

# CHAPTER I

## PRELIMINARY

### 1.1 Background

Since COVID-19 emerged in 2020 and 2021 worldwide, this virus has become a severe phenomenon (Taufik, 2020). Of course, this issue makes many countries, including Indonesia, impose Large-Scale Social Restrictions (PSBB), implement Psychological or Social Distancing, and work from home. This regulation refers to Law No. 6/2018 on health quarantine passed by President Joko Widodo on August 7, 2018, as a clear legal umbrella for implementing this policy. (Darmalaksana, 2020, Doramia Lumbanraja, 2020, Ajibulloh & Community, 2020). This effort aims to reduce the spread of the COVID-19 outbreak.

Physical distancing and working from home limits community activities and reduce supply and demand (Rizal & Mukaromah, 2020). With people staying at home, the production and consumption sectors were paralyzed, causing decreased labor and the community's purchasing power (consumption), increasing poverty and unemployment. The most economically affected group is the lower middle class, who work informally (Iskandar et al., 2020).

Indonesia has experienced a shock in the economic sector due to the pandemic. According to the Central Statistics Agency, Indonesia's economic growth in the first quarter of 2020 only reached 2.97%. This achievement is far below the government's projection of 4.6%. On another occasion, even CORE Executive Director Mohammad Faisal predicted that in the second quarter of 2020, there would be a contraction between -1.9% to -5%. This value is much smaller than last year, which, when viewed by the Central Statistics Agency in the first quarter of 2019, Indonesia recorded 5.07%. Hence, Indonesia is currently facing an economic recession (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2020).

Indonesia's economic growth, which did not reach the government's projections in the first quarter of 2020, hinted to the public that the pandemic threat was serious. Work from Home (WFH) and physical distancing changed people's economic patterns, such as a decrease in production figures due to massive layoffs, consumption level, and public spending began to weaken due to the reduced level of people's income during the pandemic, especially those who worked as informal workers or day laborers. If this condition continued for a long time, the projected growth in poverty in Indonesia would increase by 12.4%, or 8.5 million people would become poor.

The COVID-19 pandemic encouraged many social movements such as charity or philanthropic activities. The philanthropic movement (philanthropy) terminologically means affection towards others; generosity; charities or humanitarian entities; and may also tell, generosity, or social donations; something that shows love to humans. The term comes from the Greek-, namely *philos* (love) and *anthropos* (human being), which means a conceptualization of giving, service, and willingly associating to help others in need as an expression of love (Nasution et al., 2019; Futaqi & Machali, 2019). Robert Payton defined philanthropy to include three related activities: social services, social associations, and social derma for the public benefit (Arfandi, 2014). According to him, the purpose of philanthropy is divided into two: human behavior to overcome suffering and civic behavior to improve the quality of well-being.

The layman's understanding of philanthropy often tends to associate it with simply the charitable process, which is taken from Latin, meaning unconditional love. According to Helmut K. Anheier and Regina. A. List, in Widyawati, charity and philanthropy are distinguished in giving; charities are intended to only provide for short-term needs, while philanthropy seeks to investigate and resolve the leading cause of the problem. According to M. Dawam Rahardjo, charity is only possible if there is inequality in socio-economic

conditions (Fatoni, 2021). Charity is visible in religious societies and tends to be sectarian. Charity comes from spiritual teachings, such as Christianity and Islam. In Islam, charity is reflected in the laws of *Zakat*, *Infaq*, *Sadaqah*, and *Waqf* (ZISKAF). Charity is visible in religious societies, whereas philanthropy develops in advanced or enlightened capitalist societies, also called humanist capitalism. The tradition of giving or philanthropy comes from organization, empowerment, and politics.

During this pandemic, it is a moment for political parties to show their philanthropy to the people. This philanthropism, characterized by various non-governmental organizations sponsored by political parties, has a negative and positive impact on the party's accountability in the eyes of the public. The New Order and Reform era party system allowed parties and government officials to cooperate and form "patronage coalitions" to obtain financial resources from the state budget. Observer Marcus Mietzer on "financial patronage" in Indonesia's political system pointed out that the growing ties between political parties and government offices have resulted in "party politics commercialization." Party representatives in parliament and government offices should finance party expenditures by contributing about 40% of their salaries or channeling government projects in certain ministerial offices to party cadres. This type of "financial patronage" fundraising mechanism through political parties and government agencies became increasingly popular in the Reformation Era. In Pierre Bourdieu's capital exchange, philanthropy is part of the exchange of economic capital into cultural and political capital. By spending money on museums, art galleries, and charities, philanthropists turn new money into social, cultural, and political forces (Hammack, 2004). Economic theorists have also made interdependent preferences the focus of their theoretical giving models. In some of the earliest writings on philanthropy, Vickrey (1962) extensively discussed the role of "environmental effects" on contributions. The formal model of altruism, starting with Becker, assumed that one of the contributors' choices depends on the contributions of all others, mainly

due to the public goods aspect of charity. Other models have generalized Becker's approach to include impure altruistic motives for giving, such as the desire for praise, status, or simply the "warm light" of giving, in which impure altruism also depends on the contributions of others.

According to its nature, two forms of philanthropy are known, namely traditional philanthropy and philanthropy for social justice (social justice). Traditional philanthropy is charity-based philanthropy. Traditional philanthropic practices, or charity in general, take the form of giving for the benefit of social services, for example, the provision of philanthropists to the poor to meet the needs of food, shelter, clothing, and others. Judging by its orientation, traditional philanthropy is more individual. With this kind of orientation, to some extent, philanthropists are often precisely driven by the intention of maintaining and elevating their status and prestige in the eyes of the public. This charity model strengthens the rich's power relations with the poor. In the macro context, traditional philanthropy can only treat the ills of poverty resulting from structural injustice.

Unlike social justice philanthropy, social justice philanthropy is a form of social generosity intended to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor. The bridge is manifested to mobilize resources to support activities that challenge the injustice of structures that cause poverty and injustice. In the philanthropic concept of social justice, poverty is more driven by inequities in allocating resources and societal access to power. For this reason, social justice philanthropy is expected to encourage changes in structure and policies to favor those who are weak and minorities. In practice, social justice philanthropy creates a genuine relationship between the giver and the recipient. The philanthropic substance for social justice is also evident in its institutional and systematic change orientation. In the concept of philanthropy for social justice, the resources collected are aimed at activities that lead to social change. The primary methods are community organizing, advocacy, and public education to encourage

social change. This kind of orientation seems to align with the direction of social movement organizations generally represented by civil society organizations (civil society organizations).

The distinction between traditional philanthropy and philanthropy for social justice is often articulated as “advocacy versus service.” Traditional philanthropy only provides social service programs and tends to avoid political issues. On the contrary, philanthropy for social justice devotes its attention to various political topics, including democracy, human rights, justice, and specific interests. The allocation of resources in philanthropy for social justice is directed to organizations that actively influence the public policy process to solve social problems. The government’s limitations in dealing with the pandemic require synergistic cooperation from the government, the private sector, the community, and political parties. In this case, the Prosperous Justice Party (Indonesia: Partai Keadilan Sejahtera), one of the Islamic parties in Indonesia, is meant to help the government respond to the pandemic by forming the National Disaster Response Movement (Genta), PKS Volunteers. This movement includes services, prevention, handling, and roles in health, education, and advocacy through policies and partiality to all community groups victims of COVID-19. Victor A Pestoff mentioned that this movement is an alternative to the welfare of society. The potential support for the welfare of society that cannot be hypothesized is philanthropy. According to Vandendael, A., Hagoort, B., Van Balen, J., & Ter Meer (2013), seeing in the context of developing countries, philanthropy becomes a form of response to the limitations of the country that arise from the middle class.

The rise of political party-based charity and how Islamic parties use Islamic idioms in discussing the notion of welfare. First, attention to the role of the Islamic party, the PKS, in projecting its politically driven social imaginary through charitable foundations. The PKS has been essential in forming Islamic charities working on aid and development projects. The PKS and its young supporters try associating themselves with the “daily life” of Indonesian society

through Islamic charities, such as the brotherhood's strategy to "connect socially well with the community. An autonomous organization by the PKS is the most exciting part of social and political activism in building networks between Islamic charities, political parties, and government agencies. One of the social wings of PKS is Foundation for Justice Cares for the People Foundation (PKPU). So, the birth of the Islamic-based PKPU on the initiation cadres/elites has a strong defense from several Muslim groups, modern Muslims (relying on reason), and revivalist Muslims (purifying Islamic teachings), to maintain humanitarian work activities as the party welfare services. One of the ways PKPU works is to affiliate with several Islamic proselytizing institutions located in Indonesia's campus or university environment. The main goal is to recruit potential cadres in the campus environment who are expected to become potential young cadres. The side that can distinguish PKPU from other philanthropic institutions is that PKPU is the only national charitable institution born from political party activities (PKS) interference. PKPU is the 'child' of PKS, which is separated institutionally. PKPU is still intensively capturing and involving students and students in the partnership system for fundraising activities such as campus proselytizing organizations. This relationship is PKS' old strategy that must be maintained to regenerate.

Islamic charities associated with the PKS, such as Rumah Zakat, and the Indonesian Red Crescent Association (BSMI), serve as a way of "establishing relationships between party elites and the masses and strengthening the image as an active party in humanity and aid. With a strong political network, the PKS has been active in the national and international arenas through another 'social wing' organization called the Palestinian People's National Committee (KNRP). The KNRP addresses the political issues in Palestine and aims to support any Palestinian efforts to free themselves from Israeli occupation. Together with other Islamic mass organizations in Indonesia, the KNRP actively held rallies, fundraising, and distributed Palestinian aid by involving the PKS network in Egypt.

Not only parties with Islamic ideology but parties with nationalist and secular ideologies also began to have a lot of philanthropic activities even though their actions and attitudes were incidental, unsystematic and unprofessional. The philanthropic activities of political parties (political parties) have various activities to respond to welfare problems. For example, the Golkar Party has the GOJO (Jokowi Golkar Volunteer) program, which actively provides educational philanthropy in the form of books and GOZIS (People's Movement for Zakat, Infaq and Alms) as an effort to balance the rise of Islamic philanthropic activities in Indonesia. In addition, PDIP has BAMUSI (Baitul Muslimin), which is used to preach Islamic spiritual development (Latief, 2013c). The portrait, in this case, has indirectly transformed the welfare contestation.

Based on the description, it is necessary to study several important issues related to the philanthropy of the PKS party during the pandemic in assisting the government in restoring the economy and alleviating poverty. The fundamental consideration of this paper is focused on PKS as one of the Indonesian political parties with a persistent intensity in initiating social generosity activities with a more institutional design and network in managing social generosity activities.

## **1.2. Research Question**

Following the background above, this research formulated the problem that party-based Islamic charities significantly influenced the nature of philanthropic activities in Indonesia, especially during the pandemic. On the other hand, it encouraged new debates on the political issue of benevolent actions. Along with the increasing influence of Islamic factors in Indonesian politics, several political parties actively carried out social welfare activities through Islamic charitable organizations. Close ties between philanthropic organizations and political parties can lead to new patterns of Muslim social and political activism and new forms

of political clientelism. Therefore, this research will ask How does the ideology of the PKS party motivate cadres in its philanthropic movement to respond to the COVID-19 pandemic in Indonesia? Second, what is the form of philanthropy in the PKS party? Third, how are the narratives and political implications of the PKS' attention in practicing its philanthropic reasoning in electoral political interests?

### **1.3 Research Objectives and Research Benefits**

#### 1.3.1 Research Objective

Based on the research formulation, this study aims to determine the philanthropic politics of the PKS during the COVID-19 pandemic.

#### 1.3.2 Research Benefits

The theoretical benefit of this research is to develop an understanding of the political philanthropy of Islamic parties, especially the PKS party, which is also part of the public service. Furthermore, this research complements previous research on party philanthropy politics and provides input for scientific writings on philanthropic politics. The practical benefits of this research can be used as a reference in carrying out philanthropic politics, a public service.