

# Shodaqoh Market: the Formula for Building Solidarity in the Midst of Crisis

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## Abstract

This article uses the shodaqoh market as an object of research with four focuses of study: economic limitations in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic do not necessarily make people become wolves for others, *homo homini lupus*, as stated by Thomas Hobbes. Second economic limitations can turn into abundance when people give to each other. My relationship pattern becomes – I thou, not I – it. Third, the Shodaqoh market is here to prove that at some point there are similarities in the quality of solidarity between premodern and modern societies. This is certainly different from the view of the sociologist Emile Durkheim in his study of organic solidarity and mechanical solidarity which clearly distinguishes the quality of solidarity between these two groups of people. Fourth, this solidarity is rooted in religious teachings about alms. This study uses the thinking of Thomas Hobbes, Martin Buber, Emile Durkheim, and Max Weber as an analytical tool. The research method used is a qualitative research method with a descriptive analysis approach. The pattern of approach used is Focus Group Discussion

Key words: Shodaqoh, solidarity, formula

## 1. Introduction

Solidarity is a golden way to overcome the crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic because solidarity involves people experiencing a crisis to resolve their issues together. Every form of solidarity will become a strong common movement where the basis of solidarity is culture and religion. I compiled this view after studying the *Shodaqoh* marketplace at Jombang, East Java.

Broadly speaking, the *Shodaqoh* market is the name for a joint activity that includes activities to give each other basic needs, engage in joint sports activities, as well as other social activities. The form of activity starts with the village administrators scheduling joint activities, usually on a Sunday. The activity begins by doing gymnastics together, and then the community leaves and takes the material they need in their lives. Then the committee goes through the food ingredients. After that, people choose the ingredients they need to eat, and those foods of course come from other people. For example, if a neighbor raises chickens and he has some chicken eggs, he can leave them at the market; other neighbors in need will take the eggs if they need them. Another neighbor that has a surplus of rice in his house can leave rice there. In practice, there is a practice of giving to one another to respond to the needs of others. I have compiled the following description in 4 parts, namely the *shodaqoh* market: anticipation of social crises, the

*shodaqoh* market, harmony and solidarity, the *shodaqoh* market: genealogy from a Weberian perspective, and the *shodaqoh* market: the formula for solidarity in the midst of a crisis.

## 2. Contents

### 2.1. *Shodaqoh* Market: Anticipation of Social Crisis

The author refers to the *Shodaqoh* market as a form of anticipating the social crisis for a number of reasons. First, the Covid-19 pandemic exists and divides social classes firmly in society, namely groups of people who are able to survive in the midst of crisis and groups who are unable to survive in the midst of a crisis. The upper and middle class, with a fixed income, did not experience a lot of economic shock, but the lower middle class did. This gap between social classes may generate a social crisis. The crisis comes when groups in the economy are trying to meet their daily needs, but they do not have the means, whereas those who are rich try to keep what they have so that it is not exhausted and taken by other parties. The *Shodaqoh* market fills the gap in those issues. Those who are in economic difficulty can meet their daily needs in the form of food and drink while those who are affluent get more than they think, so they need not fear losing.

Secondly, the COVID-19 pandemic and all its consequences also limit interactions among citizens. The publication of information about the increase in the number of Covid-19 gave birth to a shift in the perspective of “each other”, since “each other” is considered to be the spreader of Covid-19. Those who have been exposed to COVID-19 are labelled as COVID-19 applicators. Those who have not been confirmed try to cover up their health conditions as if they were not sick in order to avoid social labels as spreaders of the Covid-19 pandemic. COVID-19 is also the precursor to the development of the disease as a result of social discrimination in society. In addition, those affected by COVID-19 will not be honest about their disease, so there is no solution and they are alone. The *Shodaqoh* Market undermines this view because the *Shodaqoh* Market Village Administrator is paying particular attention to families impacted by COVID-19. They deliver food from the marketplace to the family, so their nutritional needs are covered. Residents who know that their neighbors have COVID-19 are trying to provide them with sufficient nutrition, which they put in the *shodaqoh* market.

Third, apart from nutrition issues, unclear information about how to deal with covid-19 provokes everyone to find their own solutions to overcome and anticipate so that they are not exposed to Covid-19. The search for this solution can be done through the search for herbs to consume, and the performance of certain rituals to resist the spread of COVID. This action can have a social impact when the social practices implemented are really harmful to themselves and others. *Shodaqoh* Market demands that residents maintain their immunity through food and exercise. The *Shodaqoh* market is not only a trading venue, but also a component of a common social activity, namely sport and cycling together. Thus, before people take goods on

the *shodaqoh* market, a common exercise activity is held, carried out by local residents. They onstall a stage where there are people who lead gymnastics and others follow. This opportunity actually not only helps improve physical health but also psychological well-being because people can have fun together, breaking the ice. The same is true of cycling activities together.

Fourth, the solutions offered to overcome the COVID-19 pandemic are first social distancing and then physical distancing. This solution will be easier for those who are used to the individual context of life. As for the context of the Indonesians who usually live collectively, this measure becomes a difficult thing so that resistance always arises, for example by ignoring the advice to observe physical distancing. One of the other activities of the *Shodaqoh* market is cycling together, in which those who participate in this activity wear traditional Javanese clothes, as a symbol that the cycling distance is still regulated, but social relations continue like people riding a bicycle; people will not fall if they keep on pedaling. Shared cycling socially translates the advice to maintain physical distance, but promote the remembrance of one's own culture. The world may suggest a way, but society has the authority to translate it without eroding the culture that occurs.

In addition to anticipating a social crisis, *Shodaqoh* market can also cause a social crisis. The potential crisis arose when the committee had yet to find the right way to regulate the market mechanism. From the perspective of Hobbes, there is some sort of unwritten social contract. According to the committee's narrative, at the beginning of the construction of the *shodaqoh* market, people fought over the food ingredients that had been prepared, so the committee looked for a solution by adjusting the mechanism. Each person takes what he required.

## **2.2. *Shodaqoh* Market, Harmony, and Solidarity**

In Focus Group Discussion, village officials, who became the originators of the *Shodaqoh* market, explained that this activity was carried out so that the community was always in a healthy condition, their nutritional needs fulfilled, and so that there was no conflict due to economic problems, and hence comfortable conditions. The author's question is why is this idea so easily accepted and implemented?

The author finds the reasons behind these two things in Javanese culture. First, the view of the importance of the *Shodaqoh* market. In terms of function, the vision of the *Shodaqoh* market is in line with the philosophy of Javanese society in general, namely avoiding imbalance and disharmony. The economic crisis can give birth to social imbalances, people can seize what is not theirs because of an urgent need. The *Shodaqoh* market overcomes the possibility of that imbalance (Brilyandio, 2021).

Balance and harmony are the basis and estuary of all Javanese actions. For example, in their communication, they choose to use soft language that does not offend the other person, even though they themselves hide their true feelings. (Wardani & Uyun, 2017). They do not let

the other person knows the basic things they feel; they are willing to let those feelings buried in their hearts. The interlocutor who comes from a Javanese background knows what is meant, while the interlocutor who is not from Java must reinterpret what is actually hidden from the words.

In making joint decisions, they are willing to sacrifice their personal interests and even personal belongings and comply with joint decisions. Behind the action there is social legitimacy about the position of the individual; that the individual is part of society, and society is part of the universe. Individual actions must support and comply with collective agreements. There is a view circulating in society that those who live in harmony with themselves and society, automatically live in harmony with God (Wiradimadja, 2019).

Obedience is also in line with Nrima's philosophy, surrender to the situation (Wulandari, 2017). This kind of awareness in the most extreme situation is seen in the event of death. Javanese people find it generally easier to accept a death experience than people from Eastern Indonesia, such as in NTT. Crying at death was also controlled to show their resignation and acceptance of the situation. On the other hand, in NTT, regarding the death event, people wail loudly, there is a show off, not only to show their deep sadness, but also to call everyone to come and be involved in the mourning.

In the Javanese society, obedience to collective decisions also has a correlation with obedience to the leadership in the place where they live. They are accustomed to practicing this obedience, partly because there is a history of the kingdom that teaches them about social strata in society. In society there are leaders and those who are led. Those who are led must be able to maintain the feelings of their leaders. It is this adherence to a collective decision that explains why the offer to run the *Shodaqoh* market has not met with resistance from the public.

If we follow the cultural logic of the Javanese people, we can assert that the solidarity created in the *Shodaqoh* market exists as a correction to the solidarity distinction initiated by Emile Durkheim. In his work *The Division of Labor in Society*, Durkheim discusses the specific division of labor. In this work, Durkheim divides the concept of solidarity into two types, namely, mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity. The peculiarities of these two forms of solidarity can be seen in several indicators, namely the binding factor of solidarity and the sanctions applied by each group (Herzog, 2018).

According to Durkheim, mechanical solidarity is identical with traditional or premodern society, while organic solidarity is identical with modern society. In mechanical solidarity, society is bound by the collective consciousness. Actions, such as crime, are defined in mechanical solidarity as actions that injure the collective consciousness. In organic solidarity, everyone has entered into a specific division of labor; they are interdependent on each other. In organic solidarity, society is not bound by the collective consciousness. Durkheim's distinction

can be further understood in the perspective of Ferdinand Tonnies in his *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* (Sandstedt & Westin, 2015)

*Gemeinschaft* is a social association in which individuals tend towards a social community; they are bound by the spirit of kinship. The social bond between them is very strong. This is different from the *Gesellschaft* where people who fall into this category have contractual social relations. The family system is very weak. If we relate these two things to Durkheim's idea of solidarity, it can be categorized that Durkheim's mechanical solidarity is real in a group of people called *Gemeinschaft* while organic solidarity occurs in *Gesellschaft*.

In the context of the *Shodaqoh* market, the basis of solidarity is no longer modern society or premodern society, no longer because their bonding model is homogeneous or heterogeneous, but the basis is the Javanese culture. So, there is no difference in the context of premodern or modern society, as long as they build this solidarity on the basis of Javanese culture. More deeply, in the context of this pandemic, everyone in the world is experiencing the same problem.

### **2.3. *Shodaqoh* Market: Genealogy in Weberian Perspective**

In this section, the author uses Max Weber's work to examine in more detail what other factors cause people to do solidarity in the *Shodaqoh* market. Let us examine Weber's framework first in one of his most important works, *The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism*. The basic thesis of this work is that the Protestant ethic played an important role in encouraging the birth of modern capitalism. Weber explained that the spirit of modern capitalism exists because of the ethics of Protestant Christianity.

There are three concepts of the Protestant ethic that became the driving force behind the birth of modern capitalism, namely the concept of the calling, the doctrine of predestination, and worldly asceticism. These concepts were born as one of the most radical forms of reform to the teachings of the Catholic religion. The main principle of the concept of the calling is that the highest form of the individual's moral obligation is to fulfill his obligations in the world. This concept is growing rapidly in puritan groups, especially Calvinists. This principle does not stand alone, but is followed by a second concept, namely predestination. The predestination doctrine of Calvinism is the belief that God has determined the fate and status of a person's salvation in the end. Everyone was unaware of their safety status. Even the righteous can never really know whether they are among those who are saved or even those who are cursed. The uncertainty resulting from this doctrine in turn gave rise to psychological anxiety in Europe – which made everyone ask, am I the chosen one or someone else? (Zabaev & Prutskova, 2019)

Richard Baxter, a Presbyterian, the successor of John Calvin's puritanism, developed Calvin's teachings of predestination to enable people to understand or at least know the characteristics of people who are saved in the afterlife. For him, the accumulation of wealth and

the reinvestment of one's profits for the betterment of the Community of God is a tangible form that one is among the predestined elect. God will only give abundant grace to those He saves. This then leads to the conclusion that the production of great wealth by a person in a community can be seen as a sign that God is pleased with this individual. That way he is the 'chosen' person (Luzer, 2013).

The development of this teaching manifests itself in the doctrine that one's wealth in this world is proof of their salvation in the hereafter. The implication is that pious people have to work harder to generate profits and wealth to ensure themselves that they are part of those who are being saved. Working hard to get rich is an ethos embodied in Protestant principles such as, "every hour not spent working is an hour lost in service to the glory of God", or "time is money so it should not be wasted". "Wasting time is in principle the deadliest sin." Even the loss of time from socializing, hanging out, or sleeping more than is medically necessary deserves moral condemnation. This is where, according to Weber, the moment when worldly work becomes a recommended spiritual act, and as a consequence monasticism is opposed (Jones, 1997).

So, in that era, reinvesting profits and surpluses signified loyalty to God's grand design (predestination) as well as a testimony that all wealth comes from God's hands and should be used to build a prosperous kingdom of God. Therefore, even though wealth has been acquired on a large scale, enjoying it becomes a despicable act. Wealth is ethically bad when it leads one to a life of luxury or for one's own pleasure. A lavish lifestyle is considered to hinder the goal of creating God's kingdom. The greater the wealth, the harder one bears the burden of that temptation. Therefore, a pious person will practice frugality and save large amounts of money. They will limit consumption (especially luxury goods) or will not spend more money than they owe. This preference for a simple life characterizes an ascetic view (the third teaching) of the puritans. They pursue wealth, not as a means to satisfy or to fulfill their material needs, but rather their spirituality.

Following Weber's line of thought, we know that there is a motor that drives people to act and at the same time there is an ethic that controls the outcome of that movement. The driving force has no empirical basis, but is practiced very rationally. In the same repertoire, the author finds the basic ethic that forms the basis for the implementation of this *Shodaqoh* market, namely the reciprocal benefits of giving alms: the more often you give, the more you will get, whether in heaven or in this world. The author formulates this concept based on two contexts, namely culture and religion.

In the context of Javanese society, the terms alms of the 'sedekah bumi' and 'sedekah laut' is generally known. An alm of the sea is carried out by people who live in coastal areas. The basic framework that becomes the benchmark for people to do 'sedekah laut' is the awareness that the sea has a ruler, there is a master over the sea. From the sea, people have got an abundance of life and that can happen because the rulers of the sea allow everything to happen. For this reason, in 'sedekah laut', the community releases offerings into the sea as a form of gratitude

and at the same time pleading for fishermen to get abundance of fortune. While *sedekah bumi* generally occurs in people who depend on agriculture for their lives. The community believes that for agricultural affairs there is a ruler, namely Dewi Sri. For this reason, Dewi Sri is honored and it is she who is asked to receive abundant fortune in their lives.

The practice of giving the earth and giving alms to the sea, in its development, got a new meaning when Islam entered. Local communities who adhere to Islam then incorporate Islamic elements into these cultural practices. In *sedekah bumi*, for example, the person worshiped is no longer in the form of a goddess but God. They thank God and ask for blessings for their lives. The prayers also use Islamic prayers. What has not changed is the social organization in its implementation, which is to share the abundance of the fortune with others. So, alms of the earth lead humans to God as well as socially creates social cohesion.

In the context of religion, the National Zakat Agency (BAZNAS) in its regulation No. 2 of 2016 describes alms as property or non-wealth issued by a person or business entity outside of *zakat* for general benefit. The word alms etymologically comes from the Arabic word, *sidiq* (*sidiq*) which means truth, then from this word the word *shadaqah* is formed. There is a difference between grant and alms: “Grant is giving without exchange; it is not with the aim of expecting a reward. It is given because of the recipient of the gift, while alms is a gift that expects a reward in the hereafter. So, there is a gift expecting a reward from heaven. Then, related to whom the alm is given, there is a view that alms is only given to fellow Muslims, and there is also a view that it should also be given to unbelievers, and given to the poor among them” (Hadith. al-Bukhari. Kitab: Al Maghazi. Chapter: The sending of Abi Musa and Muaz to Yemen before Hajj Wada’. #4347). However, it must be given to certain non-Muslim groups in order to protect the safety of Islam and Muslims from their crimes. The aspect that is considered in the gift is the business of strengthening Islam and avoiding it from harm and not the problem of poverty among converts. Likewise, giving to houses of worship aims to maintain the beauty and image of Islam in the eyes of non-Muslims in a multi-national and religious society. Alms in the Islamic conception has a broader meaning and is not only limited to giving something material. More than that, alms include all good deeds, both physical and non-physical. Examples are like giving charity with wealth, helping people, doing good, reconciling between two hostile people, showing something for people who do not understand, and so on.

Broadly speaking, giving alms brings the following benefits: (1) removing mistakes and warding off the pain of death, (2) opening the door of sustenance, (3) increasing sustenance, (4) keeping away from the heat of hellfire, (5) being a protector on the Day of Judgment, (6) abstaining from all kinds of physical and spiritual ailments, (7) eliminating pride and selfishness in the heart, (8) preventing calamities and disasters, and achieving perfect virtue, (9) being prayed for by angels (10) having the door of heaven opened by Allah for those who give in charity, (11) removing past sins, (12) providing comfort, (13) purifying property and soul.

Referring to the cultural context and religious context, we can understand the mutual benefits obtained from giving alms; the more people give alms, the more things they get both in this world and in the hereafter. For the affairs of the hereafter, it is something that cannot be proven empirically regarding the benefits obtained, but awareness of these benefits has become the motor that drives people to give alms.

#### **2.4. *Shodaqoh* Market: The Formula of Solidarity in the midst of a crisis**

The *Shodaqoh* Market is an example that helps us formulate a formula for solidarity in the midst of a crisis. Solidarity in the midst of this crisis is structured like this, first, the basic vision of solidarity is present to solve common problems in the community. For this reason, it is necessary to have leaders who help the community understand their problems and show that these problems can be solved in solidarity. So, there is an awareness of the need with a real impact on the people who practice this solidarity.

Second, the needs that become the basis of this solidarity are not only material needs and merely to fulfill economic needs, but also the need to create balance in society and become an anticipation of social crises that occur in society. In the wider context of life, for example, in the context of a state, policy makers do not only consider economic aspects, but also social and cultural aspects. For this reason, the role of social scientists is very important in political affairs.

Third, the formulation of the naming of solidarity needs to take into account the context of the community carrying out the solidarity action. There is a tendency in various solidarity actions that people do not formulate the exact name of the form of solidarity, though the name of the solidarity action is very important for those who are involved in it. In the name of the *shodaqoh* market, this solidarity has a cultural weight as well as a religious weight. People who hear this name immediately have an interest in getting involved in it. In practice, the *Shodaqoh* market does not only move people who practice the *Shodaqoh* market. According to stories from village stakeholders, they often get supplies in the form of food from sellers in the market just because they hear that the name of the market is *Shodaqoh* market. For the sellers, this is an opportunity for him to give alms.

Fourth, in addition to naming, solidarity in the midst of a crisis requires more socialization regarding the benefits that are obtained when people take solidarity actions. Reluctance to talk and engage in solidarity actions may be possible because people think about the benefits of these actions for them. If he doesn't get involved in certain solidarity actions, he will actually suffer losses. It is certainly not easy to live in a society that uses a rational frame of mind, because when people give, they lose. For this reason, the presence of religion is very important to motivate people to act. In the context of Indonesia, religion is still the particular mainstay that moves people to act. In the context of Indonesia, Islam is an example that can be used as a reference to examine how they mobilize people to give alms, even though they have an

institution that regulates it. Learning about Islam, other religions in Indonesia can translate their concept of solidarity based on religious teachings.

Fifth, apart from religion, the cultural base, like in Java, is very supportive of building solidarity between communities. The problem is the cultural context in Indonesia, which has a different cultural vision. In the cultural context in areas outside Java, there is local wisdom that makes them socially bound and always trying to protect one another. They can give to one another. The author takes the example of the Flores area. First is the solidarity of the Palue people in the world of education. The community is a group of people who live on an island, whose name is Palue. They belong to Sikka District. Residents in this area have a form of solidarity by raising some money to support education for children who want to go to college. They take the money to the house of a family whose child will continue their education. Once collected, the families who received the gifts recorded who gave them the money. Children who want to go to college, attend and witness the gifts from these people. Each person involved in the solidarity provides support and motivation for children who want to go to college so that they can study seriously. And when the child finishes college and it's time to work, it's his turn to support the new generation so that they can also continue their education at a higher level. In one of the author's interviews with one of the families involved in solidarity, they mentioned the name of the practice of solidarity, which is candle money. Second, there is a more modern social platform, namely the sluice gate cooperative. As far as the author's search about this cooperative, both through interviews with the management of this cooperative as well as reading the information about this cooperative, the author finds that solidarity in the context of society, which is categorized by Durkheim as premodern society, can be widely practiced, even in modern society. The mechanism used is to regulate the number of meetings and develop a modern system. The principle used is that the more often people meet, the stronger the solidarity that is built. Because when an encounter occurs, the social walls that limit each other are destroyed. People will engage in mutual trust in one another. The biggest challenge for those involved as organizers in this solidarity is maintaining trust. If they cheat, people lose trust.

Sixth, the duplication of solidarity in the *Shodaqoh* market has been carried out from one village to another. However, not every village is successful in practicing it because they only practice the *Shodaqoh* market activity, without understanding the basis of the *Shodaqoh* market. This provides interesting information that the practice of solidarity in a particular community context cannot be easily duplicated to other parties because solidarity must first be born from the needs and social context of the community. To move to another context, there needs to be a party capable of doing the right transformation.

### **3. Conclusion**

The author chooses a study on the *Shodaqoh* market to show another side of the crisis in the midst of the covid-19 pandemic. First, the community is able to formulate their own model

of solidarity. This capability is supported by resources in the form of village officials who are able to translate and organize forms of solidarity consistently. In this case, the community needs leaders who are able to transform from local wisdom. From this discussion, the author examines in more detail the basis that moves other people to do solidarity, not only rational things with empirical evidence, because it turns out that even things that are only promises that will be fulfilled after someone dies can become a strong basis, which helps mobilize people to engage in solidarity action. These facts become a better reflection of human holistically, that humans are not only composed of cognitive aspects, which are only satisfied with logical and rational arguments, but also other dimensions that also have the power to encourage people to form solidarity. The estuary of this study is actually showing that the tendency to gain or seize more to live and become selfish is no longer relevant to the context of living in the midst of a pandemic. On the other hand, the relevant model of life is that people share with one another.

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