PROSPEROUS JUSTICE PARTY'S (PKS) POLITICAL PHILANTHROPY DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

This study aims to examine the political elections of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) during the Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia. The method used in this study is qualitative research. The data sources in this study were taken from primary and secondary data. Primary data is taken from the results of predetermined interviews. Then secondary data are taken from social media relevant to the research topic. As for the findings in this study, First, the form of philanthropy of the PKS during the Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia, namely in the form of provision, services, advocacy, and empowerment as well as associations. In addition, the author also finds about the narrative and political implications of the PKS Party's attention in practicing its philanthropic reasons for electoral political interests; first, that the philanthropic history within a political party is political in a broad sense either used as a way of obtaining votes or vote-getters as an effort to build, expand and retain constituents or show the politics of concern and concern. Secondly, the meaning of philanthropy is often very strongly identified with something artificial and symbolic rather than showing the continued character of the welfare of the initiative because few parties have succeeded in building philanthropic institutions very professionally, which is also one of the issues that the professionalization of the philanthropic movement requires a clear distinction that is political and that or ideological for society to give confidence to the community of institutions the preceding.

Keywords: Philanthropy; Pandemic; the PKS party; Indonesian.

I. Introduction

2020 and 2021 were tough years for the world when Covid-19 emerged, and this virus became a severe phenomenon that diverted the attention of many people in almost all parts of the world (Taufik, 2020). Of course, this makes people uneasy, so the Indonesian Government must impose Large-Scale Social Restrictions (PSBB) rules, implement Psychical 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 was made to reduce the spread of the Covid-19 outbreak.

The implementation of Physical distancing and work from home has an impact on limiting community activities. It will decrease aggregate supply and demand in the economy, reducing supply and demand (Rizal & Mukaromah, 2020). The condition of the people who only stay in the Ruma will paralyze the production

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and consumption sectors of the people. This impacts the use of labor which decreases, and the community's purchasing power (consumption) also decreases so that poverty and unemployment increase. The most economically affected group is the lower middle class, who work informally (Iskandar et al., 2020).

Indonesia is one of the many countries that have experienced a shock in the economic sector due to the Covid-19 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 threat of the Covid-19 pandemic is not just a thumbs up. The implementation of Work from Home (WFH) and Physical Distancing has resulted in changes in people's economic patterns, such as a decrease in production figures due to the number of workers who are forced to be laid off, the level of consumption, and public spending has begun to weaken due to the reduced level of people's income during the pandemic, especially those who work as informal workers or day laborers. If it continues for a long time, this will result in an increase in the projected growth in poverty in Indonesia by 12.4%, or as many as 8.5 million people will become poor.

The situation during the Covid-19 pandemic is behind the emergence of various social movements. One of the social movements that emerged during the pandemic was the social movement in the form of charity (giving) or philanthropic activity. 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 the practice of giving, service (service), and association (association) willingly to help others in need as an expression of love. (Nasution et al., 2019; Futaqi & Machali, 2019). Robert Payton defines philanthropy to include three related activities: social services, social associations, and social derma for the public benefit (Arfandi, 2014). The purpose of philanthropy, according to him, 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, between Charity and Philanthropy is distinguished in terms of the purpose of 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, Karitas karitas is only possible if there is inequality in socio-economic conditions (Fatoni, 2021). Karitas is very visible in religious societies and tends to be sectarian. In general, the understanding of karitas-karitas comes from spiritual teachings, such as Christianity and Islam. In Islam, the knowledge of Caritas is reflected in the laws of Zakat, Infaq, Sadaqah, and Waqf (ZISKAF). Karitas is visible in religious societies, whereas philanthropy develops in advanced enlightened capitalist societies, also called humanist capitalism. The tradition of giving or philanthropy organization, comes from empowerment, and politics.

During this pandemic, it is a moment for political parties to show their philanthropy to the people. This philanthropism, characterized by the emergence of various nongovernmental organizations sponsored by political parties, has a negative and positive impact on the party's accountability in the eyes of the public. This is partly due to the party system in Indonesia. The party system in the New Order Reform era allowed parties 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 points out that the growing ties between political parties and government offices have resulted in "party commercialization." politics 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 19621 gives an extensive discussion of the role of environmental effects" on contributions. The formal model of altruism, starting with Becker, assumes 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 karitas 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 Caritas 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, it is believed that poverty is more caused by inequities in allocating resources and access to power in society. 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. To encourage social change, the primary methods are community organizing, advocacy, and public education. 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 (PKS), one of the Islamic parties in Indonesia, is here 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 the presence of this movement is nothing but an alternative to the welfare of society. The potential support for the welfare of society that cannot be hypothesized is philanthropy. 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 politically driven projecting its 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 tried 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. The establishment of an autonomous organization by the PKS is the most exciting part of the social and political activism of the PKS in terms of building networks between charities. political parties, 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 of PKS 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 engine of the 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 none other than to recruit potential cadres who are in the campus environment and are expected to be able to become potential young cadres in the future. 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. This means that PKPU is a 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. It can be said that this relationship is an old strategy of the PKS that must be maintained to carry out regeneration.

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 another 'social arenas through 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.

Based on the description of the research background above, 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 the study of the prosperous justice

party is that the PKS is 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 in Indonesia.

Following the background explained above, this research formulates the problem that the emergence of party-based Islamic charities has had a significant impact on the nature of philanthropic activities in Indonesia, especially during the pandemic. On the other hand, it encourages new debates on the political issue of benevolent actions. Along with the increasing influence of Islamic factors in Indonesian politics, several political parties actively carry 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. This is where this research will ask the first question, what is the state of elections in the PKS party? Third, what are the narratives and political implications of the PKS Party's attention in practicing its philanthropic reasoning in electoral political interests?

An Integrated Theory of Party Goals and Party Change

Seiler defines a political party as an organization that aims to mobilize individuals in collective action against other groups or form a coalition with parties sitting in government. Common interests must justify this collective action (MY.Tiyas Tinov, 2016). A political party is a group of individuals structured to form an institution that aims to legitimately seize political power (institutionalization of the use of voting rights that runs regularly). Through the power he has achieved, the people in the political party can

finally carry out the programs of political parties. Like an organization, political parties also have certain principles, goals, ideologies, and missions translated into political party programs.

In Robert Harmel and Kenneth Janda's work on "an integrated theory of party goals and party change," party goals and party 'change' have been prominent in research on political parties (Harmel & Janda, 1994). This concern for party goals is reflected in the work of Strom (1990), Laver, M., & Schofield (1998), Budge, I., & Keman (1990), and Bergman, T., & Strøm (2011), which analyze the strategies of parties looking for voice, looking for office and looking for a policy. This theory develops about party change that uses party goals as the central concept in explaining the changes of each party. This view of party change has also appeared in earlier literature, Kirchheimer's (1966) familiar thesis that many western parties have shifted their position on the issue gradually after World War II, becoming less ideological and more 'catch-all' in nature. Kirchheimer's thesis is confirmed by Thomas's (1975) longitudinal study of 54 parties in 12 countries, which shows a 'dramatic narrowing in the scope of domestic political conflict' on issue positions for nearly a century.

There is considerable validity to viewing party change as a gradual process of adaptation. The cross-country research supervised by Katz and Mair assumed that parties from the 1960s to 1990s 'changed' and 'adapted to the challenges' posed by their changing environments. . However, in contrast to this persistent view of party change, some scholars have described examples of sudden changes in party ideology for electoral gain. In the thinking of Strom, Deschouwer, Panebianco, Robert Harmel, and Kenneth Janda, there are four possible treatments of the main goals for political parties.

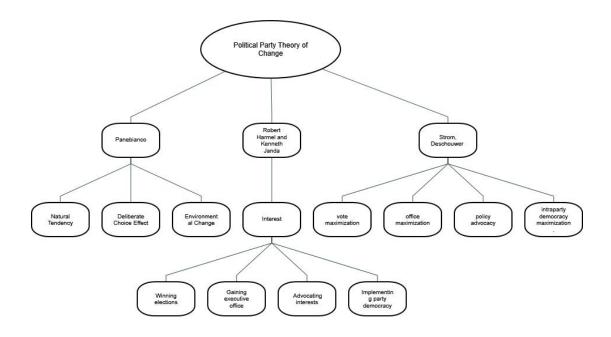


Figure 1: Political Party Theory of Change

Source: Processed by Researchers

Based on the figure above, it can be seen that Panebianco and, Strom, deschouwer have an integrated the theory of change and the goals of political parties, which Robert Harmel and Kenneth Janda then conceptualized into four classifications of plans for changing political parties, namely, Winning Elections, Gaining Executive Office, Advocating Interest and Implementing Party Democracy.

By allowing multiple goals in our theory, we can explain some seemingly irrational actions taken by parties or factions within the party that arise when observers assume that parties are pursuing only one goal of winning votes or that all parties are pursuing elections as an objective—they are primary. The theory of party change must include the concept of party organization. As an organization, the party has several hierarchies of authority and division of labor. Our approach recognizes five types of organizational actors.

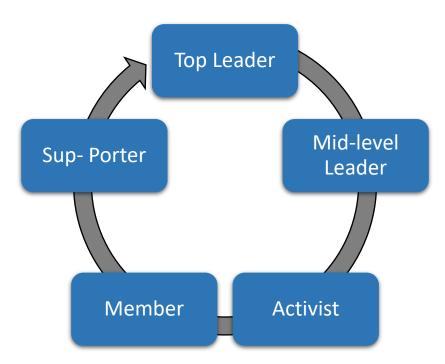


Figure 2: Organizational Actors

From the figure above, five stages can be seen: first, the top leader is the central national decision-maker of the party. Second, mid-level leaders lead the divisions. Third, activists who routinely carry out party operations. Place members who occasionally help the party with votes, funds, or activities and the five supporters who at least vote for a party in elections. Some of these actors (of any type) may consist of a party faction, which Zariski defines as 'any intraparty combination, group or grouping whose members share a common sense of identity and common goals are organized to collaborate as a difference. Within the party to achieve their goals. For the theory of political parties, the author adopts the approach of Robert Harmel and Kenneth Janda as proposed by Panebianco and Strom, Deschouwer.

Islamic Parties

The birth of Islamic political parties in Indonesia is not free but is based on several factors. One of the factors is that there is hope from a group of people who want to continue Islamic proselytizing through political channels (Adawiyah, 2019). The presence of Islamic political parties in Indonesia has been proven to influence the quality of democracy directly. However, the performance of Islamic parties

must still be further improved in terms of quality, capacity, and performance to realize an increasingly substantive democracy. (Warjiyati, 2019). An Islamic political party is an organization of a group of people who make Islam the basis of their struggle to channel Muslims' ideas, aspirations, and aspirations into a count. Some parties make principles of the party (Amin Nurdin, Ali Thaufan Dwi Saputra, 2018; Ikrar, 2016).

The Islamic Party is a public organization that fights for Islamic values in different contexts by controlling public offices in government structures in both the legislative and executive realms (Romli, 2016). Following the election process by selling separable issues on Islamic values is a way to gain that power. Furthermore, according to Al-Hamdi, as a party that represents the interests of Muslims and uses Islamic symbols, some principles musty be musty the Islamic party and used as a basis for all organizational activities. First, it uses the universal values of the Qur'an and as-Sunnah as guidelines. Second deliberation. Third, be fair. Fourth, the differences and avoiding divisions (Al-Hamdi, 2013).

There are significant differences between Islamic parties and other parties (Putra et al., 2021; Yumitro, 2014). In terms of principles,

Islamic parties make Islamic teachings derived from the holy Kitab as party principles or make Islam the spirit of struggle of cadres (Addiansyah, 2019; Hatta, 2013). Not stopping there, the Islamic party also wants Indonesia to become an Islamic state (Mikail, 2015; Romli, 2016; Sholikin, 2013). In Regrading, most Muslim party supporters come from among Muslims with several variants, whether abangan Muslims, devout Muslims or students, and elite Muslims (Mayrudin, Y. M. A., & Akbar, 2019). This is undoubtedly greatly influenced by the number of people in Indonesia, the majority of whom are Muslims. Thus, Islamic parties have their voter bases, such as PKB and PPP, which have supporters from among nahdhatul ulama, PAN, which Muhammadiyah supports, PBB by Persis, and PKS, which is supported by tarbiah movement groups in urban areas (Al-Hamdi, 2013)

The ideology of the Islamic Party

Political parties, in general, can be interpreted as organizations that fight for specific values or ideologies through the mastery of structures and powers obtained through participation in election contestation (Pamungkas, Sigit, 2011). About what an "Islamic political party" is, in the study of political science, the use of the "Islamic party" has at least two connotations. First, the organization's ideology refers to the political party that makes Islam the basis of its creed. Second, parties are seen from their cultural base, where political parties are not only seen as organizations but also as a means or medium for society or groups to articulate, express, and fight for their political interests (Al-Hamdi, 2013).

Based on the journey of historical facts, Islamic parties or Parties based on Islam are divided into three parts, namely: First, the Islamic Party, which is Islamic based on Islam, the second Muslim party, which is based on Islam and Pancasila, and the Islamic party which is based on Pancasila but based on the majority of masses from among Muslims (Romli, 2006).

Table 1. Classification of Political Parties

Party Name	Classification of Parties Based on the ideological spectrum
PDIP	Secular Nationalists
PAN dan PKB	Secular Nationalists
PKS, PPP, dan PBB	Islamic Nationalists

Source:(Romli, 2016)

The Islamic party and the other parties also have differences related to the principle. In terms of regulations, the Islamic party is different from other parties. The Islamic Party clings to Islamic teachings derived from the holy book, the Qur'an, and hadith, whether they list Islam as its principle or make Islam the spirit of its struggle. In terms of supporters, Islamic parties also have diverse ya ng constituents.

The PPP is the oldest Islamic party that still survives today. The party with the Kaaba symbol is based on Islam and Pancasila and mainly consists of Muslims, especially Nahdliyin residents. It's just that in some places, there are also Muhammadiyah residents and other Islamic mass organizations who are also members of the PPP. In addition to the PPP, PKB has a mass base of NU residents. The party spearheaded by Wahid became one of Indonesia's major Islamic political parties. Another Islamic party with a sizable mass base of constituents is the PAN. The sun-symbol party, spearheaded by Amien Rais, has a mass base of Muhammadiyah citizens. There is also the PKS, the Prosperous Justice Party, a political party with a group base of tarbiyah education movements in urban areas.

Meanwhile, according to Ekawati (2015), according to some of the definitions presented by experts, Islamic parties are divided into several types. First, the slam party was founded based on establishing an Islamic state. Second, a party that uses symbols identical to Islam, such as the moon and stars, the Kaaba, or Arabic letters, although its party ideology does not use Islam but combines some understandings such as Nationalism (Pancasila) or socialism. Third, a party whose support base

is among Muslims and cannot be separated from the Islamic community as a voter base to continue to exist in the national political arena, especially during elections. Of the three types of Islamic parties above, there are second and third types of parties that accommodate Islamic values and substance as their goals but do not include Islamic sharia in their constitution. From the second and third definitions, it further became the basis for grouping parties such as PPP, PKB, PAN, and PKS into Islamic parties.

Philanthropy

According to the W.K Kellog Foundation, philanthropy broadly defines charity as giving time, money, and knowledge to develop the common good (Abidin, 2013). This understanding expressly suggests that giving is interpreted as a material aspect and another broader aspect, namely, taking time and contributing knowledge to the more general social interest. The term gives or shares can also be articulated in the form of awareness, support, commitment, dedication, participation, and community involvement in raising the issue of poverty and providing solutions to social problems.

According to Arif Maftuhin, philanthropy is a universal activity under different names (Maftuhin, 2020). People in different parts of the world set aside the money, property, or time they have to help others. Philanthropic activity takes place across countries and is hardly related to the level of prosperity of the country or the wealth of a person. Philanthropy is often only interpreted as a charitable process. According to Helmut K. Anheier and Regina. A. List, between charity and philanthropy, differs in terms of the purpose of giving; charities are intended to provide for short-term needs, while philanthropy seeks to investigate and resolve the leading causes of the problem (Aiz, 2020; Muhibbuddin, 2019). Some studies have shown that the concept of philanthropy is more geared towards a philanthropic model for social justice that encourages not only being reactive to the problems in plain sight but instead requires the ability to reproduce the birth of social, economic, and political structures that are more favorable to those who are economically incapable of.

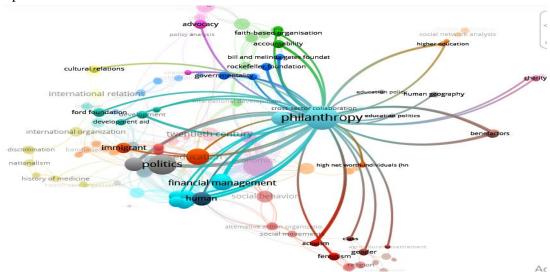


Figure 3. Philanthropic Political Studies

A bystander Latief (2013b) defines philanthropy (generosity) as a form of expression of social, economic, and political purity with an organized movement. Meanwhile, according to Amalia fauzia (2013), philanthropy is the voluntary giving activities

starting from an individual (person) and a community that provides both in the form of objects and services used for the general benefit of society. Fauzia (2013) describes there are four elements of philanthropy, namely generosity (charity), personal (non-state), the

existence of giving (given), service (service), and social work, as well as the general interest of the community. So to know more deeply, there are several types of philanthropy, according to Bamualim and Bakar, distinguished as follows:

Table 2. Differences between Traditional Philanthropy and Social Justice Philanthropy

Comparison aspects	Traditional Philanthropy	Social Justice Philanthropy	
Motif	Person (Individual)	Public, group (collective)	
Orientation	Urgency	Long-term needs (sustainable)	
Shape	Service	Support for social change	
Character	Repetitive attitude	Program of activities to complete structural injustice	
Impact	Overcoming injustice	Addressing the root causes of social injustice	
Sample Program	Providing orphan shelter	Advocacy of legislation, changes in public policy	

Source: (Abubakar, Irfan, and Chaider S. Bamualim, 2006)

This form of philanthropic activity of justice always seeks to focus on social change. This is to the views of Fauziah (2013), explaining philanthropy in simple shapes, namely service work, social work, charity, and fundraising as an effort for humanitarian needs and needs to sustainable intensive involvement. philanthropic activities are carried out by civil society, a group of people who are independent (independent) from the state, functioning as a maintainer of balance (intermediary) between the state and non-state. Based on Fauzia's study, philanthropic practices can be grouped into three tendencies: the course of Islamic

charitable activities for social justice, state, and civil society relations, and the existence of volunteer-based charitable methods and the accompanying motives or basis. More precisely, it is carried out collectively and individually through an institution. In addition, philanthropic institutions have a diverse role ranging from offering forms of charitable programs with a limited social impact to tangible activities that provide transformative ideas about justice and the social welfare of society. (Latief, 2013).

Work Latief (2013b), entitled The Politics of Islamic Philanthropy in Indonesia, explains that philanthropic institutional organization is divided into three different sectors, namely the state (government), the private sector, and social organizations (non-profit). Sementara tokoh ahli kegiatan filantropi seperti Salmon dan Kramer mencoba memaparkan peran filantropi sebagai berikut (Payton, Robert L., 2008).



Figure 4. The Form of Philanthropy

The philanthropic dimension includes voluntary giving, social services, and associations (Budiman, 2017). These three things are interrelated under the umbrella of the philanthropic movement, which has meaning in every process:

Giving

Giving is a voluntary act of moving an item owned to another person. The process of providing goods is a common thing to do. Sharing is often done through money, even in small quantities, food, and clothing (logistics).

Service

Service is an activity in paying attention to someone to receive facilities. The form of volunteer service to become a volunteer is part of the impulse of a human conscience with a social sensitivity to be involved in helping others. Service is synonymous with a form of direct activity given to others to feel the help of physical exertion.

Association

Association is a form of group association consolidating to carry out a social movement. The association can be from a group of voluntary organizations/communities that will

exert influence with great power to help ease the burden of the suffering of the community.

So based on the theory of philanthropic experts, it is concluded that philanthropy (philanthropy) is a humanitarian-based charitable activity carried out by civil society groups (philanthropic institutions) organized with a vision of social welfare. However, the activities carried out have practical political interests by building an image and political affiliation to support the institution's existence.

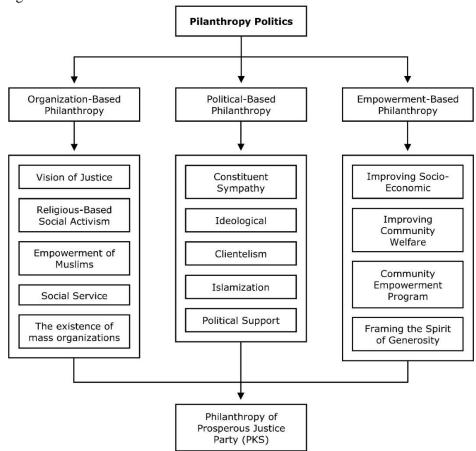


Figure 5. Frame of Mind

Table 3. Operational Definition

Variable	Indicator	Parameter	Source
	• Given	Moral Material	
	• Service	• Budget	
Form Pks Party Philanthropy	• Association	volunteerOrganization/CommunityIslamic institutions/	(Fauzia, 2013); (Payton, R. L., &
		organizations	

	• Advocacy and Empowerment	OutputOutcome	Moody, 2008)
		 Empowerment 	
Narrative and Political Implications of PKS Party Philanthropy	Winning Election	• Expanding Political Anchor	
	 advocating interest 	 Electoral Needs 	(Harmel &
	 Gaining Executive 	• Status Quo	Janda, 1994)
	 Implementing party democracy 	Power Distribution	

2. RESEARCH METHODS

Types of Research

This research uses qualitative research because of the problems and objectives explained above. The qualitative research method is based on a natural paradigm that focuses on finding new elements of knowledge that do not yet exist in previously applicable theories (Nugrahani, 2014). Quality research is a motto or way to explore and understand the meaning of several individuals or a group of people (Tonon 2016, Creswell 2015).

Data Sources

In this study, the author used two data sources, namely primary data and secondary data.m The preliminary data in this study is all the information from researchers about the Political Elections of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), both obtained directly from the data analysis unit used as the research object. The objects in this study are the PKS Party, Muhammadiyah, Nahdatul Ulama. Furthermore, secondary data is information from researchers through online media and articles still relevant to this study.

Data Collection Techniques

The data collection technique used in this study was direct interviews with predetermined informants. Then N capture is used to collect data through online media relevant to the study topic.

Data Analysis Techniques

This study used the help of NVivo 12 plus and Vosviwer software as qualitative data analysis. NVivo is a valuable tool for gaining depth in one's research by illustrating the power of data

management, data coding, and data analysis developed through conceptualization by one person (Mortelmans, 2019). Furthermore, the scope of data analysis through NVivo is very diverse, including; articles or reports, field notes, and transcripts of interview texts (Jackson, Kristi, 2019). In line with the statement above, this study uses the NVivo analysis tool to analyze the results of the interview text obtained and report documents related to the research, namely the Political Elections of the Islamic Party. The menu as a tool for processing data is as follows.

Crosstab-Query

It aims to check the spread of coding across specific cases or cases. Moreover, Crosstab Query can analyze how often respondents/informants refer to a particular topic during interviews.

Furthermore, vosviwer tools are used to analyze previous research, see the study's novelty, and know research concepts. The features used are as follows

Network Visualisation

In the network visualization, the item is represented by its label and, by default, also by a circle. The item's weight determines the label's size and rotation of an object. The higher the importance of an item, the larger the title and process of tharticleem. The line between things represents the link. By default, at most, the distance between the two journals in the visualization roughly indicates the journal's interrelationship in terms of co-citation links. The closer the two journals are located, the stronger their interrelationships are. Lines also represent the most robust co-citation links between journals

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Forms of PKS Party Philanthropy during the Covid-19 Pandemic

In identifying the philanthropy form of the PKS party during the pandemic, researchers used Payton and Moody's theory in his opening entitled Understanding Philanthropy It's

Meaning. Furthermore, as an analytical tool of the pks party philanthropy form using approach, Bekkers & Wiepking (2011), in his writings on "A Literature Review of Empirical Studies of Philanthropy: Eight Mechanisms That Drive Charitable Giving." The following is a form of philanthropy of the PKS party during the Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia.

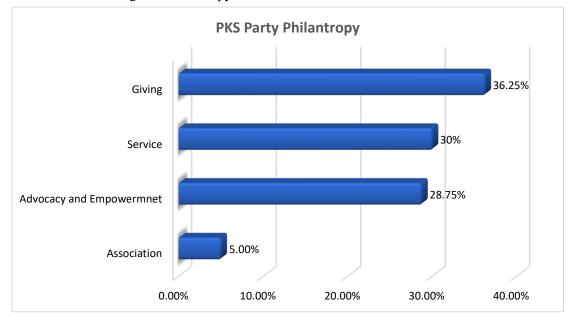


Figure 6. Philanthropy form of the PKS party

The picture above shows that the philanthropy form of the first pks party is in the form of giving a total of 36 percent. 25%. of such percentages in accumulating the parameter of the administration itself and sharing in the form of material with a rate of 2 3.00% and sharing in the form of morals, which is 8.00%. Second, Service with a percentage amount of 30.00%

with a budget and volunteer parameters. Third, Advocacy and empowerment with a percentage of 28. 75%. Fourth association with a percentage amount of 5.00%. This percentage number is the result of interviews analyzed by the author using miles and Haberman's analysis techniques with the Vivo 12 Plus N software tool with crosstab analysis type.

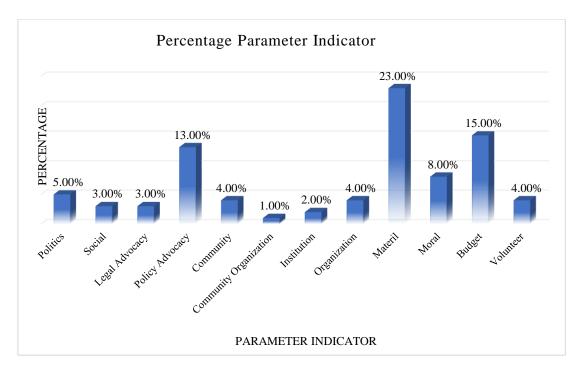


Figure 7. Parameter Indicators

Furthermore, the author maps and analyzes the philanthropic form of the PKS party during the Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia.

Giving

The percentage of philanthropy forms of the PKS party whose nature gives as previously described shows a reasonably large rate among the four states of PKS philanthropy. This can be seen from the results of the response to the findings in the field. According to the Chairman of the National Movement for Disaster Response (Genta) PKS, dr H Naharus Surur said:

"Since the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic in Indonesia, the President of the PKS has called for the necessity to help the Indonesian people affected by covid-19. This policy was then applied by Members / Cadres from the PKS who became Members of the DPR and DPRD by cutting salaries for handling Covid-19, as well as the actions of volunteers and PKS sympathizers to the village branch structure. According to Dr. Hj. Anis Byarwati, S.Ag., M.Si (member of the PKS Faction of the DPR RI), this event can be used as a momentum to carry out a national charity movement to face the disaster of the Covid-19 outbreak. This member of Commission XI of

the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia stated that amid state financial limitations in resolving the pandemic whose results were not optimal, the momentum of this national solidarity must be well-engineered".

The findings in the field show that the provision in the form of material incentives is understood as a response of the PKS party in helping the government amid financial limitations in solving problems during the Covid-19 pandemic. Not only in the form of material incentives but also the form of morals/spirituals. This was conveyed by the Chairman of the PKS Faction of the DPR RI.

"Jazuli Juwaini said that the Indonesian nation is now concerned due to the corona pandemic. Therefore, as the frontline, PKS considers that real services, concerns, and actions serve the people affected by COVID-19. Jazuli explained that so far, to help those in need, the PKS faction from the central to the regional level has cut salaries as legislators for handling COVID-19, initiated a movement for free masks and disinfectants, personal protective equipment (PPE) assistance, for medical heroes, and food package assistance for small people. It has even been done without breaking up since the corona outbreak hit. In an interview, the chairman of the PKS Party

Faction said this is the spirit of the PKS party. The party is not a means of gaining an-sich power but a means of service to the people. Service is the best form of power; even without power, the service must continue. No matter what happens, we continue to serve, so the spirit continues to be instilled in the PKS cadres. Jazuli added that the PKS faction throughout Indonesia comes with three lines of struggle. Among them are pro-people, procommunity. and pro-strengthening Indonesian nationalism. The three spirits of struggle are to realize the vision of the PKS Faction; Leading in fighting for the interests of the people to realize an Indonesia with character, dignity, justice, and prosperity".

From the findings in the field, it can be analyzed that the philanthropic form of the PKS party has made interdependent preferences the focus of the theoretical model of giving. In some writings on philanthropy whose form gives. The state of Philanthropy begins with Becker assuming that one of the preferred contributors depends on the contributions of all others, mainly due to the public goods aspect of charity. This model about the philanthropic form of the PKS party as a contributor depends on society's contribution; for example, the PKS party distributes material and moral assistance in areas where the previously obtained pockets of votes dominate. In feldstein and Clotfelter's view in their writings included variables to capture the interdependence of preferences (Frey & Meier, 2004). This model has generalized Becker's approach to incorporating altruistic motives that are not pure to give, such as the desire for praise, status, or simply the "warm light" of giving. From the backer's view, it is strengthened by the results of ridho Al-Hamdi's interview, which said.

"One of the goals of political parties, both faith-based, social class-based and including its programs including the PKS, the goal is only one, namely one winning election. PKS wants to go through its philanthropy. It is a way for PKS to expand its anchor. In his political party theory, fokunke and Robert need a collateral organization or organization whose function is to expand the party's anchorage because the party directly approaches the society. There are

antipasti. So they need peers meaning that the collateral organization is one affiliated with the party, the second one that is not structurally affiliated".

The results of this interview are then reinforced by Frank's reasoning, which suggests a theoretical and empirical basis for assuming that individuals and organizations care about how their consumption ranks relative to some groups of peers.

Service

The philanthropy form of the PKS party, which is of a service nature as previously described, shows a relatively high percentage of the findings in the field as stated by:

Jazuli Juwaini said that people are now in a state of concern due to the corona pandemic. Of course, the PKS party considers that service, care, and real action as a form of serving the people affected by COVID-19.

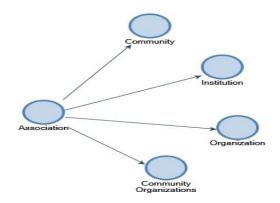
One form of service carried out by the PKS party during the pandemic is the movement for free masks and disinfectants, personal protective equipment (PPE) assistance for medical heroes, to food package assistance for small people. It has even been done without breaking up since the corona outbreak hit. This is the spirit of the PKS party, which is not only a means of gaining power but a means of service to the people. Service is the best form of power. Even without power, the service must continue. No matter what happens, the PKS party continues to serve, so the spirit continues to be instilled in the PKS cadres. To realize it all, Jazuli, the PKS faction, carried out a work program, leading the way in advocating for the people through the "people's aspiration day" program. This is done so that the PKS faction is at the forefront of humanitarian actions and disaster response as it is today. The PKS faction also develops a global diplomatic network for humanity, cooperation, peace, and people's welfare through faction diplomacy with world bodies, sections of friendly countries, and ambassador talks.

Association

At the RDPU meeting, the General Hearing Meeting (RDPU) was attended by Commission VI with the Chairman of the Indonesian Business Development Services Association (ABDSI), chairman of the International Council for Small Business Indonesia (ICSB Indonesia), Chairman of the MSME Focus, Head of Cooperative Education Institutions (LAPENKOP) with the theme of discussing the implementation of government programs related to UMKM related to the impact of Covid-19.

Member of the PKS faction, Nevi Zuairina, at the meeting, said that the association was able to accompany the UMKM actors in total. According to Nevi, there are around 37,000 UMKM actors affected by Covid-19, who reports to the hotline call center of the Ministry of Cooperatives and UMKM, related agencies in the regions, and UMKM companion associations. Of these, 56% of sales declined, 22% of capital problems, 15% of distributions were hampered, and 4% of raw materials were scarce. Members of the PKS faction hope that the leadership of the Association will have a way of thinking and acting so that UMKM actors during the pandemic and post-pandemic can continue to run their businesses and bounce back to become more prominent. Nowadays, the covid 19 pandemic is extraordinary, so different ordinary performance is needed.

This PKS politician emphasized that the association should have an accurate data center based on the names and addresses of UMKM actors. Because once the data has been appropriately obtained, some problems will be able to be solved accurately. Nevi appreciated the UMKM business association for making great efforts to strengthen the rescue of UMKM. Members of the PKS faction hope that coordination of synchronization and speed in mitigation can continue to be carried out. So that UMKM actors can save their business with products needed by the community during the pandemic and post-pandemic. The following is the model of the PKS party association during the Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia.



Advocacy and Empowerment

The fourth form of philanthropy of the PKS party is advocacy and empowerment. During the COVID-19 pandemic in Indonesia, the community not only had an impact on health, economy, and sociasocietypolitics, but the community was also faced with the problem of cases of violence and the problem of public health services affected by covid-19. Therefore, the faction of the Chairman of the PKS Faction of the DPR RI Jazuli Juwaini emphasized that;

"The attitude of the PKS faction rejects all forms of sexual crimes, so it is necessary to be given a penalty. Sexual crimes include sexual violence, promiscuous sex, and deviant sex contrary to Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, religious norms, and the customs of intimacy. These three undermine the family order and even the civilization of the nation. For this reason, the three must be regulated simultaneously in a comprehensive law on moral crimes / sexual crimes".

The PKS faction wants the three of them to be regulated in a special law as a unit that is interrelated and mutually reinforcing. Without a comprehensive arrangement, the protection of victims becomes not strong, not whole, or partial. The Ministry of Child Empowerment and Protection, Komnas Perempuan, the PKS Advocacy Center, and sexual violence advocacy agencies said that in many cases, those involved in free sex and deviant sex often experience sexual violence in the form of sexual abuse, sexual exploitation, and forced abortion due to extramarital relationships as well as data on complaints of sexual violence outside of marriage received. The PKS faction emphasized that this case cannot be separated,

which must be comprehensively regulated from other criminal acts of decency (promiscuous sex and deviant sex) so that the prevention and protection of victims can be effective and maximum.

In addition, the PKS party not only advocates related to sexual violence cases, but the PKS party also advocates related to health services in Indonesia during the Covid-19 pandemic, as conveyed by the Deputy Chairman of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) faction of the DPR RI Netty Prasetiyani Aher said that health services in Indonesia are facing many challenges and adjustments after the Covid-19 outbreak. The government's focus is currently on health services to support covid-19. Netty asked the government to focus on essential health services. The Ministry of Health and local governments to maximize five percent of the state budget and ten percent of the regional budget intended for the health sector can produce affordable health facilities for all levels of society and improve the quality of human health resources. This was confirmed by the Chairman of the PKS Faction of the DPR RI. Jazuli Juwaini urged the Government to immediately mitigate the health system with extra measures so as not to collapse, which impacts the failure of state protections to save the people.

From the findings in the field, the PKS party advocates a lot of cases of violence and health services. These two cases are the most widely examined issues during the COVID-19 pandemic. Furthermore, apart from the form of advocacy carried out by the PKS party, it is also a form of empowerment. The state of empowerment-based philanthropy by the PKS party is in the form of economic empowerment programs and social services to the community.

This is the primary mission of the National Campaign Movement of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) for Indonesia. This campaign movement is carried out by the big family of PKS throughout Indonesia. This movement is carried out as a social concern for the community. PKS's commitment to continue to do good and become a party is always at the forefront of serving the community by its jargon, the Spirit of Service. This form of empowerment is expected to help ease the burden on society, especially in dealing with the impact of Covid-19, which has not yet ended. This program is intended to help the community and provide full support to business actors, especially MSMEs. As stated by;

Chairman of BPJE DPP PKS Rofik Hananto added that the purpose of this movement, namely a natural movement to provide full support to business actors, especially MSMEs, by buying their products so that they can continue to exist in times of crisis so that they can continue to earn income to meet the economic needs of families even though the current conditions are still uncertain and challenging. In addition, this program can strengthen the belief that the PKS is a party of defenders and servants of the community.

Narratives and political implications of the PKS Party's attention in practicing its philanthropic reasoning in electoral political interests

Based on the previous presentation about the political philanthropy form of the PKS party during the Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia. So, in this discussion, the author will explain the narrative and political implications of the party's attention to practicing philanthropic reasoning in electoral political interests.

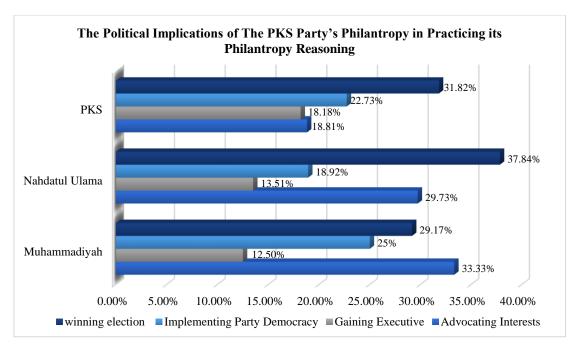


Figure 8. Narratives And Political Implications of The Philanthropy of The Pks Party

The figure above shows the percentage of pks parties practicing their philanthropic reasoning in electoral political interests. From the data above, the author classifies based on indicators, as for the indicators used by the author adopted from the theory of Robert Harmel and Kenneth Janda (1994) in his book entitled "An Integrated Theory of Party Goals and Party Change," First, winning election, second, third advocating interest, gaining executive, fourth implementing party democracy (Harmel & Janda, 1994; Pedersen, 2012). In the following discussion, the author will analyze each indicator.

Winning Elections

According to Robert Harmel and Kenneth Janda, one of the goals of political parties is 4; whatever it is, both faith-based, social class-based, and its programs, including the PKS party, which is winning elections to win elections. Both philanthropy is how the PKS party expands its political anchor. As stated by Dr. Phil. Ridho Al-Hamdi, MA of the Muhammadiyah circles said that:

The philanthropic movement of the PKS party during the COVID-19 pandemic in Indonesia is its goal to expand its political anchor. In his theory, fokunke and Robert about the idea that political parties need collateral organizations or organizations of the same age. Its function is to expand the party anchor because the party directly approaches the people. Indirectly there is antipathy; then they need peers. This means that the collateral organization is one affiliated with a second party that is not structurally affiliated but stands for, like PKPU, or an unaffiliated one, for example, the Integrated Islamic School Network (JSIT), which is an from proselytizing activists, organization another thing that can be seen is on campus for example. LDK, kammi, or in schools, e.g., Rohis. Their initial education, when maybe the teacher is a PKS activist becomes a teacher; there is the nursery process stated by Nurkholk from nu circles that the PKS has a tarbiyah movement. Supporters of the Tarbiyah movement, whose political ideology was inspired by Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood, founded the Justice Party (PK, recently known as the Prosperous Justice Party or PKS).

Globally the PKS is an extension of the Muslim Brotherhood. Originally from the Middle East, Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Indonesia were the form of the PKS. When we look at it from a global point of view, that PKS is the root of some of the social roots of masyumi, then from the roots of part of the Indonesian Islamic State (NII). Furthermore, his young people from Kammi, originally from Mayumi families,

continued to be NII families. His figures include Hilmi Aminudin bin Danu, the son of one of the NII generals, from the point of view of his roots. Then nii fragments of the masyumi people among the forms of masyumi fragments formed the Islamic proselytizing council, Greater Jakarta by Muhammad Nasir and sent baccalaureates to study in the Middle East, then returned with thoughts about ikwanul muslimin.

The Philanthropy movement may be for the PKS in a direction that is quite effective in touching the soul of humanity, whatever the form of its program, whose point is to maximize the vote. Starting from the most Islamic ideology, for example, the Caliphate, communists, Islamic parties, nationalist parties, and secular parties control the government. This paper argues that the philanthropic practices of the pks party have become a popular way to patronize their constituents. With its philanthropy movement, the PKS means a lot to expand the "grassroots connections" while "depoliticizing."

Gaining Executive

Furthermore, the narrative and political implications of the PKS Party's attention in practicing its philanthropic reasoning in electoral political interests, namely gaining executive. The purpose of the search for office implies a structure that frees the party and the job seeker to maneuver in response to electoral needs. The widely held view that most, if not all, politicians are "op- portunis" rests on the idea that it is the desire for office and its power that guides the office holder rather than concern for the content of the public policy. Most political systems, including the PKS party, go to great lengths to provide independent value to the office. History does not allow us to ignore the power of ambition for office as an incentive in a party.

We know, of course, that political parties are just one of how people seek political gain. Generally, we call organizations that seek profit without a preferred position in the terrestrial group. Such groups can use a variety of tactics. However, when benefit seekers form a party or

enter an existing party, they commit to using electoral political tactics. Since winning office or being able to thwart others' chances of winning is at the core of electoral politics, benefit seekers must decide that such tactics are helpful before they enter party politics. Nevertheless, winning elections, although not aimed at benefit seekers, is a better strategy than not winning.

Advocating Interest

Politics is a dynamic thing that follows the direction of the times. Political developments will always clash with social problems that exist in society, one of which is the issue of welfare, creating many multidimensional inequalities in Indonesia. The primary influence of this inequality is the presence of political influence by the dynamics of the power regime. The dynamics of Indonesia's power, welfare, and democracy correlate with each other amid a crisis of trust in the government (state). Welfare is something that must be produced and distributed. The principle is welfare is an integral part of the ideology of development. Ideology must be maintained for the ideals of the Indonesian nation to provide welfare guarantees and social justice for all people. Seeing the problem of the many social inequalities that occurred during the Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia became a momentum in the context of charity carried out by the PKS party. Before entering the analysis of advocacy for party interests, the author first presents philanthropic politics during the new order period, which certainly has a relationship with the philanthropic political movement of the PKS party during the pandemic.

During Soekarno's reign, authoritarian tendencies with strong state principles did not provide enough space for the birth of genuine civil initiatives and proper development of the philanthropic sector. During the New Order period, room for the civic industry began to be opened, but with strict control and often wrapped in the motives of power. In the philanthropic sector, fundraising activities are activated but not followed by the provision of mechanisms that can ensure transparency and public accountability. In general philanthropic

activity was established to maintain the status quo. The ruling regime generally controls initiatives like this and involves big business people. Public funds, especially in the private sector, were raised in massive amounts, but their management was not accessible to the public. What is interesting to note is that Suharto, his family, and close people played a vital role in the mobilization of private sector funds, especially from prominent business people who had been utilizing the Sandalwood family in carrying out Philanthropy and Power Relations During Soekarno's reign, authoritarian tendencies with strong state principles did not provide enough space for the birth of genuine civil initiatives and the development of the philanthropic sector properly. During the New Order period, room for the civic industry began to be opened, but with strict control and often wrapped in the motives of power. In the philanthropic sector, fundraising activities are activated but not followed by the provision of mechanisms that ensure transparency accountability. In general philanthropic activity was established to maintain the status quo. The ruling regime generally controls initiatives like this and involves big business people. Public funds, especially in the private sector, were raised in massive amounts, but their management was not accessible to the public. What is interesting to note is that Suharto, his family,d close people played a crucial role in mobilizing private sector funds, especially from prominent business people who had been utilizing the Sandalwood family in running Sandalwood. The donations by business people to the foundations aim to foster relationships with close circles of power to gain recognition as close people of Sandalwood. The success of obtaining such credit can facilitate their mobility to the center of power, especially the key people who run the government machinery. To perpetuate their business, entrepreneurs use a variety of means to gain that costly access. One way is to 'donate' or invest part of their capital in the Sandalwood family foundation.

From this case, the political movement of the PKS philanthropy during the pandemic has an interest in mobilizing the government,

including building a vote base. So the author argues that the presence of these foundations is a way for the regime to perpetuate the status quo, which is hard to refute. In addition to not being empowering, the party's philanthropic politics also seeks to capture the support of Muslims by taking advantage of Islamic group sentiments. Therefore, it is not wrong when many see that the foundations are only the party's reasoning in politicizing the movement under the guise of prospering the people. Such is the political reality of the philanthropy of the PKS party, which is aimed at rallying support for its political interests. In line with the findings in the field that the All-political parties move with motives; political parties are not social institutions that carry society and then let it go. Whatever political party is worked on has proof merits as of employment responsibility. Political parties seeking votes should help the people. According to him, the political movement of the pks party is the motive for seeking votes for him. All political parties should seek votes with social assistance because the people get benefits. Because it is common knowledge that people get help only the first few conditions, there is infrastructure assistance, such as road and reservoir assistance. Secondly, people can be from political parties, usually ahead of elections.

From the findings above, the author sees that the philanthropic activities of the PKS party during the pandemic, either through its foundations or the wings of the pks party and even the pks party itself, is a paradox, something that is contrary to the mission of philanthropy itself which aims to support social change and the realization of welfare and social justice. Thus in these findings of ours, the authors can draw one common thread from some of the seemingly irrational actions taken by the party, or factions within the party, that arise when observers assume that the party pursues only one goal in search of votes that all parties pursue elections as their primary goal.

Implementing Party Democracy

Implementing Party Democracy is defined as the implementation of party democracy (Pedersen, 2012). According to Susan Scarrow, implementing a party is a feature of the distribution of decision-making power among members and leaders in a political party along two main dimensions: Inclusivity refers to how broad the circle of decision-making is within a party. Simply understand the openness of political parties to input both from within and outside the body of party members. Furthermore, centralization refers to the extent to which a group or decision body makes decisions. It captures the area to which members of the ya ng barbed level and functional backgrounds are included in the party's decision-making. From these two dimensions, we developed three criteria for distinguishing differences in the degree of internal democracy of the party:

- a) Selection of Candidates: Who may be elected as candidates for party offices and local and national public offices
- b) Policy Selection
- c) Coalition Formation

4. CONCLUSION

Based on the presentation of the background and findings above, the author concludes the results of these findings: First, the form of philanthropy of the PKS party during the Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia, namely, provision, service, advocacy, empowerment, and association. Furthermore, the author also finds about the narasi and political implications of the PKS Party's attention in practicing its philanthropic reasoning for electoral political interests; first, that the philanthropic narrative within a political party is political in a broad sense either used as a way of gaining votes or vote-getters as an effort to build, expand and maintain constituents or show the politics of attention and concern. Secondly, the meaning of philanthropy is often very strongly identified with something artificial and symbolic rather than offering a sustainable welfare initiative character because few parties have succeeded in building philanthropic institutions very professionally, which is also one of the issues

that the professionalization of the philanthropic movement requires a clear distinction of which is political and which is or ideological so that the public gives confidence to the institutions aforementioned.

To anticipate the politicization of welfare within the body of national philanthropic institutions, the government should be able to address this in a more humanist and emancipatory process of public policy products.

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