



DIASPORA GIVING: AN AGENT OF CHANGE IN ASIA PACIFIC COMMUNITIES?

INDONESIA

Dede Rusdiana and Zaim Saidi

Introduction

Generosity is an integral part of the Indonesian character, stemming from cultural traditions, religious wisdom, and a strong sense of community. It is reflected in one of Indonesia's most noteworthy traditions, *gotong royong*¹ (literally meaning “community-driven team work”). Based on a survey of the Public Interest Research and Advocacy Center (PIRAC) (Saidi, 2002), an extremely large majority of Indonesian people (98%) regularly gives either monetary or in-kind help. In addition to individual generosity, another PIRAC survey (Saidi, 2003) reported a considerable amount of corporate philanthropy. In 2002, as many as 75 national and multinational companies formed an umbrella institution, the Corporate Forum for Community Development (CFCD), to encourage corporate giving in Indonesia.

The amount of philanthropic giving from both individuals and corporations has been influenced by the Indonesian economic situation. The monetary crisis that

devastated the Indonesian economy and devalued the Indonesian currency in relation to the U.S. dollar since 1997 caused a decrease in the charitable donations of both people and companies. A PIRAC survey (Kurniawati, 2005) reported that in 2000, individual donations to community programs averaged Rp 233,000, or US\$30. In 2004, the amount donated increased to Rp 277,400 — but with the devaluation of the rupiah this equaled US\$29.40 — a slight decrease.

Another potential form of Indonesian philanthropy is still inadequately explored: diaspora philanthropy, or charitable donations given by Indonesian immigrants living in other countries back to Indonesia. There is a lack of information on the volume of diaspora philanthropy, how it is disbursed, and the purpose and impact of the charity.

Johnson (2007) observed that studies on diaspora philanthropy generally include definitional and data limitations, and the case of Indonesia is no exception. Despite these limitations, this paper attempts to



shed some light on the important phenomenon of diaspora philanthropy to Indonesia. The study first explains the circumstances under which Indonesian people have migrated and diaspora philanthropy has emerged. Second, it explores the motivations, practices, amounts and targets of this diaspora philanthropy and explores how philanthropic efforts are most often directed towards immigrants' hometowns. Subsequent sections examine the policy environment for diaspora philanthropy and offer preliminary recommendations to increase the volume and impact of diaspora philanthropy aimed at true social change. A case study on Pos Keadilan Peduli Umat (PKPU), providing more comprehensive insights into diaspora philanthropy in Indonesia, is included in the appendix.

The Indonesian Diaspora

Indonesia at a Glance

The Republic of Indonesia is the fourth most populous country in the world, with a population estimated at 219 million in 2005 (BPS, 2008). It is the biggest archipelago country in the world, consisting of 17,000 islands, with abundant and splendid biodiversity. Indonesia lies on a tectonic plate, which makes it extremely vulnerable to tsunami-generating earthquakes. The potential for natural disaster is heightened by the lack of awareness of Indonesia's government and people. The environmental degradation caused by massive illegal logging, industrialization (including poorly treated wastewater), and poverty, among other factors, has provoked floods, landslides, and other disasters in the country.

These disgraceful calamities, caused by human negligence, have produced great casualties of life and property.

In addition to its abundance of natural resources, Indonesia is also rich in culture. It is home to more than 250 ethnic groups, each possessing distinct customs, traditions, and norms. Indonesian people can be divided into two major groups: the Melayu (Malay) tribe, which is the major inhabitant of the west territory, and the Papua tribe, the primary group in the east territory. The Jawa, Sunda and Madura, who inhabit the Java and Madura islands, are the largest ethnic groups. Other ethnic groups include the Minangkabau (who inhabit the west territory of Sumatera), Bugis (Sulawesi), Banjar (Kalimantan), and Papua. The country's diversity is also reflected by the presence in Indonesia of all the world's major religions (Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism), in addition to numerous traditional beliefs that predate these organized religions.

Indonesia has undergone a continuing monetary crisis since 1997, along with the other countries of Southeast Asia. However, unlike Thailand and Vietnam, which recovered relatively quickly from the economic crisis and began to develop rapidly, the Indonesian monetary crisis has led to prolonged hardship and a politically grim situation in which the authoritarian regime, which had ruled for over 32 years, was forced to step down. The transitional period towards a more democratic and decentralized country has brought with it a rapid increase of poverty, unemployment, corruption and cronyism.

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) Progress Report (Bapenas, 2007) estimated that in 2006, 17.75% of the population lived below the poverty level -- an increase from 15.97% the previous year. The average life expectancy is 66.2 years. The 2006 Indonesian Statistical Report (BPS, 2006) reported that the infant mortality rate² increased to 34.39, while the maternal mortality ratio³ was 307, the highest in Southeast Asia.

The country's large population and poor economic conditions have led to a surplus workforce in Indonesia. According to the Migration Information Source (Graeme, 2007) it is estimated that in 2006, an estimated 11% of the Indonesian workers (11.6 million) was unemployed, while another 20% were underemployed. The lack of work within the country has forced widespread migration to other countries.

There are two major groups of migrants in Indonesia. The first cohort is comprised highly educated and skilled individuals who migrate to developed countries, especially members of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and can compete effectively with others for work in those countries. The second group is comprised of a large number of unskilled female workers who migrate from Indonesia to the Middle East and Africa to work in the domestic sector. Unlike those in the first group, who tend to settle permanently in the destination country, individuals in the second group usually migrate temporarily and often illegally.

There are no reliable data on the number of Indonesians living in foreign countries. However, it is estimated that more than

three million Indonesians have settled in foreign countries, either as permanent or as temporary citizens.

The History of the Indonesian Diaspora

It is unclear when Indonesian people began to migrate in significant numbers. Some reports say that tribes in Indonesia started to migrate as early as the 15th century. Early migrants are believed to have included an exodus of Minang families to Negeri Sembilan, Malaysia and members of tribes that had a long tradition as wanderers, such as the Minangkabau.

The 17th century saw the beginning of the formation of an Indonesian diaspora in South Africa. In 1592, a Dutch Trade Company, VOC (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie), led by Jan van Riebeeck, landed at the Cape of Good Hope with Malay servants. In 1658, the Mardijker arrived on the Cape. The Mardijker were independent Muslims from Ambon and Maluku, sent as a security force to protect the trade interests of VOC and the Dutch settlement from disturbance by the native inhabitants (Saidi, 2007).

In the 19th century, the Dutch colony in Java sent thousands of Javanese to Suriname and New Caledonia to work on Dutch plantations. This was an enforced, rather than a voluntary migration. Further migration resulted from religious beliefs; Muslims began leaving Indonesia for the Middle East to study and to perform Hajj. These migrants often did not return to Indonesia. From 1853 to 1858, only half of those who departed for Mecca returned to their homeland (Jaquet, in van Bruinessen, 1995:49). In 1931, Van der Plas (Bruines-



sen, 1995:50) reported that 10,000 of the 30,000 individuals that had departed from Indonesia to gain the title of “Haji” did not return.

At the end of 19th century, education migration emerged among Indonesians. A small number of Javanese aristocrats (*pribumi*), traveled overseas, especially to the Netherlands, to continue their studies at higher levels. At the beginning of the 20th century, the opportunity to study in Europe improved with the implementation of *Politik Etis*⁴

Both economic and educational migration continued throughout the 20th century and the early years of the 21st century. Labor migration to the Middle East increased significantly beginning in the 1970s with the region’s burgeoning oil industry. In addition to those employed directly by the oil industry, this workforce includes Indonesians working as domestic help and caregivers. In addition, significant migrant workers from Indonesia have recently taken jobs in closer countries, including Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea and Japan.

The Indonesian Diaspora Population

Based on the Ministry of Indonesian Foreign Affairs Report (*Kompas* newspaper, September 14, 2007), more than 3.7 million Indonesian live in foreign countries; 2 million of them in Malaysia. Meanwhile The Migrant Care estimated that more than 4.5 million Indonesian live in foreign countries (MigrantCare, 2008). A World Bank report (2006) observed that many factors contribute to Indonesian migration: the irregular and insufficient income to meet daily needs, the wider range of opportunity

and prospects available in many foreign countries, the invitation from families and friends to join them in their new country; the recruiting agencies that actively recruit new workers; and the hope of obtaining higher social status.

Based on an APJATI (Asosiasi Perusahaan Jasa Tenaga Kerja Indonesia / Association of Indonesian Workforce Recruiting Company) report (*Antara News*, 2007), 3.7 million Indonesian migrant workers have been recruited by APJATI members. Approximately 46.4% (1.7 million) are skilled and expert workers, working in sectors such as health, oil and gas, petrochemical, garment, electronic, construction, hotel and hospitality, and plantation. The other migrants work in informal sectors such as PLRT (Penata Laksana Rumah Tangga / domestic helper) (*Antara News*, 2007). Over one million legal migrant workers reside in Malaysia and many of them work at Petronas (Malaysia Oil Company), in the aeronautics industry, in rattan and wood, or as lecturers. Many also work as laborers at palm plantations, rubber estates, and factories, or as construction labor and domestic servants (Migrant CARE, *Kompas* newspaper, September 28, 2007).

In recent years, Indonesian migration has steadily increased. The largest increase, in 1997-1998, coincided with the onset of the economic crisis in Indonesia. In 2001-2003, there was a significant decrease in the number of migrant workers, following the prohibition issued against temporary foreign workers entering some Middle East countries and Taiwan. This was caused by the escalating political situation in the Middle East and the SARS epidemic in

Pacific Asia (World Bank Fact Sheet, January 2006). In 2006, 680,000 Indonesians officially migrated: 327,000 went to the Pacific Asia territory; 350,000 are reported to be in Africa and the Middle East, with the majority of them in Saudi Arabia. The rest are in The United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Jordan, Qatar, Bahrain and neighboring countries.

Table 1. Indonesian Migrant Workers, 1994 - 2006

No	Destination Country	Number
I	Asia Pacific	2,731,730
1	Malaysia	1,833,122
2	Singapore	306,354
3	Brunei Darussalam	54,532
4	Hong Kong	156,112
5	Taiwan	276,194
6	South Korea	81,423
7	Japan	2,140
8	Others	21,853
II	Middle East and Africa	2,169,695
9	Saudi Arabia	1,940,415
10	United Arab Emirates	109,085
11	Kuwait	85,646
12	Bahrain	3,105
13	Qatar	10,191
14	Oman/Tunisia	7,068
15	Jordan	10,445
16	Cyprus	23
17	Egypt	1
18	Others	3,716
III	America	18,338
19	United States of America	17,036
20	Others	1,302
IV	Europe	7,588
21	Netherlands	2,543
22	Italy	786
23	Britain	8
24	Spain	1
25	France	1
26	Others	4,249
	Total	4,927,351

(Source: DITJEN PPTKLN, DEPNAKERTRANS, 2007)

Below is a summary of Indonesian migration, based on destination country, from 1994 to 2006.

It should be noted that these numbers do not include illegal workers. The Directorate General of Migrant Workers Placement (Depnakertrans, 2007) reported that there are more than one million illegal migrant workers including 400,000 in Malaysia, 400,000 in Saudi Arabia, 20,000 in South Korea and 8,000 in Japan. This illegal status likely causes many problems for both the migrant and the destination country. For example, many social conflicts in Malaysia are thought to be triggered by illegal Indonesian migrant workers.

Diaspora Remittances and Government Policy

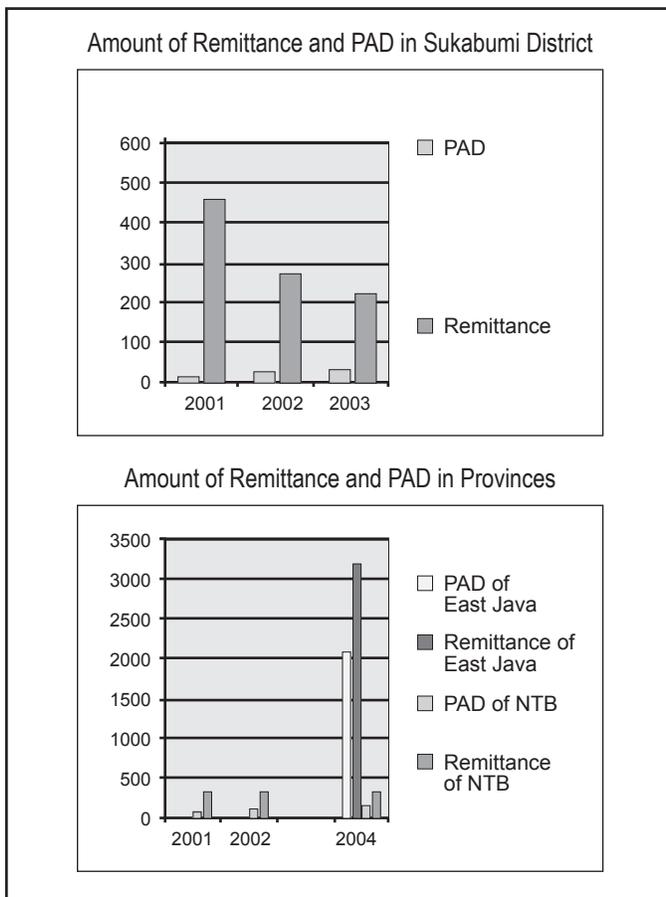
Despite the problems faced by many migrant workers -- particularly illegal workers -- the government continues to encourage migration as an important means of easing national unemployment and increasing currency flows to the country. During 2006, migrant remittances added approximately Rp 61 trillion (US\$ 6,7 billion) to the national economy. This is the second largest foreign exchange contribution after that of the oil and gas sector. According to the National Board of Indonesian Migrant Worker Placement and Protection (BNP2TKI) (Depnakertrans, 2007), this contribution could feed 30 million people in Indonesia.

Regions with a large number of migrant workers rely on the workers' remittances as their primary local income. A World Bank report (2006) compared local income and migrant remittances at province and dis-



strict levels. East Java Province, for example, has a much higher income from remittances than from local income (see Figure 1). Remittances obtained by East Java Province may soon reach more than Rp 3 trillion (US\$ 329,67 million). Similarly, in the District of Sukabumi, West Java,, remittances obtained are much higher than local income.⁵

Chart 1. Comparison of local income and migrant remittances at province and district levels



(World Bank, 2006)

Given the potential of migrant workers' remittances to contribute to the economic well-being of their hometowns, it is understandable that the Indonesian government (in particular, the Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration), has set a

target to increase the number of migrant workers to 3.9 million by 2009. If this target is met, remittances could increase to Rp 186 trillion per year (US\$ 20.2 billion) (Depnakertrans, 2007). Therefore, the government has been working to curtail the bureaucracy that currently burdens migrant workers and to establish a set of legal policies to protect workers' interests.

The government has issued several statutes -- including Law No. 39/2004 and President Instruction (Inpres) No. 6 / 2006 -- regarding migrant workers' overseas placement and protection. Given the high concentration of Indonesian migrants in Malaysia, the Indonesian government has also established a comprehensive Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the Malaysian government setting out the rights and obligations of workers, employers, the Indonesian Migrant Workers agent in Malaysia, the Indonesian Migrant Workers Recruiting Company in Indonesia, and both governments. Unfortunately, implementation of the MOU is not fully consistent.

Diaspora Philanthropy Practices

The practice of philanthropy among Indonesians emanates from long-held religious ideals and cultural ideals beliefs. Johnson (2007) reported that nearly all of the world's moral systems instruct believers to help those in need. Islam, the primary religion in Indonesia, holds charity to those in need as an important doctrine. *Zakat*, *infaq*, *sadaqa* and *wakaf* all refer to Islamic giving practices, either voluntary or obligatory, both in monetary and non-monetary wealth ⁶.

Although all major world religions are found in Indonesia and among its diaspora, this paper focuses on the philanthropic practices of Muslims for several reasons: Islam is the religion of the majority of Indonesians, living in and outside of the country; there are promising Islamic-based philanthropic organizations in Indonesia; and, a full exploration of all of the country's philanthropic traditions is beyond the scope of this study. We expect someday to conduct a comparative study on philanthropic giving across the country's religions, which would be strategically important for the Indonesian's pluralistic society.

Indonesian diaspora giving has likely been practiced for as long as migration, and has long been connected to one's community of origin. For example, those who had left for Hajj and studied abroad often returned after several years in the Holy Land and established *pesantrens* (Muslim boarding schools). In *pesantren*, they passed on — or “gave” — their new knowledge to their pupils, and in most cases also took care of their pupils' daily needs.

Philanthropic Motivations

There is no comprehensive study on the motivations of diaspora philanthropy in Indonesia. It is likely motivated by both a combination of factors, including a sense of familial obligation, a desire to improve the quality of life of a migrant's family, and a desire to demonstrate the economic success achieved while living abroad. A report from Migrant Care (2007) concluded that migrant workers' remittances are generally spent in very visible ways, such as in building or renovating a home or buying a car,

thus showing the achievement and success of the migrant worker in a foreign country. Contributions to community development or giving “for the public good” clearly exist, but such uses are limited and poorly documented.

While there is no data to inform a comprehensive analysis of Indonesian diaspora philanthropy motivations, they are likely to be similar to those described by Garchitorena (2007) regarding diaspora giving to the Philippines: (1) to help people in need as a religious obligation; (2) to give back to the country of their birth motivated by a sense of gratitude for the life they lived while in the hometown; (3) to express compassion for people in need in the hometown; (4) to demonstrate connectedness to the hometown; (6) to show the achievement made in the destination country and share this achievement with the hometown; and, (7) to help victims of disaster.

The last rationale — to assist victims of disaster — is a unique but powerful motivation. Recent examples of disaster-related philanthropy include fundraising by Indonesian students' unions for the Aceh Tsunami (2004), the Jogja earthquake (2006) and the earthquake in West Sumatera (2007). In an emergency situation ethnic or religious connections appear to become irrelevant; giving way to broader nationalistic and altruistic motivations.

Scale and Mechanisms of Giving

No study has been conducted on the volume of diaspora giving to Indonesia or the manner in which these funds are collected and distributed. Indonesians are accustomed to giving money personally



to those in need, which does not normally require the involvement of any social institution or organization. This makes it difficult to obtain information on how much money is actually given to charity. Moreover, the Indonesian philanthropist typically prefers to remain anonymous. In fact, Islam teaches the concept of *ikhlas*, which encourages givers to disguise their identity, because generosity will not be counted before God if it has been mentioned to others⁷.

Likewise, it is not easy to determine the frequency with which charitable funds are distributed by Indonesian migrant workers to their hometowns or to charitable organizations. For many Muslims it is likely that charity (*infak*, *sadaqa*, including *Zakat*) is extended only at certain times, usually during Ramadhan (the fasting month) and Eid-el Fitri, when Muslims are obliged to give *zakat*. Muslims further believe that Ramadhan and Eid-el Fitri are the best times to express their generosity for others. Moreover, Indonesians tend to come home and celebrate these holidays in their hometowns, making personal and direct giving more easy. Despite the paucity of research, diaspora giving by and/or through certain kinds of organizations or groups appears to be significant.

Hometown Associations

Based on available data, it appears that diaspora philanthropy is often targeted to a migrant's community of origin. When living outside of the country, many Indonesian migrant workers form informal or formal organizations based on common communities or hometowns. Such groups

can undertake a variety of functions, from informal socializing to organizing ways to share their prosperity with their home community. Such groups may share not only money and materials, but also ideas, knowledge and experience to help the development of their hometown. In other words, they are providing both financial and "social" remittances to their communities of origin.

One such hometown association is the Minang USA Foundation, established by the Minang tribe in the United States. Responding the 2007 West Sumatera earthquake, this organization provided US\$2,500 to build an emergency primary school in Ganting, Tanah Datar, West Sumatera. Another example of a Minang migrant community organization is the *The Indonesian Minang Saiyo Sydney*, in Australia. Established in 1987, the organization includes about 200 family members. This group provided US\$8,900 in response to the 2007 West Sumatera disaster.

Another Minang migrants' organization that is quite large, both organizationally and in its contributions, is *Sulit Air Sepakat (SAS)*. This organization, originating from Sulit Air, is the oldest and largest diaspora association in West Sumatera. SAS has around 60 Branch Management Boards (Dewan Pimpinan Cabang) in Indonesia and four others in Malaysia, Sydney, Melbourne and Washington, D.C. (*Suara SAS*, 1995).

Indonesian Student Unions

Indonesian students in foreign countries often form student organizations. A good example is Persatuan Mahasiswa

Indonesia di Amerika Serikat (Permias) -- the Indonesia Student Association in the United States-- which has branches in every state. Permias collected Rp 25 million (US\$2,777) for the 2006 tsunami in Aceh.

Student associations are also found in many other countries, including Australia, Netherlands, Germany, Britain, Japan, and India. Despite the fact that members of these associations are mostly students, who are paying for their education instead of earning a salary, these organizations have great potential for disaster-relief. Collaborating with Indonesian Embassies and other Indonesian diaspora networks, these organizations have successfully conducted fundraising events such as charity nights and charity bazaars, often raising considerable amounts of money for charity and relief. For example, Indonesian students and Indonesian migrants in Qatar -- numbering approximately 18,000 -- in coordination with the Indonesian Embassy, successfully collected US\$19,000 in only four days for tsunami victims in Aceh. Similarly, Indonesian students in the Netherlands collected US\$2,670 to help victims of the Yogyakarta earthquake in 2006.

Faith-based Groups

Indonesian communities in foreign countries also form organizations or forums based on shared religious views. (Typically, such religious groups are informally organized around mosques, sometimes with support from Indonesian embassies.) These forums strengthen the sense of community among Indonesians practicing the same religion; they are also used as channels for

collecting humanitarian donations to help those in Indonesia. For example, the Forum Komunikasi Masyarakat Muslim Indonesia se-Jerman (FORKOM-Jerman), or Communication Forum for Indonesian Community, in Germany, raised funds to help tsunami victims in Aceh.

Not-for-profit Organizations.

A few not-for-profit organizations in Indonesia have established offices abroad to raise funds for charitable purposes within Indonesia. Two examples are *Pos Keadilan Peduli Umat* (PKPU) and *Yayasan Pulih* (Pulih Foundation). PKPU is an Islamic-based organization that has been officially recognized by the Indonesian government. PKPU has been appointed as a national zakat collection organization, which means that it is officially acknowledged by the government as responsible for managing and distributing *zakat*, *infak*, *sadaqa* and *wakaf*, both within Indonesia and among the diaspora. Based on a PKPU report (PKPU, 2007), considerable funds have been raised from Indonesians living in other countries. These funds are distributed for disaster assistance and also for other aims such as building education facilities and praying houses, or to promote community economic development. (The activities and accomplishments of PKPU are further elaborated in the Appendix.)

Another organization, *Yayasan Pulih*, successfully collected as much as \$6,000 for the victims of the conflict in Ambon, a capital city of Moluccas Province. These funds were distributed through the Maluku Refugee Coalition (Koalisi Pengungsi Maluku).



Diaspora philanthropy, provided through the organizations described above, is clearly still sporadic and incidental. Certainly, much fund-raising occurs only in response to disasters within Indonesia. More systematic giving, through these organizations, is limited. This is partly due to the temporary nature and the constantly changing membership of some organizations, such as student unions. However, people are beginning to realize the importance of more strategic and sustainable philanthropic practices. Even though it is still only on a small-scale, certain efforts -- such as those conducted by some female ex-migrant workers from various districts to exchange knowledge, skills, and money -- show much promise and deserve community and government support (*Kompas*, March 10, 2008).

Distribution of Diaspora Philanthropy

It appears that a significant portion of the limited volume of diaspora giving supports community infrastructure improvements such as the building of roads and bridges, praying houses and meeting halls, and public graveyards. For example, in *Nagari* (the smallest unit of the West Sumatera government hierarchy), the house of the *Nagari* representative, worth Rp 500 million (US\$ 55,500), was built by funds collected mostly from migrant workers (BKKBN, 2005).

The education sector also receives *Zakat* and *infak* contributions from migrant workers. Funds support a variety of initiatives and programs including school fees, teacher incentives and the purchase of books.

The Impact of Diaspora Philanthropy

According to the Asia Pacific Philanthropy Consortium (APPC) (2007), strategic philanthropy by diaspora populations refers to investments that fund longer-term and sustainable social change in home countries, as opposed to charitable giving that addresses immediate needs and remittance transfers that “fulfill familial obligations.” Strategic philanthropy can range from monetary giving to intellectual giving or in-kind giving such as volunteerism and knowledge exchange.

Using this definition, Indonesian diaspora philanthropy cannot yet be called strategic philanthropy; although its potential is apparent. The country’s widespread poverty likely motivates many Indonesians living overseas to give to charity to alleviate individual suffering and address immediate needs. But growing exposure to organizations such as PKPU and *Dompot Dhuafa Republika* may gradually change the perspective from “giving the fish” to “giving the fishing rod,” and help to change charitable giving into strategic philanthropy.

The passage of Regulation No. 38/1999 on *Zakat* collection has encouraged the emergence of many Islamic charitable management organizations. In 2001, PKPU and DD Republika were established, followed by the *Yayasan Baitul Mal Umat Islam BNI 46* (Bamuis 46) in 2002, *Dana Peduli Umat Darut Tauhid* (DPU DT) in 2004, and several other similar organizations. In addition, *Yayasan Keragaman Hayati* (KEHATI), the Indonesian Biodiversity Foundation, has encouraged the development of strategic corporate philanthropic activities through

a program called “Indonesia Philanthropy Initiatives.”

These charitable management organizations are demonstrating how philanthropic giving can be both professional and strategic. They have the ability and the resources to improve public participation and empower communities. They address difficult and important issues such as civil rights and labor. Professional management, accountability, and transparency have built community trust in these organizations, a necessary ingredient for strategic philanthropy.

Two organizations — *Pos Keadilan Peduli Umat* (PKPU) and the *Sulit Air Sepakat Organization* (SAS) illustrate the emergence and the potential of strategic giving among the Indonesian diaspora.

Pos Keadilan Peduli Umat

PKPU cannot be separated from Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS), an Islamic political party born after Suharto’s era had ended. Initially, PKPU was under PKS’s organizational structure, and known as *Pos Terpadu Pelayanan Masyarakat* (Poster Masyarakat), and became an independent foundation in 1999. PKPU collects and manages philanthropic funding from Indonesians living in and outside of the country. Because of its affiliation with Islamic groups, most donations, both monetary and in-kind, are in the form of *Zakat* or *infaq/sadaqa*.

There are three key reasons behind the establishment of PKPU as an independent organization devoted to strategic philanthropy activities: first, the community enthusiasm for giving funds to PKPU when it was still under the PKS; second, public

concern that the government was not being supportive enough to people suffering from disaster or conflict; third, a widespread belief that many Islamic foundations provide few concrete actions to help people. According to PKPU, Indonesia — the world’s largest Muslim population — is in a strong position to manage Muslim *Zakat* and *infaq* funds for the empowerment of poor communities.

Trust in PKPU has been evidenced by the legalization of PKPU as a national *Zakat* organization in 2001 and by the significant increase in charitable giving from Indonesian communities, both at home and overseas. PKPU data, summarized in the following table, shows there is a significant increase in the amount of funding received from Indonesians living abroad.

Table 2. Migrant Contributions to PKPU

Year	Funds Received (IDR)
2006	3.4 billion
2005	4.5 billion
2004	1.7 billion
2003	1.2 billion
2002	500 million
2001	450 million

This funding came from Indonesians living in the United States, Canada, Germany, Japan, Australia, United Arab Emirates, Netherlands, Sweden, Qatar, South Korea, Brunei, Malaysia, Singapore, Pakistan, England, Norway, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Sudan.

PKPU has four main program areas: health, education, the economy and religious *da’wa* (literally, “a call to Islam”). Distribution of funds further falls into three categories: rescue (emergency), reha-



bilitation, and community development or empowerment.

As much as 85% of PKPU contributions are used for relief and rehabilitation programs. Due to its extensive field experience, PKPU is able to distribute funds for disaster relief quickly and effectively. Often PKPU works together with other organizations — such as *Dompot Dhuafa Republika*, *Darut Tauhid*, *LAZIS Al-Azhar*, *MER-C Doctor Network* and *Partai Keadilan Sejahtera* — to reach those in need.

Humanitarian activities include mobile clinics, free health services, food distribution, and distribution of used clothes to refugees of conflict or natural disaster. Missions have been conducted in areas including Ternate, Bacan, Tidore, Makian, Halmahera, Ambon, Buru, Seram, Kei, Bengkulu, Poso, Parigi, Palu, Sumatera Barat, Aceh, Gorontalo, Pandeglang, and Madura. Through its rehabilitation programs, PKPU provides scholarships, assistance to orphans, food supplements for elementary school students, school renovations and prayer facilities in areas of conflict or natural disaster, and mental and spiritual education for refugees. PKPU policy ensures that contributions to help victims of a specific disaster or disaster area are used as directed by the donors.

Only 15% of the community funds managed by PKPU is used for community empowerment. Of this 15%, as much as 70% supports health, spiritual and education-related activities such as scholarships and skills training. The other 30% of the funds is put into a revolving fund.

Various groups have benefited from the revolving fund. For example, in Jakarta,

the PKPU formed an independent group or *Kelompok Swadaya Masyarakat (KSM)* to distribute resources from the revolving fund to community members in the form of small, two-year loans. Beneficiaries have included farmers, breeders, home industry owners, small business owners, motorcycle rental business owners (*tukang ojek*) and fishermen. Other activities supported by the community empowerment revolving fund include: distributing animals for *qurban* (sacrifice); building clinics; providing goods such as rice mills, tractors, boats, and coconut mills (in Galela and North Maluku), training for linen industry owners (in Yogyakarta), and alternative education for refugees (in North Huri, Maluku, in collaboration with et Forty).

Recently, PKPU was asked by Padangnese living in other countries to manage and distribute 100 million rupiah (US\$11,000) for economic empowerment programs in Padang, a capital city of West Sumatera Province.

Sulit Air Sepakat Organization

The *Sulit Air Sepakat (SAS)* Organization is an excellent role model for other organizations wishing to inspire and facilitate diaspora giving. SAS is a membership organization whose members are Indonesians from Sulit Air in West Sumatera who are residing in other countries. SAS is considered to be both a motivator of charitable giving for hometown development and a bridge between the diaspora contributors and their home community. It was established in 1918 in Padang City, the capital of the province of West Sumatera. Initially, SAS's main activity was to help with funeral

ceremonies for Indonesians from *Sulit Air Nagari* who died in foreign countries. In 1930, SAS changed its orientation, deciding to “focus its help on the living, rather than those who have passed away” (Huri, 2006). During the same period, the Muhammadiyah Organization and Sumatera Thawalib in Padang Panjang led some reformation practices in Islam, which encouraged SAS to engage in more social and community empowerment activities.

The success of *Sulit Air Sepakat’s* philanthropic efforts can be seen most clearly in the newly created Office of Representatives of the Nagari Community. With diaspora philanthropy contributions, this office has completed significant infrastructure, educational, health, and economic initiatives in the community. SAS also responds to natural disasters in West Sumatera and in other parts of Indonesia.

Infrastructure improvements have included the construction of roads, bridges, schools, mosques (*mushalla*) and a community health center (*Puskesmas*). In addition, SAS has made major improvements in educational facilities including the Kindergarten School (TK), the Islamic Junior High School (MTSN), the Islamic Senior High School (MAN), the Islamic Boarding School, and the College in Sulit Air Nagari. These projects have been completely funded by SAS members living in other countries.

In the education sector, SAS provides support, sometimes in collaboration with other foundations formed by Sulit Air residents living abroad⁸, in the form of annual scholarships and books for students. In health, SAS activities have included the

provision of ambulances and computers as well as direct health services such as eye operations.

In the economic sector, SAS facilitates the development of Community Loan Organizations or *Bank Perkreditan Rakyat* (BPR) for small businesses in Sulit Air. These rural banks were started when Suharto, the President of Indonesia, asked people to contribute at least Rp 1000 annually to hometown development. People in West Sumatera acted on this appeal with a movement called Gerakan Seribu Minang (Gebu Minang), successfully establishing 7 BPRs in the province, including one in Sulit Air Nagari.

The Enabling Environment

Obstacles and Challenges

In recent years, a number of new professional intermediary organizations have been established in Indonesia to facilitate local and/or diaspora giving. In addition to DD Republika and PKPU, previously described, groups such as *Rumah Zakat*, *Forum Zakat*, *Tabung Wakaf*, Free Health Center, etc. all facilitate charitable giving. Notable is the application of modern management practices to philanthropic activities, with increasing levels of accountability and transparency in fund collection, management and distribution.

However, there are significant obstacles to promoting and implementing strategic philanthropic activities within the country and among its overseas citizens. These obstacles follow those identified by Najam (2007) in his observations about charitable giving among Asians. Most notably:



- There is a strong preference to give directly to individuals in immediate need rather than through an institution or organization conducting long-term community development programs.
- There are a limited number of organizations with truly “strategic” philanthropic programs. This reflects the desire among many individuals to contribute to symbolic activities or activities that will show immediate impact. Many overseas Indonesians like to show their success to people in their hometown, and thus fund “visible” activities and facilities
- Indonesians, in general, do not trust most of the existing organizations. This is in large part due to the lack of accountability and transparency among most institutions.

Government Regulatory and Tax Policies

Indonesia has several policies and regulations affecting migration and migrant philanthropy. In general and to date, most relevant policies focus predominantly on encouraging migration. There are few regulations that directly encourage or facilitate charitable donations.

Indonesia increasingly seeks to make the country’s diaspora an engine of sustainable social development and community change. The government rightly recognizes the migrants’ current contributions to the economy of their respective communities. Given the country’s continued weak economic performance coupled with high rates of poverty and unemployment, the government continues to encourage economic migration and remittance sending. The

government is also increasingly exploring ways to encourage other forms of diaspora contributions, such as the philanthropic activities discussed in this paper.

The Indonesian government has instituted several policies to make migration easier. Historically long and bureaucratic migration procedures have been cut significantly, with the required forms to fill out reduced from 40 forms to 11 forms. The time needed for migration permission has also been cut significantly from one to two months to 14 days. Also, those seeking a special passport for migration can now apply for it locally, rather than needing to travel to Jakarta, saving applicants both time and money.

The government has also issued several regulations to protect Indonesians working outside of the country, including Regulation No. 39/ 2004 and President Instruction No. 6/2006, both addressing the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Workers. In addition, the government established a National Coordinating Body for the placement and protection of migrants (*BNP2TKI or Badan Nasional Penempatan dan Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia*).

The government is also working to improve the competencies and skill of migrants before sending them abroad. As a result of these initiatives, it is hoped that Indonesian migrants will be able to secure jobs with higher wages and thus increase the level of remittances returned to the country.

At the local level, local governments in several regions are seeking to maximize the impact of charitable funds from the diaspora. When migrants return to their

hometowns, special forums are held with local government and migrant representatives during which the community develops plans and priorities for migrant engagement in their home communities.

There are no Indonesian legal and tax regulations specifically addressing diaspora philanthropy activities. In 1993, the government recommended a policy (Regulation No 7/1983) under which foundations working on religious affairs, education, health and culture would not be taxed on contributions. Unfortunately, the regulation was rejected by The House of Representative in 1994. In a more recently proposed regulation (Regulation No 10/1994), the free-tax application might be available to a narrower set of organizations and types of contributions.

As noted earlier, recent changes in the *Zakat* collection and management could have a significant impact on diaspora giving. Regulation No 17/2000 and Regulation No 38/1999 include two important points: first, *Zakat* is defined as non-taxable revenue to organizations that receive such contributions; and second, *Zakat* — given to both organizations and individuals — can be deducted from an individual's personal taxable income.

Although these and a few other regulations support philanthropic activities in Indonesia, they are generally perceived as weak and discriminative in nature, most particularly because they apply only to Islamic giving. Non-Muslim communities consider these regulations unfair and seek similar policies governing their own charitable contributions to assist the poor. In addition, because these regulations only

address *Zakat* giving, set at 2.5% of one's income, these regulations do not encourage Muslims to increase their charitable giving beyond *zakat*.

Recommendations

Despite the lack of data and analysis on Indonesian philanthropy, including diaspora philanthropy, this paper attempts to provide some preliminary recommendations to increase the quantity of diaspora giving and to strengthen its role as a positive “agent of change” in the country's social and economic development.

As exhibited by this study, there is much potential for Indonesian diaspora giving. This potential is supported by strong religious and cultural traditions which appreciate the importance of both giving and community. At the same time, the economic and social problems faced by the country argue for an urgent response from all sectors, including the Indonesian diaspora.

To achieve any measurable impact will require a paradigm shift from traditional “service” philanthropy to “social change” philanthropy that addresses issues of social justice.⁹ The concept of philanthropy for social justice goes beyond the provision of basic needs (e.g., food, clothing, food and shelter) of those living in poverty to address the underlying and unjust systems and structures that cause such poverty. While traditional philanthropy is often limited to eradicating the symptoms of social injustice, strategic philanthropy tries to eliminate its very cause.

Charitable giving from Indonesia's diaspora may be limited in volume, but there are opportunities to encourage more



giving and to more strategically allocate or invest those contributions to promote social justice and economic development. The following preliminary recommendations suggest ways in which various actors can promote and strengthen philanthropy for social change and justice:

Government

Government, including representatives in Indonesian and overseas in embassies, could consider the following actions:

- Ensure better legal protection and services for Indonesian migrant workers. This could include providing faster service for preparing documents, providing complete and accurate information to migrant candidates, and helping in disputes between migrants and their employers.
- Develop a national information system of Indonesians living abroad. It will be easy for the government to monitor and mobilize people when there are clear and updated data.
- Provide tax incentives for individuals and groups wishing to make charitable donations, without consideration of their religion, race, gender, etc.
- Promote the concept and practice of strategic philanthropy to migrants through comprehensive information programs and help to facilitate giving programs that address sustainable social change and development.

NGOs and Civil Society

- Advocate for policy reforms to improve general conditions for migrants and to directly encourage charitable giving.

- Institute professional, modern management standards, with accountability and transparency, to create trust and confidence among potential contributors.
- Develop programs that balance the immediate needs of disadvantaged individuals with the long-term welfare of migrant workers, their families and their hometown communities.
- Promote the concept and use of charitable giving for strategic, sustainable efforts, supporting long-term improvement and social justice.
- Conduct or commission additional studies to understand the practice and the potential of diaspora philanthropy in Indonesia.

Diaspora Community

- Develop and strengthen diaspora networks among Indonesians living in other countries. This will strengthen the migrants' negotiating position and improve their ability to advocate for rights and protection. Strong networks will also provide the organizational infrastructure through which to effectively engage in hometown development, as shown by the Sulit Air Sepakat organization.
- Promote and adopt a principle of "teaching one to fish rather than giving fish."
- Seek out feedback and input from a broad range of individuals and organizations, researchers and academics, to help strengthen philanthropic giving initiatives.

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Notes

- 1 *Gotong royong* is a voluntary, team social activity conducted by a community. The most common activity is constructing or restoring public infrastructure such as roads, bridges or mosques/churches.
- 2 Probability of dying between birth and exactly one year of age expressed per 1,000 live births.
- 3 The annual number of deaths of women from pregnancy-related causes per 100,000 live births
- 4 *Politik Etis* was created by the Dutch colony in 1901 to repay for the misery and suffering experienced by the Indonesian people during Colonialism. Through this policy, some Indonesian youths from aristocratic families and Dutch government

officials were given the opportunity to attend Dutch educational institutions. In Indonesia, these institutions were limited in facility and curriculum, and covered only the basic and middle levels. Hence, many Indonesian students who had completed this curriculum were sent abroad to continue their studies. These people, along with other educated people in Indonesia, pioneered the issues and the struggle of Indonesian independence.

- 5 Remittances between 2001 to 2003 in Sukabumi decreased, as many migrant workers from Sukabumi were deported back to Indonesia because they lacked documents and was caused by the escalating political situation in Middle East and the SARS epidemic in Pacific Asia.
- 6 The concept of generosity is not only well known to Muslims. Hinduism teaches the concept as *Dharmasastra* and *Puranas juga*, which conveys the same idea as zakat in Islam called *datria datriun*. The person who has the right to accept such dharma is called *danapatra*. Buddhism has the similar concept of the ethic code, or *sutta nipata*, which has five pillars. Confucianism also acknowledges money given, up to two-tenths of one's wealth. In Christianity, this share is defined as part of somebody's income, to be paid to one's church for organization, maintenance, support for the minister, program promotion and to help the poor (Karim, 2003).
- 7 Some Muslims consider shodaqoh (charity) that God counts (rewarding) as shodaqoh given with sincerity; this means it shall be not mentioned afterwards, especially before those receiving the charity. However, some Muslims believe that mentioning the charity, as long as it is not in purpose of offense, is needed for syiar—as a role model.

8 Some members of SAS establish independent foundations to fund social and economic activities. Most of these are private foundations, created on behalf of a family or a certain group. In this case, the role of SAS is to provide the foundations with information regarding hometown needs and priorities.

9 For further discussion please refer to Prihatna, “Filantropi dan Keadilan Sosial di Indonesia” in *Revitalisasi Filantropi Islam: Studi Kasus Lembaga Zakat dan Wakaf di Indonesia*, Chaider S. Bamualim dan Irfan Abubakar (eds), (Jakarta, Center for Languages and Culture and The Ford Foundation, 2005).

Appendix

Case Study on Strategic Diaspora Philanthropy: Pos Keadilan Peduli Umat (PKPU)¹

Pos Keadilan Peduli Umat (PKPU) began as an official institution or board of the Islamic political party “Partai Keadilan (PK).” This board acted as the Social Welfare Department of PK, initially responding to the needs of the victims of the often violent social conflicts in Ambon, North Maluku, Poso, and other locales. Under the PK, this board was named Pos Terpadu Pelayanan Masyarakat (Poster Masyarakat). Following independence from PK, its name was changed to Pos Keadilan Peduli Umat (PKPU). As a PK board, Poster Masyarakat raised around IDR 3,5 billions (US\$ 411,764) per year from PK supporters and the broader public.

Given its fundraising success among the general public, PK determined that its social and community activities would be better served by creating an independent non-governmental organization not affiliated with a political party, and PKPU was officially established as an independent foundation in December 1999. There were three key motivations in establishing an independent organization. First, the level of donations from the general public; sec-

ond, recognition that government aid for poor people, and particularly for victims of conflict and natural disaster, was not optimal; and third, a belief that many Islamic foundations did very little to truly help the victims of disasters or social conflict.

Considering the great potential of *zakah*, *infak*, *sadaqa*, and *waqaf* (ZISWAF)—forms of Islamic compulsory and voluntary aid—PKPU sought official permission from the Ministry of Religion to become an approved *Zakat* collector. In October 2001 it received permission as Amil Zakah Institution, Lembaga Amil Zakat (LAZ) through decree No. 441.

Vision and Mission

In 1999, when the board was established, the vision was “to be one of the institutions in Indonesia which provide care for the community’s welfare through trusteeship and professional management.” By 2002, in concert with its growth in activities, PKPU’s vision became more ambitious. The phrase “to be one of the institutions in Indonesia which provide care” was changed to “to be the fore-



most institution in Indonesia to promote humanitarian care through trusteeship and professional management” (PKPU, 2007).

PKPU describes three key aspects of its humanitarian mission. First, to reduce human suffering through education, empowerment, and communication. Second, to be an intermediary or facilitator between philanthropists and the poor by collecting and distributing ZISWAF and other humanitarian contributions. Third, to build a partnership among government, private companies, NGOs, and other social institutions -- both within Indonesia and overseas.

Following its vision and mission, PKPU is committed to fostering and nurturing the philanthropic impulse of the Indonesian people. That commitment has become the background of its slogan “*Menggugah Nurani Menebar Peduli*” (Touch the Feeling to Spread Caring). There is a perception among many in Indonesia that Indonesians have lost their compassion and commitment to help others. Through their slogan and activities, PKPU truly hopes that many philanthropists will be motivated to lend both heart and hand to aid the poor.

Organizational Philosophy and Structure

The cornerstone of PKPU’s management vision is transparency. The organization seeks to be open and transparent in all aspects including accounting, administration, and program implementation. PKPU adopted the ISO (International Organization for Standardization) 9001/2000 quality management system as its principal standard. In addition, PKPU maintains a frequently updated website through which the public

can monitor PKPU activities as well as the use of their own ZISWAF contributions to PKPU. PKPU leadership believes that if they manage contributions in an open, professional, fair, and transparent manner they will enhance donor trust and that ultimately, charitable support will increase.

The PKPU governance structure adheres to Regulation No. 16, which provides that a foundation should consist of a controller, a supervisor, and board. At present, the PKPU organizational structure includes a director, a secretary, an administration division, an information and publication division, accounting division, and program staff members. PKPU recently added a marketing division and is developing a dedicated program division. In the next upgrading, these divisions will be adjusted to meet ISO 9001/2000 standards. In addition to its Indonesian operations, PKPU has agencies located in Germany, the United States, Sweden, the Netherlands, Australia, and the Middle East.

Collecting Donations

PKPU employs several methods to collect ZISWAF and other contributions. First, PKPU provides monthly Quran readings in private corporations to help build a caring, contributing Muslim community. Second, PKPU goes door-to-door to promote and collect ZISWAF donations. Third, it undertakes special initiatives such as Peduli Bencana Nasional (National Disaster Care Program) to raise funds for special needs. Fourth, PKPU regularly advertises its programs and products to the public through its website, mass media, banners, pamphlets, etc.

PKPU collects donations both nationally and internationally, among the diaspora. The greatest volume of donations is received in response to natural disasters in Indonesia; there is also strong support for the victims of human conflict. Overseas donations are significant; contributions for the last six years are: IDR 3,4 Billion (US\$ 373,626) in 2006, IDR 4,5 Billion (US\$ 500,000) in 2005, IDR 1,7 Billion (US\$ 178,947) in 2004, IDR 1,2 Billion (US\$ 141,176) in 2003, IDR 500 Million in 2002, and IDR 450 Million (US\$ 52,491) in 2001. These funds are raised from diaspora populations in the United States, Canada, Germany, Japan, Australia, United Arab Emirates, the Netherlands, Sweden, Qatar, South Korea, Brunei, Malaysia, Singapore, Pakistan, England, Norway, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Sudan.

In an exceptional move for Indonesians residing overseas, in 2008 PKPU has been trusted by the Indonesian-Padang community to manage and distribute their donated funds of around IDR 100 million (US\$ 11,112).

Programs and Activities

Based on the organization mission, PKPU has developed four long-term program areas that are funded by diaspora and local contributions: education, healthcare, economic development, and religious speech. Each of these is summarized below.

Education

There are three main foci in the education program. First, SWADAYA, a scholarship program for poor students and those in orphanages from elementary to college level. Second, SWADESI, a scholarship program for high-achieving students, also

from elementary through college level. Third, DIKLAT, a program serving particularly vulnerable children refugees, disaster victims, orphans, and the poor.

Healthcare

The health initiative includes two main programs, Klinik Peduli/ Care Clinic, a program that provides health clinics to the poor and in neglected areas; and Pro Smiling (Program Kesehatan Masyarakat Keliling), a mobile health program that provides community health services with low cost and wide reach.

Economic development.

The main initiative in this sector is ProSPEK (Program Sinergi Pemberdayaan Ekonomi/Economic Empowering), a program that empowers the poor through micro economic efforts. This program often supports traditional farmers, handicraft workers, cattle workers, “ojek” drivers and fishermen.

Religious speech

There are also three main programs in this sector: first, KKD (from “Kuliah Kerja Da’wah,” referring to practices of religious speech) to improve preachers’ skills in post-disaster areas; second, DUTA (from “Dakwah Nusantara,” national religious speech), providing preachers to remote areas of Indonesia; and third, Muslim Vision, the regular Islamic teaching program for executives and professionals.

Distribution of Donations

PKPU collects and distributes both discretionary and designated contributions. That is, some -- discretionary -- donations are given to PKPU to distribute accord-



ing to the organization's own perception of needs. PKPU will often distribute these undesignated contributions to its community development and economic programs. The recipients of other -- designated -- contributions are specified by the donor. In the latter case, PKPU maintains the trust of the donor by committing itself to deliver the donation as specified by the donor. For example, if the donor specifies that his donation must be given to the victims of social conflict in Ambon, PKPU will do so. The same treatment also applies to waqaf assets. For example, if the donor wants to give his waqaf to maintain an ambulance, PKPU will do exactly as indicated. These donations are also called "dependent funds."

In distributing donations to some areas, PKPU works together with third parties such as Dompot Duafa, Darut Tauhid, LAZIS Al-Azhar, Medical Networking, MER-C, and PKS.

From the total contributions received by PKPU, around 85% is distributed for relief programs. A separate dependent fund is established for this purpose. The remaining 15% is used for community development programs. From this 15%, around 70% will be used for programs in health, education, and religious speech; the other 30% supports a community economic empowering program (revolving fund).

Impact

PKPU's impact has been impressive, providing basic services and aid to vulnerable populations throughout Indonesia.

Through its relief program or humanitarian rescue mission, it has provided

- Mobile health care for the refugees in Ternate, Bacan, Tidore, Makian, Hal-

mahera, Ambon, Buru, Seram, and Kei;

- Medical support for the refugees in Bengkulu, Poso, Parigi, and Palu;
- Food support for the community in Ambon, Buru, Seram and Kei, Ternate, Tidore, Bacan, Makian, Galela, and Halmahera, and for the refugees in Bengkulu, Poso, Parigi, and Palu;
- A public food center in 12 locations in Bengkulu;
- Support and reconstruction in disaster areas of Purworejo, Yogyakarta, Cilacap, Lumajang, Sumatera barat, Aceh, Gorontalo, Pandeglang and Madura;
- Food and health support for the Sampit's refugees in East Java;
- Clothing for the refugees in Buton, Ternate, Ambon, Pulau Seram, Morotai, and Banten.

The rehabilitation program also has significant accomplishments including

- Scholarships in West Sumatera, Bengkulu, North Maluku, and Maluku;
- Donations to the orphanage in North Maluku and Ambon;
- Extra food aid for elementary students in Bengkulu;
- Refugees' mental and spiritual health support in Maluku, North Maluku, Central Sulawesi and Bengkulu;
- The provision of 20 Da'i (Islam preachers) to the hinterland in North Maluku and Maluku;
- Rehabilitation of religious facilities in Bengkulu and for refugees in North Maluku;
- A rehabilitation house for earthquake victims in Bengkulu and refugees in

North Maluku; and school rehabilitation in Banten and Bengkulu.

Achievements of the community development programs include:

- Distributing sacrificed animal to Maluku, North Maluku Utara, Aceh, East Nusa Tenggara, Yogyakarta, East Java, West Java, Jakarta, Bali, and Southern Sulawesi;
- Establishing several health clinics -- 'Al-Aqsha' in Ambon, 'Sholahudin' in Ternate, 'Peduli' in Poso, and a health clinic in Central Jakarta;
- Empowering farmers in Bekasi through the provision of mills, distribution of

tractors and boats; providing a coconut machine to Galela, North Maluku, and empowering handicraft workers in Yogyakarta; and providing alternative education for the refugees in North Maluku in collaboration with et Forty.

Notes

- 1 Adapted from Chaider S. Bamualim dan Tuti A. Najib, "Pos Keadilan Peduli Umat (PKPU): Fenomena Educated Urban Muslim dan Revitalisasi Filantropi", dalam *Revitalisasi Filantropi Islam*, (Jakarta, Pusat Bahasa dan Budaya UIN, 2005), and interview with Direktur Kemitraan Luar Negeri, Tomy Hendrajati.

Dede Rusdiana

Dede Rusdiana is a researcher of the Public Interest Research and Advocacy Center, an independent non-profit resource organization that offers services in training, advocacy, and information dissemination in the fields of philanthropy and enhancement of civil society organization in Indonesia. He had conducted research on health, social, political and economic issues. In 2006 he was involved in national monitoring of the Indonesia government employees recruitment process and with other writers he published books about bureaucracy reform, especially in government employee's recruitment process. He's also one of the founders of LKPS (Lembaga Kemitraan Pembangunan Sosial/Social Development Partnership) a non-governmental institution that serves in the field of civil democracy and development. Along with the uprising of local autonomy, this institution struggles to create strategic partnership with numerous parties to build Economic Construction that molds with Social Construction. Dede is a 2005 Miriam Budiarjo Research Award finalist and graduated from Social Welfare Science Department, Faculty of Social and Political Science, University of Indonesia, in Jakarta in 2003.



Zaim Saidi

Zaim Saidi currently serves as the chairperson of the Public Interest Research and Advocacy Center (PIRAC) and actively participates in various activities that promote philanthropy and encourage resources mobilization in Indonesia. His many works include, his having written and spoken extensively on the subject of non-profit sector management, civil society, and NGO accountability, among others. He has also successfully published several books related on NGO, consumer, and *muamalat* issues. Zaim has also been an executive director of the Lembaga Konsumen Jakarta / Jakarta Consumer Institute (LKJ) since 2001 and has been the head of the board of directors of the Yayasan Manusia Indonesia / Indonesian People Foundation (YASMIN) since 1998. He successfully completed his post graduate studies in Public Affairs (Hon.) from Department of Government and Public Administration in the University of Sydney in 1998 and Islamic Muamalat, Dallas College, Cape Town, 2005-2006.