

IS HUMAN TRAFFICKING'S VICTIM RECEIVE ZAKAT AS *RIQAB*?: Zakat Distribution at East Java Philanthropic Organizations

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Abstract: This paper aims to analyze human trafficking victims in the zakat distribution discourse in six philanthropic institutions in East Java and to describe the supporting and inhibiting factors in determining human trafficking victims as *riqab*. Human trafficking victims have not been touched by the zakat system in Indonesia, while the number of victims has simultaneously increased. This paper utilizes a field study that uses primary data from in-depth interviews with top leaders of six zakat institutions under the National Amil Zakat Agency. In addition, this paper also uses secondary data sourced from documentation and annual reports released by the research object. This paper concludes that, firstly, victims of human trafficking have met the criteria to be zakat recipients on behalf of *riqab*. Although in practice in the field, no East Java zakat institution distributes zakat to victims of human trafficking. Second, East Java zakat institutions have the potential for proportional support to distribute zakat in the name of *riqab* to victims of human trafficking. Its implementation still encounters obstacles but can be overcome with the current potential.

Keywords: Human Trafficking, *Riqab*, Zakat Distribution, Zakat Institutions.

Abstrak: Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis korban *human trafficking* dalam diskursus distribusi zakat di enam lembaga filantropi di Jawa Timur dan mengurai faktor pendukung dan penghambat penetapan korban *human trafficking* sebagai golongan *riqab*. Korban *human trafficking* belum tersentuh oleh sistem zakat di Indonesia, sedangkan jumlah korban terus mengalami peningkatan dari tahun ke tahun. Paper ini memanfaatkan studi lapangan yang menggunakan data primer dari interview mendalam pada pimpinan puncak enam lembaga zakat yang bernaung di bawah Badan Amil Zakat Nasional. Di samping itu, tulisan ini juga menggunakan data sekunder yang bersumber dari dokumentasi dan annual report yang dirilis oleh objek riset. Tulisan ini menyimpulkan bahwa, pertama, korban TPPO secara literistik telah memenuhi kriteria untuk ditetapkan sebagai golongan penerima zakat atas nama

riqab. Walaupun pada praktik di lapangan belum ada lembaga zakat Jawa Timur yang mendistribusikan zakat kepada korban *human trafficking*. Kedua, lembaga zakat Jawa Timur memiliki potensi dukungan yang proporsional untuk mendistribusikan zakat atas nama *riqab* kepada korban *human trafficking*. Implementasinya masih menemui kendala tetapi kendala tersebut dapat diatasi dengan potensi yang dimiliki saat ini.

Kata Kunci: Perdagangan Manusia, *Riqab*, Distribusi Zakat, Lembaga Zakat.

Introduction

Human trafficking has become one of the largest criminal industries in the world. It was a result of economic demands and low levels of education.¹ These two initial problems have become a chance for elements to gain and harm the victims. Several of the victims of human trafficking came from various provinces in Indonesia. The Majority of them had delivered to developed countries, for instance, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Kuwait, Syria, and Iraq.² Globally, according to the International Labour Organization (ILO), it is stated that in 2021 around 21 million people have become victims of forced labour and kidnapping, 4.5 million of whom are victims of sexual exploitation.³ Meanwhile, based on

data from the Director of General Crimes, the Indonesian National Police Department noted that between 2014 and 2018, 1,154 Indonesian citizens (WNI) had become victims of human trafficking.⁴ Specifically, in East Java Province, cases of human trafficking have reached approximately 2,078 sufferers.

The increasing number of human trafficking cases in the last decade has attracted the government's and scholars' attention to conduct in-depth studies. The East Java Regional Police (POLDA) found that the height of human trafficking victims were underage girls.⁵ Goma found that victims of human trafficking experienced by Indonesian citizens did not only transpire domestically but also occurred abroad.⁶ According to Irianto, the study on the impact of human trafficking victims can threaten sexual health and the occurrence of alcohol and drug trafficking, so the crime of human trafficking has a long chain and has

- ¹ BT Cahya, "Kemiskinan Ditinjau dari Perspektif Al-Quran dan Hadis," *Jurnal Penelitian*, no. Query date: 2021-03-07 20:32:37 (2015): p. 27, <http://journal.iainkudus.ac.id/index.php/jurnalPenelitian/article/view/850>; Brian Septiadi Daud and Eko Sopoyono, "Penerapan Sanksi Pidana terhadap Pelaku Perdagangan Manusia (Human Trafficking) di Indonesia," *Jurnal Pembangunan Hukum Indonesia* 1, no. 3 (2019): p. 352-66.
- ² Nikodemus Niko, "Fenomena Trafficking in Person Di Wilayah Perbatasan Kalimantan Barat," *Raheema: Jurnal Studi Gender Dan Anak* 4, no. 1 (2017): p. 34.
- ³ US Embassy, "Laporan Tahunan Perdagangan Orang 2017," International Organization, Gov (blog), 2017, <https://id.usembassy.gov/id/laporan-tahunan-perdagangan-orang-2017/>; Unicef, "Women and Children Make Almost One-Third All Human Trafficking Victims Worldwide," International Organization, *Stories* (blog), 2018, <https://www.unicef.org/stories/women-and-children-make-almost-one-third-all-human-trafficking-victims-worldwide>.

- ⁴ Martahan Sohuturon, "Polisi Ungkap 1.154 WNI Korban Perdagangan Orang," nasional, 2018, <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20180423175045-12-292934/polisi-ungkap-1154-wni-korban-perdagangan-orang>.
- ⁵ Syamsul Ahmad, "Trafficking Di Jatim: Korbannya Kebanyakan Anak Dan Perempuan," News Portal, *Trafficking Di Jatim* (blog), 2020, <https://jatim.idntimes.com/news/jatim/ardiansyah-fajar/trafficking-di-jatim-kebanyakan-anak-dan-perempuan>.
- ⁶ Goma Edwardus Iwantri, "Manusia yang Dijadikan Komoditas: Fenomena Human Trafficking di Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur," *Populasi* 28, no. 1 (September 9, 2020): p. 30-43, <https://doi.org/10.22146/jp.59618>.

not shown a downward trend.⁷ In addition, the studies from an Islamic perspective have also emerged in response to the human trafficking problem that is identical to slavery.⁸ Barsi and Rosmini's findings in the historical context, for example, state that the slavery system did not come from Islamic cultivation but that Islam was present to provide a solution to the human freedom of a human being.⁹ The presence of Islam in achieving human independence had fulfilled through the zakat mechanism that accommodates eight groups of zakat recipients¹⁰ and does not rule out the

possibility of expansion of zakat distribution in implicit mechanisms.¹¹

While scholars investigate the impact and historical studies related to human trafficking, this paper tries to attempt the role of zakat as the spearhead of solving economic problems, which is an integral part of looking at the issues of human trafficking victims, especially in East Java. In addition, this paper investigates how the philanthropic institutions of the Zakat Management Organization (OPZ), Badan Amil Zakat Nasional (National Zakat Management Agency) (BAZNAS) in East Java, BAZNAS Malang Regency, BAZNAS Bojonegoro Regency, National Amil Zakat Institution (LAZNAS) Baitul Maal Hidayatullah, Al Falah Social Fund Foundation (YDSF) Surabaya, and Yatim Mandiri (Independent Orphan) Foundation in distributing zakat to human trafficking victims on behalf of *riqab* as one of the zakat recipients groups. Furthermore, this article also outlines the factors that become advantages and disadvantages in optimizing zakat as a solution for human trafficking victims. This article is formulated on field research using primary and secondary data. The primer data have endeavored through in-depth interviews and active and direct observation, such as BAZNAS East Java, Amil Zakat Institutions (LAZ) and OPZ East Java, as well as the Office of Women's Empowerment and Child and Family Protection (P3AK). The secondary data were from secondary sources, such as documentation of activities carried out by OPZ and several related publications and annual reports.

This article is divided into several sections. Following the introduction, this article will discuss human trafficking victims on behalf

⁷ Sulityowari Irianto, *Perempuan Dan Hukum: Menuju Hukum Yang Berperspektif Keadilan Dan Keadilan* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor, 2006), p. 28; Admin Web, "Workshop Pedoman Penanganan Korban Perdagangan Orang (Human Trafficking) Dalam Perspektif Hak Asasi Orang (HAM)," Kantor Wilayah Jawa Timur | Kementerian Hukum dan HAM Republik Indonesia, accessed October 9, 2020, <https://jatim.kemenkumham.go.id/pusat-informasi/artikel/2918-workshop-pedoman-penanganan-korban-perdagangan-orang-human-trafficking-dalam-perspektif-hak-asasi-orang-ham>.

⁸ Lukman Hakim, "Perluasan Makna Al Riqab Zakat: Studi Komparatif Pemikiran Yusuf al-Qardawi Dan Wahbah Az Zuhaili" (Published Ph.D Thesis, Yogyakarta, UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2013); Khamdatul Aliyati, "Perbudakan Dalam Pandangan Tafsir Di Indonesia" (Published Ph.D Thesis, Semarang, UIN Walisongo, 2015); Muhammad Arif, "Konsep Al Riqab Dan Kontektualisasinya Sebagai Mustahik Zakat: Studi Pemikiran Yusuf Qardawi" (Published Ph.D Thesis, Yogyakarta, UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2008); Umam Zaimatul, "Al-Riqab Sebagai Mustahik Zakat Dalam Perspektif Mufassir Indonesia" (Published Thesis, Malang, UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim, 2011).

⁹ Rusdaya Basri, "Human Trafficking Dan Solusinya Dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam," *DIKTUM: Jurnal Syariah Dan Hukum* 10, no. 1 (January 17, 2012): p. 92, <https://doi.org/10.35905/diktum.v10i1.257>; Rosmini Rosmini, "Misi Emansipatoris Al Qur'an dalam Relasi Seksualitas Antara Majikan dan Budak Perempuan," *Al Daulah : Jurnal Hukum Pidana dan Ketatanegaraan* 4, no. 1 (June 24, 2015): p. 152, <https://doi.org/10.24252/ad.v4i1.1511>.

¹⁰ Zainuddin Zainuddin, "Restorative Justice Concept on Jarimah Qisas in Islamic Criminal Law," *Jurnal Dinamika Hukum* 17, no. 3 (October 24, 2017): p. 335, <https://doi.org/10.20884/1.jdh.2017.17.3.826>; Wan Mohdkhairulfirdaus and Mahadi Mohammad, "The Philosophy and Elasticity of Zakah Distribution in

Islam," *International Journal of Education and Research* 1, no. 8 (August 1, 2013): p. 5.

¹¹ Marisa Damayanti, "Analysis of the Application of Islamic Good Governance Principles in the Amil Zakat Institutions in Indonesia Case Study LAZ Dompet Dhuafa and BAZNAS" (Thesis, Depok, Universitas Indonesia, 2016), 125-40, <https://lib.ui.ac.id>.

of *riqab*. Furthermore, this article will discuss policymakers' views on the distribution of zakat for human trafficking victims. Before conclusion, this article will describe the advantages and disadvantages of OPZ to recognize human trafficking victims in maximizing the role of zakat to assist the victims in East Java.

Recognizing Human Trafficking Victims on Behalf Riqab

East Java has contributed to about 2,078 cases of human trafficking.¹² The victims of human trafficking are identical to teenagers, especially girls.¹³ They had been pressed by the long working hours and were vulnerable to physical, mental, and sexual violence. In addition, they are also sophisticated by sexual infections and are involved in the trafficking of drinks and drugs.¹⁴ However, they do not get proper protection or minimal support from related parties. Therefore, the modus operandi of human trafficking has developed in national and international contexts,¹⁵ so the victims need stakeholders' protection and support.

Victims of human trafficking have been recognized as one of the groups of zakat recipients based on the Regulation of the National

Amil Zakat Board (PERBAZNAS) Number 3 of 2018.¹⁶ It stated that victims of human trafficking are included in the category of *riqab* groups entitled to receive zakat. Besides, this group still needs to expand the interpretation to arrive at the existence of zakat as a solution to community problems. The ultimate goal of zakat was to achieve justice, prosperity, the holistic distribution of wealth, and community welfare. For example, the needy and the poor, the determination of these two groups to be recipients of zakat is not only caused by internal factors but also external factors. The external factor in question is the obstruction of the distribution of wealth.¹⁷

In the zakat distribution, the eight groups were split into two parts. The first-fourth group employed the term "li", and the fourth-second group used the word "fi".¹⁸ The term "li" refers to the first-fourth groups, where they have the freedom to allocate the zakat they receive. Meanwhile, the second-fourth groups employed the word "fi", which had been interpreted as a condition. Those mean that the second-fourth groups are the provisions that have to be determined through the zakat mechanism.¹⁹ One of the last four groups is *riqab*. *Riqab* is the plural form of *ra-qa-bah* which means the back of the neck. Epistemologically, *riqab* means power is under the con-

¹² Admin Web, "Data Kasus Kekerasan Berdasarkan Bentuk Kekerasan Kabupaten/Kota Se-Jawa Timur 2019 (Periode Januari-Desember)," Government, Dinas Pemberdayaan Perempuan, Perlindungan Anak dan Kependudukan, 2019, <https://dp3ak.jatimprov.go.id>.

¹³ Basri, "Human Trafficking Dan Solusinya Dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam," p. 92.

¹⁴ Irianto, *Perempuan Dan Hukum: Menuju Hukum Yang Berperspektif Keadilan Dan Keadilan*, p. 28.

¹⁵ Admin Web, "Workshop Pedoman Penanganan Korban Perdagangan Orang (Human Trafficking) Dalam Perspektif Hak Asasi Orang (HAM)," Government, Kantor Wilayah Jawa Timur | Kementerian Hukum dan HAM Republik Indonesia, 2020, <https://jatim.kemenkumham.go.id/pusat-informasi/artikel/2918-workshop-pedoman-penanganan-korban-perdagangan-orang-human-trafficking-dalam-perspektif-hak-asasi-orang-ham>.

¹⁶ Badan Amil Zakat Nasional Nasional, "Peraturan Badan Amil Zakat Nasional Republik Indonesia Nomor 3 Tahun 2018 Tentang Pendistribusian Dan Pendayagunaan Zakat," Pub. L. No. 3, 1 (2018), p. 3.

¹⁷ Syahril Jamil, "Prioritas Mustahik Zakat Menurut Teungku Muhammad Hasbi Ash Shiddieqy," *Istinbath* 16, no. XIV (June 2015): p. 150.

¹⁸ Rahmad Hakim, "Kontekstualisasi Fikih Golongan Penerima Zakat (Asnaf Tsamaniyah) Zakat Dan Relevansinya Dengan Penanggulangan Kemiskinan Di Indonesia," in *2nd Annual Conference for Muslim Scholar*, vol. 2nd (Ancoms, Surabaya: UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2018), p. 394.

¹⁹ Eja Armaz Hardi, "Gharim Sebagai Penerima Zakat Perspektif Yusuf Qaradawi: Studi Distribusi Zakat Pada Badan Amil Zakat Nasional Provinsi Jawa Timur" (Ph.D Thesis, Surabaya, UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2021), p. 260-61, <http://digilib.uinsby.ac.id/48697/>.

trol of others.²⁰ There is an expanding interpretation of *riqab*, and it recognizes the *riqab* as an inhibited bondman physically and mentally controlled by others.²¹ In the same word, the chattel did not have the power to live his life independently.

Several Islamic scholars have interpreted the *riqab* as a bondman. For example, Ali bin Abi Talib, Said bin Zubair, Al-Zuhry, Al-Laits, Ibn Saad, and Imam Syafii clarified *riqab* with *al-mukatab*. Namely, the bondmen owned and guaranteed by the owner to be free if he can surrender a certain nominal amount of money. In contrast to Imam Malik and Imam Ahmad, the *riqab* is not only a *mukatab* but also includes all types of bondsmen. Meanwhile, Said Bakri Muhammad interpreted the *riqab* as a bondman who would free himself in the future. So, the bondman must redeem himself to be free with a certain amount of money. Therefore, the condition of bondmen who are under the power of others needs external help.²²

The contemporary interpretation of *riqab* or freeing bondmen as a group of zakat recipients is that bondman owners sell their bondsmen to other parties to let them be free. In this sense, the first owner of the bondman received compensation for the bondman's freedom. On the other hand, bondsmen or *riqab* in PERBA-ZNAS Number 3 of 2018 stated that the meaning of *riqab* is a Muslim who is one of the victims of human trafficking, becomes a prisoner of the enemy of Islam, is colonized, or have persecuted.²³ With these various meanings, the

scope of bondmen in contemporary discourse has expanded, and victims of human trafficking have become part of the group entitled to receive zakat.

Human Trafficking

The meaning of the term human trafficking undergoes a dynamic interpretation following economic, social and political developments in a country.²⁴ Human Trafficking is defined as the recruitment, transportation, or harboring of people through threats and violence for exploitation, prostitution, sex, and slavery that only benefits one party. In Article 1 of Law Number 2 of 2007 concerning Eradication of the Crime of Trafficking in Persons, there are tenures related to human trafficking. They were human trafficking, victims, individuals, children, corporations, exploitation, sexual exploitation, recruitment, delivery, violence, threats of violence, restitution, rehabilitation, and debt bondage.²⁵

²⁴ Nurani Nurani, *Trafficking: Sebuah Pelanggaran Hak Asasi Manusia* (Yogyakarta: Elsaq Press, 2011), p. 299.

²⁵ Trafficking in persons is the act of recruiting, transporting, harbouring, transporting, transferring or receiving a person employing the threat of force, use of force, abduction, confinement, fraud, deception, abuse of power or a position of vulnerability, or debt bondage or of providing payments or benefits. To obtain the person's consent who controls the other person, whether carried out within a country or between countries, for exploitation or causing people to be exploited. A victim is a person who experiences psychological, mental, physical, sexual, economic, or social suffering due to the criminal act of trafficking in persons. Everyone is an individual or a corporation that commits an illegal act of trafficking. The child is under 18 (eighteen) years old, including children who are still in the womb. A corporation is an organized collection of people and assets, whether they are legal entities or not. Exploitation is an act with or without the victim's consent which includes but is not limited to prostitution, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, oppression, extortion, physical, sexual, reproductive organ use, or unlawfully removing or transplanting organs or body tissue or exploiting one's energy or

²⁰ Alyasa Abubakar, "Seni Penerima Zakat: Sebuah Upaya Untuk Reinterpretasi," *Media Syariah* 16, no. 2 (Desember 2014): p. 593.

²¹ Zunly Nadia, "Perlindungan Kehidupan Perempuan Dalam Keluarga Dan Masyarakat," *Musawa* 10, no. 2 (2011): p. 272.

²² Fuadi Fuadi, "Sistem Pengelolaan Zakat (Kajian Terhadap Qanun Provinsi Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam Nomor 7 Tahun 2004)," *Jurnal At-Tafkir* 7, no. 1 (June 2014): p. 173.

²³ Efri Syamsul Bahri and Sabik Khumaini, "Analisis Efektivitas Penyaluran Zakat Pada Badan Amil Zakat Nasional," *Al Maal: Journal of Islamic Economics and Banking* 1, no. 2 (2020): p. 163-74.

Human trafficking is interpreted differently from each other depending on the point of view of the individual or organization.²⁶ Some legal experts interpret human trafficking as an organized crime.²⁷ The definition previously

ability by another party to obtain material or immaterial benefits. Sexual Exploitation is any form of using sexual organs or other organs of the victim for profit, including but not limited to all activities of prostitution and fornication. Recruitment is an act that includes inviting, gathering, bringing, or separating a person from his family or community. Shipping is dispatching or anchoring someone from one place to another. Violence is any act against the law, with or without the use of physical and psychological means, that poses a danger to life or body or results in depriving one's freedom. The threat of violence is any unlawful act in speech, writing, pictures, symbols, or body movements, either with or without the use of means that cause fear or restrict a person's essential freedom. Restitution is the payment of compensation imposed on the perpetrator based on a court decision that has permanent legal force for material or immaterial losses suffered by the victim or his heirs. Rehabilitation is recovery from disturbances to physical, psychological, and social conditions to be able to carry out their roles again naturally, both in the family and in society. Debt entrapment places people in the situation of being forced to pledge themselves or their families or those who are their responsibility for their services as debt repayment form to the Republic of Indonesia. See- Republik Indonesia, "Undang-Undang Nomor 21 Tahun 2007, Tentang Pemberantasan Tindak Pidana Perdagangan Orang," 2007.

²⁶ Farhana Farhana, *Aspek Hukum Perdagangan Orang Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Sinar Grafika, 2010), p. 20.

²⁷ A crime entrusts its administration to someone establishing a small division of labour in which there is an appraiser, collector and enforcer. See- Cressey Donald R., "Other People's Money," *Managerial Auditing Journal MCB University Press* 17, no. 7 (n.d.): 351-62; The crime is committed by more than one person who has allegiance to his association to commit a crime. The scope of this crime includes cruelty, theft, monopolistic corruption, economics, fraud and causing victims. See- Maltz Wendy and Maltz Larry, *The Porn Trap: The Essential Guide to Overcoming Problems Caused by Pornography* (New York: Harper Collings Publishers Inc., 2008); Human trafficking in a narrower context, namely, concerning trafficking of women. According to her, the concept of trafficking in women is not only limited to forced prostitution. See- Ruth Rosenberg,

described does not only cover aspects of recruiting and sending people but also the perpetrator who took the exploitative actions against the victim. Utilizing the broad scope of the meaning of the crime of human trafficking shows that victims of human trafficking in Indonesia tend to exceed the number previously estimated. Thus, several previous definitions provide a holistic conception of human trafficking.

The interpretations above showed that human trafficking must meet the elements of recruiting, sending, transferring, or holding people who use violence. The violence can be in the form of threats, coercion, kidnapping, or fraud so that the perpetrator gets the consent of the prey. Then human trafficking is intended to exploit, either in forced labor, organ harvesting, or slavery.²⁸ Human trafficking is considered a criminal act, and at least it must meet three elements: the process, method, and the perpetrator's purpose. The way used by the perpetrators to trick potential victims can be through the lure of job offers abroad that have high and fantastic salaries.²⁹ The allure is often unrealized by the potential victim. In other words, the perpetrator uses hypnosis.

Forms of Human Trafficking

Currently, the transformation of the configurations of human trafficking follows modern world development. The human trafficking transformation is to succeed in the goal of exploiting victims. Firstly, sexual exploitation. Sexual exploitation has been divided into two

Perdagangan Perempuan Dan Anak Di Indonesia (Jakarta: USAID, 2003), 15.

²⁸ Andi Yetriana, *Andi Yetriana, Politik Perdagangan Perempuan* (Yogyakarta: Galang Press, 2004), 21. (Yogyakarta: Galang Press, 2004), 21; Ulil Absor Absor, "Human Trafficking and The Challenges for Social Development in Indonesia," *Jurnal Pemikiran Sosiologi* 5, no. 1 (2018): p. 37- 50.

²⁹ Antik Bintari and Nina Djustina, "Upaya Penanganan Korban Dan Pencegahan Tindak Perdagangan Orang (Human Trafficking).," *Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan* 1, no. 1 (2015): p. 124-48.

parts which were sexual exploitation for commercial prostitution and non-commercial sexual exploitation. The second form tends to occur in teenagers. Second, domestic workers.³⁰ Domestic and foreign domestic workers are referred to who have long working hours, work under pressure, and have relatively low wages.³¹ The coercion that occurs to domestic workers often experienced physical violence to the confinement of personal identities, thus making them unable to move and continue to be under the control of their employers.

Third, baby sales. This configuration has often been manipulated in adopting children. The children are utilized as forced labour or even sell them back on the black market.³² Fourth, Debt Bondage. The debt bondage of potential victims has become the traditional reason for human trafficking. The potential victims will be sent to anonymous countries to work forcibly. The wages earned from working abroad are used to pay off debts. Further, during the working period, the victim does not enjoy the results of his hard work.³³

Distribution of Zakat to *Riqab* for Human Trafficking Victims at Philanthropic Institutions in East Java

All Amil Zakat Institution (LAZ) in Indonesia registered under the Indonesian National Amil Zakat Agency (BAZNAS) refers to the programs contained in the Regulation of the National Amil Zakat Agency (PERBAZNAS) Number 3 of 2018 concerning Zakat Management.³⁴ The fund management adapted to the demographic, social, cultural, and resources in the region of LAZ.³⁵ For instance, in the East Java region, the 6 LAZs that are the object of this article's research show that the distribution of zakat has been divided into two models of distribution, namely the consumptive distribution and the productive distribution pattern.³⁶ The consumptive distribution to recipients is intended for groups who need funds to meet urgent needs. Meanwhile, the product distribution is one step ahead because the product distribution has focused on groups with work abilities. Furthermore, the productive scheme enables development and can change the condition of zakat recipients to become *muzaki*.³⁷

³⁰ Daud and Sopoyono, "Penerapan Sanksi Pidana Terhadap Pelaku Perdagangan Manusia (Human Trafficking) Di Indonesia," p. 352–62.

³¹ N. Fadila, "Upaya Perlindungan Hukum Terhadap Anak Sebagai Korban Tindak Pidana Perdagangan Orang," *Jurnal Hukum Dan Peradilan* 5, no. 2 (2016): p. 181–94.

³² Udiyono Basuki, "Penegakan Hukum Atas Tindak Pidana Perdagangan Orang Perspektif Hak Asasi Manusia," *Varia Justicia* 13, no. 2 (2018): p. 132–46.

³³ Wahyu Riadi, "Implementasi Pencegahan Perdagangan Orang Dari Perspektif Pertahanan Negara," *Jurnal Strategi Perang Semester* 3, no. 2 (2017): p. 1–24; Kemudian bentuk lain dapat dilakukan oleh para bandar pengedar narkoba yang merekrut pihak-pihak yang memiliki ketergantungan terhadap narkoba. See- Thaufiek Zulbahary, "Dampak Kebijakan Anti Trafficking Di Indonesia Terhadap HAM Kelompok Rentan Dan Korban," *Jurnal Perempuan* 6, no. 8 (2010): p. 36–66; Selain itu terdapat juga pelaksanaan jual beli organ tubuh manusia. See-Yulia Rarcmawati, *Viktimologi Perlindungan Hukum Terhadap Korban Perdagangan Manusia* (Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu, 2010).

³⁴ Hardi, "Gharim Sebagai Penerima Zakat Perspektif Yusuf Qaradawi," p. 6.

³⁵ Hardi, p. 7; Damanhur Damanhur, "The Model of Productive Zakat Distribution in Increasing the Society Welfare In Aceh Province," *Journal Of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)* 22, no. 11 (2017): p. 77–82.

³⁶ Safradji Safradji, "Zakat Konsumtif Dan Zakat Produktif," *Tafhim Al-'Ilmi (Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Pemikiran Islam)* 10, no. 1 (2018): p. 56–66; Hardi, "Gharim Sebagai Penerima Zakat Perspektif Yusuf Qaradawi."

³⁷ Prisma Hadiyanti Permana, "Pengaruh Dana Zakat Konsumtif Terhadap Konsumsi Mustahik (Studi Pada Penerima Dana Zakat Laz El-Zawa Uin Maulana Malik Ibrahim)," *Jurnal Ilmiah Febi* 3, no. 6 (2016): p. 10–19; Mohammad Thoriquddin, "Pengelolaan Zakat Produktif Di El-Zawa Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang Perspektif Maqasid al-Shari'ah Ibnu Ashur" (Ph. D Thesis, Surabaya, Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2014).

The Zakat Management Organization (OPZ) has distributed the zakat through the consumptive scheme. This scheme referred to the five programs that have been laid by the Central BAZNAS, namely the economic, education, health, da'wah, and social sectors. The consumptive distribution scheme in OPZ East Java utilized the traditional pattern because zakat is distributed directly to zakat recipients. However, this conventional consumptive distribution pattern is devoted to groups who do not have the physical ability to work and do not have skills. The following is data on the distribution of zakat to groups of zakat recipients in OPZ East Java in 2018-2019:

Table 1. Collecting and Distribution of Zakat in 6 Zakat Management Organizations in East Java Province, 2019-2018

1. National Amil Zakat Board of East Java Province		
Description	2019 (IDR)	2018 (IDR)
Collection	7,389,549.2 50	5,510,648.2 11
Distribution	6,820,931.4 37	3,581,134.5 31
Jatim Peduli	5,570,291.4 37	3,479,288.3 31
Jatim Cerdas	891,275.00 0	50,600,000 0
Jatim Sehat	-	49,521,200
Jatim Makmur	356,100.00 0	-
Jatim Taqwa	740,710.67 5	415,435.06 0
2. National Amil Zakat Board of Malang Regency		
Description	2019 (IDR)	2018 (IDR)
Collection	6,852,463.6 79	7,217,549.9 34
Distribution	5,590,624.9 85	4,409,281.7 58
Malang Peduli	5,056,105.9 85	4,142,506.7 58
Malang Makmur	122,100.00 0	-
Malang Taqwa	62,683,500	20,000,000
Malang Cerdas	225,433.00 0	195,425.00 0
Malang Sehat	124,302.50 0	51,350,000 0
3. National Amil Zakat Board of Bojonegoro Regency		
Description	2019 (IDR)	2018 (IDR)
Collection	2,220,205.9 11	-
Distribution	1,375,513.1 00	-
Bojonegoro Filantropis	444,337.30 0	-
Bojonegoro Produktif	267,172.00 0	-
Bojonegoro Genius	235,570.00 0	-
Bojonegoro	25,218,500	-
4. Baitul Maal Hidayatullah Foundation		
Description	2019 (IDR)	2018
Collection	8,835,122,556, 62	2018
Distribution	10,995,953,993 ,66	-
5. Yatim Mandiri (Independent Orphans Foundation)		
Description	2019 (IDR)	2018
Collection	11,509,001,374	2018
Distribution	9,945,226,330	-
Education	5,521,637,010	-
Health	2,406,881,678	-
Humanity	1,181,770,753	-
Economic	803,476,206	-
Da'wah and Advocacy	31,460,683	-
6. Social Fund Al-Falah Surabaya Foundation		
Description	2019 (IDR)	2018
Collection	9,883,791,455	2018
Distribution	8,467,702,853	-
Education	2,222,284,300	-
Health	1,048,820,413	-
Humanity	291,746,000	-
Economic	1,999,741,192	-
Da'wah and Advocacy	2,905,110,948	-
Source: data is processed from the annual report		

Energi		
Bojonegoro	25,218,500	-
Agamis		
Flak Amil dan Op	294,126,60	-
	0	

On the other hand, East Java OPZ also distributes zakat through the empowerment scheme. This scheme referred to the programs that have been specified in PERBAZNAS Number 3 of 2018. Although OPZs are required to adapt to these programs, OPZs have the freedom to change and innovate programs according to the demographic, cultural and social aspects of society. Because of that, the zakat can play an optimal role in achieving community welfare.³⁸ The distribution program with a productive empowerment scheme aims to provide economical access to groups who have work skills. They become economically empowered after they receive support from zakat. At the same time, the target of productive distribution to certain groups aims to change the *mustahik* to be a *muzaki*.³⁹

Assisting the *mustahik* to become economically empowered took a long time.⁴⁰ In contrast to the consumerism patterns, recipients utilized zakat in a short time because they are used to meeting the needs of their daily life. Notwithstanding the empowerment distribution has taken a relatively long time, it is also able to assist the economic improvement of zakat recipients in particular and the economy of the people in general. To reach this goal, OPZ East Java periodically provides training to groups of zakat recipients with the skills

³⁸ Hervindo Ghora Nidityo and Nisful Laila, "Zakat Produktif Untuk Meningkatkan Kinerja Produksi, Motivasi, Dan Religiusitas Mustahik (Studi Kasus Pada BAZ Jatim)," *JESTT* 1, no. 9 (2014): p. 661-75.

³⁹ Muhammad Amir Sholehuddin, interview with the Chairman of Information Islam, Zakat and Waqf, Direct-Indepth Interview, June 11, 2020.

⁴⁰ Khalifah Muhamad Ali, Nydia Novira Amalia, and Salahuddin Elayyubi, "Perbandingan Zakat Produktif Dan Zakat Konsumtif Dalam Meningkatkan Kesejahteraan Mustahik," *Al-Muzara'ah* 4, no. 1 (2019): p. 19-32.

and work abilities.⁴¹ Through this training, the ultimate goal of zakat can be gathered optimally, namely, to enhance the community welfare and help alleviate poverty and unemployment.⁴²

Various OPZ programs have been formed to accommodate eight groups of recipients. The programs are referred to in the Quran and PERBAZNAS Number 3 of 2018. In general, the eight recipient groups are divided into two sections. The first four groups are the priority and emergency nature, and the main focus is poor. The second-four groups were interpreted as conditional groups. However, this does not mean that the second-four groups undistributed but also earned their share. Due to this interpretation, the distribution in East Java OPZ has not accommodated all the eight recipient groups.⁴³

Based on the annual report mentioned above, although the interpretation of *riqab* has expanded to human trafficking victims, the six OPZs have not distributed *riqab* groups. *Riqab* has never received its share from zakat. It is due to the internal interpretation of the East Java OPZ and the external community who interpret *riqab* as a bondman. This interpretation implies that zakat is not distributed to *riqab* because their point of view of slavery no longer exists in the modern world. However, the substance of human trafficking victims who are shackled and have no power over themselves enables them to be classified on behalf of *riqab* to receive zakat.⁴⁴ Even so, the

East Java OPZ consisting of BAZNAS and LAZ, has not recognized victims of human trafficking as *riqab*. The result is they are not eligible to receive zakat.⁴⁵

Under this understanding, in OPZ East Java, groups of zakat recipients do not get their rights from zakat, namely the *riqab*. Technically, ignoring human trafficking victims as *riqab* will reduce the holistic purpose and wisdom of zakat for reaching community welfare. Therefore, it is necessary to broaden understanding contextually and comprehensively so that victims of human trafficking can be accommodated as zakat recipients.⁴⁶ Accommodation of victims of human trafficking as a *riqab* can emphasize the function and role of the zakat to obtain social justice and abolish modern slavery today.

Support and Inhibit Factors in Determining Human Trafficking Victims as *Riqab*

The Amil Zakat Institution (LAZ), under the umbrella of the National Amil Zakat Board (BAZNAS), faces various heterogeneous demographic, social, and cultural conditions in distributing the zakat that has been collected. This heterogeneity creates advantages and disadvantages in distributing zakat funds to each group of zakat recipients. The following will discuss the factors supporting and inhibiting the distribution of zakat to the *riqab* group.

Supporting Factors

Through the Regulation of the National Amil Zakat Agency (PERBAZNAS) Number 3 of 2018 concerning the Distribution and Utilization of Zakat, which stated zakat is utilised to achieve public welfare in general and reduce

⁴¹ Oni Sahroni, *Fikih Zakat Kontemporer* (Depok: PT. Raja Grafindo Persada, 2018), p. 2.

⁴² Abd. Salam Nawawi, interview with the Chairman of the National Zakat Management Agency of East Java Province, Direct-In Depth Interview, Mei 2020.

⁴³ Khoirul Hafidz Fanani, interview with the Chairman of National Zakat Management Agency of Malang Regency, Direct-In Depth Interview, May 2020.

⁴⁴ Mohd Riliziam Bin Rosli, Hussin Bin Salamon, and Miftachul Huda, "Distribution Management of Zakat Fund: Recommended Proposal For Asnaf Riqab in Malaysia," *International Journal of Civil Engineering and Technology* 9, no. 3 (March 2018): p. 56–64.

⁴⁵ Nurul Huda, interview with the Chairman of National Zakat Management Agency of Bojonegoro Regency, Direct-In Depth Interview, June 2, 2020.

⁴⁶ Iqbal Fadli Muhammad, "Analysis of Zakat and Waqf Literacy Class Program in the Covid-19 Period," *Jurnal Bimas Islam* 13, no. 2 (2020): p. 259–89.

poverty in Indonesia and improve the quality of society, optimization and utilization of zakat distribution is needed. Optimization of the distribution of zakat must be under the rules set by Islamic law through the Quran and the laws and regulations of zakat. In the case of the *riqab*, the substance is that victims of human trafficking can be part of the *riqab* group. It has been mentioned in Article 3 of PERBAZNAS Number 3 of 2018. The opinion of the Chairman of Islamic Information, Zakat and Waqf stated: *"From PERBAZNAS it has explained eight asnaf, especially riqab who are Muslims who are victims of human trafficking, those who are held captive by the enemies of Islam or people who are being persecuted."*⁴⁷

Apart from being supported by adequate regulations, LAZ and BAZNAS have utilization programs that are relatively adaptive to environmental conditions. The chairman of BAZNAS of East Java Province stated, *"Empowerment of zakat is a way or effort to bring greater and better results and benefits. There are two forms of distribution of zakat funds, namely, consumptive and productive forms"*.⁴⁸ As has been implemented by the East Java Zakat Management Organization (OPZ), there are types of zakat distribution through consumptive schemes, namely traditional and creative consumptives, to meet the daily life needs of the recipients. The classical consumptive distribution scheme is given to groups of recipients directly and consumables to meet their everyday needs, such as *zakat fitrah*. Meanwhile, the creative consumptive model has distributed to the recipients the appropriate goods, such as scholarships and school supplies. In addition to the consumptive model, East Java OPZ also distributes through empowerment schemes. Those models are divided into two models, namely classical and creative empowerment. The classical empower-

ment model is zakat distribution in productive goods, such as livestock and carpentry tools. Classical empowerment distribution aims to provide recipients with economic resources and jobs. The distribution of zakat through the creative empowerment model is the distribution of zakat with a revolving capital scheme in the form of additional capital for small entrepreneurs.

Nowadays, the management of zakat funds in Indonesia uses a top-down approach. This approach is unseparated from the act of Law Number 23 of 2011, where the state directly mandates zakat managers nationally to BAZNAS. Through the legality of the law, BAZNAS and LAZ have the power to support poverty alleviation programs through zakat. That was confirmed by the Chairman of BAZNAS Malang Regency, which stated:

"With legality, society will give a level of trust in an institution without any doubts. Legitimacy in managing zakat is through collecting, determining who is entitled, looking for them, as well dividing and delivering it to them as a form of mandate".

In addition to taking guarantees from state law, zakat distribution in OPZ uses a sustainable concept. OPZ also cooperates with the Zakat Distribution Unit (USZ) as a local partner whose task is to assist in the distribution and monitoring of the development of recipients. Cooperation with USZ partners is practical because OPZ can monitor the development of the recipient group so that it can be projected to become *muzaki*. Furthermore, the distribution of business capital assisted by USZ, OPZ also applies sharia principles and assesses business feasibility so that businesses funded through zakat can develop well.⁴⁹

Business feasibility determination must be in line with sharia principles. In the same word, the distribution of zakat for productive purposes considers aspects of business readi-

⁴⁷ Sholehuddin, interview, Chairman of Islamic Information, Zakat, and Waqf.

⁴⁸ Nawawi, interview, Chairman of the National Zakat Management Agency of East Java Province.

⁴⁹ Huda, interview with the Chairman of National Zakat Management Agency of Bojonegoro Regency.

ness and sharia principles together.⁵⁰ Therefore, the zakat distribution in BAZNAS or LAZ can directly become partners or advisors of recipients in running their business.⁵¹

In the Indonesian context, the zakat management has depended on two sources of law. It means that the state recognized zakat as part of national economic distribution. Furthermore, Islamic and positive law can run hand in hand to achieve social prosperity and justice without clashing with one another.⁵² In addition, the mandate management of zakat on BAZNAS and LAZ has a critical role in the succession, funding, distribution, and utilization of zakat for the benefit of the wider community.⁵³

BAZNAS and LAZ well-understand the real needs and conditions of the field regarding the recipients.⁵⁴ In addition, OPZ also gets support from society and the government, so indirect funds must be adequately managed by OPZ. It has intended to foster the participation of stakeholders to be directly involved. The treasurer of BAZNAS Malang stated, "*There are several principles and management that are carried out so that we as zakat collection institutions can be trusted and fully supported by the community*

and the government. We must apply these things for the common good."⁵⁵ In maintaining the trust of the East Java OPZ stockholders, several principles of zakat management are applied. First, the principles of Islamic teaching relate transcendently to the creator and horizontal relationships with fellow human beings. Second, moral principles, namely the management of zakat based on honesty, trust, *siddiq*, responsibility, fairness, compassion, help, and patience. The third is the principle of institutions, having institutional duties in maintaining the trust of related parties. Fourth, management principles, namely results-oriented management and process-oriented management. Finally, BAZNAS and LAZ have a solid team to assist in the optimal distribution of zakat and help achieve the goals of holistic zakat.⁵⁶

The zakat distribution based on the productive model is not allowed to carry out usury.⁵⁷ It aims to reach the public trust for zakat institutions in the management of zakat. Therefore, sharia principles must be the primary consideration for BAZNAS and LAZ in zakat distribution to recipients. Furthermore, a process-oriented approach is more appropriate in the distribution of productive zakat, although it takes a relatively long time.⁵⁸

⁵⁰ Arsyad Abror and Ataina Hidayati, "The Effect of Distributive Justice on Intention to Pay Zakat through Zakat Institutions Using Affective and Cognitive Trust as Intervening Variables," *Jurnal Ekonomi Dan Keuangan Islam*, January 9, 2020, p. 24–33, <https://doi.org/10.20885/jeki.vol6.iss1.art3>.

⁵¹ Sri Nurhayati and Dodik Siswanto, *Akuntansi Dan Manajemen Zakat* (Jakarta: Salemba Empat, 2019), p. 17.

⁵² Ana Toni Roby Chandra Yudha, Habibab Awwaliah, and Eka Mega Pertiwi, "SDGs Value and Islamic Philanthropy Through Zakah Institution During the Covid-19," *Ihtifaz: Journal of Islamic Economics, Finance, and Banking* 4, no. 1 (2021): p. 31–45.

⁵³ Novi Febrianti, "The Review of Islamic Law on the Distribution of Zakat Directly by Muzaki to Mustahik in the Sunan Ampel Religious Tourism Area in Surabaya," *Iqtishaduna: Jurnal Ekonomi & Keuangan Islam* 11, no. 2 (2020): p. 55–69.

⁵⁴ Nur Hidayat, interview with the Board of Yatim Mandiri (Independent Orphan) Foundation East Java, Direct-In Depth Interview, June 6, 2020.

⁵⁵ Nur Hadi, interview with Treasurer of National Zakat Management Agency of Malang Regency, Direct-In Depth Interview, May 2020.

⁵⁶ Agus Sholahuddin, interview with Deputy Chairman of National Zakat Management Agency of Bojonegoro Regency, Direct-In Depth Interview, Mei 2020.

⁵⁷ Abu Bakar Sidik, Mail Hallian Batin, and Janestrada Diem, "Peranan BAZNAS Dan Sistem Pengelolaan Dana Zakat Terhadap Kelompok Bina Zakat (KBZ) Di Kabupaten Oku Timur | Muhamad Diem | ZISWAF: JURNAL ZAKAT DAN WAKAF," *ZISWAF: Jurnal Zakat Dan Wakaf* 5, no. 2 (2018): p. 72–92, <https://journal.iainkudus.ac.id/index.php/Ziswaf/article/view/4613>.

⁵⁸ Muhamad Dandy Alif Wildana and Asfi Manzilati, "Hablum Minallah Dan Hablum Minannas Dari Zakah," *Jurnal Ilmiah Mahasiswa FEB Universitas Brawijaya* 2, no. 2 (2013): p. 47.

Inhibit Factors

Currently, The Human Resources Paradigm (SDI) is still an obstacle for BAZNAS and LAZ to innovate and step forward to arrive at the goals of zakat. As explained by the Chairman of Section of BAZNAS East Java:

*"Limited human resources are one of the inhibiting factors in the distribution of zakat. For example, the distribution of zakat to the poor and needy in one area and other human resources will also distribute zakat. The HR in the office is only a few people. So if you get a distribution schedule, then there must be one person in the office to continue carrying out their duties while the others are in the field."*⁵⁹

The internal misunderstanding of BAZNAS and LAZ about the recipient is a problem in the distribution of zakat, especially for the *riqab* group.

*"The inhibiting factor that often occurs is a substantial obstacle in its distribution because the character of each poor person is unique. So when it comes to assisting them, it can be seen in their daily lives. It is why there must be an initial plan or initial survey. To know how their everyday life, their character and the environment. So that when you assist, you will see the truth."*⁶⁰

The role of communication is unseparated from the obstacles faced by BAZNAS and LAZ in the distribution of zakat to the recipients. It is due to the lack of human resources and the limited number of volunteers. The Chairman of BAZNAS Bojonegoro stated:

"Often the problem is that there are some accesses that nobody can enter. Because who is a volunteer does not mean all East Java people become volunteers. So some priorities and people are recruited to become volunteers willing and

*able to take orders, which will minimize miscommunication."*⁶¹

The public's lack of literacy and education regarding Law Number 23 of 2011 and PER-BAZNAS Number 3 of 2018 is a separate obstacle to the awareness of *muzaki* to pay zakat to state-based philanthropic institutions. It is due to low public awareness of zakat. At the same time, people's trust in state-based zakat institutions is declining.

*"Lack of funds/budget hampers socialization activities and has an impact on zakat management activities themselves. So that people do not know and are fully aware of Law Number 23 of 2011 regarding good and correct zakat management and BAZNAS Regulation Number 3 of 2018 concerning the distribution and utilization of zakat to improve justice and public welfare."*⁶²

*"There is a lack of awareness among the people to pay zakat through BAZNAS/LAZ. They have less of an understanding of one of these obligations of muzaki. If it is realized holistically, the zakat will imply the welfare and prosperity of the people in the distribution of zakat funds to mustahik."*⁶³

*"Until now, there are still many muzakki who are avoiding paying their zakat to state-based philanthropic institutions. They feel more comfortable and more accessible to give zakat to mustahik directly, yes, around their residence. So they know who needs and deserves to get zakat."*⁶⁴

"... before the existence of zakat management agencies/institutions at the centre and in the regions, the community had implemented paying

⁵⁹ Abid Hamid Hasan, interview with the Chairman of National Zakat Management Agency, East Java Province, Direct-In Depth Interview, May 2020.

⁶⁰ Nur Qomari, interview with the Deputy Chairperson of the National Zakat Management Agency, Malang Regency, Direct-In Depth Interview, May 2020.

⁶¹ Eko Arief Cahyono, interview with the Chairman of the National Zakat Management Agency, Bojonegoro Regency, Direct-In Depth Interview, June 2, 2020.

⁶² Sholehuddin, interview Chairman of Islamic Information, Zakat, and Waqf.

⁶³ Abdur Rahman, interview with the Board of Baitul Maal Hidayatullah Surabaya, Direct-In Depth Interview, June 6, 2020.

⁶⁴ Hidayat, interview with the Board of Yayasan Yatim Mandiri (Independent Orphans Foundation), East Java.

*zakat directly, the same as the previous problem, it was the habits and culture of the surrounding community that made muzaki prefer to follow it. In addition, there are often questions about where the zakat funds are channeled, and the statement for using zakat funds is not precise. They still don't believe it..."*⁶⁵

Competitive SDI, able to work in teams and understand the problems, can minimize the possibility of obstacles in the SDI aspect.⁶⁶ In addition, to reduce barriers to public awareness who neglect to pay zakat at government official zakat institutions, BAZNAS can conduct periodic socialization. It is possible to increase public awareness of the importance of paying zakat to improve the welfare of society in general.⁶⁷ The trust barriers faced by state-based zakat institutions, formal zakat institutions can hold zakat management certification. This certification can guarantee professionalism in the management of zakat funds.

Conclusion

The increasing number of human trafficking victims has become a social problem today. On the same side, the number of zakat funds in East Java has increased steadily yearly. Several scholars offer that human trafficking victims are categorized as zakat recipients on behalf of the *riqab*. This stipulation aims to escape victims from their conditions, in which they do not have power and freedom over themselves. Unfortunately, the six zakat institutions in East Java have not made human trafficking victims a *riqab*. As a result, the victims do not

get a share of the distribution of zakat every year. The refusal of human trafficking victims as *riqab* in six zakat institutions in East Java came from the internal understanding of zakat managers in East Java interpret the *riqab* as bondmen. Slavery no longer exists in today's modern world.

The possibility of expanding *riqab* interpretation in Indonesian philanthropic institutions is still open in nowadays context. This article found various supporting factors for zakat institutions to enlarge these meanings. Among them, zakat institutions have a solid legal basis with a top-down system that can intervene according to social and cultural needs and conditions. Furthermore, the internal/external problems in the *riqab* interpretation can be solved by regular education and literacy. Thus, the noble purpose of zakat in the welfare of society, in general, can be reached optimally. Although this article has surprising findings on the implementation of distributing zakat to the *riqab* group, this article does not get the exploration of zakat institutions that accommodate human trafficking victims as the *riqab* who receive zakat. Therefore, further researchers can explore zakat institutions that have tried to distribute zakat to victims.

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⁶⁵ Jauhari Sani, interview Pembina Yayasan Dana Sosial Al-Falah Surabaya, Direct-In Depth Interview, June 6, 2020.

⁶⁶ Nadya Amira Husna and Nur Aini Latifah, "Penetapan Prinsip Manajemen Sumber Daya Insani," *Jurnal Iqtisaduna* 4, no. 1 (2018): p. 30–45.

⁶⁷ "Sertifikasi Amil Zakat Dinilai Penting | Republika Online," accessed June 2, 2020, <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/dunia-islam/islam-nusantara/po1hxe384/sertifikasi-amil-zakat-penting>.

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