



ISLAMIC ORGANISATIONS, INTER-RELIGIOUS PHILANTHROPY AND WELFARE IN DISASTER: Some Experiences from West Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia

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Abstract: This article presents a case study of successful inter-religious philanthropy practices in the context of a natural disaster in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia. Previous studies have shown that inter-religious philanthropy often has a hidden ideological mission, prompting resistance from the local community. This study offers a new perspective by depicting the inter-religious philanthropy practices in West Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia, after the 2018 earthquake. The data show that inter-religious philanthropists work as non-state actors mitigating post-disaster poverty with various programs. The findings also indicate that optimizing the inter-religious network and actors in disaster management of the 2018 earthquake, such as distributing aid to the victims-championed by Islamic organizations, such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, did not only help solve poverty and welfare problems but also strengthened inter-religious relations and solidarity in the community.

Keywords: Inter-religious philanthropy, disaster, poverty, Indonesia

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Introduction

STUDIES ON PHILANTHROPY have centered around contestation between the state and civil society and philanthropic and religious

organizations worldwide, such as America¹, Europe², Vietnam³, Malaysia, Egypt, and Palestine⁴, and Indonesia⁵. In the global context, philanthropy is considered a tool for class and elite legitimacy.⁶ It is also widely studied as a market mechanism and political economy⁷ known as philanthrocapitalism⁸. In Indonesia,

¹ Robert H. Bremner, *The Public Good: Philanthropy and Welfare in the Civil War Era*, 1st ed., The Impact of the Civil War (New York: Knopf: distributed by Random House, 1980); N. Ben Nathan, "The District Service Plan: An Experiment in the Democratization of Philanthropy," *Social Forces* 9, no. 4 (June 1931): 534; Madeleine C Pill, "Embedding in The City? Locating Civil Society in The Philanthropy of Place," *Community Development Journal* 54, no. 2 (April 30, 2019): 179–196.

² T. L. Auffenberg, "Church-State Philanthropy: English Charity Briefs and the Relief of Persecuted Continental Protestants," *Journal of Church and State* 21, no. 2 (March 1, 1979): 287–303.

³ Huong T Hoang, Trang T Nguyen, and Jerry F Reynolds, "Buddhism-Based Charity, Philanthropy, and Social Work: A Lesson from Vietnam," *International Social Work* 62, no. 3 (May 2019): 1075–1087.

⁴ Samantha May, "Political Piety: The Politicization Zakat," *Middle East Critique* 22, no. 2 (August 2013): 149–164.

⁵ Amelia Fauzia, *Faith and The State: A History of Islamic Philanthropy in Indonesia*, Brill's Southeast Asian library v. 1 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2013); Hilman Latief, "The Politics of Benevolence: Political Patronage of Party-Based Charitable Organizations in Contemporary Indonesian Islam," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 51, no. 2 (December 5, 2013): 337–363.

⁶ Francie Ostrower, *Why The Wealthy Give: The Culture of Elite Philanthropy* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1995); Susan A. Ostrander, *Money for Change: Social Movement Philanthropy at Haymarket People's Fund* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995); Carla Cheatham, "Callahan, A. M. (2017). Spirituality and Hospice Social Work," *OMEGA - Journal of Death and Dying* 81, no. 1 (May 2020): 170–173; Hilman Latief, "The Politics of Benevolence."

⁷ Lenore T. Ealy, "Zoltan J. Acs: Why Philanthropy Matters: How the Wealthy Give, and What It Means for Our Economic Wellbeing: Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013. 272 Pages. USD 29.95 (Cloth)," *Public Choice* 159, no. 3–4 (June 2014): 589–593.

⁸ Hugo Sintes, "Philanthrocapitalism. How the Rich Can Save the World and Why We Should Let Them; Just Another Emperor? The Myths and Realities of Philanthropic Capitalism: Matthew Bishop and Michael Green; Michael Edwards," *Development in Practice* 19, no. 6 (August 2009): 812–815.

studies on philanthropy have focused more on the Islamic context from political and legal perspectives⁹.

It is important to note that philanthropy is not only about religious traditions but also concerns the members of specific religious groups. Many philanthropic organizations' work scope also covers disaster relief regardless of religious background. However, research on such inter-religious philanthropy is scarce. The term 'inter-religious philanthropy' has not been much discussed among scholars, emerging only in disaster relief. This philanthropic initiative is often associated with missionary agendas. Therefore, local communities are adamant such as those in Aceh and Yogyakarta¹⁰.

In Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, during the earthquake disaster relief in 2018, non-Muslim religious-based philanthropic organizations aided the impacted community. The Catholics were represented by the Socio-Economic Development Commission (PSE) of the Denpasar Diocese, the Catholic Student Association of the Republic of Indonesia (PMKRI) Mataram Branch¹¹, and Karina Foundation (Caritas Indonesia). The Christians were represented by Operation Christmas Child (OCC) (hidayatullah.com, 2018), The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (GYK LDS)

⁹ Arskal Salim, *Zakat Administration in Politics of Indonesia New Order Dalam Shari'a and Politics in Modern Indonesia* (ISEAS Series on Islam, 2003); Hilman Latief, "The Politics of Benevolence"; Amelia Fauzia, *Faith and The State*; Saidurrahman, "The Politics of Zakat Management in Indonesia: The Tension Between BAZ and LAZ," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 7, no. 2 (December 1, 2013): 366; Konstantinos Retsikas, "Reconceptualising Zakat In Indonesia: Worship, Philanthropy and Rights," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 42, no. 124 (September 2, 2014): 337-357; Abdul Ghoffar, "Dominasi Pemerintah Dalam Pengelolaan Zakat (Studi Kasus UU No 23 Tahun 2011 Tentang Pengelolaan Zakat" (Disertasi, Program Doktor Manajemen dan Kebijakan Publik Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2017); Zusiana Elly Triantini and Masnun Masnun, "Use of Charitable Alms (Zakat) by Incumbent Candidates in Regional Elections in Indonesia (Two Case Studies)," *PCD Journal* 6, no. 1 (March 27, 2018): 61.

¹⁰ Wahid Institute; last modified January 5, 2006, Detiknews; A. B. Widjanta, ed., *Kisah Kisruh Di Tanah Gempa: Catatan Penanganan Bencana Gempa Bumi Yogyakarta, 27 Mei 2006* (Yogyakarta: Cindelaras Pustaka Rakyat Cerdas, 2007).

¹¹ last modified 2018, indonesia.ucanews.com.

through Latter-day Saints (LDS) Charities, Indonesian Church Association (PGI) in Mataram¹², and Western Indonesian Christian Church (GKIBB NTB). The Bali Hindunesia Center represented the Hindus, Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia (PHDI) NTB¹³, and the National Funding Fund (BDDN). The Indonesian Buddhist Tzu Chi Foundation's Emergency Response Team (TTD) and the Indonesian Buddhist Representatives (WALUBI) represented the Buddhists. The Indonesian Confucian High Council of Religion (MATAKIN) represented the Confucians.

Muslim organizations also participated in the disaster relief, with aid provided by Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, and Nahdlatul Wathan. The impacted community in Lombok mainly was Muslims, so aid distribution from fellow Muslims was straightforward. What becomes an interesting phenomenon is the success of non-Muslim religious communities. They entered the Muslim-majority community through philanthropic forums in the context of disaster relief. Such success warrants further investigation, considering the common resistance among inter-religious groups in the context of disaster relief in Indonesia.

Most of the population in West Nusa Tenggara (96.78%) is Muslim,¹⁴ In the 2018 disaster relief, the community received assistance from non-Muslim religious communities or organizations with minimal conflict and resistance (only one case was found in the process).¹⁵ In addition, inter-religious philanthropic practices have been sustained and become part of disaster management in West Nusa Tenggara. This sustainability is remarkable considering the history of conflicts in West Nusa Tenggara and Lombok Island. Conflicts are intense in Lombok, involving both sectarian and inter-religious issues. In 2000, Badan Litbang Agama dan Diklat Keagamaan mentioned 171 conflicts were recorded, with a significant conflict between Muslims and

¹² last modified 2018, momornews.or.id.

¹³ last modified 2018, Tribunbali.com.

¹⁴ last modified 2019, <http://ntb.bps.go.id>.

¹⁵ last modified 2018, panjimas.com

Christians resulting in 11 deaths and hundreds of casualties¹⁶. In the same year, conflicts arose between the Muslims and the Balinese Hindus in Cakranegara and Narmada, followed by Saksari in 2001¹⁷. In two years, there were four inter-religious conflicts. Between 2006 and 2016, there were also at least four sectarian religious conflicts caused by truth claims.¹⁸

This paper investigates inter-religious philanthropic practices in the 2018 Lombok disaster, seeking to uncover whether they can be an instrument to strengthen religious harmony. This study also describes how actors in the networks founded inter-religious philanthropic brokerages that work in the humanitarian context, manifesting an organization's existence and ideological mission. The qualitative analyses examine the dynamics of inter-religious philanthropic practices in five districts in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, involving inter-religious philanthropic actors in disaster management.

By observing the philanthropic practices among Muslims, Christians, Hindus, Buddhists, and Confucians, this paper reveals how actors work with the semiotically (by using religious labels or symbols) material network mechanisms in distributing aid to victims of the 2018 earthquake. This aid includes basic needs and the provision of places of worship, schools, Islamic schools (*madrasas*), housing, etc. The disaster relief overcomes poverty and prosperity and fosters relations and solidarity between religious communities in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. The findings show that inter-religious philanthropy in disaster management is a good practice to be delivered by non-state actors to develop the community's welfare based on inter-religious social solidarity. In addition, it can also function as a new method of increasing religious harmony.

¹⁶ A Bashori Hakim, "Konflik-Konflik Sosial Bernuansa SARA Di Berbagai Komunitas, Studi Kasus Kerusuhan Mataram Januari 2000" (Badan Litbang Agama dan Diklat Keagamaan, Departemen Agama RI, 2000).

¹⁷ A Bashori Hakim, "Konflik-Konflik Sosial."

¹⁸ A Bashori Hakim, "Konflik-Konflik Sosial."

Research on inter-religious philanthropy is still limited, especially in the context of disaster management. Studies in various countries have focused more on philanthropic acts within a religious community, such as donations from the Jews to fellow Jews¹⁹, the Protestants to fellow Protestants in England²⁰, and the Muslims to fellow Muslims through the concept of *zakat* (charity and almsgiving) in various countries, such as Thailand²¹ and Indonesia²². Another research cluster focuses on philanthropic acts of a religious community dedicated to educational, artistic, and health organizations, such as donations from the Buddhist community to people with HIV in Vietnam²³. The context of inter-religious philanthropy has not been explored much, especially in a religious country like Indonesia, where beliefs and faith often segregate communities.

Studies on philanthropy, in general, are divided into three sections. The *first* is about the contestation between the state and civil society²⁴. The *second* is its position in the class and elite

¹⁹ N. Ben Nathan, "The District Service Plan"; Francie Ostrower, *Why The Wealthy Give*, 190; Thomas Adam, *Philanthropy, Patronage, and Civil Society: Experiences from Germany, Great Britain, and North America* (USA: Indiana University Press, 2004).

²⁰ T. L. Auffenberg, "Church-State Philanthropy."

²¹ Rajeswary Ampalavanar Brown, *Islam in Modern Thailand: Faith, Philanthropy and Politics* (London: Routledge, 2017).

²² Arskal Salim, *Zakat Administration in Politics*; Hilman Latief, "The Politics of Benevolence"; Amelia Fauzia, *Faith and The State*; Ahmad Fathan Aniq, *Zakat Discourse in Indonesia: Teachers' Resistance to Zakat Regional Regulation in East Lombok* (Saarbrücken: Lap Lambert Academic Pub., 2011); Saidurrahman, "The Politics of Zakat"; Konstantinos Retsikas, "Reconceptualising Zakat In Indonesia"; Abdul Ghoffar, "Dominasi Pemerintah"; Zusiana Elly Triantini and Masnun Masnun, "Use of Charitable Alms."

²³ Huong T Hoang, Trang T Nguyen, and Jerry F Reynolds, "Buddhism-Based Charity, Philanthropy, and Social Work."

²⁴ Robert H. Bremner, *The Public Good*; N. Ben Nathan, "The District Service Plan"; Madeleine C Pill, "Embedding in The City?"; T. L. Auffenberg, "Church-State Philanthropy"; Huong T Hoang, Trang T Nguyen, and Jerry F Reynolds, "Buddhism-Based Charity, Philanthropy, and Social Work"; Samantha May, "Political Piety"; Amelia Fauzia, *Faith and The State*; Hilman Latief, "The Politics

discourses²⁵. The *third* is its role in a market mechanism and political economy²⁶.

The Contestation between the State And Civil Society

The contestation of the state and civil society becomes the central theme in the study by Walsham (2006), which reveals historical facts that illustrate the clash in philosophical meanings of philanthropy in the context of tolerance. The state uses philanthropy to rebuke, correct, and punish crimes or acts of intolerance (in race or religion) without further investigation. This is interpreted as a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it can bring order, but it can also be considered as persecution in the name of tolerance in the modern era of England, 1500-1700 AD²⁷. Likewise, in Malaysia, Egypt, and Palestine, philanthropic practices are controlled by the state, so the public's trust in state philanthropic institutions is low.²⁸

In Indonesia, civil servants and government clashes occurred due to the regional regulation on the payment of *zakat*. The civil servants were against the policy because of the limiting economic conditions.²⁹ There is a long history of contestation between the state and civil society in the management of philanthropic

of Benevolence"; Ahmad Fathan Aniq, *Zakat Discourse in Indonesia*; Konstantinos Retsikas, "Reconceptualising Zakat In Indonesia."

²⁵ Francie Ostrower, *Why The Wealthy Give*, 190; Susan A. Ostrander, *Money for Change*, 227; Carla Cheatham, "Callahan, A. M. (2017). Spirituality and Hospice Social Work"; Hilman Latief, "The Politics of Benevolence"; Zusiana Elly Triantini and Masnun Masnun, "Use of Charitable Alms."

²⁶ Thomas Adam, *Philanthropy, Patronage, and Civil Society*; Arskal Salim, *Zakat Administration in Politics*; Zoltán J. Ács, *Why Philanthropy Matters: How the Wealthy Give, and What It Means for Our Economic Wellbeing* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013); Hugo Sintes, "Philanthrocapitalism. How the Rich Can Save the World and Why We Should Let Them; Just Another Emperor?"

²⁷ Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700*, (Manchester University Press, 2006)

²⁸ Samantha May, "Political Piety."

²⁹ Ahmad Fathan Aniq, *Zakat Discourse in Indonesia*.

practices in Indonesia³⁰. Latief (2013) researched the role of companies owned by Muslims in shaping *zakat* practices in Indonesia. A new concept of *zakat* has emerged, namely *zakat* on corporate assets, which illustrates how Muslims construct a religious company³¹. However, Latif did not discuss how the emerging concept (*zakat* on corporate assets) affects a company's image or income. Meanwhile, Retsikas (2014) pointed out the two models of *zakat* management in Indonesia: the socialist and the capitalist models³². However, the study only presents historical, descriptive data with no development on how each model plays out politically. This classification also denies the religious aspects, hence philanthropy, that underlies the charitable activities. Religious groups are interested in their 'good religion' and 'good religious community.'

The Reproduction of Class and Elite Discourses

Studies focusing on reproducing class and elite discourses include a study by Ostrower (1995). Philanthropy is used to reproduce the class and elite in New York as it is a 'road to society' created by the rich. It also becomes a means of supporting rich women and youngsters. The rich become the council members. Donations minimize formal relations with the community and allow the donors to gain more power³³. Likewise, Ostrander (1995) researched the Haymarket People's Fund in America and found that the financial support came from wealthy individuals, mostly young people and women. They used it to network with agents of progressive social change. This was ultimately used as an instrument of class affirmation among those with the same

³⁰ Amelia Fauzia, *Filantropi Islam: Sejarah dan Kontestasi Masyarakat Sipil dan Negara di Indonesia*, Cetakan I. (Yogyakarta: Gading Publishing, 2016). See also Aris Anwaril Muttaqin et al., "The Relationship of Disaster to the Islamic Economic System: An Analysis on Aspect of Maqāṣid Shari'āh Framework" *Samarah Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam*, 7, no 1 (2023): 216-238

³¹ Hilman Latief, "The Politics of Benevolence".

³² Retsikas, Konstatinos, (2014), Reconceptualising Zakat in Indonesia, *Journal of Indonesia and the Malay World*, Vol 42, No 124, 2014.

³³ Francie Ostrower, *Why The Wealthy Give*.

background as the donors, the white people³⁴. Callahan (2017) confirms these findings by explaining that there was no significant change in the power ecosystem in America from the early post-war era. The sources of philanthropists include large corporations, the government, and the military elites, affirming the upper class and elite societies to date.

In Indonesia, Latief (2013) researched the emergence of charitable institutions managed by political parties, which strongly influenced philanthropic activities in Indonesia and sparked a debate on the politics of philanthropy. The strong ties between political parties and charitable institutions have led to Islamic socio-political activism and a new form of political clientelism³⁵. Both studies by Ostower and Latief argue that philanthropic practices are used to gain power. The difference lies in the institutions and the dominant religions. Ostower examines the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as the dominant donor agency, while Latief examines three dominant political parties (PDI-P, PKS, and Golkar) in Indonesia. Ostower examines practices by the Jewish and Latief by Islamic communities.

Meanwhile, Triantini and Masnun (2018) revealed patterns and strategies in using *zakat* funds by the incumbent candidates in regional elections in two regions. Political elites benefit from their power and legitimacy, so it is easy for the incumbents to utilize *zakat* funds as economic resources and attract the sympathy of the *zakat* recipients (*mustahiq*). These advantages can increase popularity (credit claiming) when they run for re-election³⁶. In another developing country, the same phenomenon has also been observed. A quantitative study in Uganda shows that the upper-middle class is inclined to donate when they can perceive the benefits, confirming their existence as elites. The bourgeois millionaire believes that by siding with or providing philanthropic contributions, their families will have a better chance of being

³⁴ Susan A. Ostrander, *Money for Change*.

³⁵ Hilman Latief, "The Politics of Benevolence."

³⁶ Zusiana Elly Triantini and Masnun, "Use of Charitable Alms."

accepted by the upper class. As described above, the class and elite narratives observed in past research show that religion can be used as an instrument of power confirmation, which is often overlooked in many studies.

Market Mechanism and Political Economy

In several studies, philanthropy has been confirmed as social care taught by significant religions and as social capital for certain religious groups to facilitate individual or group actions in the social structure. This may lead to financial, political, and ideological benefits. This aligns with Acs' (2013) findings, illustrating that philanthropy in America may function as a model for productive reinvestment of wealth and balancing the economy. Philanthropic practices are buffers for technological innovation, economic equality, and economic security³⁷. Adam (2004) believes that the philanthropy of the Catholics and the Jews in Germany, later adopted in North America, is no longer a cultural movement but the economic and cultural capital that produces social and cultural power. However, this premise was heavily rebutted by other scholars, claiming that the context of religious philanthropy is too far from general practices and is more of an adaptation of philanthropy by the urban elites³⁸. Meanwhile, in Thailand, philanthropic practices by Muslim religious groups offer the concept of 'ethical capitalism.' The collected waqf (zakat of fixed assets) is used to develop Muslim small businesses, which is a community effort, as opposed to the state's³⁹.

Half of today's wealthiest people are involved in philanthropy. The more important fact is that many do not only invest their money but also their knowledge, and they often emphasize the use of healthy markets and business approaches. The new

³⁷ Lenore T. Ealy, Review of "Zoltan J. Acs," 219.

³⁸ D. T. Rodgers, "Buying Respectability: Philanthropy and Urban Society in Transnational Perspective, 1840s to 1930s. By Thomas Adam (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2009. 256 Pp.)," *Journal of Social History* 44, no. 3 (March 1, 2011): 984–986.

³⁹ Rajeswary Ampalavanar Brown, *Islam in Modern Thailand*, 277.

philanthropists⁴⁰ offer a combination of money, business skills, and business methods. On the other hand, philanthrocapitalism is more of a mixture of two concepts with different philosophical backgrounds, better known as corporate social responsibility (CSR)⁴¹. Meanwhile, Salim (2003) argued that the meaning of *zakat* has changed from religiously motivated social generosity into a political economy. The political and economic motives underlying policies related to *zakat* are on the rise⁴². However, it should be noted that the studies mentioned above do not describe the context of a pluralistic society and overlook the aspects of religious values inherent in philanthropy.

This research was conducted in five districts: West Lombok, Mataram, North Lombok, Central Lombok, and East Lombok, in West Nusa Tenggara. Lombok was selected as the research location because it is an area with a Muslim majority classified as inter-faith conflict-prone. However, it received philanthropic protection from various non-Muslim groups when the earthquake hit in 2018.

This study uses the concept of inter-religious philanthropy and actor networks as an analytical framework to examine (1) the existence, strategy, and contribution of inter-religious philanthropic practices in disaster management in West Nusa Tenggara, Lombok, after the earthquake in 2018 and (2) the determinants of inter-religious philanthropy acceptance among the Muslims. Thus, this study looks at how philanthropy adapts and revitalizes itself in disaster relief situations while maintaining its role as an instrument of welfare affirmation. This research is qualitative, with data collected from observations and in-depth interviews with religious organizations actively and intensively involved in disaster management, religious organizations partnering with religious, philanthropic institutions, and

⁴⁰ Matthew Bishop and Michael Green, *Philanthro-Capitalism: How The Rich Can Save The World*, 1st U.S. ed. (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2008).

⁴¹ Buni Yani, "Filantropi Dan Kapitalisme," *Jurnal Filantropi dan Masyarakat Madani "galang"* 2, no. 3 (Agustus, 2007).

⁴² Arskal Salim, *Zakat Administration in Politics*.

beneficiary communities in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. Following the data collection, analysis and interpretation were conducted. Excerpts from interviews, observation findings, and documents were classified into several groups to reveal the patterns of interests and power relations. Subsequently, a three-layer analysis was conducted. First, the findings were examined and shared. Second, patterns between categories were examined. Third, the findings were compared with the previous studies.

Philanthropy and Welfare Pluralism

Two opposing views on public social services that hinder the formulation of public policies are the welfare state and welfare pluralism. These two views concern the capacity of state intervention in social services. The welfare state is a concept that prioritizes the state in welfare redistribution. This concept is considered to have collapsed at the end of the 1970s, marked by the declining power of the state in the management of social services. In various surveys conducted in developed countries, such as the United States, Australia, Western Europe, and Eastern Europe, the public believes that entanglement between political movements and the private sector is an obstacle to the welfare state⁴³. This concept guarantees the welfare of the people and is based on the five pillars: democracy, law and order, human rights protection, social justice, and anti-discrimination. In this concept, the state must actively seek prosperity and justice, which is distributed to the entire community equally and equitably, not favoring certain groups but the whole people. Meanwhile, welfare pluralism describes the reduced role of state intervention in welfare matters and the emphasis on informal and voluntary actions⁴⁴. This concept was developed in countries that switched from a centralized to a decentralized system.

⁴³ Wim Van Lancker and Aaron Van Den Heede, "Economic Equality and the Welfare State," in *Equality*, ed. François Levraud and Noel Clycq (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2021), 199–230.

⁴⁴ Peter Beresford and Suzy Croft, *Citizen Involvement* (London: Macmillan Education UK, 1993).

The question in this study is why philanthropic acts, i.e., disaster aid, are conducted by inter-religious groups directly to the community rather than submitting or entrusting to the state. This question was responded to with a rationale that the impacted community needed urgent assistance. The local government could not handle the basic needs in all impacted areas. The aid distribution through a local government channel must also follow an administrative mechanism, such as registering in advance with the 'by name by address' mechanism. Meanwhile, religious organizations are near the community and have followers or congregations and networks that are easily identifiable. Religious organizations are also voluntary, which means volunteer members are readily accessible.

The mechanism established by the state for distributing aid during a disaster emergency is usually based on the results of a rapid assessment. The National Agency for Disaster Countermeasures (BNPB) determines the types and quantities of the basic needs that need to be delivered. Immigration, customs, the police, the national army, and the Ministry of Transportation must simplify the procedure. The delivery is guided by the nine principles—fast and precise responses, priority, coordination and integration, efficiency and effectiveness, transparency and accountability, partnership, empowerment, non-discrimination, and non-proletarianism. To deliver the aid precisely on target, it is necessary to identify the assistance recipients in detail so that no disaster victims are left behind (BNPB, Head of Disaster Management Agency Regulation Number 7 of 2008).

Referring to the mechanism established by BNPB, aid distribution to impacted communities should be based on actual needs. In the context of the disaster in West Nusa Tenggara in 2018, the state provided short-term and long-term aid, such as housing repairs, and various other needs, such as rebuilding facilities and infrastructure damaged by the earthquake. However, in practice, the distribution and management were not based on the community's needs, resulting in a shortage. The management was handled via government networks from the neighborhood association (RT) to the provincial level. The mismanagement

resulted in a large amount of 'wrong target.' For example, assistance for damaged houses in the heavily and lightly damaged categories was not adequately estimated. One house's repair was not comparable to others. As this was not appropriately estimated, the repair aid was not sufficient. Such problems with data processing and accuracy result in resentment in the community.

Another issue found in the field is the misuse of cash assistance by the recipient. For example, one household head in North Lombok did not use the cash aid to repair his house, but it was for a second marriage. Another household head used the aid to buy a motorcycle instead. This proves that the government's analyses of the aid recipients' profiles are inaccurate; hence, the aid given to the community is not on target. On the other hand, religious organizations or philanthropic institutions provide aid based on accurate data on the community needs obtained from a field study. These needs are not only disaster emergency (short-term) needs but also post-disaster (long-term) needs, such as *hunting* (temporary housing), improvement of educational facilities (schools and boarding schools), and worship facilities, such as prayer rooms, mosques, and temples.

A noticeable pattern among the philanthropic practices in the Lombok disaster relief in 2018 is the levels of community acceptance. The inter-religious philanthropic practices under the government networks (*pemda*) received resistance from the community. Meanwhile, philanthropic practices by inter-religious groups were accepted with far lower resistance. This is because the community's trust in religious groups or organizations is higher, especially in the community's religious leaders. The local religious leaders influence the community's acceptance or refusal of assistance from other religious people or organizations. Citizenship politics often draws inspiration from a heavenly religious vision of love, where hate and violence have been replaced by love or generosity.

Inter-Religious Philanthropy Practices in Lombok Disaster Relief

The earthquake in Lombok in 2018 moved many philanthropic organizations at the international and national levels, including

Indonesian religious-philanthropic organizations. The earthquake led to donation movements from religious organizations that did not traditionally organize any unique philanthropic activity. They raised donations on behalf of their religious communities. The earthquake prompted the emergence of champions of social and community welfare improvement, which can be considered a philanthropic practice.

Almost all religious groups participated in the disaster relief. They collectively distributed donations to the impacted communities across the districts in Lombok Island. These groups contributed to the relief by channeling donations in a direct distribution mechanism. They gave donations to the victims directly and through intermediaries, i.e., Islamic philanthropic organizations and local governments coordinated by the Regional Disaster Management Agency (BPBD).⁴⁵

The donations were distributed through various programs designed by religious groups or communities and Islamic philanthropic organizations as intermediaries between donors and beneficiaries. The existing programs were designed in stages and adjusted to the conditions and community needs in the disaster-affected locations. In brief, the stages of aid distribution for earthquake disasters in 2018 can be summarized into three stages. The *first* is the disaster emergency stage. The aid or donations provided by religious groups for the affected communities are basic needs, such as food and clothing. At this stage, volunteers establish a public kitchen post, provide ready-to-eat food and clothes, and build shelters, such as tents with blankets. The *second* is the stage of recovery, where psychological health services are provided.

In some cases, missionaries may influence followers of other religions. The *third* is the reconstruction stage, where philanthropic

⁴⁵ The Regional Disaster Management Agency (BPBD) has been established to implement regional disaster management. It is a government agency at the provincial, regency/city level stipulated by a Regional Regulation to carry out disaster management tasks in the regions.

organization networks distribute long-term programs at the national level. In the context of Lombok disaster management, this stage was dominated by established philanthropic organizations with experience in inter-religious philanthropy, such as Buddha Tzu Chi In Indonesia, Latter Day Saint (LDS) Charities, *Gereja Yesus Kristus dari Osza* (GYK Osza), *Majelis Tinggi Agama Khonghucu Indonesia* (Matakin), LazisMU (Muhammadiyah Alms Institute),⁴⁶ LazizNU (Nahdlatul Ulama Alms Institute), LazizNW (Nahdlatul Wathan Alms Institute). These philanthropic organizations also function as intermediaries between other religious organizations and the communities.

In general, the inter-religious philanthropy practices in Lombok in 2018 are mostly disaster management and have not covered disaster mitigation yet. In the first disaster emergency stage, the basic needs include food and non-food assistance, clothing, sanitation and clean water, and health services. Although the programs conducted by each organization are different, their distribution pattern in the early stage of disaster management is more or less the same. For example, the Muhammadiyah Disaster Management Center, under the coordination of LazisMU (in collaboration with Muhammadiyah hospitals from various regions outside Lombok), provided health services and established emergency kitchens at disaster-affected points. Meanwhile, LazisNU, through NU Peduli, distributed emergency needs, such as food, tents for temporary shelters, and health and psychosocial services. Matakin, the Confucian organization, established an emergency kitchen in collaboration with an Islamic organization (Pemuda Ansor NU) in the affected areas. MATAKIN supplied raw materials to be processed at the local emergency kitchen by the Pemuda Ansor NU volunteers. This strategy was to avoid resistance and suspicion from the public regarding the halalness of the food provided. This mechanism was adopted because, on the

⁴⁶ See also, Asyraf Suryadin et al., "Lazismu and Muhammadiyah Philanthropy in the 19-Covid Pandemic (CIPP Evaluation Model" *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* 10, no. 2 (2022): 385-402

first day of the disaster emergency, some Muslim communities refused to receive the ready-to-eat food distributed directly by Matakin. Other organizations, such as Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia (PHDI) and WALUBI, distributed raw food to various posts across districts on Lombok Island but focused more on North Lombok as the most affected by the 2018 earthquake.

Almost all religious and philanthropic organizations under the auspices of religious organizations continued the programs to the second stage, i.e., recovery. At this stage, the programs include establishing emergency places of worship, emergency schools, and various post-earthquake recovery programs. For example, NU Peduli's recovery programs include providing toilets, family kits, hygiene kits, school kits, and other basic needs.

In the third stage, the programs are more impactful. Religious-based philanthropic organizations and or religious communities constructed many semi-permanent and permanent buildings. The temporary shelter establishment program (*huntara*) was the most widely implemented. Although this temporary shelter is conceptually a short-term solution, the affected communities still lived there for up to four years. In addition to the shelter, the programs also covered the construction of public facilities, such as places of worship (mosques and *mushola*), schools, and madrasas. The programs, such as the Muhammadiyah business charity development program, are designed to be long-term and productive. The regions continue receiving assistance and have become the target area for LazisMU NTB. Such long-term programs were delivered by other inter-religious philanthropy practitioners, not only by the Muslims. For example, MATAKIN, the Confucian religious organization in NTB, assisted in this third stage by establishing a prayer room. Likewise, Buddha Tzu Chi built an Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*) and places of worship (mosques and *mushola*) in the North Lombok area.

Table 1. List of Aid Distribution in the 2018 Lombok Earthquake Disaster

Stages	Name of Institutions	Religion	Types of Aid	Nominal of Aid	Partner Religious Organizations	Locations of Target	Beneficiary Religion
First, Disaster Emergency	Latter Day Saint (LDS) Charities and Jesus Christ Church of Oza (GYK Osza)	Christian Protestant	Emergency foods and basic necessities, tents, school supplies, hygiene and health equipment for adults and children, household appliances, and generators	No definite nominal amount mentioned	NU Peduli	West Lombok, East Lombok, North Lombok, and Central Lombok	All religions
	Church Union of NTB Areas (PGIW NTB)	Christian	Emergency foods, and basic necessities, dozens of tons of ice	No definite nominal amount mentioned	NU Peduli	North Lombok, East Lombok, and West Lombok, Mataram City	Islam and Christian
	LarizMU and MDMC	Islam	Foods, clothing, health services	No definite nominal amount mentioned	Muhammadiyah Islame Hospital	West Lombok, North Lombok, East Lombok, Mataram City	Islam
	Karina Foundation (Caritas Indonesia)	Catholic	Cash for buying foods	No definite nominal amount mentioned	NU Peduli	West Lombok, North Lombok, East Lombok, Mataram City	Islam
	National Fundraising Agency	Hindu	Groceries, equipment (mats, tarpaulins, water reservoirs, buckets, and dippers), and non-basic necessities such as pampers, diapers, and blankets	200 million out-of-goods aid	Hindu Young Generation Alliance Queen Foundation, Lakspedam NU	North Lombok (Genggak, Tanjung, Selele and West Lombok (Gumungsari))	Hindu, Islam
	Indonesian Christian Church in West Part (GKIBB NTB)	Christian Protestant	Foods (rice, cooking oil), establishing a public kitchen to provide halal foods	No definite nominal amount mentioned	NU	West Lombok	Priority for Christians and then for the public community
	Matakin	Confucianism	Foods, establishing a public kitchen	No definite nominal amount mentioned	Ansur NU	East Lombok and North Lombok	Islam
	LarizNU and NU Peduli, LPBH NU	Islam	Foods, health services	No definite nominal amount mentioned	Indonesian Chinese Clan Social Association (PSMTI), Chinese Indonesian Association (NTI), Matakin, LDS Charity, GKIB, GYK Osza, etc.	East Lombok, North Lombok, Central Lombok, West Lombok, and Mataram	Islam, Catholic, Christian, Hindu, and Buddhist communities
Second, Recovery	WALUBI Youth	Buddha	Generator, carpenter tools	No definite nominal amount mentioned	Ansur NU Youth and Hindu Youth	North Lombok	Buddhist, Muslim, and Hindu Communities
	Latter Day Saint (LDS) Charities and Jesus Christ Church of Oza (GYK Osza)	Christian (Protestant)	5000 packages for school children, elderly, women/men, carpenter package	No definite nominal amount mentioned	NU Peduli	North Lombok, West Lombok, Central Lombok, Tengah, East Lombok, and Mataram	Christian and Islam
Third, Reconstruction	Matakin	Confucianism	Renovation and construction of Islamic boarding school (pesantren)	50 million in the first stage, 200 million in the second stage and goods uncountable nominally	Military Resort Command (TNI) and Local Government	North Lombok and East Lombok	Islam
	Buddha Tru Chi	Buddha	Building mosques and	500 million and	Government,	North Lombok	Islam

Stages	Name of Institutions	Religion	Types of Aid	Nominal of Aid	Partner Religious Organizations	Locations of Target	Beneficiary Religion
			pesantren	1.2 billion	Mosque Council and Nahdlatul Wathan		
	LarizNU and NU Peduli, LPBHI NU	Islam	Temporary shelter	No definite nominal amount mentioned	NU Peduli	East Lombok, North Lombok, West Lombok	Islam
	Indonesian Christian Church of West Part (GKBB NTB)	Christian Protestant	Temporary shelter	100 Temporary shelters	NU Peduli	West Lombok	Christian, Islam, and Hindu

Sources: Data from the field study processed by the authors

The table above shows that most religious organizations or religious-based philanthropic organizations were involved in the first stage, i.e., the disaster emergency, in various affected areas in North Lombok, East Lombok, West Lombok, Central Lombok, and Mataram City. However, several organizations were involved in the first, second, and third stages. Some continue to this day and become partners in various programs organized by religious-based philanthropic organizations.⁴⁷

It should be noted that the donations collected by each partner religious organization did not come from a single source or only one religious-based philanthropic organization. They came from various religious organizations or communities with existing social relations. These religious organizations met through Religious Harmony forums in each regency, city, and province. In this context, the network of philanthropic organizations or religious groups brings tremendous benefits. In this context, the unity among various official religions in Indonesia results in more substantial assistance for disaster relief. The finding also shows harmony across Lombok and West Nusa Tenggara religious groups.

⁴⁷ This context was explained by Wijanarko (Head of Matakin NTB) that, to date, he continues the collaboration with the community in Mataram City to provide scholarships for underprivileged students to access education at Mataram Three Language Schools (Interview with Wijanarko, head of Matakin). Meanwhile, MDMC and LazisMU said, "North Lombok Daniang is not Muhammadiyah at all. There is no resistance. Now, it is a fostered village, and as the locus of LazisMU programs." (Interviewed with Yudi chairman of LazisMU).

Islamic Organizations as Brokers of Inter-Religious Philanthropy

In addition to conflict, religious diversity can bring about tolerance and peaceful coexistence among religious groups in public spaces. In a pluralistic society, idealized public spaces are inclusive arenas that provide equal access and opportunities to express diverse identities freely. Every group is given an equal opportunity to take the initiative and participate in restoring the spirit of tolerance and increasing harmony. In the context of Lombok's disaster in 2018, the maintenance of such relations and harmony among religious communities was championed by inter-religious philanthropic brokers.

Inter-religious philanthropic brokers are institutions that mediate or connect people with representatives of organizations whose vision and mission are related to inter-religious relations and whose intention is to help, donate, or improve the welfare of others. Inter-religious philanthropic brokers provide services to entities or groups of religious communities to realize their intentions to achieve welfare or fulfill the needs of particular religious communities. Since religious teaching is embedded in their background, inter-religious philanthropic brokers are often inseparable from the religious context and inter-religious relations.

The groups targeted by the inter-religious philanthropy movement are also closely tied to religious communities and networks of actors that had existed before the development of this movement. From economic and political perspectives, financial or material benefits may be obtained from inter-religious philanthropy. Therefore, inter-religious philanthropy has a dimension of material profit with a limited percentage, and brokers can be regarded as administrators (*amil*). From social and political perspectives, the benefits that brokers may gain include long-term religious social networks.

The term brokerage is more well-known in economics or politics, referring to intermediary traders who connect one trader with another. In Indonesia, the term *pialang* is used. The term broker is indeed not commonly used in the context of philanthropy. Several studies use terms such as *mail* (in Islam) or

intermediaries, which, in economic studies, means a party that carries out transaction activities of financial-market products for the benefit of customers or other parties. The term broker is not widely used in philanthropic studies arguably because the concept is seen as profit-seeking and is far from the concept of volunteerism, which becomes the foundation of philanthropic activities. In this case, this term is considered inappropriate for philanthropic practices.

However, the term broker is relevant to this article. Inter-religious philanthropic brokers have a non-singular power. Apart from being an intermediary, the position of a broker gives them the power to determine and the right to use the donation collection for themselves or their immediate family. Socially, these brokers benefit from building a good brand or image as an organizer of inter-religious philanthropic practices. They can build trust not only among the community of recipients but also among donors. With long-term cooperation and donations from the network, the term broker is suitable to explain the position and working methods of inter-religious philanthropic distributors or intermediaries.

Inter-religious philanthropy brokers may also control public opinions. In the context of disaster relief in Lombok, heterophilic communication patterns (communication patterns with different backgrounds), which, under normal circumstances, are often deemed egocentric, contribute to inter-religious harmony. Empirical evidence from the fields of inter-religious philanthropy has shown that heterophilic communication patterns often cause unrest. However, in the context of natural disaster relief in Lombok, heterophilic patterns produce the opposite effects with new social focuses in inter-religious relations. In addition, soft power emerged as a mechanism to influence people's choices and concerns, with Islamic organizations gaining the trust of other religious organizations as intermediaries for inter-religious philanthropy. This emergence could be attributed to the religious reality of the Lombok community. The majority of the people are Muslims, so, naturally, intermediary organizations that are trusted for the mediation are Islamic organizations. These brokers include

Muhammadiyah, represented by MDMC, and Nahdlatul Ulama, represented by NU Peduli, Lakspedam NU, and Pemuda Ansor. The question arises as to why the “largest” Islamic organizations in NTB, such as Nahdlatul Wahtan, emerged as brokers of inter-religious philanthropy in the context of the 2018 disaster. The distinguisher could be the local versus the national level of cooperation. The organizations emerging as brokers have asserted their influence not only in the local context of NTB but also at the national level. Their cooperation has broader coverage and more extended experience than the local religious organizations in NTB, such as Nahdlatul Wathan.

In addition, the donors whom philanthropic brokers mediate already have long-term client relations in other activities. Some met through political networks (party volunteers), inter-religious community forums, inter-religious youth, and national inter-religious networks. Additionally, most networks formed were macro networks working in disaster relief, issuing aid policies at the micro level, and producing network patterns from the center and regions. Matakin, NU, PGI, MDMC, Buddha Tzu Chi, and Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia stated that the aid given to Lombok mostly came from national-level organizations, which were then handed over to local organizations through various distribution methods. In this context, local religious organizations had limited resources at the macro level. The local organizations in question were Nahdlatul Wathan, Nahdlatul Wathan Anjani or NW, and Nahdlatul Wathan Pancor or NWDI, which, during the handling of the 2018 earthquake, only relied on donations from NW congregations in various regions in Indonesia. This context of inter-religious philanthropic brokers explains why Muslim organizations emerged as inter-religious philanthropic brokers. These Islamic organizations have distinguished, even recorded follower bases.

Philanthropy Effectiveness in Post-Disaster Welfare, Social Justice, and Religious Harmony

Inter-religious philanthropy practices (and generosity) in disaster relief, as observed in this study, are acts of worship to God

and can also be interpreted as social, political, and economic activities with direct and indirect benefits for each religious group. Inter-religious philanthropy can be understood as a new phenomenon in the context of disaster relief in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. It has complex interests and creates a new paradigm in the discourse of inter-religious relations. The complexity can be seen from the various narratives underlying the inter-religious philanthropy practices of each religious organization or group. A religious-based philanthropic organization may have several interests that can be integrated into one inter-faith philanthropic practice.

In the inter-religious philanthropy practices in Lombok, there is little evidence of a missionary agenda. The aid is not motivated by the religious mission of certain groups or benefactors. This is possible because the relations built between religious groups in distributing philanthropic nations have a mediatory function. The mediatory relations have created an incentive and intensive structure, where it is not only the Islamic organizations gaining trust and influence in the majority Muslim community. In other words, inter-religious philanthropy activities in the context of disasters with a mediatory function have changed the community perspective regarding inter-religious relations and the social image of each religion. Socio-religious practices and inter-religious relations are not only resolved by dialogue or other resolution schemes. However, they can also be fostered by creating social institutions such as practical, ethical, and humanist inter-religious philanthropic organizations.

Religious organizations play a role in overcoming problems faced by the community. Their positions are solving problems of tolerance, inter-religious conflicts, and other issues related to diversity and inclusivity and improving community welfare and social structure, i.e., majority-minority relations. This mediatory function forms a shared burden and common goals among

religious organizations or groups, reinforcing the increasing prominence of religion in the public sphere.⁴⁸

Resistance, intolerance, and suspicion toward certain religious groups may hinder inter-faith philanthropy practices. By contrast, acceptance of 'others' and assistance for wellbeing amid disaster-related difficulties can strengthen the practices. In West Nusa Tenggara, acceptance and sound practices can become pioneers in promoting tolerance in Indonesia. This should mitigate the crisis caused by political and religious identities used to dominate society, which leads to intolerance. Using religious and racial symbols in social generosity or philanthropy does not create barriers or boundaries among religions and instead awakens the spirit of inter-religious tolerance.

Narrative of contestation and resistance in philanthropic practices in the context of disasters occur internally in religious communities. For example, the emergence of Islamic-based philanthropic institutions that are sectarian has led to rejections from certain Islamic groups. In the context of philanthropic practices in post-disaster conditions, this may be considered as a 'conquest' of certain groups' congregations.

The mission behind inter-religious philanthropy practices can be divided into two groups. First, a group with dual interests may use religion as an identity, but the mission can be multifaceted (religious, economic, political, and identity political interests, etc.). This group always displays religious symbols or organizations in inter-religious philanthropy and delivers religious narratives or introduces organizations when distributing aid. Second, a group may have only a single interest, using religion as the basis for practicing inter-religious philanthropy only. However, in inter-religious philanthropy in a disaster, generosity is not purely interpreted as interacting with God but also as a social, political, and economic interaction that directly or indirectly benefits each

⁴⁸ Lyn Parker, Chang-Yau Hoon, and Raihani, "Young People's Attitudes towards Inter-Ethnic and Inter-Religious Socializing, Courtship and Marriage in Indonesia," *South East Asia Research* 22, no. 4 (December 2014): 467–486.

group. The context of inter-religious philanthropic practices in West Nusa Tenggara has become a pioneer trend in promoting tolerance in Indonesia amid the strengthening of political identity coupled with religious identity used as a tool of domination in society.

Conclusion

Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, has seen various inter-religious conflicts. In the beginning, the problems of inter-religious conflict were resolved mainly by inter-religious dialogue mechanisms. However, after the earthquake in 2018, inter-religious relations developed into philanthropic relationships. Inter-religious philanthropy strengthens disaster management in Lombok, strengthening inter-religious relations and allowing for the immediate mitigation of conflicts. The practices have shown that inter-religious philanthropy is not only of social concern but also an axiological medium for religious harmony.

The inter-religious philanthropy practices in the context of disasters also show the character of plurality within the network of inter-religious actors. The relationship built in the inter-religious philanthropy practices shows the interactive performance in disaster management or inter-subjectivity between one actor and another. The formation of inter-religious philanthropic networks offers a promising avenue to strengthen tolerance and disaster impact mitigation when the government's responses are slow.

The findings in this research rectify several arguments that have been built in previous studies. The first is the argument that religion-based philanthropy is only carried out by philanthropic institutions within religious communities. This builds an argument that inter-religious philanthropy as a form of social solidarity is more like a consensus than moral ethics. Inter-religious philanthropic practices in Lombok were more dominant in carrying out religious and humanitarian missions even though they were interspersed with political and economic interests. The argument that can be built from these findings is that, in reality, moral ethics can go hand-in-hand with the existing consensus, including in the context of disaster. In the case of Lombok, the

practices encouraged the development of political and economic networks and moral-ethical reasoning with humanitarian missions. The practices also prompt new discourses in inter-religious relations, from resisting to being harmonious. This establishes a new concept of inter-religious relations in Indonesia. In addition, the findings open the path to new welfare programs in the context of disasters in Indonesia and other countries.

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