegetables, coconut, rice, raw ingredients, and snacks, and sell them to her costumers. The terms of the second loan were similar to the first loan, namely that Sri had to pay back the loan within 100 days with a daily return of Rp 25,000 (\$2.50). Eventually, she succeeded in returning the loans, and now from her sales, she brings home approximately Rp 100,000 (\$10) daily.

As a widow, Sri has full economic responsibility for her four children, and the difficulties of this situation motivated her to apply for a loan from Rumah Zakat. According to Sri, her work is tiring due to long travel through neighborhoods on a bicycle heavily loaded with merchandise in the basket in order to serve her customers from one place to another. She noted that she was able to meet the challenge due to drinking a lot of water. With two children still under her care, she sometimes used the loans first to pay

their school tuitions. Then she needed to work even harder to return the loans in a limited time period, but she managed to succeed.

Despite her status as a *zakat* recipient, Sri considers herself a solvent Muslim who should pay *zakat fitr* of Rp 15,000 (\$1.50). Her *zakat* was given twice to the school where her children attended. Alternately, she has given *zakat* to her most needy relatives. Sri also participates in a raffle (*arisan*) every week in the community with Rp 5,000 (50 cents) and another raffle of Rp 3,000 (30 cents) every Friday night.

Table 3: Economic Empowerment Participants' Information

No	Name	Gender	Age	Current Job	Spouse's Job	Children
1.	Warno	Male	45	Repairman	Laborer	2
2.	Rodiyah Ulya	Female	42	Food seller	Homemaker	3
3.	Raha Basuki	Male	44	Food seller	Homemaker	1
4.	Waluyo Utomo	Male	42	Tailor	Homemaker	3
5.	Istiqomah	Female	53	Food seller	Homemaker	2
6.	Ahmad Soleh	Male	32	Food seller	Homemaker	2
7.	Sri Umiyati	Female	59	Food seller	Passed away	4
Average			45.3			2.4

As shown in Table 3, the average age of the economic empowerment respondents was 45.3, and the average number of children they had was 2.4. This number is below the national average of 4.7 persons in the household.

Socio-health Narratives

Respondent 1 - Sulistyowati

After completing high school (Table 2) in 1993, Sulistyowati (age 32) migrated to Batam Island in Sumatra and served two years in the administration office of a medical equipment company because she could operate basic computer programs. She did not want to extend the contract because she missed home. Her father was often sick, which necessitated her presence at home. In order to be closer to the family, she was looking for job opportunities in Yogyakarta, but she could not find any. The closest company which offered her the same job was in West Java Province. She accepted this offering because it was closer to Yogyakarta. Therefore, she could visit her parents often. However, in 1998 when civil demonstrations and protests took place in Jakarta and other cities in West Java Province, Sulistyowati quit the job and went back to Yogyakarta with her husband whom she met when working in West Java Province. They got married in 2002 and have two daughters, aged 9 and 3.

Working in those companies made her independent. Her salary was more than enough for herself. Therefore, she paid 2.5% of it as *zakat* by giving directly to the needy every year. In addition, some amount of it was sometimes sent to her parents or her younger brother for tuition fees. At that time, Sulistyowati was single, so she had the opportunity to support her family.

In 2003, Sulistyowati wanted to run her own business so that she could save money. Therefore, she has continued her mother's business, selling *soto*²⁹ and *rames*³⁰ rice every day but Sundays. This job requires her to wake up at 2:00 in the morning to

²⁹ A traditional soup mainly composed of broth, meat, and vegetables.

³⁰ A dish of rice topped with various meats, vegetables, peanuts, eggs, or fried-shrimp.

cook rice and chicken, as well as vegetables, and to prepare ingredients. Four hours later, her husband wakes up and opens the food kiosk; it stays open until 4:00 in the afternoon. She and her husband take turns caring for it.

Most recently, however, her profit has been going down because the kiosk is located in a small and narrow alley; hence, pedestrians may not see it. By contrast, her mother, who previously ran this business in an adjacent pedestrian walkway, did more sales than Sulistyowati. The Yogyakarta City government has since banned any businesses on the pedestrian walkways.

Sulistyowati has been worried about her children's future because they will have more needs. Sulistyowati asserted, "If my children are growing up, they should have adequate financial security, yet there is not enough money from this business." The net profit she receives from the business is between Rp 5,000 (50 cents) and Rp 10,000 (\$1) a day and is only sufficient for her children's snacks at school. When her children were just born, Sulistyowati could save, if only Rp 5,000 (50 cents) a day. Now, the children are going to school; hence, Sulistyowati has difficulty saving the same amount of money as she did. However, the family members can eat from her kiosk.

Sulistyowati and her husband have often been disqualified for jobs they applied for because employers asked for detailed information, including age and education, which made them feel uncomfortable. Actually, they want to leave this unpromising business because they have spent much energy on it. However, rather than doing nothing, this business is the last choice, and they can only surrender. Most importantly, Sulistyowati is not unemployed and her family members are not hungry.

Sulistyowati first learned about the free services of Rumah Zakat in November, 2008, when she read an announcement in the neighborhood mosque that Rumah Zakat provides free medical check-ups and prenatal and delivery care for impoverished pregnant women through RBG. Sulistyowati added:

The eligible must be poor in order to receive medical treatment from RBG, and they must be pregnant. At that time, I was pregnant, but I did not know that I was. After the check-up, the doctor ascertained that I was pregnant; therefore, I qualified for the socio-health program.

Since that time, Sulistyowati and her family have become members of RBG. When she was pregnant, seeking medical check-ups for her and the baby was the priority to ascertain that they were healthy. They visited RBG for medical check-ups every month from her fifth month of pregnancy until her delivery at RBG. After that, as her child grew, she went with her for medical check-ups, and so did her other family members. She stated:

As far as I know, my husband has been to RBG for medical check-ups four times. My children and I go to RBG at least twice a month. Having such medical treatment helps me lower my expenses. I wanted to save money for my family's health care, but I could not afford it.

Sulistyowati stated that RBG is helpful for poor *zakat* recipients and offers better free medical check-ups and treatments than they previously received at *Puskemas*. She said:

Health is expensive, and I should thank God (*alhamdulillah*) that RBG gives us sufficient medicines and treatments. The doctors are patient and generous. In 2009, my daughter was born at RBG, and was treated well by the doctors. I always bring her there for medical check-ups.

Moreover, RBG's services were more helpful for her family and her community. She asserted that the medical care was expensive; the treatment required money, and seeking money was challenging.

Before receiving these services, Sulistyowati often visited doctors at *Puskesmas*, paying only Rp 2,000 (20 cents) by showing her impoverished family card (*Keluarga Menuju Sejahtera* or KMS). Based on her experience, she stated that the services of *Puskesmas* were not carefully given and not sufficient. She asserted:

Most of the time, I saw many clients lining for services. I was disappointed with these situations, especially when my child was with me. Doctors sometimes came late, which affected the services given to us. This made us receive medical treatments as late as 2:00 in the afternoon. One day, I experienced such a difficulty when I came to seek medical treatment. I was lining and was the 100th person in the line. I came in the morning but was served by the doctor at 12:00 in the afternoon. Due to being upset, I went out and sought medical treatment from a mid-wife (*bidan*).

At RBG, services are performed well without a prior appointment, and the line is short, only two or three patients. Also, patients of RBG can be referred to public hospitals if RBG is unable to give the treatment. Sulistyowati said:

When my younger daughter was sick, I brought her to RBG. She was diagnosed with dengue fever by doctors. As a result, she was referred to another hospital which had adequate facilities to treat her. To receive the treatment, I showed a referral letter from RBG to the hospital; therefore, I was freed from the charge of Rp 758,000 (\$75.80).

By joining the socio-health program, Sulistyowati stated that her life is better than it was because she not only receives health care services, but also participates in RBG member gatherings to share information about entrepreneurship. She said, "Meeting other members, we hear different stories about how to develop our businesses and succeed in the future." The meeting is usually held once a month, and it is led by successful entrepreneurs, presenting their entrepreneurial experiences to motivate the members to run businesses.

Sulistiyowati stated that recently Rumah Zakat had given her a food parcel which contained frying oil, sugar, tea, milk, and some kilograms of rice when RBG celebrated Mother's Day. However, she hoped that Rumah Zakat would give her food more often to lower her expenses. She asserted that Rumah Zakat also often distributed food to people in her neighborhood. However, in some cases, the food was not distributed to the eligible. She stated, "I have heard that some ineligible recipients receive the food too. It should be given to us."

Respondent 2 - Urip Raharjo

Urip Raharjo (age 50), a primary recipient's husband, graduated from high school in 1983. Because he did not continue to a higher level, he began to work various jobs, including one as an amateur photographer for a printing company in East Java Province. This company often required him to work outside the province, such as in South Sulawesi Province. There he printed citizenship identification cards and house number plates. For each piece, he received Rp 5 (.4 cents).³¹ From 1990 on, Urip worked in Jakarta as a private driver, but he was laid off because of the financial crisis. As a result, he went back to Yogyakarta and worked at a furniture company that produced chairs and indoor materials from dry water hyacinth plants (*eceng gondok*). His salary was sufficient for him as a single man.

From his marriage to Fatima, they have now two sons and one daughter, aged 10, 4, and 2 respectively. Previously, Fatima worked as a *batik* clothes seller in a market in Yogyakarta. Subsequently, she sold cakes in a basket by travelling through market stands to meet her customers. Recently, Fatima quit the job and serves as a homemaker

³¹ In 1983, \$1 US was Rp 1,250.

taking care of the children. Urip, therefore, needed to find another job because he no longer worked in the furniture company.

Now, Urip repairs bicycles and motorcycles. Most of his customers are his neighbors who have problems with flat tires or brakes. This is because his shop is located on a narrow street inside the ghetto. Therefore, it is not easily visible to people outside the neighborhood. Urip pointed out that more people would use his services if he opened his business on a busy street. Urip's daily average income is Rp 25,000 (\$2.50), and he insisted that earning this money is better than nothing. Living with five persons in a family with inadequate income is a concern for everyone, but Urip argued that he should thank God (*alhamdulillah*) for whatever God bestows on him. Urip is surprised that with this little money, he and the family survive.

Through a conversation with one of her friends in the neighborhood, Fatima, whose pregnancy was entering its seventh month, was advised to visit doctors at RBG. Shortly after, she submitted the required documents to RBG, but personnel thoroughly surveyed her family's economic and housing conditions and asked for input from neighbors about the family. Urip stated that he and his family should visit doctors at RBG because they are not able to pay doctors at public hospitals. He pointed out:

We cannot afford medical treatments at public hospitals because we lack money. Medical treatments at RBG are free, including regular check-ups for my wife from the seventh month of her pregnancy to delivery and immunizations for my baby.

Urip added that he goes to RBG when he is sick, such as when he suffers from coughing and influenza, as do his wife and the children when they are sick.

Some needs of Urip's family have been fulfilled due to becoming members of Rumah Zakat. For example, they receive sufficient medicines and medical treatments

that helped them lower their economic expenses, because the medicines and health services are expensive. Urip claimed:

The price of each medical check-up is Rp 20,000 (\$2), but it is dependent on the illness too. There are two kinds of medicines I know of, namely counterpain and *bodrexin*.³² The price of the medical check-up and medicines altogether is Rp 30,000 (\$3). To compare, I once brought my eldest son to a specialist and paid Rp 100,000 (\$10), excluding medicines.

They visit doctors at RBG because they want a better life. They also go to RBG member gatherings once a month every 21st day. In the gatherings, they listen to presentations from successful entrepreneurs. Urip also pointed out that he joined a jogging program promoted by RBG to encourage a better life. This program has inspired him to regularly take his parents to the hospital if they are sick. One thing Urip has not seen in RBG is a dental care facility, and he needs it because he has dental issues.

Respondent 3 - Rukiya Sari

In 2001, Rukiya Sari (age 31) completed high school and began to work at the cleaning service in a public hospital in Yogyakarta. In 2006, she quit the job because she was pregnant and became a homemaker. In 2010, Rukiya and her husband, who has a junior high school education, sold fruited ice cream and *lotek* in their neighborhood to fulfill their economic needs. The average daily profit of their business was Rp 25,000 (\$2.50), but they faced bankruptcy at the end of 2011. Now, they want to reopen their business but hope for an outside investment.

To raise two children, a 10-year-old girl and a 3-year-old girl, Rukiya makes cakes and sells them in vendors' nearby kiosks. With the capital investment of Rp 50,000 (\$5) every two days, Rukiya receives the average net profit of Rp 7,000 (70 cents) per day. Her husband has also helped the economy of the family. Since 1998, he has

³² A generic medicine widely sold in the market

been a public bus conductor, but his daily wage is uncertain. It is dependent on the number of passengers riding the bus. Many people prefer driving their own cars to their workplace and schools, and motorcycles are widely used as alternative transportation. It is also difficult for public buses to earn profits because some people are not comfortable taking public buses. If her husband is lucky, he brings home approximately Rp 20,000 (\$2) a day.

In 2011, Rukiya became a member of RBG. She recalled that at that time her family's life was in difficulty. She asked for the neighborhood government (*kelurahan*) to give her access to medical check-ups as her pregnancy was approaching its fifth month. As a result, she was referred to RBG. Waiting only for a week, Rukiya was accepted as a member. She claimed that this process was fast, but RBG surveyed her family's economic situation.

As a member, RBG also covers her husband and two daughters, as well as her mother-in-law. They regularly visit doctors at RBG for check-ups or when they are sick. Rukiya claimed that the medical treatments were sufficient, especially during her time of obstetric procedures. Rukiya predicted that the value of medicines she received is Rp 50,000 (\$5) per visit.

Being treated adequately by RBG, Rukiya is satisfied because there is no line-up when seeking the treatment. She recalled that it is in contrast to her experience when she visited *Puskesmas*. Rukiya has this to say about the issue:

As a member holding a KMS card, I paid Rp 2,000 (20 cents) when I visited doctors at *Puskesmas*, but I sometimes had difficulty. One day, I came at 8:00 in the morning but was treated three hours later. *Puskesmas* officers also made me dissatisfied because when I asked them about my problem, they did not correctly answer my question. They also worked slowly. RBG is helpful for the poor like me and my family.

Rukiya stated that RBG helps her family, and so they recommended that RBG should expand its services to other locations because it significantly helps the poor. Nevertheless, living as a temporal cake maker and serving as a public bus conductor are difficult for Rukiya and her husband to make a better life. Therefore, they recommended that Rumah Zakat should distribute more food (*sembako*) to them. Rukiya and her family have never received aid from Rumah Zakat in the form of food or money. Several months ago, they proposed an interest-free loan from Rumah Zakat to reopen their business but received no answer. Her husband complained about stringent requirements established by Rumah Zakat that presented an obstacle for the family to receive a loan.

While becoming a member of RBG, Rukiya passed through difficult processes during her pregnancy until her delivery, and RBG helped her. Also, she attended meetings at Rumah Zakat for sharing information about entrepreneurship presented by successful entrepreneurs to motivate members. Most importantly, she sent her daughter to the Rumah Zakat's free elementary school (*Sekolah Dasar Juara*). The school does not charge students, yet it gives school equipment to them.

Respondent 4 - Sutinah

Sutinah (age 30) is a mother of two daughters. One is 3 years old, and the other one is 11 years old and is going to elementary school. Sutinah completed elementary school and began to work at a garment company producing bags and doll clothes which were manually sewn. She could sew five items a day, and she was paid Rp 350 (3.5 cents) for each item. In 1998, the economic crisis caused her to become unemployed, because the company was in a financially critical situation. However, Sutinah was lucky

because she easily found a similar job with another local manufacturer in the same year. She then worked at this company until 2006 when the earthquake occurred.

In 2007, in a Yogyakarta market, Sutinah worked as a *batik* clothes seller, receiving 15% of the sales she made. If she had many sales, the employer would give her bonuses. The average money Sutinah brought home was Rp 20,000 (\$2) per day. In 2010, after quitting this job, Sutinah worked as a laundress, cleaning and ironing clothes. She had to work seven days a week and received Rp 70,000 (\$7). From 2011 to date, because Sutinah considered it tough, she quit the laundry job and found another job in a household of five persons as a maid, washing and ironing clothes from 9:00 in the morning until 12:00 in the afternoon. Her salary is Rp 250,000 (\$25) per month. Her husband is a laborer for a stonemason, building houses with a daily wage of Rp 50,000 (\$5). Her husband's job does not give security because it is dependent on people calling the stonemason to build their houses.

As stated by Sutinah, the money sought by her and her husband is only sufficient for their daily needs, such as food and electricity. There is no money to save for the family's future. To generate additional income, her husband sometimes catches eels in the nearby rice fields, and he sells them for Rp 12,000 (\$1.20) per kg.

Sutinah first learned about RBG from one of her relatives, who was also a member of RBG. She told Sutinah that RBG's services are adequate and free but are dependent on a prior RBG's personnel survey. At that time, Sutinah was entering the fifth month of pregnancy, carrying her baby-girl, who is now 3 years old. Sutinah was received as a member within a week of waiting. During her fifth to seventh month of pregnancy, she went for medical check-ups once a month. Subsequently, the medical

check-ups were intensified until she delivered the baby. She spent a day at RBG when she delivered her baby.

At RBG, Sutinah received adequate medicines needed for her and her baby, and her baby was given immunizations. Since the delivery, she and her baby still visit doctors at RBG, as do her other family members when they are sick. Sutinah commented on this:

We are excited because we are able to seek medication at RBG. We are happy because the family seeks medical check-ups at RBG. RBG is helpful and makes us confident. This helps us to maintain our family's health.

Sutinah claimed that she receives adequate medicines and is satisfied with medical treatments at RBG. She also does not experience a wait when she visits doctors because RBG allows patients to come at night. As a member of RBG, Sutinah stated that she once received a food parcel given by RBG during the celebration of Mother's Day in January, 2012. However, she hoped that Rumah Zakat would give her more food in the future to help her family members survive. Sutinah pointed out:

I thanked God (*alhamdulillah*) that my family members are healthy because of RBG, and I am happy because RBG helps us. I am satisfied with the job of RBG. We the family cannot give something back to RBG. Each doctor visit at RBG costs Rp 20,000 (\$2). Also, the cost of delivery at RBG is Rp 500,000 (\$50). To compare, when I delivered my elder child in a mid-wife clinic, I paid Rp 150,000 (\$15) for it.

Sutinah claimed that by becoming a member of RBG, she and her family are lucky because the medical treatments are free; and so she can lower her expenses. Being a member also helps her support her children's education. For example, Sutinah is able to donate Rp 10,000 (\$1) and pay tuition of Rp 3,000 (30 cents) for her younger child's afternoon school at the neighborhood mosque. Also, she is able to pay Rp 35,000 (\$3.50)

monthly and Rp 250,000 (\$25) once in the beginning for her elder child's elementary school tuition.

Sutinah is involved in the member meetings, which are usually held on the 21st day of each month. Members also learn about postnatal care at those gatherings. In addition, with support of RBG, Sutinah and her family are able to pay *zakat fitr* of 2.5 kg of rice to the neighborhood mosque, or alternately she gives it to her needy relatives. However, she also receives *zakat* of Rp 20,000 (\$2) and 2.5 kg of rice from the household she helps.

Respondent 5 - Siti Sarjilah

Siti Sarjilah (age 35) was a junior high school graduate in 1992 in Central Java Province and did not continue her studies. After graduating, Siti spent most of her time taking care of her sick grandmother. From 2000 to 2004, she worked as a baby-sitter in a family with a monthly salary of Rp 200,000 (\$20). In 2005, she found a job as a cow's skin cracker wrapper in a home industry. This job paid her Rp 100 (1 cent) per 100 packages she could wrap. According to Siti, she could wrap between 500 and 600 packages a day. In 2006, she found another job as a cashier at a school canteen. She also sold food and washed glasses and plates. Siti received a weekly wage of Rp 50,000 (\$5).

In 2009, she migrated to Jambi Province in Sumatra to live with her uncle. That year, she met her husband who worked as a cigarette salesman on wheels. In 2010, Siti and her husband went home to Yogyakarta to start a new life. There Siti sells her step-sister's vegetables by walking through the neighborhood in the morning. She usually receives between Rp 15,000 (\$1.50) and Rp 20,000 (\$2) per day. Her husband works as an ingredient or spice maker with a daily wage of Rp 25,000 (\$2.50). However, he also

receives bonuses depending on his performance. According to Siti, such a wage is not sufficient for basic needs because they now have a four-year-old girl and are saving to rebuild their house.

In 2010, Siti was introduced to RBG by one of her relatives, who once gave birth at RBG. When Siti first became a member, she was six months pregnant. Her membership process took seven days after she submitted the required documents. Personnel of Rumah Zakat surveyed her economic and family situation to determine whether Siti and her family members could enroll in the socio-health program.

Before she went for the check-up at RBG, Siti usually visited a mid-wife (*bidan*). She paid Rp 30,000 (\$3) for each mid-wife's service. To compare, she also paid Rp 80,000 (\$8) when she visited a specialist doctor. At RBG, services are free, including the ultrasonography procedures and immunizations. Siti reported that when she was in her seventh month of pregnancy, she visited doctors at RBG once a week; when she was in her eighth month of pregnancy, she did this every other week if she had complaints. In her ninth month of pregnancy until delivery, she visited doctors often. Siti recalled that in this period, RBG often gave her white wood oil (*minyak kayu putih*) for Rp 10,000 (\$1) and medicines for Rp 15,000 (\$1.50).

Siti stated that services at RBG have fulfilled the health needs of her family. Medical check-ups and treatments were adequately provided by generous and patient doctors. These services were helpful for needy people, such as her family. She realized that these free services lowered her family's expenses.

According to Siti, because of these free services, her family is able to pay *zakat fitr* of 2.5 kg of rice for each individual, a sum which is usually given to a neighborhood

mosque, and she can, therefore, save some money from her salary to rebuild her house. Siti stated that one advantage she received from being a member of the socio-health program is that she had the opportunity to attend monthly gatherings, where she learned about life management given by experts. Also, she learned about entrepreneurial experiences shared by members.

Respondent 6 - Wardiyah

In 1995, Wardiyah (age 33) completed a junior high school degree. A year later, she worked in a textile manufacturing plant with a daily wage of Rp 9,000 (90 cents). After three months, she was offered another job as a tailor sewing doll clothes and accessories with a daily wage of Rp 15,000 (\$1.50). She kept this job until the monetary crisis occurred in 1998. Because of the crisis, the company she worked for was closed. Despite this, Wardiyah began her own business as a private tailor when neighbors asked for her to sew their clothes. The price of sewing an adult's clothes is between Rp 25,000 (\$2.50) and Rp 30,000 (\$3).

From Wardiyah and her husband's marriage, they had three children. The first is a 9-year-old girl; the second is a son who died a day after birth in 2009; the third is a 1-year-old son. Her husband (age 36), a high school graduate, often stays at home because he has difficulty finding a job. However, he had been a mosque care taker in their previous neighborhood. This job did not offer salary, but mosque care takers can eat from *zakat* given during *Ied Fitr* if they collect that *zakat* or from other donations. In addition, her husband sometimes generates additional income when his relatives or his parents ask for him to help them work in rice fields.

Currently, this couple sells food at night, and most of their customers are students living nearby. They sell rice, fried catfish, iced tea, and iced juice. They usually sell seven plates on a night because the location of their business is not in a busy street; it is located on a small quiet alley. But Wardiyah stated that to sell five portions is better than nothing. The price of a portion of food is Rp 6,000 (60 cents).

Wardiyah first learned about free services at RBG from her relative, who became a member of Rumah Zakat, and who said that the services of RBG are free for the poor. At that time, her husband was unemployed, and she was in her seventh month of pregnancy, carrying their second child. After the personnel's survey, Wardiyah's proposal to become a member of Rumah Zakat was accepted after a month of waiting. During her pregnancy, Wardiyah visited doctors at RBG for medical check-ups, and she would go to visit doctors there very often during the month before delivery. Two of her three children were frequently brought to RBG for medical-check-ups.

According to Wardiyah, she secured a five-year-member term, and after the check-ups, she stated that services were sufficient. The doctors were generous. Every month, she went for the ultrasonography procedures and check-ups. Presently, she has been involved in member gatherings held by RBG. In these gatherings, members shared stories about their entrepreneurial experiences. Yet, they also received presentations from experts about life management, parenting practices, and methods to improve their children's health. Wardiyah also went to bazaars held by Rumah Zakat in different locations.

Wardiyah stated that she received the best medicines from RBG because most of them were in packages. In comparison, she stated that most medicines from *Puskesmas*

were generic and open. Most importantly, Wardiyah was satisfied with services at RBG because the treatments were timely and given at night; therefore, there was no line.

Wardiyah and her husband stay in a house on the land that was left by her husband's parents. When this researcher visited their house for observation, some parts of the house were under renovation. As pointed out by Wardiyah, this house had been damaged by the earthquake. The family received aid from the Jogja Reconstruction Foundation, but it was not enough.

Over the previous six months, Wardiyah had sold rice with fried catfish in a tent in front of her house with an average sale of five plates per night. She opened her kiosk from 7:00 in the evening to 12:00 mid-night every day but Sundays. She charged Rp 6,000 (60 cents) for one plate of food, including the beverages. However, Wardiyah often realized that her food did not sell out, especially when it was raining. At these times, she stated that she was embarrassed in front of customers because the tent leaked and rain drops fell on the kiosk's table. She asserted that the family's life was very exhausting (*enák*). All she could do was surrender. Wardiyah hopes for an outside investment with lower interest, so she can renovate her kiosk and, therefore, revitalize her business.

Respondent 7 - Indrawati

Indrawati (age 29) finished elementary school in 1997 and went to work after graduating. In her first job, she sewed bags for a company. This job, however, did not last long because Indrawati got married and served as a homemaker. From her marriage to her husband, who had a junior high school education, they have three sons, ages 14, 9, and 4.

To make a living, Indrawati's husband used to travel through neighborhoods in Yogyakarta City and Bantul Regency on a bicycle with a basket purchasing used iron from the locals. Presently, some collectors come to him and sell their used iron for Rp 5,000 (50 cents) per kg. The family further burns the iron to craft equipment, such as knives, axes, or iron bars. Indrawati always helps ignite the heat by pumping so that the iron melts. The family also employs two people to help them. The maximum profit her husband can make from this business is 3,000,000 (\$300) per week, but he has to pay workers and deduct the capital. She and her husband average income is Rp 30,000 (\$3) per day.

Indrawati learned about RBG through her neighbor who became a member of RBG and who gave birth at the RBG clinic. At that time, Indrawati was in her fifth month of pregnancy. After submitting required documents, she was accepted after three days of waiting. From her fifth to the seventh month of pregnancy, she visited doctors at RBG once a month. When her pregnancy intensified, she visited the doctors often. All fees were waived, including check-ups and immunizations.

Indrawati stated that the medical treatments were provided by generous doctors, and she believed that she and her family benefited from learning about the importance of family planning. Also, the children were offered free circumcisions at RBG. After visiting doctors, Indrawati always returned home with medicines. She stated that she was happy with these free medical check-ups. She was grateful to RBG because RBG came and helped her family.

When Indrawati was pregnant, her husband wanted to save a lot of money because he was worried about the safety of the unborn child. He stated that there was no

limit to the money that he should have provided for his wife's delivery; therefore, he thanked God (*alhamdulillah*) that RBG could solve the family's problem. Indrawati's husband pointed out, "I felt that RBG was helpful and gave its best services to us. However, it would be helpful also for us if Rumah Zakat would distribute *zakat* for poor families in the form of food."

Indrawati said that she valued benefits from being a member of RBG. She stated:

We hoped that our children would be normally delivered and safe. As the parents, we were panicked when the delivery was approaching because we needed money to pay doctors. If we could have handled this, we would have. However, we did not have the knowledge. We had to ask for help from RBG. We could have gone to a traditional mid-wife (*bidan kampung*), but we wanted the best treatment so that our children would be safe. Taking our children to the traditional mid-wife could lower our expenses, but we would have not known about their development in the womb. If we had had money, we would probably have been able to seek the best services. Without money, RBG was helpful for us.

Indrawati believed that she and her family valued member gatherings at RBG, which are held every 21st day of each month, because members shared valuable information, including ways to improve businesses and manage life. She also stated that receiving free services from RBG lowered her expenses. Therefore, she could pay *zakat fitr* to their children's schools every year during *Ramadan* and pay her children's tuitions.

Table 4: Socio-health Participants' Information

No	Name	Gender	Age	Current Job	Spouse's Job	Children
1.	Sulistyowati	Female	32	Food seller	Homemaker	2
2.	Urip Raharjo	Male	50	Repairman	Homemaker	3
3.	Rukiya Sari	Female	31	Baker	Bus conductor	2
4.	Sutinah	Female	30	Maid	Laborer	2
5.	Siti Sarjilah	Female	35	Food seller	Spice maker	1
6.	Wardiyah	Female	33	Food seller	Homemaker	2
7.	Indrawati	Female	29	Homemaker	Blacksmith	3
Average			34.3			2.1

As shown in Table 4, the average age of the socio-health program respondents was 34.3. Similarly, the previous research herein by IMZ (2011) reported that *zakat* recipients, with a typical age between 30 and 31, were more productive in managing *zakat* capital. However, the average number of children of the respondents was 2.1 which is below the national average of 4.7 children in the household.

Economic Empowerment Themes

Better Education Leading to Better Jobs

An educational degree is a significant factor in determining the success of respondents' businesses. Economic empowerment program respondents with minimal education tended to pursue low-level jobs that did not require specialized skills. One respondent, with a job that was suitable to his education, was currently working as a

motorcycle repairman. This respondent was optimistic about the benefit of the loans because his education supported his business career. Furthermore, one spouse with a university degree had a significant influence in developing her husband's sewing business. The majority of respondents were high school graduates, and this education level (Table 2) supported their business.

Roles of ICD and Rumah Zakat Officers

Four of the seven economic empowerment program respondents claimed that they had learned about interest-free loans offered by Rumah Zakat through the ICD programs facilitated by the neighborhood government (*kelurahan*). This research found one respondent who was related by blood to a recipient, who was not interviewed. The other three respondents learned about the interest-free loans from Rumah Zakat officers. Two of these three respondents were active in their communities and facilitated Rumah Zakat to introduce its programs to the communities. They learned about the interest-free loans from one neighbor, who previously was an officer of Rumah Zakat. The other respondent learned about the interest-free loans from her customer, who was a Rumah Zakat officer. No respondent stated that he or she learned about the interest-free loans through advertisement or by soliciting information directly from Rumah Zakat offices.

Spousal Support

Supported by their husbands or wives, five of the seven economic empowerment program respondents from rural and urban communities were small entrepreneurial workers selling food and services, from which they earned income for survival. The other two couples were different. In one pair, the husband was a mechanic while his wife was a manufacturing plant laborer. In the other pair, the woman was a food seller and her

husband had passed away (Table 3). The exception among these respondents was that only one of the three rural respondents had agricultural land, but it did not give him sufficient rice to provide adequate income. Therefore, this rural respondent continued working as a mechanic. Rumah Zakat supported them through the interest-free loans of between Rp 750,000 (\$75) and Rp 7,000,000 (\$700). The majority of these economic empowerment program respondents reported that they received spousal support with regard to making and marketing their products.

Creating Jobs

Five of the seven economic empowerment program respondents believed in the future prospects of their businesses. In order to generate better income, Rumah Zakat helped them with the interest-free loans to revitalize their places of business and stimulate local economies. Rumah Zakat provided some respondents with equipment, such as rolling carts, utensils, crockery, sewing machinery, and leathers. However, Rumah Zakat also provided them with money which was used for purchasing compressors, rolling carts, fabric, and other materials to sustain their businesses. Of the seven economic empowerment program respondents, four wanted to create job opportunities for unemployed people and help them seek better lives.

Income above the BPS Standard

Before the 2006 earthquake, the average income of the economic empowerment program respondents was stable because they worked either as service vendors or as small business retailers. Some of them were manufacturing plant workers. Five of these seven respondents had worked multiple jobs in the past before they received the interest-free loans. Through the help of the economic empowerment program, five of the seven

respondents earned incomes of Rp 20,000 (\$2) per day. However, after this amount was divided among 2.4 persons (Table 3) in the family, this money approximately equaled Rp 8,000 (80 cents), above the standard of poverty established by BPS, which is Rp 5000 (50 cents) per individual. However, their average income was below the United Nations' standard of poverty of \$2 (Rp 20,000) per individual for daily consumption.

The other two respondents had an unstable income because their businesses were struggling. One of the two respondents opted not to take the second loan because she was waiting for a better business climate; the other did not take the third loan because she did not feel she could return the money. Despite this, the majority of the economic empowerment program respondents were mobile because they had motorcycles³³ to facilitate their work. The criteria of being poor enough to receive the interest-free loans from Rumah Zakat, to some extent, were not consistently applied to the economic empowerment program respondents.

Self-Satisfaction

One economic empowerment program respondent stated that the interest-free loans enabled him to earn sufficient profit to meet the basic needs of him and his family members. The second economic empowerment respondent stated the loans she used for business were a blessing and that she could fulfill the needs of her family. The third respondent stated that his business was promising and that the needs of his family were economically and socially met. The fourth respondent asserted that he was economically satisfied and claimed that his business was growing, although it needed much attention from him and his wife. These four respondents claimed that their social needs and their

³³ This is a more common transportation in this area than automobiles.

children's educational needs were met. The fifth respondent claimed that he was satisfied with the loans and stated that Rumah Zakat's support was helpful in revitalizing his business. The last two respondents were economically satisfied, but they needed more support because one respondent had experienced business bankruptcy, and the other was a single female parent. Surprisingly, among the seven economic empowerment respondents, two respondents simultaneously received economic empowerment and socio-health program benefits. These two programs helped their home economies and maintained their health care to help them achieve better lives.

Basic Needs Fulfilled

The majority of the economic empowerment program respondents stated that their program goals were achieved, such as fulfilling basic needs like food and electricity. Some of these respondents asserted that they donated some of their money from the profits of their businesses at raffles (*arisan*) and wakes (*takziah*) to help needy families, and for pitch-in contributions in their neighborhoods. For example, one respondent stated that his objective of using the interest-free loans was met; therefore, he felt that he was financially independent. He now has skills he can rely on if one day Rumah Zakat can no longer support him. However, two respondents stated that although their businesses did not grow, it did not prevent them from being active in their communities. Their needs were not limited only to material goods, but also their social needs, such as attending wakes (*takziah*) and gatherings in their neighborhoods. In addition, Rumah Zakat facilitated monthly member gatherings, in which the economic empowerment program respondents were encouraged to participate. At these gatherings, respondents not only learned about entrepreneurship and life management but also shared their experiences

about their businesses. The meetings were beneficial because they facilitated collaborative learning and member interactions through social support and networking.

Socio-health Themes

More Education Needed

Although education level was not a criterion for receiving *zakat* aid, it was important to investigate the respondents' educational background. The average education of the seven socio-health program respondents was nine years, ending at junior high school (Table 2). Before being involved in the program, most of the socio-health program respondents worked multiple jobs that did not require credentials. Their spouses' education was also minimal; therefore, their jobs paid little. Two of the seven socio-health program respondents had difficulty finding jobs when they applied. This difficulty was related to their education and age. Education played an important role in the ability of respondents or spouses to help generate additional income.

Roles of Neighbors and Communities

Five of the seven socio-health program respondents learned about free health care services of RBG from their neighbors and relatives, who had been successful recipients of RBG services. Three respondents were related by blood: a mother and her two daughters. The other two learned about RBG through their communities. One respondent was exposed to RBG through an announcement at the local mosque, and the other learned about RBG through a referral by her neighborhood government (*kelurahan*). Between their fifth and seventh month of pregnancy, all seven respondents learned that they could include their family members as RBG recipients. No respondent

stated he or she learned about free medical care services through advertisement or by soliciting information directly from RBG.

Lowering Expenses

Six of the seven socio-health program respondents were female; some supported their husbands by running businesses or taking on other work outside their husbands' jobs. For example, one husband was a blacksmith, one was a spice maker, one was a bus conductor, and the other worked for a stonemason (Table 4). Of these four spouses, the blacksmith had a promising job because his daily profit was higher than the others. The majority of socio-health program respondents asserted that their health needs were fulfilled. Receiving health care services from RBG not only gave them security but also lowered their daily expenses, and so some of the family income could be saved for their social activities and their children's education.

Income below the BPS Standard

On average, socio-health program respondents earned incomes below the BPS standard, which is Rp 5,000 (50 cents) per individual daily. Three socio-health program respondents' households made daily earnings of between Rp 6,000 (60 cents) and Rp 8,500 (85 cents). After being divided by the average number of 2.1 persons in the household, these amounts were below the BPS standard (Table 4). The other four households earned daily incomes of between Rp 4,500 (45 cents) and Rp 5,000 (50 cents). The majority of the respondents were categorized as poor individuals; therefore, they were entitled to health care services of RBG. The criteria of impoverishment were consistently applied to the majority of the socio-health program respondents, such as they had no motorcycles or cars to facilitate their work.

Benefiting from Health Care Services

The majority of socio-health program respondents claimed that they benefited from the routine medical check-ups, which included their family members, and the ultrasonography procedures and the obstetric care treatment. The fees for services were waived. They stated that the approximate expense for check-ups was between Rp 20,000 (\$2) and Rp 50,000 (\$5), and the approximate price for obstetric procedures was between Rp 750,000 (\$75) and Rp 1,500,000 (\$150). With the increasing frequency of visiting RBG from the respondents' eighth month of pregnancy, RBG gave more medical services to them. Some of the respondents' family members were then eligible to a four-year term of membership in RBG services; some received a five-year term.

Less Wait Time

The wait time to become members and for services at RBG was shorter than the government's health care services at *Puskesmas*. The socio-health program respondents stated that they did not wait long to become members of RBG. The typical waiting period was one to two weeks. They also stated that they did not wait long when they proceeded to receive medical treatment at the RBG clinic due to the clinic applying a flexible schedule that permits respondents to choose appointment time according to their availability. However, most of them complained about the amount of time when they spent waiting for health care services at *Puskesmas*.

Living Hand-to-Mouth

Most of the socio-health program respondents lived in ghettos; therefore, they had difficulty developing their businesses due to the scarcity of customer traffic. For example, one respondent insisted that she needed to relocate her business to a more

strategic location to attract potential customers outside her community. In encountering this difficult situation, three other respondents stated that all they could do was to live hand-to-mouth because they needed to fill their economic gaps. Although most of them ran businesses or sold services, the profits were not significant. Some of them stated that the profits, though small, were better than nothing.

Concerns

Some socio-health program respondents stated that their lives were very stressful and exhausting (*enák*). However, this situation did not prevent them from giving a little money when attending wakes (*takziyah*) or raffles (*arisan*), or giving for charitable purposes and being active in their communities. Because of their poverty, three of the socio-health program respondents requested food distribution. They stated that Rumah Zakat should start food programs to supplement the RBG health care services. Two of the seven socio-health program respondents proposed interest-free loans from Rumah Zakat to revitalize their businesses, but they had not yet received answers. Of these two respondents, one asserted that requirements of being eligible to receive an interest-free loan from Rumah Zakat were stringent and, therefore, presented obstacles for her. In addition, another respondent complained about a lack of a dental facility at RBG.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

Supported by education and spouses, five of the seven economic empowerment program respondents were moderately successful in their businesses. The involvement of five respondents in this program was completed through the ICD initiative, and the other two respondents were recruited into this program through a referral from Rumah Zakat officers. Only those who were categorized as poor individuals with positive entrepreneurial motivation were selected for participation in the economic empowerment program. Four respondents intended to extend their businesses and employ the jobless poor. Since the second loan, the average income they earned was higher than the BPS standard of poverty; therefore, their basic needs, such as food, education of their children, and electricity were met.

The typical education of the seven socio-health program respondents was junior high school, ending at the ninth-grade level. Thus, they needed more education or collaborative learning to advance their businesses. The majority of these respondents learned about RBG health care services from their neighbors and acquaintances. RBG granted a four to five-year term of health care services to the respondents. Except for a single respondent requesting a dental facility, the majority of them were satisfied with the benefits that covered the cost of their doctor visits and obstetric procedures. They argued that because the fees for services were waived, they would use their surplus household income for charity and community activities.

Categorized as indigent, the socio-health program respondents' average daily income was somewhat below the BPS standard. Their business places were located in ghettos, at some distance from customer traffic. Some of them worked low-paying jobs, as did their spouses. Because of these situations, three respondents recommended that Rumah Zakat initiate a food program, in addition to health care services, with the intent to lower their daily expenses. Accepting of their situations, some of them lived hand-to-mouth because they were accustomed to economic difficulty. Additionally, some complained about the stringent requirements to apply for an interest-free loan from Rumah Zakat.

Discussion

Research Problem Restatement

Experiences of *zakat* recipients have been generally omitted from the research discourse on effectiveness of *zakat* programs. Much existing *zakat* research focuses on management and the amount of money collected by *zakat* institutions. However, scant research has investigated *zakat* recipients' narratives or documented their lived experiences with the economic initiatives and health programs subsidized by *zakat*.

Interpretations of the Findings

The economic empowerment program that assisted participants in this study provided support in the form of loans to most of the earthquake survivor respondents, so they could become self-employed and would, in turn, employ the jobless poor. Five of the respondents of the economic empowerment program were asked to repay the loans regularly through the bank. But two of them were asked to repay the loans after they were economically established, or after they accumulated some disposal income needed

for subsistence; for these two respondents, no specific repayment plan was established. For Rumah Zakat itself, the goal of this *zakat* giving was that recipients could be economically self-sufficient and be able to fulfill the needs of their family members. If they could repay the loans, this act would be considered as a bonus by Rumah Zakat. However, Rumah Zakat would not force recipients to repay the loans. Of the respondents interviewed, the majority of them are in the process of repaying the second loans.

Although the respondents lived in poverty, they did not feel stigmatized because receiving *zakat* is not considered shameful. The *zakat* system has existed for centuries, just as poverty has existed all through human history. *Zakat*, therefore, seeks to eradicate poverty among Muslims through the tradition of giving. Some Indonesians may feel shameful as *zakat* recipients but the study did not find this to be the case. Indonesian culture perceives recipients of *zakat* as part of society. There is no separate structure for *zakat* society in the community. One of the socio-health respondents did state that she would have preferred to pay the clinic for doctor visits, but because she could not afford to do so, she had to rely on this service.

Respondents with better education or business experiences benefited from the loans because they had the potential to increase profits and were able to gradually repay loans. With their improved incomes, they also could enhance their lives by fulfilling their daily basic needs. Most importantly, they could fulfill their own social needs and their children's education needs.

Of the seven economic empowerment program respondents, five claimed that they were satisfied with the micro-loans that they utilized for their businesses. One respondent stated that the loans were a blessing. She reported that her current business,

using the interest-free loans, was more successful than her previous businesses. Two respondents stated that they were satisfied because the interest-free loans allowed them to make a profit. They could not afford an interest loan from the bank because their faith does not permit it. In addition to Rumah Zakat's aid meeting their expectations, the majority of the respondents were satisfied because they could fulfill their basic needs, such as food, clothes, education of their children, health care, and electricity. However, this satisfaction excluded the need for adequate housing. This researcher's observation indicated that some respondents' houses needed renovation due to the earthquake.

Spousal support exerted an important effect on economic empowerment program respondents' businesses because either the wife or husband took responsibility to manage the loans for making or marketing a product. By contrast, respondents who worked without spousal support found it difficult to generate profit. However, one respondent, because of his vocational education, was more successful than other respondents without spousal support. Similarly, giving loans to a group of respondents for running a business was not effective due to each individual's divergent expectations and the lack of collaboration. Therefore, compared to individual efforts or group support, spousal support significantly promoted the growing of respondents' businesses.

The micro-loan program of Rumah Zakat has not yet reached a wider population. This study found that the roles of Rumah Zakat officers, who are compensated for their labor, were vital in recruiting and making determinations about which participants to select. No evidence indicated that respondents I interviewed found information about this program from social media or street banners. This implied that the respondents had limited access to the internet, and much of the information about Rumah Zakat programs

were distributed by its officers, neighborhood governments (*kelurahan*), and ex-recipients, including respondents' relatives and acquaintances, who were once involved in the program. Although information of Rumah Zakat has been available on the internet, the typical respondent stated that he or she learned about the program from informal sources. The majority of respondents did not have money to afford computers. However, many owned cell phones because they were cheaper than land lines.

To reach a more diverse population, Rumah Zakat should use more effective ways to recruit potential recipients, i.e., Rumah Zakat should increase staff, volunteers, and tutors to go into more ghettos to observe people who are poor and destitute with no homes, motorcycles, cars, or jobs, but who may have competency to manage loans. This will, in turn, eliminate the practice of favoritism among successive recipients. For example, more officers would prevent recipients from referring only people who they knew and had a familial relationship with Rumah Zakat programs rather than people who were more in need. This study found the loans had been well invested because respondents, in turn, contributed some of their profits as *zakat fitr*, donated at wakes (*takziyah*) and raffles (*arisan*), provided tuition for their children's education, and invested in community activities. Hence, there was a cyclical benefit to the whole community.

The socio-health program granted periodic health care services to the poor, mainly pregnant women and their family members, most of them without secure jobs. The majority of the socio-health program respondents stated that they and their family members were being helped with the health care services from regular check-ups to obstetric procedures. This socio-health program helped them live healthier lives. It

significantly helped relieve their economic burdens, such as supporting their children's education and participating in community activities in their neighborhoods. The majority of socio-health program respondents also benefited from shorter wait times in regard to the services at RBG compared to seeking similar services at *Puskesmas*.

Receiving free health care services did not directly improve the respondents' incomes because the average household's income from small businesses and low-paying jobs was too low for their daily subsistence. In addition, this study found that respondents' average education was low.³⁴ Therefore, it was very difficult for them to generate adequate income. Also, their places of business were not situated in strategic locations; hence, the respondents made little profit. Rumah Zakat helped them facilitate monthly gatherings so that they shared their experiences about business and life management. These gatherings, to some extent, were limited only to the sharing of information, and were not about how to empower the recipients economically. Thus, some respondents recommended Rumah Zakat initiate a food program. Rumah Zakat will succeed in empowering the poor families if it provides them more integrative targeted programs on economic empowerment, socio-health, food security, and education.

Education strongly empowers respondents in developing their businesses and can be a dominant factor in helping poor families and their children. On the one hand, education is helpful in teaching skills to poor families for managing their lives, and on the other hand, education can prepare children of poor families to become competitive in the future job market. This study found a single respondent of the economic empowerment

³⁴ Of the seven respondents, two had six years of education, three had nine years, and the other two had twelve years (Table 2).

program and a single respondent of the socio-health program sending his or her child to the free elementary school (*Sekolah Dasar Juara*) of Rumah Zakat. This free school was helpful in lowering the respondents' expenses. Some of the respondents of the two programs were qualified to send their children to the *Sekolah Dasar Juara*, but they preferred the nearby public schools because they were closer to their homes. The majority of socio-health program respondents did not have motorcycles or cars to facilitate transportation to schools.

Implications of the Findings for Rumah Zakat

Based on these findings, adequate education supported most of the economic empowerment respondents' businesses, but a few respondents could not advance their businesses due to a lack of education. Also, the typical education level of socio-health respondents was inadequate to help them seek a way out of poverty. Therefore, it is critical that Rumah Zakat play an important role in supporting education or training opportunities that target family members of economic empowerment and socio-health respondents.

Most of the respondents asserted that they learned about the availability of *zakat* programs through friends and relatives. Few respondents stated that Rumah Zakat officers informed them about the *zakat* programs. This implies that Rumah Zakat should promote *zakat* programs through staff, volunteers, and tutors so that potential recipients are more likely to hear of and to know about the programs. At the same time, Rumah Zakat outreach workers would be learning about the familial, economic, and health situations of potential recipients and, thereby, the *zakat* program would become inclusive within a wider population. One of the biggest challenges is having an effective

outreach program to find unserved recipients. Many households were still more indigent than the current *zakat* recipients, but they did not have access to the information about the interest-free loans or free health care services, and so they were not participating in those programs. Previously, Rumah Zakat advertised its programs through banners hanging along main roads, but this activity is no longer used because the city government of Yogyakarta does not allow any hanging banners except at designated paid boards. In addition, Rumah Zakat promoted its programs through charity boxes (*kotak amal*) that were placed in stores and mosques, but they are also no longer available because it was difficult to monitor the boxes, and every mosque already has its own charity box. Instead, Rumah Zakat had advertised its programs through its website. However, the opportunity to access the internet is rare among poor families, and this makes it difficult for them to learn about Rumah Zakat programs. Thus, information through better placed banners in the local communities, neighborhood governments (*kelurahan*), community organizations, mosque congregations, as well as the radio and newspapers, may be helpful.

Rumah Zakat has a free elementary school (*Sekolah Dasar Juara*) located in Yogyakarta City. Therefore, it is difficult for children in Bantul Regency to enroll because they lack transportation. To provide these children with free education, Rumah Zakat should open another *Sekolah Dasar Juara* in Bantul Regency so that the children of poor recipients in this area can pursue an education. To this end, Rumah Zakat needs to increase donations from its recipients, in addition to the middle-class Muslims, to provide extra classrooms and teachers. This study found respondents gave *zakat fitr* or *zakat maal* to needy neighbors, mosques, or schools. Thus, the recipient-Rumah Zakat

relationship should be maintained to help increase donations for needy children.

Respondents receiving interest-free loans wanted to give their *zakat* to Rumah Zakat, but they did not know the procedure because Rumah Zakat did not provide locations for collecting *zakat* in their neighborhoods. Rumah Zakat should steward recipients' charity to help them donate back to Rumah Zakat and to motivate them to give.

Furthermore, Rumah Zakat should be committed to eradicating poverty and be more effective in empowering its recipients. The institution does not yet have full capacity to solve client problems because the number of Indonesians living in poverty is overwhelming while the collection of *zakat* is still well below potential. Therefore, Rumah Zakat should encourage the participation of businesses, entrepreneurships, and philanthropic groups to increase the funding available, not only from *zakat* but also from voluntary giving, such as *infaq*, *shadaqa*, *waqf*, and *qurban* (Appendix E).

The economic empowerment initiative focused on micro programs. Rumah Zakat should help connect its recipients to other *zakat* institutions within macro programs if a failure in micro programs occurs so that the economic efforts of recipients will not end only because of such failure. Rumah Zakat should also expand its focus on poverty alleviation at the national and regional levels and not be limited to the fulfillment of basic needs, but rather aspire to a larger economic scope. Lobbying local businesses, creating relationships with external funding institutions, and political advocacy for the poor are needed.

Rumah Zakat's socio-health program is useful for poor families, especially pregnant women. It is evident that many poor families do not have access to the public health system and medical check-ups and treatment; therefore, Rumah Zakat should

develop a similar program of RBG in other locations because many poor families need health care services. The medical check-ups and treatment should not be limited to general check-ups and obstetric procedures but also to dental care as was a concern of a respondent in this study.

Limitations of the Study

This study had two major limitations. The first was the number of interviewees. Using the convenience sampling method, this researcher gathered 20 names and selected 12 respondents from the list (Padgett, 2008). The researcher also found two other respondents who were referred by other respondents (Engel & Schutt, 2005). Limiting the number of respondents to 14 helped the researcher complete his research in a timely and financially viable manner. This number exceeded the original target number of 12 respondents. This decision did not affect population representation because the goal of the research was not to uncover a number of facts about the Indonesian *zakat* system or the practices of *zakat* at Rumah Zakat nationwide, which would have necessitated gathering information from every individual in the population. Instead, the researcher was satisfied with the 14 respondents because the researcher could better understand their social, economic, and cultural backgrounds. Still, the results cannot be generalized to the entire *zakat* recipient population.

The second limitation was that this study only covered those who were involved in the economic empowerment and socio-health programs and were current recipients of *zakat*. Without this limitation, this study would not have been able to maintain its focus because Rumah Zakat has different programs with various target recipients, such as

children and youth under 18 years old, and other vulnerable groups, such as those who lived with psychological and physical impairments; all were excluded from this study.

Future Research Directions

Future research should record voices of both Rumah Zakat recipients and managers in order to achieve comparative data to enhance validity and to receive better insight into *zakat* distribution and sustainability of *zakat* programs. Specifically, it should focus on gathering the views of managers about the issues explored with recipients.

Future studies could also use qualitative methods to track the success of the four economic empowerment program respondents who intended to employ the jobless poor. This suggestion is related to Rumah Zakat's objective to empower the recipients. This study has not yet found respondents employing the jobless poor because the time span between receiving the first loan and the second loan was short. Respondents had been managing their businesses only for the last four years. Giving six years to the respondents to employ the jobless poor might be a reasonable expectation.

Another future research study should examine the respondents' degree of satisfaction in fulfilling their basic needs. Through a quantitative and qualitative combination, future research should focus on questions of whether Rumah Zakat programs helped recipients fulfill their basic needs and elevate them out of poverty. This view is related to the satisfaction revealed by most of the respondents in this study. Specifically, questions should focus on whether the respondents felt satisfied with the impact of the interest-free loans and health care services. Future research questions should use statistical analyses in addition to narratives to achieve accuracy. Variables to

be measured should include housing, food, clothing, electricity, education, and social engagement.

Additionally, future research study should focus on determining Rumah Zakat criteria of program benefit recipients. Rumah Zakat should establish local poverty criteria as suitable to modern conditions because no specific local criteria are currently available. Therefore, some indigent persons may not know that they are eligible for *zakat*. This will, in turn, educate Rumah Zakat officers that systematically determining those who are poor and destitute is important so that *zakat* can be delivered to those who are truly in need. If Rumah Zakat does not apply well-defined criteria to identify those who are truly in need, it is likely that *zakat* might be delivered to ineligible recipients.

A fifth future research study should focus on the examination of recipients' barriers to running a business and should identify barriers that Rumah Zakat encounters in supporting entrepreneurship, and the ways in which they both can overcome the barriers. For example, future research study should examine the perspectives of recipients in managing the loans. Rumah Zakat provided the interest-free loans and other infrastructure, but some recipients remained hesitant to run a business, or they felt they could not repay the loans. Rumah Zakat should find ways to address these barriers.

Suggestions for Indonesian Social Work Practice

Indonesian social work practice should stand on the front line of poverty eradication programs and collaborate with *zakat* institutions and the government to collect narratives about the experiences of *zakat* recipients. Such narratives are relevant to help *zakat* officers to perform their duties. Indonesian social work practice can use the 7th century's action example of the Caliph Umar ibn al-Khattab (r. 634-644) to find the

hungry on the streets (Lessy, 2011; Singer, 2005). The narratives are not only historical romanticization but can suggest best welfare policies and practices. Therefore, Indonesian social workers should encourage qualitative study that focuses on collecting recipients' narratives to help the officers develop the *zakat* system. In addition, Indonesian social workers should encourage quantitative surveys to document the number of recipients and the number of eligible poor who are not receiving *zakat*.

Narratives on the success of *zakat* recipients were scant because much research focused on management and funding of *zakat* institutions, whereas the success of a *zakat* program should also be measured through effective outreach and the fulfillment of the needs of recipients. To help *zakat* institutions in eradicating poverty, in sustaining *zakat* programs, and in empowering recipients economically, Indonesian social workers can play a critical role in promoting stories and narratives based on recipients' experiences.

Indonesian social work practice should promote individual responsibility in the *zakat* system by recognizing the positive Dutch perspective that focused on respect for individual dignity. The Dutch did not require Muslims to pay *zakat* to the state and instead let Muslims pay *zakat* based on their religious conscience. This suggests that Indonesian social work practice should encourage those who have disposable wealth to donate more than required to fund poverty eradication programs. Indonesian social work practice should also provide options when recipients face dilemmas about not being able to pay *zakat* due to the burden of taxes. Some poor recipients may feel guilty if they cannot pay *zakat* even when they may be exempt from *zakat* obligations. Social workers should praise human dignity, freedom, and self-determination as a means of improving both disbursement and collection of *zakat*.

Indonesian social work practice gives little attention to the need for increasing amounts of *zakat* and other voluntary gifts; it should advocate for enhanced legislation that facilitates Muslims in fulfilling their religious, social, and economic obligations to those who are unfortunate. Acceptance of the present *zakat* institutions is increasing over time as the institutions become trustworthy intermediaries between donors and recipients. Therefore, Indonesian social work practice should become more involved in promoting *zakat* and voluntary giving because social work must advocate for the enhancement of living conditions of the poor and the destitute.

Indonesian social work practice can play a significant role in collaborating with *zakat* institutions to help the poor and other vulnerable populations. Indonesian social workers may develop best practices for the *zakat* system when they become aware that *zakat* institutions are not transparent in their *zakat* management. Learning from the Pakistani case of Central *Zakat* Councils, Indonesian social work can combat favoritism to eliminate preferences given to the poor relatives of *zakat* officials (Clark, 2001; Lessy, 2011). Social work practice should provide a check and balance to *zakat* institutions. It also can work at the level of policy with government administrators and legislators to advocate for the poor, minorities, and other vulnerable groups.

As discussed in this study, the appropriation of *zakat* funds during the era of Mamluk Egypt by *zakat* collectors, during the era of the Dutch colony by local rulers in Indonesia, and during the era of President Suharto's government by top Indonesian officials shows the need for a greater role of social work practice, namely to advocate for institutional transparency, program delivery accountability, and bureaucracy reformation. To achieve these aims, Indonesian social workers must collaborate with *zakat* institutions

to establish ethical standards of conduct in order to protect the poor's rights to welfare equality.

Suggestions for Social Work Education in Indonesia

Zakat as one of the Muslim social welfare foundations has become a course topic at Indonesian schools and universities. However, the focus of discussion in such courses has been more on legal discourse than on philanthropic efforts. For the purposes of social work education in Indonesia, there is a need for courses that study how to implement *zakat* more effectively so that the needs of the poor and the destitute are discovered and ameliorated. Toward this end, the Indonesian social work curricula should address methods of outreach to the poor on the one hand, while also addressing, on the other hand, the methodology for encouraging solvent Muslims to voluntarily contribute to the collection of *zakat*. To achieve these aims, Indonesian social work education should establish curricula-based research, so that social workers and academicians become better able to connect the teachings of *zakat* with the daily context of the needy and with the philosophical motivation of the donors.

Conclusions

In documenting respondents' personal backgrounds, including their economic, education, and familial histories before and while receiving *zakat*, this study found most of the economic empowerment program respondents had experienced enormous hardship--layoffs, job insecurity, and natural disasters--before they qualified for interest-free loans. These loans helped them fulfill their basic needs and those of their family members. Notably, some respondents' education was significant in helping increase their businesses' profits as was spousal support. The majority of respondents lived under the

poverty line based on the BPS standard before receiving the interest-free loans.

However, after utilizing the loans, they earned incomes above the BPS standard, enabling them to increase their standard of living and to, in turn, make *zakat* contributions themselves.

Moreover, this study found the socio-health respondents were impoverished pregnant women who, once qualified for support, could also share free health care services with their families. The average respondent's income in this category was below the BPS standard, and the average respondent's education was minimal as was the education of their spouses. Their businesses and low-paying jobs could not provide for more than their subsistence. RBG freed them from health care expenses. Therefore, some of their income was newly available to invest in their children's education and in community activities.

In examining the use of *zakat* in respondents' families and how Rumah Zakat has influenced their lives, this study discovered the interest-free loans had a significant impact on elevating the income of economic empowerment program participants. In addition, officers from Rumah Zakat monitored the development of their businesses, and if necessary, the officers would help them solve their problems. The loans were used to renovate respondents' places of business and provide infrastructure that helped them make a living to support them and their families. By lending them funds drawn from *zakat*, Rumah Zakat elevated most of the respondents' confidence. As a result, they believed that they would eventually employ the jobless. The average respondent received a second loan over the last four years, and respondents could apply for another.

Furthermore, the socio-health program respondents utilized RBG's free medical check-ups and obstetric procedures. The respondents would receive 4-5 years of free health care services from RBG. RBG was beneficial in improving their health and in supporting their community activities, such as participating in raffles (*arisan*) and wakes (*takziah*).

In reviewing satisfaction levels of Rumah Zakat program respondents with regard to fulfilling their basic needs and achieving their goals, this study determined the majority of economic empowerment program respondents felt satisfied with the interest-free loans because the money helped them improve their lives after experiencing the economic crisis and the earthquake. They could subsist with the money they earned after investing the loans into their businesses.

Moreover, the socio-health program respondents reported they benefited from the health care services although a single respondent requested coverage for dental care, and three respondents suggested a food program in addition to health care services. Respondents stated RBG helped them fulfill their health needs with the free services.

All respondents were grateful to Rumah Zakat. When the researcher asked the respondents about what they would probably think if they were Rumah Zakat officers, and what programs the respondents would provide that Rumah Zakat has not yet offered, the majority of respondents in both programs stated that Rumah Zakat had accomplished its objectives. This study suggested that an integrative program that offers micro-finance credits, health care services including dental care, food and clothing, as well as education and training will better serve the poor.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Recipient Category

The Qur'an; Translation; Interpretation and Program Delivery (Qur'an, at-Tawba: 90)

The Qur'an	Translation	New Interpretation	Program Delivery Examples
<i>Fuqara</i>	The poor	The poor; pauper	Micro entrepreneurship; social and economic development; search and rescue; orphan support; health care
<i>Masakin</i>	The destitute	The destitute; needy; very poor	
<i>Amilin</i>	<i>Zakat</i> collectors	<i>Zakat</i> managers or <i>zakat</i> agencies	BAZIS/LAZIS operational expenses including salaries and marketing
<i>Muallaf</i>	New converts	Those whose hearts are reconciled; sympathizers of Islam	Food support; provision of money
<i>Fi riqab</i>	Slaves	Those who are in bondage; prostitutes; those who are trafficked illegally	Empowering programs for female prostitutes; food provision for prisoners
<i>Gharimin</i>	Those who are in debt	Those who are in debt; students who are in debt	Financial loans; provision of money
<i>Fi sabilillah</i>	Those who are going to wars	Those who work in or use for the advancement of God's cause; helping professions	Establishment of schools; provision of salaries for teachers and Islamic propagators; helping professions, such as social workers and burses; scholarships
<i>Ibn sabil</i>	Wayfarers or travelers	Wayfarers or travelers; students; street children and homeless	Scholarships; training for street children; homeless persons

Appendix B

Questionnaire

Introduction

I am Zulkipli Lessy, a third year doctoral student at the Indiana University School of Social Work. I am conducting this study to explore narratives of *zakat* recipients at Rumah Zakat in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. The objective of this study is to investigate how perspectives of *zakat* recipients can be used to improve the welfare system of *zakat* and augment the practice and research of social work in Indonesia. I invite you to participate in an 80-90 minute face-to-face interview. Your opinions will provide invaluable information about the practice of *zakat*. I am grateful to you for answering my questions. Your responses will be kept completely confidential, and no individual other than me will connect your identity with your information. During this interview, I will answer any questions you may have. Do you have any questions for me before we start?

Questions about Recipient Background

- What is your name?
- Can you tell me about your employment history?
 - Jobs in the past
 - Current jobs
 - No jobs
- What is your income other than *zakat*?
 - Daily
 - Weekly
 - Monthly

- Tell me about other people for whom you are economically responsible.
 - Children and/or grandchildren
 - Wife or husband
 - Parents and/or grandparents
 - Others
- Do you receive additional *zakat* help to take care of family members besides yourself?
 - If yes, how often is *zakat* given to you?
- If you have this income (Rp), is it enough to support you and your dependents?
 - If yes, why do you still seek additional income from *zakat*?
 - If no, what needs are not met by your work income?

Questions about the Role of Rumah Zakat

- In total, how many years have you known about Rumah Zakat programs?
- For what period of time have you been involved in Rumah Zakat programs?
- What is the reason you joined the Rumah Zakat programs?
- Which Rumah Zakat programs are you connected with?
- How do you use the money from the Rumah Zakat programs for yourself and your family?
- How do Rumah Zakat workers help you overcome difficulties you encounter when accessing the programs?
- Are you satisfied with Rumah Zakat's programs? If yes, tell me the reason, and if no, tell me the reason.
- Do you have any suggestions for Rumah Zakat so that they will provide better services in the future?

Experience of the Recipients of Rumah Zakat

- Did your parents receive *zakat* when you were a child?
- If so, how did they use *zakat*?
- In total, how many years have you been using *zakat* from these sources?
 - From Rumah Zakat?
 - From private donors?
 - From others
- How adequately does the *zakat* you receive help you to achieve your goals?
- How do *zakat* programs help you to pursue aspirations for the future?

Improving the Economy and Socio-health of the Recipients

- Are you dependent on *zakat*? If so, in what ways has *zakat* been useful toward fulfilling your basic needs?
- How often do the Rumah Zakat programs include self-empowerment training?
- How long do *zakat* benefits last you after they have been received?
- When you last received *zakat*, what was different from your expectation?
- Does *zakat* improve your economic level and socio-health status in some lasting ways?
 - If yes, how do you measure the improvement? While in the *zakat* programs:
 - a. Can you eat three times a day?
 - b. Can you pay your rent or housing bills?
 - c. Can you pay your children's school tuition?
 - d. Can you pay doctors if you are sick?
 - e. Can you save some of the money?

-If no, in what ways might Rumah Zakat change or expand their programs to help you achieve these?

- What methods of *zakat* distribution would be beneficial for helping you most?
- Tell me if you have ever had any problem as a result of receiving *zakat* money.

Closing

Thank you for your time and the invaluable information you gave me for my study. Do you have any questions for me now that I have finished asking questions?

Appendix C

Research Schedule

Activities	Nov 2011				Dec 2011				Jan 2011				Feb 2011				Mar 2012			
	Week 1-4				Week 1-4				Week 1-4				Week 1-4				Week 1-4			
Institutional Review Board (IRB)																				
IRB approval & research permission from the Indonesian university & government																				
Observation & data collection																				
Observation, data collection, transcribing, & member checking																				
Observation, data collection, transcribing, & member checking																				
Observation, data collection, transcribing, & member checking																				
Data collection, transcribing, member checking, & auditing																				
Data collection, transcribing, member checking, & auditing																				
Data collection, transcribing, member checking, & auditing																				
Data collection, transcribing, member checking, & auditing																				

Appendix D

Informed Consent

I am Zulkipli Lessy, a third year doctoral student at the Indiana University School of Social Work. I am conducting this research to explore narratives of *zakat* recipients at Rumah Zakat in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. The objective of this research is to investigate how perspectives of *zakat* recipients can be used to improve the system of *zakat* and augment the practice and research of social work in Indonesia. You have been invited to a face-to-face interview which will provide invaluable information about the practice of *zakat* in Indonesia. I am grateful to you for answering my questionnaire. Your responses will be kept completely confidential; no individual besides me will connect your identity with your question-and-answer information.

Participant: I acknowledge that the research procedures have been explained to me and I understand the purpose of the research. Any answers that I provide are based on my knowledge and are given voluntarily. I know that I may ask questions about the procedures of the research now and in the future. I have been assured that information about me will be kept confidential and no information that discloses my personal identity will be released or published. I agree that my individual interview interactions will be audio-taped and later transcribed for the purpose of research. I understand that my participation in this research is completely voluntary and that I can withdraw my participation at any time without fear of consequences. I am aware that I have the right to speak confidentially off the record and/or to have part or all of a recorded interview erased. I have been given a copy of this consent form.

I agree to be tape-recorded during interviews: ___YES ___NO

I read the information and agreed to participate in this study: ___YES ___NO

Name of participant: _____

Signature of participant: _____

Address of participant: _____

Telephone of participant: _____ Date: _____

Researcher: I clearly explained the purpose and the procedures of the research. To the best of my knowledge, I certified that the participant understood the benefits and risks while participating in this research.

Signature of researcher: _____ Date: _____

Researcher: Zulkipli Lessy (Indiana University School of Social Work & Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University Ilmu Tarbiyah & Keguruan School Yogyakarta, Indonesia)

Supervisor: Dr. Margaret E. Adamek (Professor, Indiana University School of Social Work, Indianapolis, United States)

Appendix E

Glossary

<i>Batik</i>	a cloth that is traditionally made using a manual wax-resist dyeing technique
<i>BAZIS</i>	<i>Badan Amil Zakat, Infaq, dan Shadaqa</i> ; a state-run <i>zakat</i> board
<i>BPS</i>	<i>Badan Pusat Statistik</i> ; an official statistical board of Indonesia
<i>Caliph</i>	the head of an Islamic caliphate or the ruler of an Islamic community
<i>Faqir</i>	those who have some means of support but not sufficient
<i>Faqr</i>	the state of being poor
<i>Hadith</i>	the written collection of the Prophet Muhammad's statements and actions
<i>Infaq</i>	voluntary giving in the form of money or goods
<i>Ied Fitr</i>	a holiday celebrating the end of fasting month of <i>Ramadan</i>
<i>Ied Adha</i>	a holiday for slaughtering animals, such as goats, for the poor
<i>Java</i>	one of Indonesia's islands, with a population of 125 million people
<i>Kelurahan</i>	the lowest hierarchy of the governmental system in Indonesia
<i>LAZIS</i>	<i>Lembaga Amil Zakat, Infaq, dan Shadaqa</i> ; privately-run <i>zakat</i> institutions
<i>Lotek</i>	rice topped with nut juice, and vegetables
<i>Miskin</i>	the destitute or those who own nothing
<i>Mustahiq</i>	those who are eligible to qualify for receiving <i>zakat</i>
<i>Nisab</i>	the minimum threshold of wealth obligating Muslims to pay <i>zakat</i>

<i>Puskesmas</i>	the community health centers; public health clinics
<i>Qurban</i>	the sacrifice of a livestock animal during <i>Ied Adha</i>
<i>Ramadan</i>	the ninth month in the Islamic calendar when Muslims fast
<i>RBG</i>	<i>Rumah Bersalin Gratis</i> , a free health clinic owned by Rumah Zakat
<i>Rumah Zakat</i>	one of the largest LAZIS institutions in Indonesia
<i>Shadaqa</i>	voluntary giving by a Muslim to Muslims or to non-Muslims
<i>Shari'a</i>	the code of conduct or religious law based on the Qur'an and <i>hadith</i>
<i>Soto</i>	a traditional soup mainly composed of broth, meat, and vegetables
<i>Sunna</i>	deeds and behaviors done by the Prophet Muhammad
<i>Waqf</i>	voluntary giving in the Islamic philanthropy or endowment system
<i>Zakat</i>	a form of giving to persons less fortunate in the Muslim community

Appendix F

Letter of Permission



PEMERINTAH KOTA YOGYAKARTA
DINAS PERIZINAN

Jl. Kenari No. 56 Yogyakarta 55165 Telepon 514448, 515865, 515866, 562682
EMAIL : perizinan@jogja.go.id EMAIL INTRANET: perizinan@intra.jogja.go.id

SURAT IZIN

NOMOR : 070/2826
7547/3A

Dasar : Surat izin / Rekomendasi dari Gubernur Kepala Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta
Nomor : 070/7979/V/2011 Tanggal : 23/11/2011

Mengingat : 1. Peraturan Daerah Kota Yogyakarta Nomor 10 Tahun 2008 tentang Pembentukan, Susunan, Kedudukan dan Tugas Pokok Diatas Daerah
2. Peraturan Walikota Yogyakarta Nomor 85 Tahun 2008 tentang Fungsi, Rincian Tugas Dinas Perizinan Kota Yogyakarta;
3. Peraturan Walikota Yogyakarta Nomor 29 Tahun 2007 tentang Pemberian Izin Penelitian, Praktek Kerja Lapangan dan Kuliah Kerja Nyata di Wilayah Kota Yogyakarta;
4. Peraturan Walikota Yogyakarta Nomor 18 Tahun 2011 tentang Penyelenggaraan Perizinan pada Pemerintah Kota Yogyakarta;
5. Keputusan Gubernur Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta Nomor: 38/I.2/2004 tentang Pemberian izin/Rekomendasi Penelitian/Pendataan/Survei/KKN/PKL di Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta.

Dijijinkan Kepada : Nama : ZULKIPLI LESSY, M.S.W. NO MHS / NIM : 19681208 200003
Pekerjaan : Peneliti Fak. Tarbiyah dan Keguruan - UIN SUKA Yk
Alamat : Jl. Marsda Adisucipto, Yogyakarta
Penanggungjawab : Dr. Margaret Adamek
Keperluan : Melakukan Penelitian dengan Judul Proposal : FILANTROFI ZAKAT UNTUK PEMBERDAYAAN KAUM MISKIN DI RUMAH ZAKAT : SEBUAH PENELITIAN KUALITATIF TENTANG PENGALAMAN MUSTAHIQ

Lokasi/Responden : Kota Yogyakarta
Waktu : 23/11/2011 Sampai 23/02/2012
Lampiran : Proposal dan Daftar Pertanyaan
Dengan Ketentuan : 1. Wajib Memberi Laporan hasil Penelitian kepada Walikota Yogyakarta (Cq. Dinas Perizinan Kota Yogyakarta)
2. Wajib Menjaga Tata tertib dan mentaati ketentuan-ketentuan yang berlaku setempat
3. Izin ini tidak disalahgunakan untuk tujuan tertentu yang dapat mengganggu kestabilan Pemerintah dan hanya diperlukan untuk keperluan ilmiah
4. Surat izin ini sewaktu-waktu dapat dibatalkan apabila tidak dipenuhinya ketentuan-ketentuan tersebut diatas
Kemudian diharap para Pejabat Pemerintah setempat dapat memberi bantuan seperlunya

Tanda tangan
Pemegang Izin

ZULKIPLI LESSY, M.S.W.

Dikeluarkan di : Yogyakarta
pada Tanggal : 7-12-2011

An Kepala Dinas Perizinan
Sekretaris

Drs. H.A.R.DONO

NIP 195804109885031013

Tembusan Kepada :

1. Walikota Yogyakarta (sebagai laporan)
2. Ka. Biro Administrasi Pembangunan Setda Prop. DIY
3. Ka. Kantor Kementerian Agama Kota Yogyakarta
4. Pimp. Rumah Zakat Kota Yogyakarta
5. Ybs.

Appendix G

Map of Yogyakarta City and Bantul Regency



Source: Bantul in figures, 2008

Note: the color-coded areas are Bantul Regency

Translation: *Kota*: city; *Kabupaten*: regency; *Samudera Hindia*: Indian Ocean

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CURRICULUM VITAE

Zulkipli Lessy

EDUCATION

PhD (Social Work) - Indiana University, Indianapolis, 2013/Minor: Philanthropy
MSW (Social Work) - McGill University, Montreal, Canada, 2006
BSW (Social Work) - McGill University, Montreal, Canada, 2004
BA (English) - Yogyakarta State University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, 2002
MA (Education) - Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University, Yogyakarta, 1999
BA (Arabic) - Ar-Raniry State Islamic University, Banda Aceh, Indonesia, 1995

GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS

EEG Graduate School Indiana University Grant, 2012
South East Asia Grant, 2011
Fulbright Scholarship at Indiana University, 2008-2011
Canada International Development Agency Scholarship, 2003-2005
Ministry of Religious Affairs Indonesia Scholarships, 1997-1999 & 2012-2013

RESEARCH

- Z. Lessy. (2011). Philanthropic *zakat* for empowering Indonesia's poor at Rumah Zakat: A qualitative study of recipient experiences.
- Z. Lessy. (2010). Personal characteristics and choices among Indonesian payers of *zakat fitrah* and *maal*: A survey study among lecturers and professors at Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University in Yogyakarta, Indonesia.
- Z. Lessy. (2004). The community conflict in Ambon, Maluku, Indonesia and social work interventions by the government and non-governmental organizations.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

March 2001 – present

Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Faculty. The following are courses taught:

- INS-104: Arabic; Even Term 2001; enrollment 29.
INS-105: English; Odd Term 2001; enrollment 28.
PAI-204: Introduction to Islamic Education; Even Term 2003; enrollment 60.
KIT-349: Topics in Education, Even Term 2005; enrollment 200.
KPM-401: Community Economic Development; Even Term 2005; enrollment 20.
IIS-505: Community Development; Odd Term 2006; enrollment 5.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

April 2007 – May 2007

McGill University, Continuing Education, Montreal, Canada. Facilitated a short course on community development and social work for interdisciplinary graduate students from Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University, Indonesia.

December 2005

Syarief Hidayatullah State Islamic University, Jakarta, Indonesia. Facilitated colloquium for English curriculum development in Indonesian State Islamic Universities.

July 2006 – August 2006

McGill University, Continuing Education, Montreal, Canada: Lecturer. Facilitated a short course on community development for lecturers of six Indonesian State Islamic Universities.

December 2005 – May 2007

Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University, Graduate School, Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Lecturer. Supervised graduate students taking practicum at governmental and private institutions in Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

December 2005 – May 2007

Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University, University Language Center, Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Lecturer. Facilitated TOEFL course for undergraduate students.

December 2005 – January 2006

Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University, Community Development Faculty, Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Lecturer. Facilitated in-service training on participatory action research in Serpeng Village, Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta.

SYMPOSIUMS ATTENDED

Lessy, Z. (2009, April). "Mail order bride, one of modus operandi of trafficking women in Indonesia: How can Indonesian social workers deal with it?" Poster presented at the 13th Annual PhD Spring Symposium held by School of Social Work Indiana University, Indianapolis.

Lessy, Z. (2010, April). "Muslim belief that *zakat* is compulsory correlates with the amounts and methods they give *zakat*, both *fitriah* and *maal*." Poster presented at the 14th Annual PhD Spring Symposium held by School of Social Work Indiana University, Indianapolis.

Lessy, Z. (2011, April). "Philanthropic *Zakat* for Empowering Indonesia's Poor through Maturing Social Work Research and Practice." Poster presented at the 15th Annual PhD Spring Symposium held by School of Social Work Indiana University, Indianapolis.

Lessy, Z. (2012, April). "The Community Conflict in Ambon-Indonesia and Social Work Interventions." Poster presented at the 16th Annual PhD Spring Symposium held by School of Social Work Indiana University, Indianapolis.

WORKSHOPS ATTENDED

"Writing from the Reader's Perspective," Indianapolis, United States. (September 2012). Sponsored by the Office of Faculty Affairs and Professional Development, School of Medicine, Indiana University.

"*Shari'a* Beyond the Headlines: What Is all of the Fuss About?" Indianapolis, United States. (June, 2012). Sponsored by The Center for Interfaith Cooperation, IU School of Liberal Arts at IUPUI, and the American Center of Oriental Research (Amman, Jordan).

"Interfaith Peace Building: Global and Local Perspectives," Indianapolis, United States. (November, 2010). Sponsored by Indiana Interchurch Center and Indiana University School of Social Work.

"The Future of Social Work in Indonesia," Yogyakarta, Indonesia. (December, 2005). Sponsored by Interdisciplinary Social Work, Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

"Research and Social Change," Concordia University, Montreal, Canada (June, 2003). Sponsored by Indonesia-McGill Project, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

"Staying Sane," Concordia University, Montreal, Canada. (June, 2003). Sponsored by Indonesia-McGill Project, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

"Why We Write," Concordia University, Montreal, Canada (July, 2003). Sponsored by Indonesia-McGill Project, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

PUBLICATIONS

Publications in principal accredited Indonesian journals (including some that are full English translation by researcher):

Lessy, Z. (2013). Listening from the bottom: A qualitative approach examining *zakat* recipients' voices in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. *South East Asia Research*, under review.

Lessy, Z. (2013). Historical development of the *zakat* system: Implications for social work practice. *Empati Journal of Social Welfare*, under review.

- Lessy, Z., & Pary, L.K. (2012). Domestic violence against women: Methods of handling and solving the obstacles. *Inferensi*, 6(1), 49-74.
- Lessy, Z. (2011). Examining definitions: A comparative study of philanthropic practices in the West and Indonesian Muslim society: Implications for social work practice. *Journal of PMI*, 1(2), 1-12.
- Lessy, Z., & Pary, L.K. (2011). Communication strategy of a school principal in education. *Journal of Islamic Education*, 7(2), 147-158.
- Lessy, Z. (2011). Islam and social work: Investigating collective values for practical implications. *Journal of Reflective Sociology*, 5(2), 227-244.
- Lessy, Z. (2010). "The history of *zakat* foundations and the use of a value-critical approach in subsidizing economy and health for the poor." S. Syamsuddin & A. Jahidin (Eds.). *Anthology of Social Work* (pp. 217-234). Yogyakarta: UIN Sunan Kalijaga Press.
- Lessy, Z. (2010). The conflict among Muslim philosophers' religious views of evolution theory. Implications for social work education in Indonesia. *Hermeneia Journal of Interdisciplinary Islamic Studies*, 9(2), 354-374.
- Lessy, Z. (2010). Human trafficking in Indonesia and responses by Islam, Muslim, and social workers. *Hermeneia Journal of Interdisciplinary Islamic Studies*, 9(1), 51-76.
- Lessy, Z. (2010). *Zakat fitrah* and *zakat maal as dakwah bil al-hal*: A survey study among professors and lecturers at one of the Islamic universities in Yogyakarta Indonesia. *Dakwah and Social Sciences Journal*, 2(1), 77-91.
- Lessy, Z. (2009). *Zakat* (alms-giving) management in Indonesia: Whose job should it be? *La_Riba Journal of Islamic Economy*, 3(1), 106-119.
- Lessy, Z. (2007). Emerging literacy generation: A critical analysis of the role of libraries in encouraging literacy generation. *Fihris*, 2(1), 7-18.
- Lessy, Z. (2006). Mail order bride: A modus operandi of human trafficking in Indonesia. *Musawa Journal of Gender Studies and Islam*, 4(3), 25-37.
- Book translation from English into Indonesian:
- Z. Lessy (2013). *Pengorganisasian masyarakat untuk perubahan sosial* [Activism and social change: Lessons for community and local organizing]. Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Graha Ilmu, in printing.