

***QURBANI* AS SOCIAL REDISTRIBUTION: Class Boundary Negotiation and Solidarity in South Sulawesi**

Najamuddin & Sopian Tamrin

Universitas Negeri Makassar
Jl. Andi Pangeran Pettarani Makassar 90222, Indonesia
e-mail: najamuddin@unm.ac.id; sopiantamrin@unm.ac.id

Abstract: Traditional scholarship often focuses on dogmatic theology or nutritional outcomes of sacrifice, leaving a gap in understanding religious rituals as active social mechanisms for class negotiation. As such, this study is an attempt to examine *Qurbani* (sacrifice) as a non-state redistributive practice in South Sulawesi. Integrating Islamic Studies with sociological analysis, This research explores how this ritual facilitates situational solidarity within contemporary stratified societies by integrating Islamic Studies with sociological analysis. A multi-site qualitative case study was employed; data were collected through participant observation of slaughtering and meat distribution, in-depth interviews with donors, committee members, and recipients, and community document analysis across urban, semi-urban, and rural areas. The findings demonstrate that sacrifice functions as a ‘redistributive ritual’ embedded in *Maqâshid al-Syarî’ah* principles, where the transfer of material resources temporarily softens symbolic class boundaries and promotes social justice. The novelty of this study lies in its articulation of ‘negotiated solidarity’—a situational corrective for social fragmentation. However, increasing digitalization reveals an ambivalence, where technocratic efficiency risks depersonalizing the relational encounters vital for social cohesion. This article contributes a new theoretical framework by positioning ritualized redistribution as a key mechanism for managing inequality in contemporary Muslim societies.

Keywords: *Qurbani*, class boundaries, solidarity, religious rituals, South Sulawesi.

Corresponding author	Najamuddin			
Article history	Submitted: January 12, 2026	Revision: August 10, 2026	Accepted: August 19, 2026	Published: August 24, 2026
How to cite this article	Najamuddin, Najamuddin and Sopian Tamrin. “QURBANI AS SOCIAL REDISTRIBUTION: Class Boundary Negotiation and Solidarity in South Sulawesi.” <i>MIQOT: Jurnal Ilmu-ilmu Keislaman</i> 50, no. 2 (2026): 489 - 511. http://dx.doi.org/10.30821/miqot.v50i2.1784			

Introduction

The ritual of sacrifice (*Qurbani*) during the Eid al-Adha celebration in South Sulawesi serves as a vital non-state mechanism for social redistribution, yet its sociological function in negotiating class boundaries remains under-explored. While traditional communal ties remain strong in the region, increasing urbanization and economic differentiation have created a more stratified society where class fragmentation is more visible.¹ In this context, *Qurbani* is not merely a theological obligation but a material and relational practice that temporarily suspends class hierarchies through the collective slaughter and distribution of meat. This study addresses the fundamental question of how such religious rituals maintain social cohesion and facilitate cross-class interaction amidst contemporary social inequality.²

The significance of this study lies in its focus on the “interaction ritual chains”,³ that occur within the specific context of South Sulawesi’s Muslim society. Existing scholarship on *Qurbani* has largely focused on its theological dimensions, animal welfare, or its role in fulfilling nutritional needs for the poor.⁴ However, these studies often overlook the social mechanisms through which the ritual influences power relations and structures of symbolic recognition. In South Sulawesi, where local community ties (*‘ashabiyyah*) are being reshaped by modern market logic,⁵ *Qurbani* provides a unique arena to observe how symbolic boundaries between the wealthy and the less fortunate are “softened” or negotiated through direct participation.⁶

The novelty of this research is situated in its conceptualization of *Qurbani* as a “redistributive ritual” that integrates material resource transfer with the temporary suspension of class identity. Recent literature indicates a growing gap in understanding how the commercialization and digitalization of religious practices impact direct social solidarity.⁷ While online platforms offer efficiency, they risk depersonalizing the ritual and weakening its capacity to bridge social distances.⁸ By analyzing these transformations, this article contributes to the sociology of religion and social stratification by demonstrating that the effectiveness of ritual depends not only on its symbolism but also on the intensity of the accompanying social relations.

Specifically, this research aims to investigate the complex social mechanisms through which the practice of *Qurbani* functions as a non-state mechanism⁹ of social redistribution that renegotiates class boundaries and forms community solidarity in South Sulawesi. It seeks to elucidate how this ritualized redistribution provides a situational corrective to modern social fragmentation by facilitating meaningful cross-class encounters.¹⁰ By positioning the sacrificial ritual at the intersection of economic sociology and Islamic tradition, this study offers a unique perspective on managing inequality through moral legitimacy and collective action.¹¹ Furthermore, the research explores how the principle of social justice (*al-‘adâlah al-ijtimâ’iyyah*) is practically enacted at the grassroots level,

providing a robust framework for understanding the role of ritual in fostering cohesion amidst the depersonalizing logic of the market. Ultimately, this analysis contributes to a deeper understanding of how religious rituals can maintain relational intensity and social recognition in increasingly stratified contemporary societies.¹²

Method

This study employs a qualitative approach¹³ with a multi-site case study design¹⁴ to analyze *Qurbani* as a mechanism for social redistribution and class boundary negotiation. The multi-site approach is methodologically warranted to capture the diverse socio-economic dynamics across urban (Makassar and Palopo), semi-urban (Maros and Gowa), and rural (Bulukumba and Bone) landscapes in South Sulawesi. This comparative lens is essential for investigating how ritual practices and class interactions adapt to varying degrees of urbanization and social stratification, providing a more robust analytical understanding than a single-site study.

Data were gathered through participant observation of slaughtering and distribution processes, semi-structured interviews, and community document analysis. Informants were selected purposively to represent three key categories: donors (sacrificers), organizers (committee members), and recipients. To ensure ethical integrity,¹⁵ especially since profile data is presented, all informants provided informed consent regarding the use of their information for scholarly publication. The detailed profile of informants is presented in Table 1:

Table 1. Profile of Research Informants

Code	Informant Name	Role in Qurbani	Background / Location
SA	Sakaria Anwar	Recipient	Urban Community (Makassar City)
AH	Abdul Hakim	Recipient	Semi-urban Community (The border between Makassar City and Maros Regency)
AM	Ahmad Muhajir	Recipient	Rural Community (Bulukumba Regency)
S	Syamsul	Committee Member	Makassar City
A	Abdullah	Committee Member	Makassar City
MA	Muh Arfa	Committee Member	Makassar City
AB	Abu Bakar	Sacrificer (Donor)	Rural Community (Bone Regency)
AS	Asbar	Sacrificer (Donor)	Semi-urban Community (The border between Makassar City and Gowa Regency)
F	Fikran	Sacrificer (Donor)	Urban Community (Palopo City)
MS	Muhammad Sabiq	Preacher	Dawah Community (Makassar City)

Thematic data analysis followed the systematic steps of condensation, display, and conclusion drawing.¹⁶ Verbatim transcripts were processed through open and thematic coding to identify core categories, such as “material redistribution”, “class boundary negotiation”, and “situational solidarity”. Validity was maintained through source and technique triangulation,¹⁷ complemented by researcher reflexivity throughout the fieldwork.

Results and Discussion

Sacrifice as a Practice of Material Redistribution and the Negotiation of Class Solidarity

The research findings demonstrate that the practice of sacrifice in South Sulawesi is not merely an act of individual piety but serves as a crucial non-state mechanism for material redistribution that effectively manages social inequality. In a contemporary society increasingly characterized by class fragmentation and the penetration of market logic, the ritual of sacrifice provides a periodically recurring “egalitarian space” where resources are circulated outside of capitalistic exchange.¹⁸ This redistributive process is essential for low-income communities in South Sulawesi, as it ensures access to high-quality protein, a resource often restricted by economic barriers,¹⁹ within a framework that is morally and religiously sanctioned.²⁰

The mechanism of social solidarity in this context is manifested through a shared consumption experience that temporarily suspends the visibility of economic deprivation. This is explicitly captured in the testimony of Informant SA, a recipient in an urban area: *“On normal days, my family and I rarely eat meat. But during the Eid al-Adha, it feels like everyone is eating the same food because everyone is eating. No one feels like they’re having enough or not having enough; it’s enough. I also usually invite my students from the regions who haven’t returned home to come and enjoy it”*. This narrative suggests that sacrifice generates what Durkheimian theory describes as “collective effervescence,” where the ritual act of eating together creates a sense of “sameness” that masks structural inequalities.²¹ By fostering this perceived equality, the ritual acts as a corrective force against the social disintegration often found in modern urban settings.²²

Analytically, this redistribution is “embedded” in community moral norms rather than being a purely administrative or charitable transaction.²³ From an Islamic perspective, this practice embodies the principles of *Maqâshid al-Syariah*, specifically the protection of wealth (*hifzh al-mâl*) and life (*hifzh al-nafs*).²⁴ By transforming private wealth into a communal resource, sacrifice fulfills the mandate of social justice (*al-‘adâlah al-ijtimâ’iyyah*).²⁵ Unlike secular welfare programs which may carry a stigma of dependency, the religious legitimacy of sacrifice positions the recipient as a rightful participant in a divine ritual, thereby preserving their social dignity.²⁶

The most critical function of this ritual, however, is the negotiation of class boundaries. In the sociology of class, the practice of sacrifice facilitates a process known as *symbolic boundary softening*.²⁷ While the structural hierarchy between the wealthy donors and the less fortunate recipients remains, the ritual creates a temporary suspension of the social distance that usually governs their interactions. Informant AH emphasized this distinction: “*We know that those who sacrifice are wealthy and have money. But the way the meat is distributed makes us feel less inferior or demeaned*”. This indicates that the negotiation occurs not by erasing class awareness, but by rearticulating the relationship through the lens of religious brotherhood rather than economic status.²⁸

Furthermore, the ritual functions as an arena for “interaction ritual chains” where the collective labor involved in slaughtering and distribution produces situational solidarity.²⁹ In both urban and rural South Sulawesi, this involvement allows for a functional egalitarianism where individuals from different socioeconomic backgrounds occupy shared social spaces and engage in synchronized activities.³⁰ This cross-class encounter is vital for maintaining social cohesion in regions experiencing rapid urbanization and increasing social distance.³¹

However, the effectiveness of sacrifice as a tool for solidarity depends heavily on its participatory nature. The findings suggest that when the ritual is depersonalized through extreme commercialization or purely digital mediation, the capacity for direct class negotiation is weakened.³² As sacrifice becomes more of a technocratic distribution service, it risks losing the “atmosphere of togetherness” that Informant MS identified as the core of its social power. Therefore, maintaining the relational intensity of the ritual is paramount to ensuring that sacrifice remains a redistributive practice that does not merely transfer meat, but actively builds social connectedness across class lines.³³

In conclusion, this section illustrates that sacrifice in South Sulawesi operates as a sophisticated mechanism of non-state redistribution. By integrating material resource transfer with symbolic recognition, the ritual renegotiates class boundaries, softening hierarchies and fostering a situational solidarity that helps manage the tensions of contemporary social stratification.

Sacrifice and the Formation of Cross-Class Social Solidarity: The Dynamics of Class Boundary Negotiation

The empirical findings of this study demonstrate that the formation of cross-class social solidarity through sacrifice is not a passive byproduct of meat distribution, but rather a result of an active and situational negotiation of class boundaries. In South Sulawesi, where social stratification remains a significant aspect of community life, the ritual of sacrifice provides a unique “liminal” arena where rigid socioeconomic hierarchies are temporarily suspended and renegotiated through shared physical labor and symbolic

recognition.³⁴ This negotiation process is essential for creating a sense of togetherness that transcends the increasing fragmentation of modern Muslim society.³⁵

The primary mechanism of this negotiation is found in the functional egalitarianism that governs the slaughtering and distribution process. In the sacrificial arena, individuals who typically occupy high-status roles (such as government officials or wealthy entrepreneurs) engage in manual, often labor-intensive tasks alongside those from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. This shift requires an active negotiation of identity performance. As noted by Informant S, a committee member in Makassar: *“On the day of sacrifice, everyone pitches in. Those who usually just attend meetings now carry the meat together, queue up, and work together. The point is, it’s a collaborative effort. No one feels superior; everyone is equal”*. From a micro-sociological perspective, this interaction constitutes a “negotiation” because it demands that participants prioritize their ritual roles over their external economic identities. This process aligns with the concept of interaction ritual chains, where synchronized collective activities and shared emotional focus generate a situational solidarity that temporarily blurs the symbolic distance between classes.³⁶

Furthermore, the negotiation of class boundaries is explicitly visible in the direct interactions between donors (sacrificers) and recipients. In many contemporary urban settings, redistribution is often depersonalized through third-party institutions. However, in the communities studied, direct participation remains a significant element that facilitates a “re-recognition” of the social other. The negotiation occurs when the donor steps out of their “giver” status and enters a relational space with the recipient.³⁷ Informant AB, a middle-class donor in rural Bone, reflected on this: *“If we directly participate in the distribution, we get to know who’s coming to collect the meat. Not just those who receive it, but our neighbors also participate”*. This recognition is a critical negotiation of class boundaries; it transforms a categorical relationship (rich versus poor) into a personal one, thereby “softening” the symbolic boundaries that typically regulate social distance.³⁸

Analytically, this negotiation can also be understood through the lens of *Ashabiyyah*.³⁹ Sacrifice serves as a medium for renewing communal bonds by integrating material redistribution with collective work. The negotiation process ensures that the transfer of meat is not perceived as a hierarchical act of charity, which often reproduces relations of domination, but as a shared religious obligation that affirms the recipient’s social dignity.⁴⁰ By engaging in the same ritual space and consuming the same sacrificial meat, both classes negotiate a shared identity as members of the *ummah*, effectively mitigating the tensions caused by contemporary class differentiation.⁴¹

However, the findings also highlight that this negotiation process is highly dependent on the relational intensity of the ritual. The growing trend of digitalization and institutional mediation risks removing the physical and social arena where this negotiation takes place. As Informant AH observed, centralized management may increase efficiency

but it erodes the “atmosphere of togetherness”. Without the shared labor of the ritual, the capacity for sacrifice to serve as an arena for class negotiation is significantly diminished, reducing it to a mere technocratic redistribution of material resources.⁴²

In conclusion, the cross-class solidarity formed through sacrifice is a “negotiated solidarity.” It is built through the temporary suspension of status markers and the active engagement in collective ritual work. This process demonstrates that religious rituals can function as situational corrective mechanisms for social inequality, provided they maintain the participatory spaces that allow for direct interaction across class lines. By renegotiating these boundaries, the Muslim community in South Sulawesi manages to maintain social cohesion amidst the pressures of urbanization and modern market logic.

The Ambivalence of Sacrifice: How Commercialization and Digitalization Impact Class Negotiation and Solidarity

The contemporary transformation of sacrificial practices in South Sulawesi, characterized by increasing commercialization and digitalization, presents a profound ambivalence regarding the study’s central issues: class negotiation and social solidarity. While these modern shifts offer unprecedented efficiency and expand the reach of material redistribution, they simultaneously threaten the relational arenas where the “negotiation” of social boundaries traditionally occurs. In the context of a modernizing Muslim society, the transition from a participatory community ritual to a mediated technocratic service reshapes the very essence of how social distance is managed and how solidarity is produced.⁴³

The primary concern regarding digitalization is the depersonalization of the ritual, which effectively removes the face-to-face encounters necessary for class boundary negotiation. Traditionally, the physical presence of the donor at the slaughter site acted as a catalyst for “symbolic boundary softening”.⁴⁴ However, the rise of online platforms has shifted the ritual from a collective social event to an individual digital transaction.⁴⁵ This is captured by Informant MS, who observed: *“Now, just order online, and everything is taken care of. It’s legal according to Islamic law, but you don’t really feel the atmosphere of sacrifice”*. From the perspective of interaction ritual chains, the absence of a shared physical space prevents the formation of collective effervescence, meaning that the “negotiation” of status markers between the wealthy and the poor simply does not take place.⁴⁶ Without the “atmosphere of togetherness,” sacrifice risks being reduced to a mere financial transaction, losing its capacity to bridge the symbolic gap between social strata.⁴⁷

Furthermore, the commercialization of *Qurbani* through professional management institutions often leads to a weakening of local community solidarity. As sacrifice becomes more bureaucratized, the “functional egalitarianism” observed in community-led slaughtering is replaced by a professional-client relationship. Informant A, a committee

member, noted that residents now rarely meet because the meat is managed and delivered by external organizations: “*The meat did arrive, but the residents rarely met*”. This suggests that while the material redistribution (the transfer of meat) is successful, the relational solidarity (the building of social ties) is severely diminished.⁴⁸ The loss of shared labor, such as the collective effort of skinning, weighing, and distributing means that the specific social mechanism of “negotiated solidarity” is no longer activated.⁴⁹

However, the ambivalence lies in the fact that these same digital and commercial tools significantly enhance the scale of redistribution, which is a core objective of sacrifice. Large-scale organizations can reach remote, disaster-prone, or extremely impoverished areas that local community-based rituals cannot access. As Informant MA highlighted: “*If it’s through an institution, the sacrifices can reach the disaster area. That’s an advantage we can’t ignore*”. Theoretically, this represents a trade-off between “relational depth” and “logistical breadth”.⁵⁰ While local solidarity and the negotiation of local class boundaries may weaken, a new form of “mediated” or “abstract solidarity” emerges, where the donor feels connected to a broader, global *ummah* rather than their immediate neighbors.⁵¹

Analytically, this transformation reflects the tension between traditional ritual logic and the logic of modern capital. The commercialization of sacrifice can be seen as an attempt to rationalize a religious practice to fit urban constraints, but this rationalization often comes at the cost of the ritual’s social-integrative power.⁵² For the Muslim community in South Sulawesi, this means that while sacrifice remains a powerful tool for material justice, its role as a situational corrective for class fragmentation is becoming increasingly fragmented itself.⁵³ The effectiveness of sacrifice as a mechanism for managing inequality now depends on the ability of social actors to maintain participatory spaces within these new digital frameworks.⁵⁴

In conclusion, the digitalization and commercialization of sacrifice are not merely technological changes; they are social shifts that redefine the boundaries of negotiation and solidarity. While they fulfill the *Maqâshid al-Syarî’ah* principles of wealth circulation (*hifz al-mâl*) on a macro level, they risk eroding the micro-level interactions that soften class hierarchies.⁵⁵ Therefore, to maintain the ritual’s role as a redistributive ritual that builds cohesion, it is essential to balance technocratic efficiency with the preservation of relational intensity. The future of sacrifice as a social practice depends on whether it can remain an arena for direct human encounter or if it will fully succumb to the depersonalizing logic of the market.

To clarify the pattern of empirical findings and the relationship between the material, relational, and symbolic dimensions of the practice of sacrifice, this section presents an analytical synthesis in tabular form. This table summarizes how sacrifice operates as a mechanism of social redistribution, the formation of cross-class solidarity, and an arena for negotiating class boundaries in the context of contemporary Muslim societies. This presentation aims to emphasize the relationship between field data, observed social

processes, and their sociological implications, while also serving as a conceptual bridge to theoretical discussions of sacrifice as a redistributive ritual in the sociology of class and ritual.

Table 2. Sacrifice as a Redistributive Ritual: Empirical Processes, Class Effects, and Theoretical Contributions

Analytical Dimension	Observed Ritual Practices	Underlying Social Processes	Effects on Class Relations	Theoretical Contribution
Material redistribution	Distribution of sacrificial meat to community members, particularly low-income households	Morally legitimated transfer embedded in ritual obligation	Temporary reduction of material distance without altering structural inequality	Demonstrates ritual-based redistribution outside state and market mechanisms
Experiential equality	Collective consumption during Eid al-Adha	Situational production of shared social experience	Symbolic suspension of class hierarchy	Shows how ritual generates perceived equality without structural homogenization
Collective participation	Cross-class involvement in slaughtering and distribution	Cooperative labor and embodied interaction	Functional egalitarianism among actors	Extends Durkheimian solidarity to stratified modern contexts
Cross-class solidarity	Direct encounters between donors, organizers, and recipients	Personal recognition and relational proximity	Reduction of symbolic class boundaries	Illustrates solidarity as a relational outcome rather than moral abstraction
Institutional mediation	Delegation of sacrifice through organizations and digital platforms	Depersonalization and bureaucratic coordination	Weakening of direct cross-class interaction	Reveals ambivalence of institutionalized ritual in modern societies
Expanded redistribution scale	Distribution to remote or crisis-affected regions	Logistical expansion beyond local communities	Emergence of indirect solidarity	Highlights trade-off between scale efficiency and relational depth

Sacrifice as a Redistributive Ritual: Theoretical Implications for the Sociology of Class and Ritual

The theoretical implications of this study's findings suggest that sacrifice in South Sulawesi must be conceptualized as a "redistributive ritual", a social practice that simultaneously integrates theological obligations, material resource transfer, and the situational negotiation of class relations. By positioning sacrifice within this framework, this article expands the contemporary sociology of ritual by demonstrating that material and class dimensions are not merely secondary consequences of symbolic practices, but are inherent analytical components that define the ritual's social efficacy.⁵⁶ This conceptualization addresses the study's central issue by showing how religious rituals act as situational corrective mechanisms for social inequality in contemporary Muslim societies.⁵⁷

From a Durkheimian perspective, rituals are traditionally understood as mechanisms for generating mechanical solidarity through shared collective consciousness.⁵⁸ While the findings from South Sulawesi support this, they also reveal critical limitations of the classical framework when applied to modern, highly stratified societies. The solidarity observed in this study is not a totalizing solidarity that erases class differentiation; rather, it is a situational solidarity that operates within, and in response to, persistent structural inequalities.⁵⁹ The theoretical contribution here lies in the recognition that ritual in modern society does not permanently reconstruct the social order but rather renegotiates social relations temporarily and contextually through "interaction ritual chains".⁶⁰ This situational negotiation allows for a "suspension" of the visibility of class, providing the community with a periodic experience of "sameness" that is vital for maintaining cohesion amidst increasing fragmentation.⁶¹

Furthermore, these findings challenge the dominant sociological assumption that redistributive practices are inherently hierarchical and inevitably reproduce relations of domination or social dependency. In contrast to state-based social assistance or market-driven philanthropy, which often frame recipients in subordinate or stigmatized positions, the practice of sacrifice demonstrates that redistribution can occur within a symbolic framework that preserves social dignity.⁶² The negotiation of class boundaries is facilitated by the ritual's religious legitimacy, where recipients are recognized as legitimate members of a spiritual community (*ummah*) rather than mere objects of charity. Theoretically, this process aligns with the concept of *symbolic boundary softening*, where the rigid markers of class are blurred through collectively recognized social actions.⁶³

This study also enriches Karl Polanyi's thinking on embedded redistribution. Sacrifice demonstrates that redistribution is not solely organized by the state or the market, but also by religious institutions that possess high moral legitimacy and the capacity for large-scale collective mobilization.⁶⁴ However, unlike more stable or institutionalized

forms of traditional redistribution, the redistributive ritual of sacrifice is periodic and contextual. This emphasizes that religious rituals can function as non-state redistributive mechanisms that manage inequality organically without competing directly with broader economic structures.⁶⁵ This “embeddedness” is further reinforced by the integration of *Maqâshid al-Syarî'ah* principles, where the protection of wealth (*hifzh al-mâl*) is achieved through its circulation to protect life (*hifzh al-nafs*), effectively bridging Western economic sociology with Islamic redistributive traditions.⁶⁶

Finally, the findings regarding the digitalization and commercialization of sacrifice underscore the critical importance of the relational dimension in ritual theory. As ritual practices become increasingly mediated by technology and bureaucratic institutions, their capacity to build cross-class solidarity depends on the extent to which direct social interaction and shared labor are maintained.⁶⁷ The theoretical implication is that the effectiveness of a ritual is determined not only by its symbolism or normative legitimacy but also by its form of social organization and the intensity of the accompanying human relations.⁶⁸ In a world of increasing “social fragmentation”, maintaining these participatory spaces is paramount for rituals to continue serving as arenas for class negotiation.⁶⁹

In summary, conceptualizing sacrifice as a redistributive ritual provides a new analytical lens to examine how contemporary societies manage inequality outside the state and the market. This study demonstrates that the power of sacrifice lies in its ability to negotiate class inequality in a situational manner, offering a unique perspective on social integration that combines material justice with symbolic recognition.

The Future of Sacrifice as a Redistributive Ritual: Maintaining Class Negotiation and Solidarity Amidst Transformation

The future trajectory of sacrifice in South Sulawesi is inextricably linked to the community’s ability to preserve the ritual as a vibrant arena for class boundary negotiation and social solidarity. As contemporary Muslim societies undergo rapid structural transformations, sacrifice faces a critical tension between the drive for technocratic efficiency and the necessity of maintaining relational depth. Therefore, understanding the future of this redistributive ritual requires a focused analysis of how the mechanisms of negotiation and solidarity will adapt to or be eroded by the forces of modernization, urbanization, and increasing class differentiation.

A primary challenge for the future of negotiation lies in the increasing institutionalization and professionalization of sacrificial management. While the shift toward centralized organizations enhances the logistical scale of redistribution, it risks eliminating the physical social spaces the slaughtering sites and distribution queues where “interaction ritual chains” traditionally occur. In these shared spaces, the “symbolic

boundary softening” that allows for cross-class encounter is activated through collective labor and shared emotional energy. If the future of sacrifice becomes purely a mediated transaction where the donor and recipient never meet, the situational arena for negotiating status markers will vanish. To maintain its social-integrative power, future social development must prioritize the preservation of participatory spaces that allow for direct human encounter, even within professionalized frameworks.

Furthermore, the future of social solidarity through sacrifice depends on the moral sensibilities of the younger generation of Muslims, particularly in urban centers like Makassar. This demographic shows a growing orientation toward transparency and global social impact, which could lead to a more “abstract solidarity” that connects donors with distant *ummah* in crisis zones. While this expands the material reach of redistribution, it must not come at the expense of local “relational solidarity”. The challenge for the future is to ensure that sacrifice continues to function as a “communal glue” at the neighborhood level, where the actual tensions of social stratification are most acutely felt. Social development in this context should move toward a hybrid model that combines digital efficiency with local participatory rituals, ensuring that sacrifice remains a mechanism for building immediate community cohesion.

Theologically and sociologically, the future of sacrifice will also be shaped by its capacity to respond to the increasing social plurality of Indonesian society. Sacrifice has the potential to become a more inclusive medium of solidarity that transcends not only class boundaries but also ethnic and, in some contexts, religious lines. By positioning sacrifice as a manifestation of universal social justice (*al-‘adâlah al-ijtimâ‘iyyah*), the ritual can function as a corrective mechanism for the fragmentation caused by market logic. This prospective approach views sacrifice as a dynamic social institution that can renegotiate its symbolic meanings to address contemporary inequalities while remaining rooted in the moral legitimacy of Islamic tradition.

However, the risk of “excessive rationalization” remains a significant hurdle. If sacrificial management becomes entirely dominated by managerial logic and performance indicators, the ritual’s capacity to generate “collective effervescence” and heartfelt solidarity may be compromised. The future of sacrifice, therefore, is not deterministic but is a product of ongoing social negotiation. The Muslim community in South Sulawesi must actively decide whether to allow sacrifice to become a depersonalized charity service or to safeguard it as a ritualized arena for active class negotiation.

In conclusion, the future of sacrifice as a redistributive ritual depends on maintaining the delicate balance between material scale and relational intensity. By focusing social development on the preservation of spaces for negotiation and solidarity, sacrifice can continue to serve as an effective non-state mechanism for managing class inequality. This requires a conscious effort to integrate modern efficiency with the traditional “atmosphere of togetherness” that has historically allowed sacrifice to soften the symbolic

boundaries of a stratified society. For sociology, the ongoing transformation of sacrifice provides a critical lens to observe how religious rituals can adapt to modern challenges without losing their fundamental capacity to produce social integration.

Conclusion

This research concludes that the practice of sacrifice (*Qurbani*) in South Sulawesi functions as a sophisticated non-state mechanism of social redistribution that operates through four interconnected social processes. These findings provide a comprehensive answer to the study's central issue regarding the management of class inequality through ritualized collective action. The main findings are articulated through the following propositions:

First, sacrifice is a form of embedded redistribution where the transfer of material resources (meat) is fundamentally inseparable from the moral norms and religious legitimacy of the Muslim community. This practice ensures the circulation of wealth outside state and market channels, effectively addressing material inequality at the local level through a framework of social justice (*al-'adâlah al-ijtimâ'iyah*).

Second, the ritual facilitates the negotiation of class boundaries through symbolic boundary softening. While the structural economic hierarchy remains unchanged, the ritual context creates a "liminal" space where status markers are temporarily suspended. This allows social actors to interact without the activation of symbolic hierarchies, transforming a potentially stigmatizing act of "giving" into a dignified relational exchange.

Third, cross-class social solidarity is situationally produced through interaction ritual chains. This solidarity is not merely a normative abstraction but is actively constructed through shared physical labor, collective coordination, and direct encounters between donors and recipients during the slaughtering and distribution processes. This functional egalitarianism renews communal bonds (*'ashabiyyah*) and mitigates the social fragmentation caused by modern urbanization.

Fourth, contemporary transformations through digitalization and commercialization create a social ambivalence. While technology expands the logistical reach of material redistribution, it risks depersonalizing the ritual by eroding the participatory spaces necessary for class negotiation and relational solidarity. The future of sacrifice as an integrative ritual depends on balancing technocratic efficiency with the preservation of face-to-face social interaction.

Theoretically, this study proposes the concept of a redistributive ritual as an analytical lens to understand how religious practices can act as situational correctives for social inequality. By integrating material justice with symbolic recognition, sacrifice in contemporary South Sulawesi demonstrates that rituals remain powerful social institutions capable of fostering cohesion in increasingly stratified modern societies.

Furthermore, several limitations of this study suggest the need for caution in generalizing its results. The primary focus on a single region (South Sulawesi) and the heavy reliance on qualitative data mean that the findings reflect specific communal traditions and social dynamics that may vary elsewhere. To build a more comprehensive understanding, further research is needed through cross-regional or cross-religious comparisons to examine how redistributive rituals operate in more highly differentiated or multicultural contexts.

References

- Ahmed, Amar. "Consuming Eid Al-Adha: Constructing and Expressing the Muslim Identity." *Poligrafi* 25, no. 99–100 (2020): 117–43. <https://doi.org/10.35469/poligrafi.2020.228>
- Alvi, Anjum, and Lukas Werth. "Generosity as Ethics: The Double Transaction in Marcel Mauss's The Gift." *Current Anthropology* 65, no. 6 (2024): 1010–27. <https://doi.org/10.1086/733308>
- Andradea, Iran Guerrero, Águeda G. Venegas de la Torre, and Judith E. Moctezuma Montaño. "La Matriz de La Diferenciación Social: Apuntes Para La Comprensión de Los Procesos de Desintegración En Las Sociedades Modernas." *Edähi Boletín Científico de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades Del ICSHu* 11, no. 22 (2023): 84–91. <https://doi.org/10.29057/icshu.v11i22.10621>
- Asutay, Mehmet, and Isa Yilmaz. "Financialisation of Islamic Finance: A Polanyian Approach on the Hegemony of Market Logic over Islamic Logic." *New Political Economy* 30, no. 2 (March 2025): 267–86. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13563467.2024.2424170>
- Basyir, Damanhuri. "The Practice of Qurban: Integrating Economic, Social, and Environmental Dimensions." *El-Sunan: Journal of Hadith and Religious Studies* 2, no. 2 (2024): 156–65. <https://doi.org/10.22373/el-sunan.v2i2.5950>
- Block, Fred, and Margaret R. Somers. *The Power of Market Fundamentalism Karl Polanyi's Critique*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016.
- Collins, Randall. *Interaction Ritual Chains*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Creswell, John W., and Cheryl N. Poth. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*. 4th ed. California: SAGE Publications, 2016.
- Durkheim, Emile. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. Edited by Mark Sydney Cladis. United States: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Eksioglu, Cristina-Mihaela. "How Rituals and Practices Can Influence Society in Émile Durkheim's View; Example of Intercultural Communities from Romanian Society." *European Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies* 9, no. 2 (2024): 102–8. <https://doi.org/10.26417/qdjds94>
- Fadillah, Zulfan Arief, and Naeni Amanulloh. "Modal Sosial Dalam Hari Raya Kurban: Pengembangan Kepercayaan Mudhohi Terhadap Lasznas PPPA Daarul Qur'an

- Jakarta.” *Muqoddima: Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Riset Sosiologi* 3, no. 2 (2022): 105–18. <https://doi.org/10.47776/10.47776/mjprs.003.02.04>
- Fathoni, Tamrin. “Konsep Solidaritas Sosial Dalam Masyarakat Modern Perspektif Émile Durkheim.” *Journal Of Community Development and Disaster Management* 6, no. 2 (2024): 129–47. <https://doi.org/10.37680/jcd.v6i2.6402>
- Fauzi, Muhammad Latif, and Yanwar Pribadi. “Muslim Youth Between Pragmatism, Islamic Concern, And Social Piety The Case of the Da’wah Movement in Solo, Indonesia.” *Ulumuna: Journal of Islamic Studies* 28, no. 2 (2024): 798–824. <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v28i2.877>
- Gallien, Max, Umair Javed, and Vanessa van den Boogaard. “Zakat, Non-State Welfare Provision and Redistribution in Times of Crisis: Evidence from the Covid-19 Pandemic.” *Studies in Comparative International Development* 61, no. 1 (2026): 34–60. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12116-024-09447-x>
- Gundersen, Craig, Lora Iannotti, and Frederic Leroy. “Food Security at Risk: The Consequences of Limiting Animal Source Foods.” *Animal Frontiers* 15, no. 1 (2025): 24–33. <https://doi.org/10.1093/af/vfae030>
- Kazanskaia, Anna Neya. “Informed Consent in Non-Profit Research: Principles, Challenges, and Practices.” *NEYA Global Journal of Non-Profit Studies*, 2025. <https://doi.org/10.64357/neya-gjnps-vz-imp-dt-cm-str-03>
- Khadiq. “Transformation of Islamic Religious Practices in the Digital Era.” *Jurnal Dakwah* 24, no. 2 (2023): 175–92. <https://doi.org/10.14421/jd.2023.24205>
- Kusuma, Airlangga Surya, Fadhli Suko Wiryanto, and Purwanto Widodo. “Analisis Kontroversi Aksi Cepat Tanggap Berdasarkan Perspektif Maqashid Syariah.” *Jurnal Indonesia: Manajemen Informatika Dan Komunikasi* 5, no. 3 (2024): 2484–95. <https://doi.org/10.35870/jimik.v5i3.949>
- Lamont, Michèle. “Toward a Comparative Sociology of Valuation and Evaluation.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 38, no. April (2012): 201–21. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-070308-120022>
- Leone, Massimo. “Technology and Sacrifice.” *Religions* 15, no. 6 (2024): 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel15060692>
- Mardikaningsih, Rahayu. “Urbanization and Social Inequality: Challenges in Building Social Cohesion in a City-Based Environment.” *Journal of Social Science Studies* 1, no. 1 (2021): 135–40. <https://jos3journals.id/index.php/jos3/article/view/43>
- Mijiaë, Ana, and Michael Parzer. “Symbolic Boundaries and the Negative Classifications of the ‘Successful Other’ at the Intersection of Ethnicity, Religion, Gender, and Refugeeeness.” *European Journal of Cultural and Political Sociology* 11, no. 4 (2024): 558–84. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23254823.2024.2335164>
- Miles, Matthew B., A. Michael Huberman, and Johnny Saldana. *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook*. California: SAGE Publications, 2013.

- Moleong, Lexy J. *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*. Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2019.
- Mustofa, Farrid. "Religion, Identity and Solidarity: Emile Durkheim's Perspective." *Jurnal Penelitian* 16, no. 1 (2019): 65–78. <https://doi.org/10.5055/jom.2020.0554>
- Nakita, Delvi Salwa, and Syah Wardi. "Analisis Politik Hukum Terhadap Penerapan Asas Keadilan Dalam Hukum Islam Di Indonesia." *Syariah Law and Justice Journal* 1, no. 1 (2025): 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.30821/slj.v1i1.1>
- Picó-Gutiérrez, Víctor, Federico E. González-Ramírez, and Luis A. Escudero-Gómez. "From Segregation to Fragmentation: Mapping the Recent Global Literature." *Urban Science* 9, no. 4 (2025): 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.3390/urbansci9040098>
- Polanyi, Karl. *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2001.
- Pratama, Syahrul, and M Syaikhul Arif. "Nilai-Nilai Qurban Dalam Perspektif Ibadah, Ekonomi, Dan Sosial." *Al-Mizan: Jurnal Ekonomi Syariah* 7, no. 1 (2024): 43–53. <https://doi.org/10.54459/almizan.v7i1.655>
- Purwanto, Yedi, Alfiyah Nur Fitriani, Syachrial, and Abdul Aziz. "The Influence of Innovation of Sacrificial Worship Services and Digital Marketing on Millennial and Gen Z Donation Tendencies." *Journal Islamic Philanthropy and Social Finance* 6, no. 1 (2024): 83–93. https://doi.org/10.24191/jipsf/v6n12024_83-93
- Randolph, Gregory F and Michael Storper. "Is Urbanisation in the Global South Fundamentally Different? Comparative Global Urban Analysis for the 21st Century." *Urban Studies* 60, no. 1 (January 2023): 3–25. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00420980211067926>
- Rimé, Bernard, and Dario Páez. "Why We Gather: A New Look, Empirically Documented, at Émile Durkheim's Theory of Collective Assemblies and Collective Effervescence." *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 18, no. 6 (2023): 1306–30. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17456916221146388>
- Rogers, Megan, and Mary Ellen Konieczny. "Does Religion Always Help the Poor? Variations in Religion and Social Class in the West and Societies in the Global South." *Palgrave Communications* 4, no. 1 (2018): 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-018-0135-3>
- Roohi, Sanam, Catherine Larouche, and Leilah Vevaina. "Transnational Giving and Evolving Religious, Ethnic and Political Formations in the Global South." *Ethnography* 24, no. 3 (September 2023): 303–15. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14661381221134434>
- Sabiq, Muhammad, and Arisnawawi Arisnawawi. "SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND RELIGIOUS SPIRITUALITY: The Case of Tharîqah Khalwatiyah Samman in Maros Regency." *MIQOT: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 49, no. 2 (2025): 469. <https://doi.org/10.30821/miqot.v49i2.1433>
- Safii, Safii, Nur Wakhidah, Rd. Mulyadhi Kartanegara, Abdul Jamil, and Sardjuningsih Sardjuningsih. "Faith, Ritual, and Social Responsibility: Community-Based Public Theology in the Haul Guru Sekumpul." *Ulumuna: Journal of Islamic Studies* 30, no. 1 (2026): 30–59. <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v30i1.1853>
- Sánchez-Miranda, María del Carmen, José Luis Anta-Félez, Romina Grana, and Rubén

- Gregorio Pérez-García. "Critical Reflection on Inequality and Precariousness in Contemporary Society: Reconstructing Connections from Social Intervention." *Education Sciences* 14, no. 4 (2024): 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.3390/educsci14040379>
- Sani, Abu-Ubaida, Musa Shehu, and Babangida Bazango. "From Communal Reciprocity to Social Fragmentation: The Erosion of Traditional Hausa Social Cohesion in Northern Nigeria." *Middle East Research Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 5, no. 04 (2025): 104–11. <https://doi.org/10.36348/merjhss.2025.v05i04.001>
- Selimoviæ-Fijuljanin, Amra, Admir Meškoviæ, and Šejma Aydin. "Islamic Social FinTech in Europe: Behavioral Intention to Adopt Blockchain-Based Zakat Platforms." *Religions* 17, no. 1 (2026): 78. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel17010078>
- Siregar, Idris, Ismi Aulia Palem, and Naini Anggreini. "Menguak Hikmah Di Balik Ibadah Qurban." *Semantik: Jurnal Riset Ilmu Pendidikan, Bahasa Dan Budaya* 2, no. 3 (2024): 173–86. <https://doi.org/10.61132/semantik.v2i3.789>
- Sjahrir, Effa Ratna. "Muslim's Preference to the Online Services of Aqiqah and Qurban Ibadah." *Journal of Islamic Management Studies (JIMS)* 7, no. 2 (2024): 20–35.
- Sulaeman, Sulaeman, M. Ridwan, Irta Sulastri, Anasufi Banawi, Nur Salam, Darma Darma, and Eman Wahyudi Kasim. "Muslim Communities' Identity Transformation through the Pela Gandong Ritual Communication in Moluccas Immanuel Church, Indonesia." *Contemporary Islam* 16, no. 2–3 (2022): 225–57. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-022-00489-3>
- Sultan, Benny. "The Contributions of Islamic and Institutions To Modern Indonesian." *Pagaruyuang Law Journal* 7, no. 1 (2023): 207–21. <https://doi.org/10.31869/plj.v7i1.4567>
- Susanto, Dedi, Risnita, and M. Syahrani Jailani. "Teknik Pemeriksaan Keabsahan Data Dalam Penelitian Ilmiah." *Jurnal QOSIM Jurnal Pendidikan Sosial & Humaniora* 1, no. 1 (2023): 53–61. <https://doi.org/10.61104/jq.v1i1.60>
- Syarifudin, Fajar, Hermina Nurhasanah, Serly Nurmayanti, and Muhammad Jamaluddin Alwasi. "Ibn Khaldun's Thought on Leadership and Economic Governance: Relevance to Sustainable Development." *CITANGKOLO: Contemporary Issues in Management, Governance, Knowledge, and Leadership Opportunities* 1, no. 1 (2025): 46–60. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.19351735>
- Voeykov, M. "The State, Market Economy and Civil Society." *Obshchestvo i Ekonomika*, no. 10 (2022): 17–32. <https://doi.org/10.31857/S020736760022706-5>
- Wardi, Syah, and Irfa Walidi. "Diskursus Pengamalan Berqurban Menurut LDII dan Al Washliyah; Berqurban Secara Berjama'Ah (Patungan)." *Islamijah: Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* 2, no. 1 (2021): 29. <https://doi.org/10.30821/islamijah.v2i1.14679>
- Xygalatas, Dimitris, Panagiotis Mitkidis, Ronald Fischer, Paul Reddish, Joshua Skewes, Armin W. Geertz, Andreas Roepstorff, and Joseph Bulbulia. "Extreme Rituals Promote Prosociality." *Psychological Science* 24, no. 8 (2013): 1602–5. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797612472910>

Yin, Robert K. *Case Study Research and Applications: Design and Methods*. California: SAGE Publications, 2017.

Zenrif, Muchammad Fauzan, Fathul Lubabin Nuqul, M. Lutfi Mustofa, and Achmad Barizi Barizi. "The Reconstruction of Social Sufism Studies: Quranic Sufism as the Basis of Internalizing Social Character and Identity." *Ulumuna: Journal of Islamic Studies* 28, no. 2 (2024): 620–54. <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v28i2.1113>

Endnotes:

¹ Iran Guerrero Andradea, Águeda G.Venegas de la Torre, and Judith E.Moctezuma Montaña, “La Matriz de La Diferenciación Social: Apuntes Para La Comprensión de Los Procesos de Desintegración En Las Sociedades Modernas,” *Edähi Boletín Científico de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades Del ICSHu* 11, no. 22 (2023): 84–91, <https://doi.org/10.29057/icshu.v11i22.10621>; Abu-Ubaida Sani, Musa Shehu, and Babangida Bazango, “From Communal Reciprocity to Social Fragmentation: The Erosion of Traditional Hausa Social Cohesion in Northern Nigeria,” *Middle East Research Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 5, no. 04 (2025): 104–11, <https://doi.org/10.36348/merjhss.2025.v05i04.001>; Gregory F Randolph and Michael Storper, “Is Urbanisation in the Global South Fundamentally Different? Comparative Global Urban Analysis for the 21st Century,” *Urban Studies* 60, no. 1 (2023): 3–25, <https://doi.org/10.1177/00420980211067926>

² María del Carmen Sánchez-Miranda et al., “Critical Reflection on Inequality and Precariousness in Contemporary Society: Reconstructing Connections from Social Intervention,” *Education Sciences* 14, no. 4 (2024): 1–14, <https://doi.org/10.3390/educsci14040379>

³ Randall Collins, *Interaction Ritual Chains* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2005).

⁴ Amar Ahmed, “Consuming Eid Al-Adha: Constructing and Expressing the Muslim Identity,” *Poligrafi* 25, no. 99–100 (2020): 117–43, <https://doi.org/10.35469/poligrafi.2020.228>; Damanhuri Basyir, “The Practice of Qurban: Integrating Economic, Social, and Environmental Dimensions,” *El-Sunan: Journal of Hadith and Religious Studies* 2, no. 2 (2024): 156–65, <https://doi.org/10.22373/el-sunan.v2i2.5950>

⁵ Fajar Syarifudin et al., “Ibn Khaldun’s Thought on Leadership and Economic Governance: Relevance to Sustainable Development,” *CITANGKOLO: Contemporary Issues in Management, Governance, Knowledge, and Leadership Opportunities* 1, no. 1 (2025): 46–60, <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.19351735>

⁶ Tamrin Fathoni, “Konsep Solidaritas Sosial Dalam Masyarakat Modern Perspektif Émile Durkheim,” *Journal Of Community Development and Disaster Management* 6, no. 2 (2024): 129–47, <https://doi.org/10.37680/jcd.v6i2.6402>

⁷ Khadiq, “Transformation of Islamic Religious Practices in the Digital Era,” *Jurnal Dakwah* 24, no. 2 (2023): 175–92, <https://doi.org/10.14421/jd.2023.24205>; Yedi Purwanto et al., “The Influence of Innovation of Sacrificial Worship Services and Digital Marketing on Millennial and Gen Z Donation Tendencies,” *Journal Islamic Philanthropy and Social Finance* 6, no. 1 (2024): 83–93, https://doi.org/10.24191/jipsf/v6n12024_83-93

⁸ Massimo Leone, “Technology and Sacrifice,” *Religions* 15, no. 6 (2024): 1–17, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel15060692>; Effa Ratna Sjahir, “Muslim’s Preference to the Online Services of Aqiqh and Qurban Ibadah,” *Journal of Islamic Management Studies (JIMS)* 7, no. 2 (2024): 20–35; Syah Wardi and Irfa Walid, “Diskursus Pengamalan Berqurban Menurut LDII Dan Al Washliyah; Berqurban Secara Berjama’ah (Patungan),” *Islamijah: Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* 2, no. 1 (2021): 29–42, <https://doi.org/10.30821/islamijah.v2i1.14679>

⁹ Max Gallien, Umair Javed, and Vanessa van den Boogaard, “Zakat, Non-State Welfare Provision and Redistribution in Times of Crisis: Evidence from the Covid-19 Pandemic,” *Studies in Comparative International Development* 61, no. 1 (2026): 34–60, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12116-024-09447-x>

¹⁰ Sani, Shehu, and Bazango, “From Communal Reciprocity to Social Fragmentation: The Erosion of Traditional Hausa Social Cohesion in Northern Nigeria”; Sánchez-Miranda et al., “Critical Reflection on Inequality and Precariousness in Contemporary Society: Reconstructing Connections from Social Intervention”; Delvi Salwa Nakita and Syah Wardi, “Analisis Politik Hukum Terhadap Penerapan Asas Keadilan Dalam Hukum Islam Di Indonesia,” *Syariah Law and Justice Journal* 1, no. 1 (2025): 1–22, <https://doi.org/10.30821/slj.v1i1.1>

¹¹ Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*

(Boston: Beacon Press, 2001); Safii Safii et al., “Faith, Ritual, and Social Responsibility: Community-Based Public Theology in the Haul Guru Sekumpul,” *Ulumuna: Journal of Islamic Studies* 30, no. 1 (2026): 30–59, <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v30i1.1853>; Basyir, “The Practice of Qurban: Integrating Economic, Social, and Environmental Dimensions.”

¹² Muchammad Fauzan Zenrif et al., “The Reconstruction of Social Sufism Studies: Quranic Sufism as the Basis of Internalizing Social Character and Identity,” *Ulumuna: Journal of Islamic Studies* 28, no. 2 (2024): 620–54, <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v28i2.1113>

¹³ John W. Creswell and Cheryl N. Poth, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*, 4th ed. (California: SAGE Publications, 2016); Lexy J. Moleong, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif* (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2019).

¹⁴ Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research and Applications: Design and Methods* (California: SAGE Publications, 2017).

¹⁵ Anna Neya Kazanskaia, “Informed Consent in Non-Profit Research: Principles, Challenges, and Practices,” *NEYA Global Journal of Non-Profit Studies*, 2025, <https://doi.org/10.64357/neya-gjnps-vz-imp-dt-cm-str-03>

¹⁶ Matthew B. Miles, A. Michael Huberman, and Johnny Saldana, *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook* (California: SAGE Publications, 2013).

¹⁷ Dedi Susanto, Risnita, and M. Syahran Jailani, “Teknik Pemeriksaan Keabsahan Data Dalam Penelitian Ilmiah,” *Jurnal QOSIM Jurnal Pendidikan Sosial & Humaniora* 1, no. 1 (2023): 53–61, <https://doi.org/10.61104/jq.v1i1.60>

¹⁸ Muhammad Latif Fauzi and Yanwar Pribadi, “Muslim Youth Between Pragmatism, Islamic Concern, And Social Piety The Case of the Da’wah Movement in Solo, Indonesia,” *Ulumuna: Journal of Islamic Studies* 28, no. 2 (2024): 798–824, <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v28i2.877>; Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*; Andrade, Torre, and Montaño, “La Matriz de La Diferenciación Social: Apuntes Para La Comprensión de Los Procesos de Desintegración En Las Sociedades Modernas.”

¹⁹ Craig Gundersen, Lora Iannotti, and Frederic Leroy, “Food Security at Risk: The Consequences of Limiting Animal Source Foods,” *Animal Frontiers* 15, no. 1 (2025): 24–33, <https://doi.org/10.1093/af/vfae030>

²⁰ Idris Siregar, Ismi Aulia Palem, and Naini Anggreini, “Menguak Hikmah Di Balik Ibadah Qurban,” *Semantik: Jurnal Riset Ilmu Pendidikan, Bahasa Dan Budaya* 2, no. 3 (2024): 173–86, <https://doi.org/10.61132/semantik.v2i3.789>; Sani, Shehu, and Bazango, “From Communal Reciprocity to Social Fragmentation: The Erosion of Traditional Hausa Social Cohesion in Northern Nigeria.”

²¹ Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, ed. Mark Sydney Cladis (United States: Oxford University Press, 2001); Farrid Mustofa, “Religion, Identity and Solidarity: Emile Durkheim’s Perspective,” *Jurnal Penelitian* 16, no. 1 (2019): 65–78, <https://doi.org/10.5055/jom.2020.0554>; Bernard Rimé and Dario Páez, “Why We Gather: A New Look, Empirically Documented, at Émile Durkheim’s Theory of Collective Assemblies and Collective Effervescence,” *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 18, no. 6 (2023): 1306–30, <https://doi.org/10.1177/17456916221146388>

²² Sánchez-Miranda et al., “Critical Reflection on Inequality and Precariousness in Contemporary Society: Reconstructing Connections from Social Intervention.”; Rahayu Mardikaningsih, “Urbanization and Social Inequality: Challenges in Building Social Cohesion in a City-Based Environment,” *Journal of Social Science Studies* 1, no. 1 (2021): 135–40, <https://doi.org/https://jos3journals.id/index.php/jos3/article/view/43>

²³ Fred Block and Margaret R. Somers, *The Power of Market Fundamentalism Karl Polanyi’s Critique* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016); Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*.

²⁴ Airlangga Surya Kusuma, Fadhli Suko Wiryanto, and Purwanto Widodo, “Analisis Kontroversi Aksi Cepat Tanggap Berdasarkan Perspektif Maqashid Syariah,” *Jurnal Indonesia:*

Manajemen Informatika Dan Komunikasi 5, no. 3 (2024): 2484–95, <https://doi.org/10.35870/jimik.v5i3.949>

²⁵ Basyir, “The Practice of Qurban: Integrating Economic, Social, and Environmental Dimensions.”; Syahrul Pratama and M Syaikhul Arif, “Nilai-Nilai Qurban Dalam Perspektif Ibadah, Ekonomi, Dan Sosial,” *Al-Mizan: Jurnal Ekonomi Syariah* 7, no. 1 (2024): 43–53, <https://doi.org/10.54459/almizan.v7i1.655>

²⁶ Megan Rogers and Mary Ellen Konieczny, “Does Religion Always Help the Poor? Variations in Religion and Social Class in the West and Societies in the Global South,” *Palgrave Communications* 4, no. 1 (2018): 1–11, <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-018-0135-3>; Zulfan Arief Fadillah and Naeni Amanulloh, “Modal Sosial Dalam Hari Raya Kurban: Pengembangan Kepercayaan Mudhoi Terhadap Lasznas PPPA Daarul Qur’an Jakarta,” *Muqoddima: Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Riset Sosiologi* 3, no. 2 (2022): 105–18, <https://doi.org/10.47776/10.47776/mjprs.003.02.04>

²⁷ Michèle Lamont, “Toward a Comparative Sociology of Valuation and Evaluation,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 38, (2012): 201–21, <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-070308-120022>; Ana Mijia and Michael Parzer, “Symbolic Boundaries and the Negative Classifications of the ‘Successful Other’ at the Intersection of Ethnicity, Religion, Gender, and Refugeeess,” *European Journal of Cultural and Political Sociology* 11, no. 4 (2024): 558–84, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23254823.2024.2335164>

²⁸ Ahmed, “Consuming Eid Al-Adha: Constructing and Expressing the Muslim Identity”; Fathoni, “Konsep Solidaritas Sosial Dalam Masyarakat Modern Perspektif Émile Durkheim.”

²⁹ Collins, *Interaction Ritual Chains*.

³⁰ Dimitris Xygalatas et al., “Extreme Rituals Promote Prosociality,” *Psychological Science* 24, no. 8 (2013): 1602–5, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797612472910>; Cristina-Mihaela Eksioglu, “How Rituals and Practices Can Influence Society in Émile Durkheim’s View; Example of Intercultural Communities from Romanian Society,” *European Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies* 9, no. 2 (2024): 102–8, <https://doi.org/10.26417/qdjds94>

³¹ Víctor Picó-Gutiérrez, Federico E. González-Ramírez, and Luis A. Escudero-Gómez, “From Segregation to Fragmentation: Mapping the Recent Global Literature,” *Urban Science* 9, no. 4 (2025): 1–16, <https://doi.org/10.3390/urbansci9040098>; Sani, Shehu, and Bazango, “From Communal Reciprocity to Social Fragmentation: The Erosion of Traditional Hausa Social Cohesion in Northern Nigeria.”

³² Khadiq, “Transformation of Islamic Religious Practices in the Digital Era”; Leone, “Technology and Sacrifice.”

³³ Benny Sultan, “The Contributions of Islamic and Institutions To Modern Indonesian,” *Pagaruyuang Law Journal* 7, no. 1 (2023): 207–21, <https://doi.org/10.31869/plj.v7i1.4567>; Sjahrir, “Muslim’s Preference to the Online Services of Aqiqh and Qurban Ibadah.”

³⁴ Lamont, “Toward a Comparative Sociology of Valuation and Evaluation”; Sani, Shehu, and Bazango, “From Communal Reciprocity to Social Fragmentation: The Erosion of Traditional Hausa Social Cohesion in Northern Nigeria.”

³⁵ Andradea, Torreb, and Montañó, “La Matriz de La Diferenciación Social: Apuntes Para La Comprensión de Los Procesos de Desintegración En Las Sociedades Modernas.”

³⁶ Collins, *Interaction Ritual Chains*; Eksioglu, “How Rituals and Practices Can Influence Society in Émile Durkheim’s View; Example of Intercultural Communities from Romanian Society.”

³⁷ Anjum Alvi and Lukas Werth, “Generosity as Ethics: The Double Transaction in Marcel Mauss’s The Gift,” *Current Anthropology* 65, no. 6 (2024): 1010–27, <https://doi.org/10.1086/733308>

³⁸ Lamont, “Toward a Comparative Sociology of Valuation and Evaluation”; Ahmed, “Consuming Eid Al-Adha: Constructing and Expressing the Muslim Identity.”

³⁹ Syarifudin et al., “Ibn Khaldun’s Thought on Leadership and Economic Governance: Relevance to Sustainable Development.”

⁴⁰ Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*; Basyir, "The Practice of Qurban: Integrating Economic, Social, and Environmental Dimensions."

⁴¹ Siregar, Palembang, and Anggreini, "Menguak Hikmah Di Balik Ibadah Qurban"; Picó-Gutiérrez, González-Ramírez, and Escudero-Gómez, "From Segregation to Fragmentation: Mapping the Recent Global Literature"; Sulaeman Sulaeman et al., "Muslim Communities' Identity Transformation through the Pela Gandong Ritual Communication in Moluccas Immanuel Church, Indonesia," *Contemporary Islam* 16, no. 2–3 (2022): 225–57, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-022-00489-3>

⁴² Khadiq, "Transformation of Islamic Religious Practices in the Digital Era"; Leone, "Technology and Sacrifice."

⁴³ Purwanto et al., "The Influence of Innovation of Sacrificial Worship Services and Digital Marketing on Millennial and Gen Z Donation Tendencies"; Khadiq, "Transformation of Islamic Religious Practices in the Digital Era."

⁴⁴ Lamont, "Toward a Comparative Sociology of Valuation and Evaluation."

⁴⁵ Amra Selimoviæ-Fijuljanin, Admir Meškoviæ, and Šejma Aydin, "Islamic Social FinTech in Europe: Behavioral Intention to Adopt Blockchain-Based Zakat Platforms," *Religions* 17, no. 1 (2026): 78, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel17010078>

⁴⁶ Collins, *Interaction Ritual Chains*; Leone, "Technology and Sacrifice."

⁴⁷ Andradea, Torreb, and Montaña, "La Matriz de La Diferenciación Social: Apuntes Para La Comprensión de Los Procesos de Desintegración En Las Sociedades Modernas"; Sani, Shehu, and Bazango, "From Communal Reciprocity to Social Fragmentation: The Erosion of Traditional Hausa Social Cohesion in Northern Nigeria."

⁴⁸ Sjahrir, "Muslim's Preference to the Online Services of Aqiqh and Qurban Ibadah."

⁴⁹ Mustofa, "Religion, Identity and Solidarity: Emile Durkheim's Perspective"; Sultan, "The Contributions of Islamic and Institutions To Modern Indonesian."

⁵⁰ Leone, "Technology and Sacrifice."

⁵¹ Rogers and Konieczny, "Does Religion Always Help the Poor? Variations in Religion and Social Class in the West and Societies in the Global South"; Fadillah and Amanulloh, "Modal Sosial Dalam Hari Raya Kurban: Pengembangan Kepercayaan Mudhohi Terhadap Lasznas PPPA Daarul Qur'an Jakarta"; Sanam Roohi, Catherine Larouche, and Leilah Vevaina, "Transnational Giving and Evolving Religious, Ethnic and Political Formations in the Global South," *Ethnography* 24, no. 3 (2023): 303–15, <https://doi.org/10.1177/14661381221134434>

⁵² Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*; Basyir, "The Practice of Qurban: Integrating Economic, Social, and Environmental Dimensions"; Mehmet Asutay and Isa Yilmaz, "Financialisation of Islamic Finance: A Polanyian Approach on the Hegemony of Market Logic over Islamic Logic," *New Political Economy* 30, no. 2 (2025): 267–86, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13563467.2024.2424170>

⁵³ Picó-Gutiérrez, González-Ramírez, and Escudero-Gómez, "From Segregation to Fragmentation: Mapping the Recent Global Literature."

⁵⁴ Mardikaningsih, "Urbanization and Social Inequality: Challenges in Building Social Cohesion in a City-Based Environment"; Sani, Shehu, and Bazango, "From Communal Reciprocity to Social Fragmentation: The Erosion of Traditional Hausa Social Cohesion in Northern Nigeria."

⁵⁵ Basyir, "The Practice of Qurban: Integrating Economic, Social, and Environmental Dimensions"; Pratama and Arif, "Nilai-Nilai Qurban Dalam Perspektif Ibadah, Ekonomi, Dan Sosial."

⁵⁶ Ahmed, "Consuming Eid Al-Adha: Constructing and Expressing the Muslim Identity"; Basyir, "The Practice of Qurban: Integrating Economic, Social, and Environmental Dimensions."

⁵⁷ Mustofa, "Religion, Identity and Solidarity: Emile Durkheim's Perspective"; Sánchez-Miranda et al., "Critical Reflection on Inequality and Precariousness in Contemporary Society: Reconstructing Connections from Social Intervention."

⁵⁸ Muhammad Sabiq and Arisnawawi Arisnawawi, "SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND RELIGIOUS SPIRITUALITY: The Case of Tharīqah Khalwatiyah Samman in Maros Regency," *MIQOT: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 49, no. 2 (2025): 469, <https://doi.org/10.30821/miqot.v49i2.1433>; Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*.

⁵⁹ Fathoni, "Konsep Solidaritas Sosial Dalam Masyarakat Modern Perspektif Émile Durkheim"; Sani, Shehu, and Bazango, "From Communal Reciprocity to Social Fragmentation: The Erosion of Traditional Hausa Social Cohesion in Northern Nigeria."

⁶⁰ Collins, *Interaction Ritual Chains*.

⁶¹ Andradea, Torreb, and Montaña, "La Matriz de La Diferenciación Social: Apuntes Para La Comprensión de Los Procesos de Desintegración En Las Sociedades Modernas"; Picó-Gutiérrez, González-Ramírez, and Escudero-Gómez, "From Segregation to Fragmentation: Mapping the Recent Global Literature."

⁶² Rogers and Konieczny, "Does Religion Always Help the Poor? Variations in Religion and Social Class in the West and Societies in the Global South"; Sultan, "The Contributions of Islamic and Institutions To Modern Indonesian."

⁶³ Lamont, "Toward a Comparative Sociology of Valuation and Evaluation."

⁶⁴ Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*; Block and Somers, *The Power of Market Fundamentalism Karl Polanyi's Critique*.

⁶⁵ M. Voeykov, "The State, Market Economy and Civil Society," *Obshchestvo i Ekonomika*, no. 10 (2022): 17–32, <https://doi.org/10.31857/S020736760022706-5>; Siregar, Palem, and Anggreini, "Menguak Hikmah Di Balik Ibadah Qurban."

⁶⁶ Basyir, "The Practice of Qurban: Integrating Economic, Social, and Environmental Dimensions"; Pratama and Arif, "Nilai-Nilai Qurban Dalam Perspektif Ibadah, Ekonomi, Dan Sosial."

⁶⁷ Khadiq, "Transformation of Islamic Religious Practices in the Digital Era"; Leone, "Technology and Sacrifice."

⁶⁸ Purwanto et al., "The Influence of Innovation of Sacrificial Worship Services and Digital Marketing on Millennial and Gen Z Donation Tendencies"; Sjahrir, "Muslim's Preference to the Online Services of Aqiqh and Qurban Ibadah."

⁶⁹ Andradea, Torreb, and Montaña, "La Matriz de La Diferenciación Social: Apuntes Para La Comprensión de Los Procesos de Desintegración En Las Sociedades Modernas"; Picó-Gutiérrez, González-Ramírez, and Escudero-Gómez, "From Segregation to Fragmentation: Mapping the Recent Global Literature."