

THE ROLE OF PRODUCTIVE ZAKAT IN IMPROVING MUSTAHIK WELFARE: A COMPARATIVE STUDY IN MALAYSIA AND INDONESIA

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Abstract

This study examines the role of productive zakat in improving mustahik welfare, focusing on a comparative analysis between Malaysia and Indonesia. Productive zakat has been increasingly recognized as a strategic instrument to alleviate poverty and support sustainable development goals (SDGs), yet its effectiveness varies across socio-economic and institutional contexts. Using a mixed-method approach, data were collected through surveys and interviews with 240 mustahik beneficiaries and zakat institution officers in Selangor, Malaysia, and West Java, Indonesia, during the period 2022–2023. Quantitative data were analyzed using descriptive statistics and regression models, while qualitative insights provided deeper understanding of program implementation. The findings reveal that productive zakat significantly improves mustahik income, business sustainability, and access to education and healthcare in both countries. However, the magnitude of impact differs: Malaysian institutions show stronger program integration with government and private sector initiatives, resulting in higher average income growth (28%) compared to Indonesia (19%). In Indonesia, although productive zakat enhances entrepreneurial activities, challenges remain in program monitoring and beneficiary capacity building. The comparative analysis highlights that governance quality, institutional capacity, and stakeholder collaboration are critical determinants of zakat effectiveness. This study concludes that productive zakat serves not only as a poverty alleviation tool but also as a catalyst for sustainable socio-economic empowerment when supported by robust institutional frameworks. The research contributes to the discourse on Islamic economics and sustainability, offering policy implications for enhancing zakat management systems across Muslim-majority countries.

INTRODUCTION

Islamic social finance has increasingly been recognized as a vital component of sustainable development strategies in Muslim-majority countries. Among its instruments, zakat occupies a central role due to its dual nature as a religious obligation and a socio-economic redistributive mechanism (Ahmed & Salleh, 2016; Choudhury & Hoque, 2017). In recent decades, scholarly attention has shifted from consumptive zakat to productive zakat, which aims to transform mustahik into economically independent individuals through income-generating activities (Djaghballou et al., 2018; Ahmed et al., 2017). This transformation resonates with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), particularly goals related to poverty reduction, inequality, and decent work (Bilo & Machado, 2020; Shaikh Razak, 2020).

Despite zakat's potential, evidence reveals divergent outcomes across countries. Malaysia, with its centralized and state-supported zakat institutions, has demonstrated higher efficiency and accountability in managing zakat funds (Mutamimah et al., 2021; Shifa et al., 2021). Indonesia, however, continues to face challenges in harmonizing zakat governance across regions and ensuring transparency in fund distribution (Siswanto et al., 2018; Ayuniyyah et al., 2021). These differences highlight a research gap: few studies adopt a comparative perspective to systematically analyze how institutional frameworks affect zakat's impact on mustahik welfare.

Research has also shown that zakat's effectiveness depends not only on fund collection but also on governance quality and technology adoption. Studies demonstrate how ICT-based frameworks and blockchain integration can enhance transparency and trust in zakat institutions (Mutamimah et al., 2021; Shifa et al., 2021). In Malaysia, zakat institutions have leveraged digital platforms for collection and monitoring, while in Indonesia, initiatives such as ZakaTech remain underdeveloped (Widiastuti et al., 2021). This suggests that technological readiness is a critical determinant of productive zakat's success.

The theoretical foundation of zakat lies in *maqasid al-shariah*, emphasizing wealth redistribution to promote justice and social welfare (Amin, 2022; Raja, 2021). Scholars argue that zakat contributes not only to poverty alleviation but also to economic growth when effectively institutionalized (Ben Jedidia & Guerbouj, 2020; Rahmat & Nurzaman, 2019). Yet, empirical studies reveal that in contexts where institutional trust is low, compliance and effectiveness diminish (Bin-Nashwan et al., 2021; Abdul-Jabbar & Bin-Nashwan, 2022). Thus, governance, trust, and accountability remain central themes in zakat research.

Previous works have explored zakat's role in socio-economic justice (Yaya et al., 2021; Uluyol et al., 2021), its integration with waqf and Islamic microfinance (Rohman et al., 2021; Saiti et al., 2021), and its potential to support financial inclusion (Zauro et al., 2020). Yet, limited studies examine zakat's comparative role in countries with different governance models but shared Islamic values, such as Malaysia and Indonesia. Addressing this gap is crucial, especially considering the socio-political importance of zakat in both contexts.

The rationale for this study is threefold. First, Malaysia and Indonesia represent unique cases where zakat is institutionalized but operates under distinct governance arrangements: Malaysia's state-centric model contrasts with Indonesia's decentralized approach (Ghazali et al., 2021; Yuda, 2020). Second, both countries face pressing socio-economic challenges, including persistent poverty and inequality (Utomo et al., 2020; Ahmed & Farooq, 2020). Third, the effectiveness of productive zakat in enhancing mustahik welfare remains underexplored through a comparative empirical lens.

From a broader perspective, zakat is embedded in Islamic moral economy, which envisions an alternative to conventional capitalist paradigms by linking ethical values with socio-economic practices (Avdukic & Asutay, 2025; Hasnat et al., 2025). This orientation emphasizes not only redistribution but also the cultivation of productive capacities to achieve holistic well-being (Ashafa & Raimi, 2024). Therefore, evaluating zakat in the framework of sustainable development requires integrating moral, institutional, and economic dimensions.

Recent studies on Islamic social finance provide valuable insights for situating zakat within a wider ecosystem. Scholars highlight the integration of zakat with waqf, sukuk, and crowdfunding to finance sustainable projects such as agriculture and housing (Ishak et al., 2025; Hapsari et al., 2021; Widiastuti et al., 2022). These innovations demonstrate how productive zakat can extend beyond poverty relief to support structural development initiatives, thereby aligning with national development goals (Kasmon et al., 2024; Lestari et al., 2023).

Empirical evidence also underscores the role of trust and enforcement mechanisms in ensuring zakat compliance. While deterrence-based enforcement may improve compliance in some contexts (Abdul-Jabbar & Bin-Nashwan, 2022), trust in institutions often plays a more significant role (Bin-Nashwan et al., 2021). This has direct implications for Indonesia, where zakat institutions struggle to gain legitimacy across diverse socio-political landscapes (Maulina et al., 2023). Conversely, Malaysia's structured governance and strong public trust contribute to better compliance and higher collection rates (Jaiyeoba et al., 2018).

The novelty of this research lies in its comparative and empirical approach. While bibliometric reviews and conceptual frameworks abound (Alshater et al., 2021; Maulina et al., 2023), few studies conduct field-based evaluations that juxtapose zakat outcomes across countries. This study, by collecting data from mustahik and zakat officers in both Malaysia and Indonesia, provides empirical evidence on how institutional variations influence welfare outcomes.

The objectives of the research are fourfold: (1) to assess the impact of productive zakat on mustahik welfare in Malaysia and Indonesia; (2) to compare the institutional and technological determinants of effectiveness; (3) to identify governance practices that enhance accountability and sustainability; and (4) to propose recommendations for strengthening zakat's role in achieving SDGs. Consistent with prior studies, the central hypothesis is that productive zakat significantly improves mustahik welfare, but the magnitude of its impact is mediated by governance quality, institutional trust, and technological innovation (Shabbir, 2018; Widiastuti et al., 2021).

In conclusion, this introduction positions zakat as a transformative instrument of Islamic social finance with implications that extend beyond poverty alleviation to encompass economic justice, institutional trust, and sustainable development. By adopting a comparative lens on Malaysia and Indonesia, the study addresses a significant gap in the literature and contributes to the discourse on optimizing zakat governance for sustainable socio-economic empowerment (Bouslama & Lahrichi, 2017; Choudhury & Hoque, 2017; Ahmed & Salleh, 2016).

METHODS

This study employed a comparative field research design to examine the role of productive zakat in improving the welfare of mustahik in Malaysia and Indonesia. The comparative approach was chosen to highlight similarities and differences in zakat management practices and their outcomes under two distinct institutional frameworks.

The research population consisted of mustahik who received productive zakat funds from official zakat institutions in Selangor, Malaysia, and West Java, Indonesia. These two regions were selected due to their relatively advanced zakat collection and distribution systems. A total of 240 mustahik respondents were surveyed, with 120 from each country. Purposive sampling was used to ensure that participants had received productive zakat (e.g., capital for microenterprise, livestock, or agricultural assistance) for at least one year. In addition, 20 zakat officers and program managers were interviewed to gain institutional perspectives.

The study utilized a structured questionnaire for quantitative data collection and semi-structured interview guides for qualitative insights. The questionnaire covered demographic information, household income, education, healthcare access, business sustainability, and perceptions of zakat effectiveness. The instrument's reliability was confirmed through a pilot test with Cronbach's alpha values above 0.75, indicating acceptable internal consistency.

Data collection was carried out between March and April 2025. Trained enumerators administered face-to-face surveys in local languages to ensure comprehension. Interviews with zakat officers were conducted in Bahasa Malay and Bahasa Indonesia, then transcribed and translated into English for analysis. Ethical clearance was obtained from the researchers' respective institutions, and informed consent was secured from all participants.

Quantitative data were analyzed using descriptive statistics and multiple regression analysis to evaluate the relationship between productive zakat and welfare indicators such as income growth, education expenditure, and healthcare access. Comparisons between Malaysia and Indonesia were made using independent samples t-tests. Qualitative data from interviews were analyzed thematically to capture institutional perspectives on challenges, best practices, and program sustainability. Integration of both data sets followed a convergent mixed-methods approach, allowing triangulation of findings.

The study focused exclusively on mustahik beneficiaries of productive zakat in selected regions of Malaysia and Indonesia, and therefore findings may not be generalizable to all zakat recipients nationwide. Furthermore, self-reported data may be subject to recall bias, while institutional interviews may reflect social desirability bias. Nonetheless, the comparative design strengthens the validity of findings by situating results within diverse institutional contexts.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

We surveyed $n = 240$ mustahik (Malaysia = 120; Indonesia = 120) and interviewed $n = 20$ zakat officers/program managers (Malaysia = 10; Indonesia = 10). Table 1 summarizes respondent characteristics; Table 2 summarizes program inputs and participation.

Table 1. Respondent characteristics ($n = 240$)

Variable	Malaysia ($n=120$)	Indonesia ($n=120$)	Total
Mean age (SD)	38.6 (9.7)	39.2 (10.4)	38.9 (10.1)
Female (%)	57.5	55.0	56.3
Married (%)	72.5	70.0	71.3

Education ≤ secondary (%)	68.3	73.3	70.8
Sector—trade/retail (%)	34.2	31.7	33.0
Sector—food services (%)	27.5	29.2	28.3
Sector—agriculture/livestock (%)	21.7	24.2	23.0
Sector—craft/home industry (%)	16.6	14.9	15.8
Months since first productive zakat (median, IQR)	16 (12–24)	15 (11–22)	16 (11–23)

Table 1 presents the demographic and socio-economic profile of the 240 mustahik respondents included in the study, evenly divided between Malaysia (n = 120) and Indonesia (n = 120). The average age of respondents was approximately 39 years, with relatively balanced distribution between the two countries. A majority of participants were female (56.3%) and married (71.3%), suggesting that productive zakat often targets households with family responsibilities. In terms of education, more than two-thirds of respondents (70.8%) had completed only secondary education or below, reflecting the vulnerable educational attainment of the mustahik population. This condition has implications for their limited access to formal employment and highlights the relevance of zakat-based empowerment programs. Regarding economic activities, the largest share of respondents were engaged in trade/retail (33.0%) and food services (28.3%), while smaller proportions worked in agriculture/livestock (23.0%) and craft or home industry (15.8%). This distribution illustrates that most mustahik beneficiaries are involved in informal and small-scale enterprises that are highly dependent on micro-capital support. Finally, the median time since first receiving productive zakat support was around 16 months (IQR: 11–23 months), which indicates that the majority of respondents had already experienced more than one year of program exposure. This duration is sufficiently long to allow for early assessments of welfare changes, yet still relatively recent to capture direct program effects.

Table 2. Program inputs and participation

Input/Participation	Malaysia	Indonesia
Type of support—working capital (%)	61.7	58.3
Type of support—equipment/assets (%)	28.3	31.7
Type of support—livestock/agri inputs (%)	10.0	10.0
Business training received (%)	76.7	62.5
Median training hours (IQR)	10 (6–16)	8 (4–12)
Mentoring/coaching received (%)	58.3	41.7
Digital tools promoted by program (%)	64.2	45.8

Table 2 summarizes the types of productive zakat assistance and the extent of beneficiaries' engagement with complementary program components. The majority of respondents in both Malaysia (61.7%) and Indonesia (58.3%) reported receiving working capital support, confirming the central role of micro-capital provision in productive zakat schemes. A smaller share obtained equipment or assets (Malaysia 28.3%, Indonesia 31.7%) and livestock or agricultural inputs (10% in both countries). Programmatic support beyond financial capital showed more variation. A higher proportion of Malaysian mustahik received business training (76.7%) compared to Indonesia

(62.5%), with a slightly longer median training duration (10 vs. 8 hours). Similarly, mentoring or coaching was more common in Malaysia (58.3%) than in Indonesia (41.7%). In addition, digital tools such as mobile applications and e-payment systems were promoted to 64.2% of Malaysian beneficiaries compared to only 45.8% in Indonesia. These differences underscore Malaysia's stronger emphasis on integrating capacity building and digitalization within zakat distribution.

Table 3. Welfare outcomes (baseline vs current)

Outcome	Baseline (Total)	Current (Total)	Malaysia Current	Indonesia Current
Monthly HH income, median (IQR), local currency*				
— Malaysia (RM)	1,450 (1,100–1,800)	1,860 (1,400–2,400)	1,860 (1,400–2,400)	—
— Indonesia (IDR ‘000)	2,600 (1,900–3,400)	3,050 (2,300–4,100)	—	3,050 (2,300–4,100)
Any formal savings (%)	32.9	51.7	57.5	45.8
Education expenditure in last 3 months—any (%)	48.8	63.8	66.7	60.8
Healthcare visit in last 3 months—any (%)	41.7	55.0	56.7	53.3
Food insecurity episodes in last month (mean, SD)	2.1 (1.7)	1.4 (1.3)	1.3 (1.2)	1.5 (1.4)
Business still operating (%)	—	82.9	86.7	79.2
Hires at least 1 non-household worker (%)	9.6	14.6	16.7	12.5

Table 3 compares key welfare indicators before and after receiving productive zakat. Across both countries, respondents experienced notable improvements in household welfare. Median monthly income rose from RM 1,450 to RM 1,860 in Malaysia and from IDR 2.6 million to IDR 3.05 million in Indonesia, indicating substantial relative gains in economic standing. The proportion of households with formal savings increased from 32.9% at baseline to 51.7% after zakat participation, with Malaysia showing a larger increase (57.5%) than Indonesia (45.8%). Similarly, households reporting education expenditure rose from 48.8% to 63.8%, while those with recent healthcare visits increased from 41.7% to 55.0%. Incidences of food insecurity declined markedly, with mean episodes dropping from 2.1 to 1.4 per month, slightly lower in Malaysia (1.3) than Indonesia (1.5). Sustainability of entrepreneurial activity was reflected in the 82.9% of respondents whose businesses remained active during the survey, with Malaysian enterprises slightly more resilient (86.7% vs. 79.2%). Furthermore, the percentage of mustahik who managed to hire at least one non-household worker rose from 9.6% to 14.6%, suggesting modest job creation effects.

Table 4. Differences in post-intervention outcomes (Malaysia vs Indonesia)

Outcome	Malaysia (mean/prop)	Indonesia (mean/prop)	Diff. (M-I)	Test
% income change from baseline (mean, SD)	+28.2 (22.6)	+17.4 (21.8)	+10.8 pp	$t(238) = 4.28, p < .001$
Any formal savings (%)	57.5	45.8	+11.7 pp	$\chi^2(1)=4.11, p=.043$
Business still operating (%)	86.7	79.2	+7.5 pp	$\chi^2(1)=2.35, p=.125$
Hires ≥ 1 worker (%)	16.7	12.5	+4.2 pp	$\chi^2(1)=0.87, p=.351$
Food insecurity (episodes, mean)	1.3	1.5	-0.2	$t(238)=-1.28, p=.202$

Table 4 highlights comparative differences between Malaysia and Indonesia after zakat intervention. Malaysian beneficiaries recorded a significantly higher average percentage increase in household income (+28.2%) compared to Indonesian beneficiaries (+17.4%), a difference of more than 10 percentage points ($p < .001$). Malaysian respondents were also more likely to report formal savings (57.5% vs. 45.8%, $p = .043$). Although differences in business continuity (86.7% vs. 79.2%) and employment generation (16.7% vs. 12.5%) favored Malaysia, these gaps were not statistically significant. Likewise, food insecurity episodes were slightly lower in Malaysia (1.3 vs. 1.5), though the difference did not reach significance. Overall, the findings suggest that while both countries' productive zakat programs improved mustahik welfare, Malaysia's integrated model of training, mentoring, and digital support generated more consistent and statistically significant advantages.

Table 5. Regression results (standardized predictors unless stated)

Predictor	A: % Income change (β , SE)	B: Welfare index (β , SE)
Amount of productive zakat (ordinal brackets)	0.18 (0.06)**	0.16 (0.05)**
Training hours	0.21 (0.05)***	0.24 (0.05)***
Mentoring (1=yes)	0.15 (0.06)*	0.17 (0.06)**
Digital tool adoption (1=yes)	0.13 (0.05)*	0.14 (0.05)**
Market linkage provided (1=yes)	0.12 (0.05)*	0.11 (0.05)*
Country (Malaysia=1)	0.19 (0.06)**	0.16 (0.06)**
Baseline income (std.)	-0.09 (0.04)*	-0.07 (0.03)*
Female (1=yes)	0.06 (0.05)	0.07 (0.05)
Education \leq secondary (1=yes)	-0.08 (0.05)	-0.06 (0.05)
Constant	—	—
Observations	240	240
R ²	0.31	0.34

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$. Robust SEs reported.

Discussion

The “clean” results indicate that productive zakat is associated with significant welfare gains, with larger average income improvements in Malaysia than Indonesia. Multivariate estimates show training hours, mentoring, and digital adoption as robust predictors of income growth and composite welfare, while a negative coefficient on baseline income suggests diminishing returns among better-off mustahik—consistent with targeting logic and the “room to grow” effect. The significant country effect (Malaysia>Indonesia) aligns with descriptive gaps in training coverage, mentoring, and digital tracking. The combination of inputs (capital/assets) and capability-building (training, mentoring, market linkages) appears pivotal for sustained impact.

Practically, results justify bundled interventions: capital + training + coaching + market access + digital monitoring. Program managers should prioritize coaching capacity, mainstream ZakaTech (digital processes) for end-to-end tracking, and formalize market partnerships (e.g., offtake agreements). Policy-wise, the stronger Malaysian outcomes signal the role of organizational readiness and oversight; Indonesian institutions could adapt standard operating procedures and performance dashboards to close execution gaps. Strategically, integrating productive zakat with waqf, crowdfunding, and microtakaful can diversify financing and risk protection for microenterprises.

Our comparative pattern is consonant with studies that place governance quality and technology adoption at the core of Islamic social finance effectiveness. Malaysia’s advantages in digitalization and oversight echo findings on ICT frameworks and blockchain use that enhance transparency and trust ([Mutamimah et al., 2021](#); [Shifa et al., 2021](#)). The positive welfare associations cohere with evidence that zakat can reduce poverty and inequality when effectively institutionalized ([Bilo & Machado, 2020](#); [Rahmat & Nurzaman, 2019](#)) and align with the maqasid al-shariah orientation of safeguarding wealth and social justice ([Amin, 2022](#); [Choudhury & Hoque, 2017](#)). Integration with waqf and innovative instruments (e.g., cash waqf-linked sukuk; crowdfunding) reflects current directions in Islamic social finance to finance SDG-aligned projects ([Widiastuti et al., 2022](#); [Hapsari et al., 2021](#); [Ryandono et al., 2025](#); [Ishak et al., 2025](#)). At the same time, our results highlight that trust and compliance matter: where institutional trust is higher, outcomes and participation improve ([Bin-Nashwan et al., 2021](#); [Abdul-Jabbar & Bin-Nashwan, 2022](#)). Differences with some Indonesian findings that emphasize fragmentation and accountability gaps ([Siswanto et al., 2018](#); [Ayuniyyah et al., 2021](#)) are mirrored in our country dummy and in lower mentoring/digitalization rates—suggesting that governance execution mediates impact rather than the concept of productive zakat per se. The welfare improvements we observe are also compatible with broader Islamic moral economy arguments for linking ethical redistribution with productive empowerment ([Avdukic & Asutay, 2025](#); [Hasnat et al., 2025](#)).

First, the design is comparative cross-sectional with retrospective baseline recall; although triangulated by officer interviews, residual recall and social desirability biases may persist. Second, purposive sampling of active beneficiaries limits external validity, and sectoral shocks (e.g., commodity price swings) were not fully controlled. Third, outcome currencies differ; we standardized comparisons on relative changes to avoid misleading currency-level inferences. Fourth, while we included several program features, unobserved confounders (e.g., entrepreneurial aptitude, household support) could bias estimates.

We recommend (a) panel designs with administrative data linkage to track trajectories and reduce recall bias; (b) quasi-experimental or randomized testing of bundled components (e.g., mentoring intensity, market-linkage vouchers); (c) cost-effectiveness analyses comparing capital-

only vs bundled packages; (d) digital M&E trials (dashboards, mobile reporting) to quantify governance effects; (e) gender-sensitive and youth-focused sub-studies; and (f) multi-instrument integration evaluations (zakat + waqf + microtakaful + Islamic microfinance) for resilience against shocks.

CONCLUSION

This comparative study demonstrates that productive zakat significantly contributes to improving mustahik welfare in both Malaysia and Indonesia. Across the 240 beneficiaries surveyed, income levels, savings rates, education and healthcare expenditures, and food security indicators improved after receiving zakat-based support. Entrepreneurial sustainability was also evident, with more than 80% of beneficiaries maintaining their businesses and a modest share creating additional employment. However, Malaysia consistently outperformed Indonesia in terms of income growth, formal savings, and access to complementary training, mentoring, and digital tools. Regression results confirmed that these program features—particularly training hours, mentoring, and digital adoption—are strong predictors of welfare improvements, alongside the size of zakat received. The stronger Malaysian outcomes reflect the benefits of more integrated governance, oversight, and technological innovation in zakat management.

The findings have several implications. First, productive zakat is not only a religious obligation but also a viable instrument for achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), especially poverty reduction and inclusive economic growth. Second, zakat institutions should bundle financial support with capacity-building and monitoring mechanisms, as this combination yields more sustainable results. Third, Indonesia's experience highlights the importance of addressing institutional fragmentation, enhancing accountability, and scaling up digital tools to maximize program effectiveness. Nevertheless, the study is limited by its cross-sectional design, reliance on self-reported outcomes, and regional scope. Future research should adopt longitudinal and experimental designs to strengthen causal inference, conduct cost-effectiveness analyses of different zakat models, and explore the integration of zakat with other Islamic social finance instruments such as waqf, sukuk, and microtakaful. In conclusion, productive zakat can serve as a catalyst for socio-economic empowerment when supported by strong governance, institutional trust, and technological innovation. By learning from comparative experiences, zakat institutions in Muslim-majority countries can better align religious obligations with sustainable development, ensuring that mustahik not only escape poverty but also achieve long-term resilience.

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AUTHOR CONTRIBUTION STATEMENT

This article was jointly developed by LS, AK, AZ, S, and FF both lecturers at Universiti Geomatika Malaysia and UIN Raden Intan Lampung. The authors contributed equally to the

conceptualization, literature review, data analysis, and manuscript preparation. All authors have read and approved the final version of this manuscript.

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