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Redefining the Concept of Sabilillah to Strengthen Arguments for Gender-Just Zakat Distribution for Vulnerable Minority Groups (Women and Children Victims of Violence)

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Abstract

Studies on zakat distribution from a gender justice perspective have grown significantly. Zakat should not be understood only as a relationship between muzakki and mustahik in general, but also as a means of showing support for vulnerable groups, especially women and children who are victims of violence. In this sense, zakat can function as an instrument for promoting justice in the social order. This study uses a literature-based approach to examine patterns in previous research. The findings show that zakat distribution in Indonesia has not yet been optimally directed toward women and children who experience violence. Even so, the literature reveals important opportunities for developing a more inclusive and gender-responsive model of zakat management. A number of previous studies have shown concern for marginalized groups and opened space for a broader interpretation of zakat distribution. The study also finds that one of the main weaknesses of zakat institutions in Indonesia is the limited application of inclusive and gender-responsive approaches in addressing complex social realities. Therefore, a more critical and gender-fair perspective is needed, especially in reinterpreting the eight categories of zakat recipients in a more inclusive way. Such an approach is important for creating a more equitable welfare system for society. Further empirical research is needed to strengthen these findings, expand collaboration, and ensure that zakat distribution can have a real impact on vulnerable minority groups, particularly women and children who are victims of violence.

Introduction

Zakat represents social worship to cultivate sensitivity and concern for fellow human beings, and as a manifestation of the love of God Almighty, who has bestowed wealth on this earth. (Surah Al-Hashr, Verse 7) explains that in Islam, wealth obtained without war, bestowed by God upon His Messenger, should be distributed fairly, equitably, and comprehensively to all levels of society, including women and children who are victims of violence, who constitute a cross-section of society (Steele et al., 2025; Laurenzi et al., 2026; Brühl et al., 2025).

Before proceeding further to the discussion of supporting women and children who are victims of violence, it is important to align the definitions of the target groups discussed in this research (Green et al., 2025; Okova et al., 2025; Cheers & Abdulllah, 2025). The meaning of violence in this context, this research refers to data from the 2024 National Women's Life Experience Survey (SPHPN), which defines violence as any act of gender-based violence that results in, or has the potential to result in, physical, sexual, psychological, or economic harm or suffering (SPHPN 2024). The classification of women as vulnerable groups is based on the structural weakness of women victims of violence within the social structure, often lacking access to

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legal protection, recovery services, and economic resources (Yuniawanti, 2025; Al Jaramani & Elayah, 2025; Larasati et al., 2025). They are also trapped in unequal power relations with perpetrators and the institutions that should protect them (Syamsurrijal et al., 2025; Salamor et al., 2025; Musfirah & Sapira, 2025).

Regarding the situation in Indonesia, 2023 BPS data recorded a child population of approximately 88.7 million, representing one-third of the total population. However, in reality, children still experience various complex problems, one of which is violence (KPAI Annual Report, 2025). The 2024 National Survey of Life Experiences of Children and Adolescents (SNPHAR) showed that one in two children aged 13-17 had experienced at least one instance of violence in their lifetime (2024 National Survey of Life Experiences of Children and Adolescents). Similarly, the 2024 National Women's Life Experience Survey (SPHPN) showed that one in four women in Indonesia has experienced physical and/or sexual violence during their lifetime.

In responding to this reality, it is important to examine its relationship to the function of zakat, which has long existed in Indonesian society (Almurni, 2025; Nugraha & Wanto. 2025; Israyani et al., 2025). This refers to the division into eight asnaf (social groups) or groups entitled to receive zakat, including the poor, needy, amil (amil), converts, riqab (people who are destitute), gharimin (people who are destitute), fi sabilillah (people who are deserving of Allah), and ibn sabil (people who are deserving of Allah). Regarding these eight asnaf groups, women and children who are victims of violence are not explicitly included in these eight asnaf groups (Alfin et al., 2023; Muliansyah, 2025; Muhsin et al., 2023). However, considering the current conditions and situation, it is important to consider and examine further the development of the meaning of these eight asnaf groups in order to achieve the initial foundation of zakat, which aims to realize more real justice and more equitable compassion for all human beings on this earth (Kodir, 2025; Taufiq & Faizal, 2026; Asni et al., 2025).

Theologically, zakat is rooted in belief in the commands of Allah and His Messenger, and is an obligation that must be carried out by the Muslim community (Jannah, 2024; Badawia, 2022; Muarif mu'arif, 2026). In this regard, the recommendation regarding zakat is believed to be an initial instrument in creating a just and socially prosperous society. However, in practice, zakat distribution has not been optimal in targeting diverse groups in need (Maisyarah & Hamzah, 2024; Aziz & Faruk, 2025; Harahap, 2022).

Using a lens of sensitivity and bias toward women and children who are victims of violence, the division of the eight (8) categories of zakat (asnaf) can be redefined to effectively provide benefits to groups not explicitly listed in the definition of zakat eligible groups (Saadah et al., 2024). Until now, the public's knowledge and understanding of zakat distribution has been limited to the normative meaning of the division of groups into the eight asnaf, as written in religious texts and past scriptures (Kadir, 2025; Ghazali et al., 2025; Johari et al., 2025).

As reflected in the data findings related to reports of women and children who were victims of violence during the past year, namely 2025, the proportion of women and children victims remains the highest. This condition, as presented in the report of the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection of the Republic of Indonesia (KemenPPPA), indicates that women and children continue to occupy the most vulnerable position in cases of violence reported nationally. The data not only show the scale of the problem, but also confirm that violence against these groups is still a serious social issue requiring greater institutional attention, stronger legal protection, and more responsive intervention mechanisms. In this regard, the report serves as an important basis for understanding that efforts to prevent and

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address violence against women and children must be strengthened through more comprehensive, inclusive, and sustainable policies and programs.

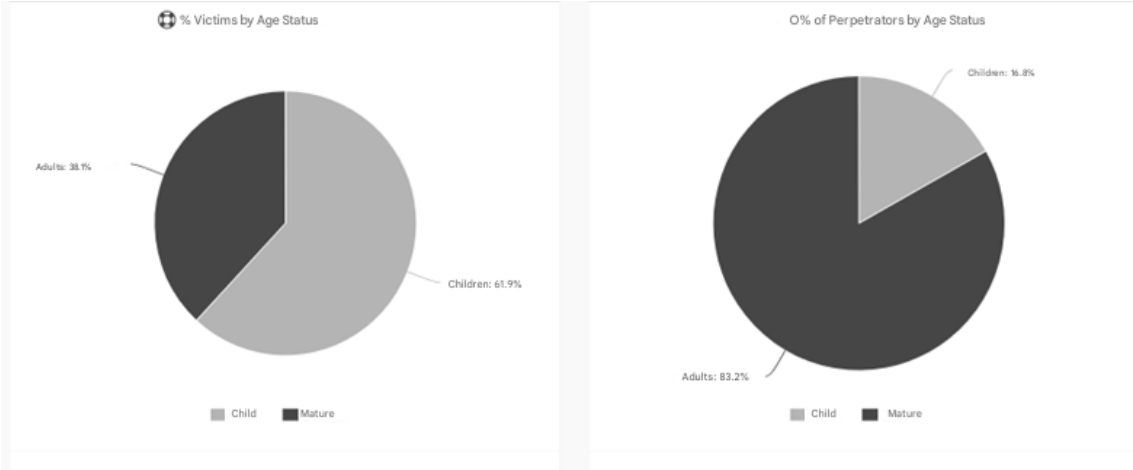

Figure 1. Percentage of Victims and Perpetrators by Age Status

Source: (Kemenppa, 2025).

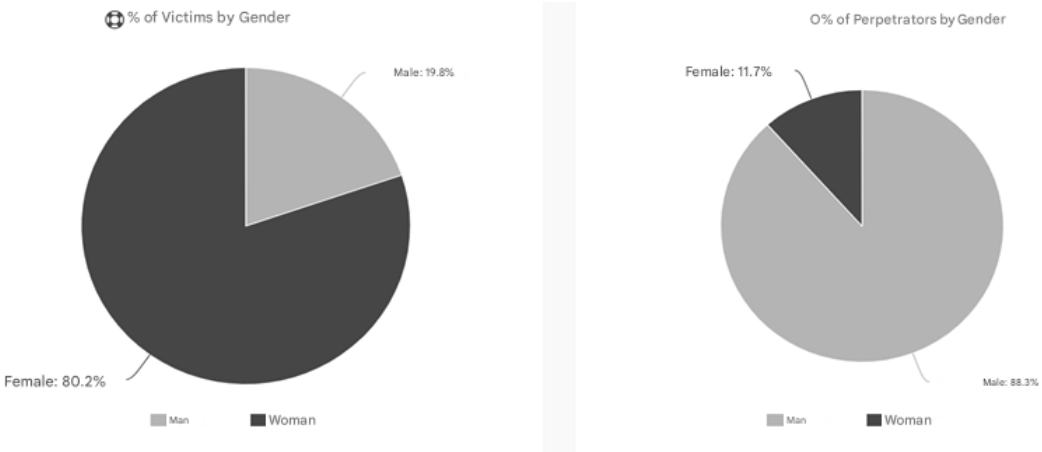

Figure 2. Percentage of Victims and Perpetrators by Gender

Source: (Kemenppa, 2025).

Looking at the percentage of reported victims of violence, the graph shows the high prevalence of women and children, who are highly vulnerable to becoming victims of violence. This percentage does not rule out the possibility of other similar cases that were overlooked in the report in which case, further research is essential to determine how zakat can be utilized to support these vulnerable groups.

In considering the function of zakat as an instrument for creating social justice in society, a reinterpretation of existing studies is needed using a more contextual approach to demonstrate the consistency of support for women and children victims of violence as an effort to renew the function of this social justice instrument. Considering the essence of worship reflected in the recommendation to perform zakat in the five pillars of Islam, zakat can be interpreted in two ways: the vertical dimension of relationships, namely the relationship with God Almighty, and the horizontal dimension of relationships with fellow creatures.

Furthermore, in relation to the horizontal dimension, zakat is closely related to relationships among creatures. Zakat is present as an effort to protect, side with, and empower weak and marginalized community groups. This is in line with the meaning emphasized in Q.S. al-Hasyr

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verse seven (7) which can be interpreted as a form of religious support for the situation and conditions and needs of the poor and needy, zakat in this case is also a system that can be used to protect and empower weak and weakened groups, both men and women, adults and children, and this is also in line with the sound of Q.S. An-Nisa Verse 127 & Verse 75). Thus, in relation to the theological basis, zakat is a form of worship recommended by Allah, apart from being a form of obedience, it is also a form of concern for others which can be used as a means of establishing good relationships in the dimensions of spiritual and social relations..

In this research, a literature review was conducted to provide relevance to the discussion patterns that have been studied by previous researchers as a pattern of knowledge discourse that is developing in society in relation to the issue of zakat that favors women and children who are victims of violence. Therefore, this study asks the related question: "How can the reinterpretation of the concept of Sabilillah be used as a strategy to strengthen the argument for the distribution of zakat with a gender-just perspective for vulnerable minority groups, namely women and children who are victims of violence?" The discussion in the next section will provide a more complete explanation of the findings of the research data obtained through data that has been processed based on literature searches conducted by previous researchers.

Methods

This article was compiled using a literature review method with a qualitative approach from a critical feminist perspective. The feminist methodology in this study is grounded in the belief that knowledge is political (Harding, 1987). Qualitative research is believed to be able to elaborate on the research questions posed in the study and produce a wealth of detailed data on the issues raised (Poerwandari, 2017). A qualitative approach is used to explore the complex and contextual social meanings of human experience. In this regard, a qualitative approach allows for critical paradigms, including feminist perspectives, that can fill the space provided by a qualitative approach (Creswell, 2013).

The data sources used in this study come from previous research, books, and related official reports. The literature review stage begins with the process of identifying, evaluating, and interpreting all literature found to be related to the research theme. Identification was carried out by searching online databases via Google Scholar for research published within the last ten years (2015-2025) using the keywords Sabilillah, Zakat with a Gender Justice Perspective, Women and Children Victims of Violence. From the research conducted, ten (10) related studies were found which became an intersection in viewing the development pattern of discourse on discussions related to the issue of zakat for women and children who are victims of violence.

Results and Discussion

The scope of zakat management in referring to (Law No. 23 of 2011, n.d.) includes planning, implementation, and coordination activities in the collection, distribution, and utilization of zakat. In seeing its relevance to the development of discussions related to the distribution of zakat in Indonesia from a gender-just perspective, this study will first present a table of the growth of zakat distribution and utilization in the national scope for the first semester (1) of 2025 based on asnaf quoted through the 2025 National Zakat Agency Information Management System as follows:

Table 1. of National Distribution and Utilization Growth for Semester 1 of 2025 based on Asnaf

No	Asnaf	Semester I 2024 (Rp)	Semester I 2025 (Rp)	Pertumbuhan
1	Fakir-Miskin	4,883,132,088,816	3,274,245,462,243	-32.95%

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2	Amil	462,588,483,557	426,885,720,956	-7.72%
3	Muallaf	5,924,914,344	18,127,005,705	205.95%
4	Riqab	807,274,250	108,545,000	-86.55%
5	Gharim	12,679,734,906	14,614,207,759	15.26%
6	Sabilillah	459,144,126,374	447,364,197,720	-2.57%
7	Ibnu Sabil	11,473,110,098	6,618,659,716	-42.31%
8	ZIS-DSKL Off Balance Sheet	20,108,285,882,572	21,959,524,415,381	9.21%
	Total	**25,944,035,614,917**	**26,147,488,214,480**	**0.78%**

The table explains the rupiah distribution amount to zakat recipients who fall into eight categories where the poor and needy constitute the majority of zakat recipients, making them the largest recipients of zakat in Indonesia. Based on data reported by the 2025 National Zakat Agency Information Management System, the concept of zakat distribution to recipients appears to still be carried out normatively, with the primary focus being on providing the highest expenditure to the poor and needy.

The table report on national zakat growth and distribution in the first semester of 2025, as explained in the figure, shows that distribution to the poor and needy constitutes the group receiving the highest amount of zakat. This is not entirely faulty, considering that the primary essence of zakat is to provide welfare to society, one way of doing so is through supporting the poor and needy. However, considering the reality of the issues and challenges in Indonesia, it is important to rethink the concept of distribution so that it can be implemented inclusively to fairly and comprehensively target all segments of society, rather than focusing solely on specific groups.

In observing the evolving situation in society, it is crucial to comprehensively examine the interconnected issues related to the origins, causes, and effects of social issues. For example, the issue of violence, which continues to impact women and children as vulnerable groups, is crucial for understanding the root causes of the problem to find the best solution. In this regard, the relevance of zakat's primary mission of providing social welfare is crucial, linked to how zakat can act as a solution to the economic problems experienced by victims of violence. In this context, zakat has the potential to become a contemporary ijtihad (religious action) in advocating for victims of sexual violence (Mushin et al., 2023).

As with women and children, as previously explained, these two groups are highly vulnerable, considering the reports of victims of violence, which are predominantly women, whether young, adult, or elderly, as well as children. In an effort to support these vulnerable groups, it is important to incorporate sensitivity to women and children as victims of violence more broadly, beyond the eight (8) categories of victims, in order to respond to the increasing issue of victims of violence in Indonesia.

Reinterpreting the Concept of the "Sabilillah" Group for Women and Children Victims of Violence

Women and children victims of violence are not explicitly included in the eight (8) categories of mustahik (zakat recipients). Of the eight (8) categories of victims entitled to zakat, the "Sabilillah" group is the closest in meaning to the category of women and children as victims of violence, who receive the benefits of zakat. Examining further the meaning of the sabilillah group or which literally means the way of Allah, there are several opinions that interpret this word, such as in (Muthmainah, 2016) which means people who struggle in the way of Allah, such as in the form of preaching activities, jihad, and so on.

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There are several differences of opinion regarding the meaning of sabilillah, such as Wahbah az-Zuhaili, Abu Bakar al-Jazair, Ibn Katsir, al Baghawi who say that the meaning of sabilillah in this case refers to people who wage jihad or fight in the way of Allah who do not receive compensation from the state (Muthmainah, 2021). As for another opinion, according to Muhammad Rasyid Ridho, he said that all schools of thought agree that sabilillah are people who fight and guard borders. Another opinion, expressed by Hisamuddin, states that, in addition to having the same meaning as the previous one, "sabilillah" can also be interpreted as referring to the path of goodness or public welfare aimed at religious or state affairs (Mabruroh et al., 2023).

According to the interpretation quoted from the Baznas.go.id website, those included in the "sabilillah" group are those who spread the teachings of Islam and are willing to die fighting to defend Allah's religion. In the current context, the meaning of the word "sabilillah" can be seen differently from the time of the Prophet. In today's context, the meaning of "sabilillah" can be interpreted more broadly, by analogy with the conditions of vulnerability experienced by vulnerable groups in society, such as women and children who are victims of violence.

In further interpreting the concept of the word "sabilillah," the connection between the issue of vulnerability for women and children victims of violence can be seen in their shared struggle in the path of Allah. The concept of "sabilillah" can be interpreted as those who are striving for good, and the issue of women and children's struggle for justice is highly relevant to this understanding. The reinterpretation of the concept of "sabilillah" in this context can be classified as a form of struggle undertaken by individuals or groups in society to uphold justice, enjoin good and forbid evil, combat injustice, or discriminatory behavior where these issues are closely related to the issue of women and children victims of violence.

In this context, the group of women and children classified as victims of violence are those who experience ongoing impacts such as physical injuries, prolonged psychological trauma, and economic problems (Mabruroh et al., 2023). Another implication faced by women and children who are victims of violence is stigma or negative labeling from society, which leads to their isolation in the community.

In reality, as in research conducted by (Mabruroh et al., 2023), a figure from the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) in Ponorogo Regency commented on the issue of women and children who are victims of violence and their relevance as zakat recipients. He emphasized the need to reinterpret and recontextualize the meaning of Q.S. At-Taubah verse 60, which has long been the legal basis for determining zakat recipient groups. Furthermore, the use of women and children in the concept of zakat distribution offers the opportunity to obtain rights from zakat distribution, as zakat is essentially a humanitarian agenda where the conditions experienced by victims of violence constitute a form of discrimination that deprives them of their human rights.

In a study conducted by (Ummah & Kurnia, 2020), three zakat management institutions in Indonesia were found to distribute zakat to the fisabilillah (infidels) group: to preachers; to scholarships for students; and to the general welfare of Muslims. However, in this study, the criteria for the general welfare of Muslims were not yet linked to the critical situation experienced by women and children who are victims of violence, who should also be entitled to zakat funds..

The reality of creating public welfare, in this case, has not effectively targeted women and children who are victims of violence. In line with research conducted by (Muthmainnah, 2021), philanthropic institutions in Indonesia have not yet given serious attention to allocating zakat funds to victims of violence in this case, zakat is included as one of the Islamic philanthropies that aligns with the global partnership of the SDGs. However, the situation of siding with

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women and children, one of the parties targeted in the SDG development targets, has still not received a focus from zakat institutions or agencies in Indonesia.

In research conducted by (Kusumaningtyas, 2021), it is important for muzakki and amil to be sensitive to siding with marginalized groups, such as women and children who are victims of violence. In reality, the meaning of the eight (8) asnaf groups is still normative. In this regard, it is crucial to deconstruct the meaning of the eight (8) categories of charity, particularly those related to women and child protection, as a priority scale for welfare tailored to the needs of zakat empowerment both productive and consumptive which has not been implemented with due regard for gender equity, which could provide more equitable and comprehensive benefits to society for all groups in need.

The allocation of zakat to women and children presents a unique challenge, requiring a dedicated management structure to distribute zakat more effectively. Furthermore, in terms of distribution, zakat is not only used for consumption; it is also intended to increase productivity for vulnerable groups.

The Potential of Zakat in Supporting Women and Children Victims of Violence

Productive zakat, based on the social fiqh paradigm, should be a potential alternative for achieving gender equality in the economic sector (Saadah et al., 2024). Referring to sharia regulations on zakat, zakat is not distributed based on gender classification or factors that could create injustice for those in need. Zakat is one of the methods used in Islam to reduce poverty and achieve equitable distribution of welfare in society. Zakat management must be reformed, as most people still view zakat solely as a form of worship, separate from economic and social issues (Saadah et al., 2024). In this context, zakat must be viewed as a source of economic strength that can be used to address economic and social issues, which generally represent significant differences between women and men.

In reality, zakat has yet to synergize its role in supporting issues related to women and children who are also agents of development. Human development will never be achieved effectively if women and children are not included in the beneficiary targets of the zakat program (Saadah et al., 2024). The concept of welfare development found in reality still uses normative standards in the utilization of zakat, resulting in women and children who are victims of violence being frequently overlooked (Hilyatin, 2014).

The scope of mustāhik (zakat recipients) has undergone significant expansion in recent years to address the evolving needs of society. Despite this expansion, women and children who are victims of sexual violence including marital rape, domestic violence, incest, rape, and other forms of sexual harassment remained excluded from receiving zakat funds until 2020. This exclusion was evident in various major zakat institutions such as BAZNAS, LAZISMU, LAZISNU, Rumah Zakat, and Dompet Dhuafa. Reports indicate that no mustāhik classified as riqāb, fakir, miskin, or sābilillah were victims of sexual violence, despite facing extremely difficult circumstances. (Muthmainnah et al., 2024)

By 2025, the potential collection of zakat fitrah in Indonesia could reach eight trillion rupiah (BAZNAS RI, 2025). Furthermore, the 2024 national zakat outlook report recorded a projected zakat distribution target of IDR 38.95 trillion, with growth projected to decline to 24.64% (Indonesia Zakat Outlook, 2025). This zakat growth rate has significant potential to provide benefits to women and children who are victims of violence (Saadah et al., 2024)

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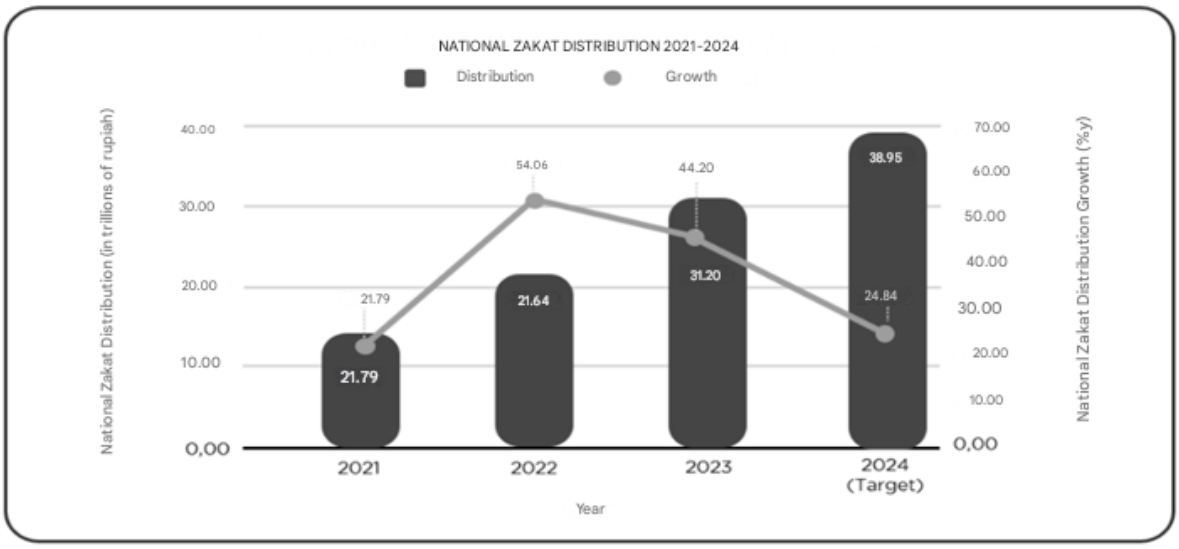

Figure 3. National Zakat Distribution Achievements for 2021-2024

Source: National Zakat Management Report

In the 2025 National Zakat Outlook report, zakat empowerment for women is mentioned as an integral part of the program due to its alignment with the Asta Cita vision and mission. However, in explaining its relevance to the program, its connection to women and children victims of violence is still missing from the zakat distribution report. The report highlights that women's groups aimed at strengthening human resource development, gender equality, and the role of vulnerable groups remain focused on empowerment programs that fail to address the systemic root causes of the marginalization of women and children victims of violence.

Zakat empowerment programs implemented for women through zakat institutions include skills training or the provision of business capital for women heads of households who are considered poor (Indonesia Zakat Outlook, 2025). The reality of supporting women and children victims of violence remains unclear in the program descriptions outlined in the 2025 National Zakat Outlook report.

The child groups mentioned in the report (Indonesia Zakat Outlook, 2025) also fail to address the situation experienced by child victims of violence in greater detail. In this regard, the zakat empowerment program focuses on stunting, malnutrition management, free nutritious meals, school scholarships, and poverty alleviation, without examining the root causes of the problems affecting children in Indonesia. These problems are not homogeneous, and each child group has its own religious approach. This is reinforced by the report described in the 2024 SNPHAR & SPHPN report, which surveys the diversity of women and children who are victims of violence. This can be used as a reference for improving zakat distribution, ensuring fair and comprehensive coverage for all groups.

Violence is fundamentally inconsistent with the core values and objectives of Islamic law. It is crucial to examine the role of zakat in providing support to victims of violence. This argument is relevant, considering Indonesia's significant zakat potential as explained previously. If managed well, this enormous zakat potential can become an effective and beneficial social safety net for the wider community, as well as address economic problems (Muthmainnah et al., 2024).

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Conclusion

In the reality of zakat distribution to the community, the emphasis on women and children who are victims of violence has not been optimally realized. However, efforts to reinterpret Islamic law and texts regarding the meaning of the eight asnaf (eight categories of people) entitled to receive zakat have been the subject of growing public discussion in the literature found.

Ten previous pieces of literature specifically discussing the redefinition of the concept of "sabilillah" (the right to receive zakat) to strengthen arguments for gender-just zakat distribution for vulnerable minority groups (women and children who are victims of violence) demonstrate that zakat institutions in Indonesia are continually striving for change toward an inclusive concept. However, the complexity of the issues that continue to develop in society requires effective measures to consistently prioritize the various groups targeted in zakat distribution activities, such as women and children who have not yet been the primary target for zakat distribution.

In the ten literatures that have been reviewed in the research, it shows that the pattern of discourse or ideas that are developing are still being pursued and studied further, so that the support of zakat for marginal groups such as women and children who are victims of violence can be realized well in Indonesia so that the initial foundation of zakat which is a manifestation of love from a religion that is full of mercy or compassion can be more truly realized well, namely by providing justice and compassion more evenly to fellow human beings on this earth, including women and children who are victims of violence who must be protected, for the sake of creating a more virtuous order of life.

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