



Research Paper

The Dynamics and Challenges of Diasporic and Ethnic Philanthropy

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philab.uqam.ca

 PhiLab

PhiLab Network Description

The Canadian network of partnership-oriented research on philanthropy (PhiLab), previously called the Montreal Research Laboratory on Canadian philanthropy, was thought up in 2014 as part of the conception of a funding request by the SSHRC partnership development project called "Social innovation, social change, and Canadian Grantmaking Foundations". From its beginning, the Network was a place for research, information exchange and mobilization of Canadian foundations' knowledge. Research conducted in partnership allows for the co-production of new knowledge dedicated to a diversity of actors: government representatives, university researchers, representatives of the philanthropic sector and their affiliate organizations or partners.

The project's headquarters are located in downtown Montreal, on the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM) campus.

The Network brings together researchers, decision-makers and members of the philanthropic community from around the world in order to share information, resources and ideas.

Description du réseau PhiLab

Le réseau canadien de recherche partenariale sur la philanthropie (PhiLab), anciennement Laboratoire montréalais de recherche sur la philanthropie canadienne, a été pensé en 2014 dans le cadre de la conception de la demande de financement du projet développement de partenariat CRSH intitulé "Innovation sociale, changement sociétal et Fondations subventionnaires canadiennes". Ce financement a été reconduit en 2018 sous le nom "Evaluation du rôle et des actions de fondations subventionnaires canadiennes en réponse à l'enjeu des inégalités sociales et des défis environnementaux". Depuis ses débuts, le Réseau constitue un lieu de recherche, de partage d'information et de mobilisation des connaissances des fondations canadiennes. Des recherches conduites en partenariat permettent la coproduction de nouvelles connaissances dédiées à une diversité d'acteurs : des représentants gouvernementaux, des chercheurs universitaires, des représentants du secteur philanthropique et leurs organisations affiliées ou partenaires.

Le centre de recherche (Hub) mère se situe dans le centre-ville de Montréal, sur le campus de l'Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM).

Le Réseau regroupe des chercheurs, des décideurs et des membres de la communauté philanthropique à travers le monde afin de partager des informations, des ressources et des idées.

Abstract

This research paper brings together three research notes focusing on the dynamics and challenges of diasporic and ethnic philanthropy. By focusing on a number of distinct issues and debates, these works are part of an effort to better understand the effects and practices of this type of philanthropy, which remains little studied despite its importance.

The three research notes explore different aspects, both empirical and theoretical, and shed further light on philanthropy in diasporic communities. They highlight the political, social and theoretical dimensions that shape these philanthropic initiatives at the crossroads of national and transnational space. They are part of a larger research project on ethnic philanthropy involving several Philab Ontario members.

Key words

Diasporic philanthropy • Ethnic Philanthropy • Political Implications • Philanthropic Engagement

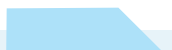
Résumé

Ce cahier de recherche rassemble trois notes de recherche qui s'intéressent aux dynamiques et aux défis de la philanthropie diasporique et ethnique. En s'intéressant à plusieurs enjeux et débats distincts, ces travaux s'inscrivent dans une démarche visant à mieux comprendre les effets et les pratiques de ce type de philanthropie, encore peu étudié malgré son importance.

Les trois notes de recherche explorent différents aspects à la fois empiriques et théoriques, et permettent d'apporter un éclairage complémentaire sur la philanthropie des communautés diasporiques. Elles mettent en lumière les dimensions politiques, sociales et théoriques qui façonnent ces initiatives philanthropiques à la croisée de l'espace national et transnational. Elles s'inscrivent dans un projet de recherche plus large sur la philanthropie ethnique regroupant plusieurs membres du Philab Ontario.

Mots-clés

Philanthropie diasporique • Philanthropie ethnique • Implications politiques • Engagement philanthropique



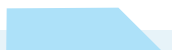
The Dynamics and Challenges of Diasporic and Ethnic Philanthropy

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Research Note

Establishing Diaspora in Diasporic Philanthropy

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The Canadian Philanthropy Partnership Research Network (PhiLab) is a Canadian research Network on philanthropy that brings together researchers, decision-makers and members of the philanthropic community from around the world in order to share information, resources, and ideas.



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ABSTRACT

As part of a wider research project on diasporas and ethnic philanthropy, this report focuses on the theoretical development of the concept of diaspora and aims to categorize the different positions found in the literature. Diaspora philanthropy is a growing field of research, closely linked to mass migration and globalized political economies. It encompasses diverse modes of engagement, strategies, and processes, mobilizing knowledge, resources, and capacities of diasporas. While rooted in diasporic identity and common ancestry, studies on diaspora philanthropy too often is limited to various forms of resource transfer from the country of residence to the country of origin. This is an incomplete representation of the various philanthropic cultures and practices of giving found in the diasporas. Recent literature reviews have highlighted the growing, but still limited, scope of research on diaspora philanthropy. Therefore, the aim of this report is to categorize its definitions, in order to better grasp this complex social phenomenon, and shed light on selecting case studies.

Key words:

Diaspora, transnationalism, subjectivity, identity(ies)

RÉSUMÉ

Dans le cadre d'un projet de recherche plus vaste sur la diaspora et la philanthropie ethnique, ce rapport se concentre sur le développement théorique du concept de diaspora et vise à catégoriser les différentes positions trouvées dans la littérature sur la diaspora. La philanthropie des diasporas est un domaine de recherche en plein essor, étroitement lié aux migrations de masse et aux économies politiques mondialisées. Elle englobe divers modes d'engagement, stratégies et processus, mobilisant les connaissances, les ressources et les capacités des diasporas. Bien qu'elle soit souvent ancrée dans l'identité diasporique et l'ascendance commune, elle implique diverses formes de transferts de ressources du pays de résidence vers le pays d'origine.

Les définitions théoriques de la diaspora sont essentielles pour comprendre les diverses perspectives de recherche sur la philanthropie diasporique et pour orienter la sélection des cas, afin de refléter les différents points de vue. De récentes analyses documentaires mettent en évidence la portée croissante, mais encore limitée, de la recherche sur la philanthropie de la diaspora. L'objectif de ce rapport est donc de catégoriser ses définitions, afin de mieux saisir ce phénomène peu étudié.

Mots-clefs:

Diaspora, transnationalisme, subjectivité, identité(s)

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INTRODUCTION

Diaspora philanthropy is a rapidly growing field of research, closely linked to mass migration, an era of globalized political economies, significant shifts in philanthropy, and associated technologies. It raises questions about the modes of engagement, strategies, and processes arising from diasporic formations, mobilizing their knowledge, resources, and capacities. Often perceived as a form of giving rooted in diasporic identity and common ancestry, fueled by a deep attachment to the homeland, it encompasses a variety of resource transfers, both monetary and non-monetary, from the country of residence to the country of origin (Espinosa, 2016).

Moreover, while diaspora philanthropy has been a longstanding practice, recent literature reviews and studies on the state and scope of research on diaspora philanthropy indicate that it is a growing, but still limited field of study in terms of theory and the motivations, moments, and modalities (Johnson, 2007; Espinosa, 2016; Shaul Bar Nissim 2019). This limitation has a lot to do with multidisciplinary ways of understanding diaspora.

This report, focusing primarily on the theoretical development of the diaspora concept, provides a better understanding of the various approaches attributed to it. By categorizing the different positions found in the diaspora literature, it opens up diverse research perspectives on diasporic philanthropy depending on the adopted definitions. For example, a study focused on the political dimension of the diaspora will not cover the same examples as those used in another that is centered on the cultural dimension. It is therefore crucial to clearly define the diaspora concept theoretically to subsequently understand the implications of our study in terms of case selection to reflect different perspectives.

An example highlighting the importance of theoretically defining the diaspora concept to guide research on diaspora philanthropy concerns the notion of territory, debated in the two major perspectives to be detailed in due course (Table 1 and Table 2). Researchers adopting a geographical and territorial view of diasporas might exclude pan-regional religious groups from the definition of diaspora philanthropy. A case illustrating this perspective is that of Lethlean (2003), who argues that acts of generosity motivated by religious beliefs rather than attachment to a territory or homeland, as is the case with the Islamic diaspora, cannot be qualified as diaspora philanthropy. He cites the example of the Aga Khan Foundation, firmly established in Canada, providing funds for specific initiatives within the Ismaili Muslim community in multiple countries. Since the Aga Khan Foundation does not support a specific country of origin but several, it does not meet the criteria for diaspora philanthropy according to the geographical/territorial perspective. Authors aligning more with the perspective that considers territory as something more fluid, beyond geographical borders, would maintain the same example as a case of diaspora philanthropy. Indeed, from this standpoint, religious groups can be considered diasporic communities based on how members of these groups perceive themselves.

The importance of the theoretical definition of diasporas, in diaspora philanthropic studies, also lies in a chance to recognize that a perspective brings forward a focus of the study surrounding philanthropic practices. The transnational dimension of diaspora studies directs attention to philanthropic efforts aimed outward, specifically toward the country of

origin. This encompasses various aspects such as direct diaspora investment, knowledge networks, remittances, return migration, bodies, tourism, and effects on human capital aimed at improving pre-departure skills. While these aspects are often considered separately, transnational interactions are also viewed elsewhere as integral to philanthropic practices. Studies focusing on the political and cultural dimensions of the diaspora primarily examine the engagement of its members and communities, albeit in different ways. These studies may explore both philanthropic activities directed towards the countries of origin and those conducted in the host country.

In the context of political studies on diaspora, emphasis is placed on viewing giving as a political act rather than simple charity. This perspective paves the way for examining the diverse compositions of diasporas, including the reasons for their formation, their formal and informal modes of action, as well as the underlying objectives of their actions. Some authors emphasizing the political dimension consider diasporic philanthropy as an example of transnational political activism. Thus, diasporic philanthropy would be closely linked to notions of activism, mobilization, and resistance, where giving remains a form of political activism (Low, 2017: 152; Guemar, Northey, and Boukrami, 2022: 1982-1983).

As for studies exploring the cultural dimensions of diaspora and philanthropic activities, they focus on the values and justifications underlying these donations. This allows for the analysis of diasporic positions, claims, and how this has led to the creation of communities. Thus, the emphasis is on the formation of diasporas, their sustenance, and the various forms they can take. By focusing on the process of diaspora formation, researchers can better understand how and why these communities form and why they engage in philanthropic acts.

Finally, in the context of examining diasporic philanthropy, studies that start from the individual positionalities of diaspora members focus on the individual and collective narratives of engagement, as well as on understanding the person's identity and their place within their community. An example is illustrated by Thandi (2013) in her study on the Punjabi diaspora. She explains that the community is not only highly diverse and heterogeneous but also strongly fragmented along religious, regional, class, caste, and gender lines, making the engagement of members different and dynamic.

To be able to categorize the different theoretical currents surrounding "diaspora" in diasporic philanthropy, we proceeded in two steps. Firstly, we conducted a comprehensive literature review, examining books and scholarly articles that employ this term. We selected sources that used the term both in the context of a case study and those focusing on its conceptual definition. In total, we used 201 sources from journal articles and book chapters, published mainly between 1990 and 2023. We first used the Google Scholar search engines with the following keywords: diaspora, philanthropy, migration, development, nexus, Canada, often combined in pairs (diaspora and philanthropy/philanthropy and migration, etc.). After examining the most cited or consulted works, we analyzed the bibliographic references of these documents, and consulted these references. We then re-examined the bibliographies of new articles to find new sources. We stopped when we reached saturation point, i.e., when we could find no more new references.

Secondly, once the reading was completed, we grouped authors to conduct a thematic analysis of their definitions, highlighting the underlying explanatory factors related to the diaspora. In other words, the objective of the second part of the methodology was to associate the concept of diaspora with a second explanatory sub-domain (cultural, political, institutional, transnationalism, etc.). These explanatory domains emerged during the second reading of the selected sources.

WHAT IS A DIASPORA?

The term "diaspora" has gained popularity among academic researchers, social actors from various racial, religious, or ethnic groups, as well as among associations since the late 1970s (Dufoix, 2015). Generally, it is used to describe the connection between an individual or a community and a country different from the one in which they reside.

Researchers unanimously concur that, members of a diaspora have a connection between a community and a "homeland." However, the conception of the "homeland" varies according to two distinct theoretical currents.

The first theoretical current considers the homeland as a geographic location corresponding to a state. This current generally relies on the works of two key authors: Safran (1991) and Cohen (1995). Although these two authors share the same definition, Cohen adds elements that communities must adhere to be considered diaspora members.

As illustrated in Table 1, the diaspora, according to this definition, must meet two criteria: the connection between a group and a specific (geographical) territory and compliance with the nation-state paradigm (associated with the idea of nationalist sentiment), to varying degrees.

The second theoretical current considers territory as something more fluid, beyond geographical borders. The connection with a "homeland" and a "community" can be multiple, as individuals may have various forms of identity. In this case, the territory is not necessarily tied to a specific country. This is notably the definition proposed by Shiao (1998), Veronis (2007), and Khan (2016). From this perspective, the authors emphasize that diasporic communities do not identify themselves as part of a monolithic racial or ethnic group and may not recognize themselves as members of the groups and categories assigned to them (Agwa, 2011). The diasporic community may be linked to the country of origin but also to religion or a broader geographic area. For example, a person of Salvadoran origin may feel linked to his or her Salvadoran identity, Christian religion, Canadian citizenship and Latin American culture, and may also identify with a specific gender or sexual identity. The individual can thus identify with several identities, and even superimpose them. This is demonstrated with examples in Table 2.

In summary, the first theoretical current defines diasporas as "imagined communities" with a sense of belonging through a defined state space. The second current, on the other hand, views diasporas as "connected communities" beyond state borders, based on individual preferences.

Table 1: Classical Definition of Diaspora Linked to a Geographic Territory

Components of Safran's Definition	Components of Cohen's Definition
Dispersion of individuals from their homelands	Traumatic dispersion of individuals from their homelands
Collective memory of a community towards their homeland	Collective memory and idealization of the homeland, with a collective commitment to its preservation, restoration, security, prosperity, and even its creation
Lack of integration in the host country	Difficult relationship with host societies
Myth of return and a lingering connection to the homeland	Development of a return movement that gains collective approval. Strong ethnic consciousness maintained over an extended period, based on a sense of distinction, a shared history, and belief in a common destiny
	Empathy and solidarity with co-ethnic members living in other countries
	Possibility of a distinctive and enriching creative life in host countries, with a tolerance for pluralism

Table 2: Example of multiple diasporic identities

Individual	Diasporic Identity(ies)
Arabo-American	American, Arab, Iraqi, and Muslim
Latino-Canadian	Canadian, Salvadoran, Latino, Christian
Sino-Canadian	Canadian, Chinese, Asian

Source: adapted from Shiao (1998), Veronis (2007), and Khan (2016)

DIASPORA: THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS AND RESEARCH TRENDS

Even within these two broad theoretical currents, other major differences surround the definition of the term "diaspora." Authors put forth various specificities that, in addition to the geographic aspect, explain or provide context for why individuals are or are not members of a diaspora.

We have identified four positions in the literature that allow for a better categorization of the term diaspora, according to theoretical currents. Each of these positions emphasizes a specificity inherent to diasporas, using an explanatory dimension. Therefore, each of these positions enables the study of diasporas from a specific perspective.

The first position is rooted in studies on transnationalism. Here, the term "transnationalism" is not synonymous with the term "diaspora," but it provides a perspective for studying the diaspora: the actions and processes of diasporic members within global structures between host countries and the country of origin. This position offers a way to study diasporas by focusing more on external factors and constraints (structures) that influence individuals who are members of diasporas.

The three other positions are rather anchored in a perspective on the agency of members from diasporas. The second position comes from studies on political engagement. Here, it is the desire for political engagement (in the broad sense) that creates the diaspora. It is not global structures (transnationalism and globalization) that create communities overlapping the borders of the nation-state, but rather the political engagement of actors who are members of ethnic communities.

The third position considers that diasporas are shaped by identities, which result from the amalgamation or juxtaposition of cultures (from the country of origin and the host country). It is through the process of hybridization that the diversity of identities is explained. The key dimension to understand diasporas is one or more cultures.

Ultimately, the fourth position for studying diasporas relies on the subjectivity of individuals, thus their positionality. The diaspora is not studied as a homogeneous group but rather as a process in which different members of the diaspora perceive themselves and understand the meaning of the community. Becoming a member of a diaspora is a process shaped by factors of inclusion and exclusion, and this experience varies within the diaspora itself.

Table 3 summarizes these four positions, highlighting the explanatory dimension of each of these currents as well as their theoretical foundation (paradigm).

Table 3: Explanatory Dimension Surrounding the Concept of Diaspora

Influence on diasporas	Explanatory Dimension	Paradigm
External factors (globalization)	Transnationalism	Structuralist
Political identities	Political engagement	Agency
Culture(s)	Hybridization	Cultural and Agency
Socialization	Positionality	Constructivist

Diaspora and Transnationalism

The first way to study diasporas involves seeing them as part of a much broader phenomenon - transnationalism. Studying the diaspora from a transnational perspective involves considering the country of origin, the destination country, and (im)migrants as forming a triangular social structure that can be extended to countries of subsequent migration (Faist, 2010).

Thus, discussing diaspora in transnational terms necessarily entails studying phenomena that occur both within and outside nation-states. Consequently, the study of diasporas in these current aims to examine the phenomena of mobility and cross-border movements. It is important to be careful not to confuse, in this position, diasporas and transnationalism. These are two distinct concepts. However, it is the concept of transnationalism that guides how one can study diasporas. In the context of this school of thought, the term "diaspora" refers to the transnational space created by the regular and systematic implementation, as well as the exchange of knowledge, economic resources, and cultural practices that collectively support members of dispersed nations within and beyond specific territorial borders (Mullings, 2011).

An interesting contribution of this position is to move away from traditional conceptions of the return myth that characterized early theories of international migration (Katigbak, 2020). Actors consciously perceive themselves as a group of spatially dispersed individuals. They define themselves as "diasporas," indicating that they have developed a "diasporic subjectivity" or a "diasporic mode of belonging," characterized by an orientation toward a real or imaginary homeland while maintaining ethnic, national, or religious boundaries over several generations (Dahinden, 2010: 54).

In doing so, the idea of diasporic citizenship goes beyond a sense of belonging and associated practices within the diaspora. It also extends to the nature of the connection with the country of origin, examining the networks through which these acts of citizenship operate, as well as their political, economic, and social implications (Mutambasere, 2022: 732-733). The concept of diasporic citizenship has a political dimension as it is linked to a sense of belonging and active civic participation both in the host country and the country of origin. The transnational approach shows how this diasporic citizenship can be used as a means of mobilization to advance rights in both the country of origin and the host country. Diasporic citizenship is not simply tied to official citizenship (e.g., holding a passport) but is rather based on identity or symbolism, linked to the connection with the country of origin. These citizenship practices can be identified in both the host and home countries, underscoring the importance of considering transnational borders (Mutambasere, 2022).

Two corollaries can be drawn from the literature. The first concerns the interaction between actors and institutions, and the second relates to the engagement and integration of diaspora actors in their host country.

Regarding the first corollary, Faist (2010: 23) asserts that formations created by the diaspora in the transnational sphere cannot be considered independent of states and non-state actors because they are constituted by these agents. With the help of institutions, members of diasporas manage to build and maintain intimate social connections between their respective countries of origin and their new diasporic locations (Patterson, 2006).

The second corollary concerns the notion of integration or non-integration. While transnationality is often perceived either as an alternative to integration or as a condition of being "integrated" in both the host country and the country of origin, it constitutes a much more porous boundary. Dahinden (2010: 70) gives the example of "diasporic" Armenians who demonstrate strong transnational engagement even if they are not particularly mobile themselves. Another significant example involves mobile transnational formations that display simultaneous dual integration in two contexts (meaning they have multiple identities). Faist (2010: 13) argues that, according to older notions of diaspora, members of diasporas do not fully integrate socially, politically, economically, or culturally into the host country. Assimilation would theoretically end diasporas, either ethnically or religiously. More recent notions of diaspora emphasize cultural hybridity resulting from "dissemination-nation" (Bhabha, 1994). This means there are distinct features between the host culture and groups but also a hybridity that forms between cultures. Table 4 summarizes these postulates.

Table 4: Postulates of Diaspora Studies from a Transnational Perspective

Postulate 1	Diasporas are just one aspect of a broader phenomenon – transnationalism.
Postulate 2	To be a diaspora, there must be cross-border movements (economic, ideational, emotional, cultural) aimed at collectively supporting members of a dispersed nation within and beyond specific territorial borders.
Postulate 3	Members from diasporas are active in both the host country and the country of origin.

In summary, the study of the transnational position of diasporas encompasses various aspects, extending beyond mere cross-border movements and the circulation of bodies, ideas, information, and goods (Katigbak, 2020). It also requires a thorough exploration of the links between individuals and states through institutions, both formal and informal, that transcend borders (Vertovec, 1999).

Considering these elements, diasporic phenomena can be perceived as a subcategory within broader transnational social formations (Faist, 2010: 33). This approach provides an analysis at a macro level, enabling an understanding of the connections between countries of origin and diaspora members while examining their practices and actions, such as remittances, and more broadly, all aspects related to development policy. Thus, the transnational perspective paves the way for a profound understanding of the complex dynamics that characterize the relationships between diasporas and host and home countries.

Political identity and Diaspora

Political identity as an explanatory factor for diasporic communities is always linked to the idea of transnationalism but adds a depth of explanation regarding how these communities are created and sustained. In the position emphasizing the importance of the political dimension, it is not merely the transnational space that explains it, but the transnational space integrated into a political struggle for recognition.

For approaches focused on the political dimension, a diaspora is a transnational network of dispersed political subjects with co-responsibility ties beyond the borders of empires, political communities, or nations (Werbner, 2002: 121). It is not solidarity that explains belonging to a diaspora but the sense of co-responsibility towards one's country of origin. In this context, diasporas are generally highly politicized social formations. This means that the diaspora's location is also a historical location, not just an abstract and metaphorical space (Werbner, 2002: 121).

Members of diasporic communities must constantly demonstrate their attachment to their country of origin and other diasporic causes by actively engaging locally (to deconstruct their invisibility). They do so through public acts of mobilization and hospitality, as well as through generous gestures that extend beyond their current communities. Their tangible contribution in terms of material or cultural goods beyond national borders is evident

through their participation in political lobbying, fundraising activities, and artistic creations (Werbner, 2002: 128).

The term diaspora can thus be used to demonstrate the political engagement of certain groups and their process of reidentification (Weina, 2010: 76; Dunn, 2004: 3-4).

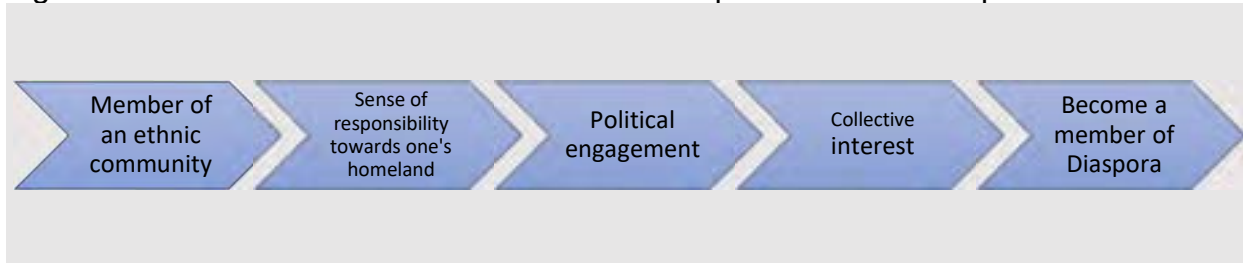
From the perspective of political engagement, the former characteristics used to define diasporas, listed in Table 1, no longer hold (Vanore, Ragab, and Siegel, 2015). It now revolves around the connection between these communities and their relationships with the country of origin, the country of residence, and other members of their ethnic groups or the home country (Vanore, Ragab, and Siegel, 2015). It is not sufficient to be of another origin: to belong to a diaspora, one must continue to demonstrate a common interest in their "country of origin" (sometimes imaginary) and share a common destiny with their fellow members, wherever they may be (Cohen and Kennedy, 2013: 39).

In other words, migrants who feel connected to their country of origin and share a common identity with others should not automatically be called a diaspora. Only those who are genuinely mobilized to engage in the political process of their country of origin should be considered part of a diaspora (Lyons and Mandaville, 2010, cited in Vanore, Ragab, and Siegel, 2015: 126). Adamson and Demetriou (2007) explain that the diaspora represents a social community that exists beyond the borders of the state and has succeeded over time in maintaining a collective national, cultural, or religious identity through a sense of internal cohesion and enduring links with a real or imaginary country of origin, while addressing the collective interests of community members through a developed internal organizational framework and transnational ties.

The corollary of studying diasporas from the dimension of political engagement is that identity is political, and members of these diasporas are defined by their ability to unite members around a common cause (Dunn, 2004: 3-4). What sets them apart from ethnic communities is their organized action based on co-responsibility ties. Unlike ethnic communities, diasporas are more linked to a political space than a physical one.

Figure 1 summarizes the dimensions that transition an individual from a mere member of an ethnic community to that of a diaspora member. As mentioned earlier, merely being a member of an ethnic community is not sufficient. It is necessary to feel a sense of co-responsibility towards one's homeland, prompting the individual to engage on behalf of the collective interest of their community to be fully recognized as a member of a diaspora.

Figure 1: Characteristics to be a member of a diaspora based on the political dimension



In conclusion, from the perspective of political engagement, the diaspora emerges from the desire for political involvement, understood in its broadest sense. Unlike the notion that globalization as a process creates communities transcending the borders of the nation-state (Bonnerjee, Blunt, McIlwaine, and Pereira, 2012), the diaspora originates from the active engagement of members of ethnic communities. This approach provides a more specific definition of the diaspora and transnationalism, assuming an underlying motivation for the formation of the diaspora.

Becoming diasporic involves acquiring agency, encompassing awareness, commitment, and connections with an extended community, in order to actively contribute to development beyond the mere preservation of family ties and remittance transmission. This evolution toward the diaspora depends on the ability of immigrant communities to achieve a certain level of settlement, success, and fluidity in areas such as education, employment, and integration within the host society (Nanji, 2011).

Cultural Subject and Diaspora

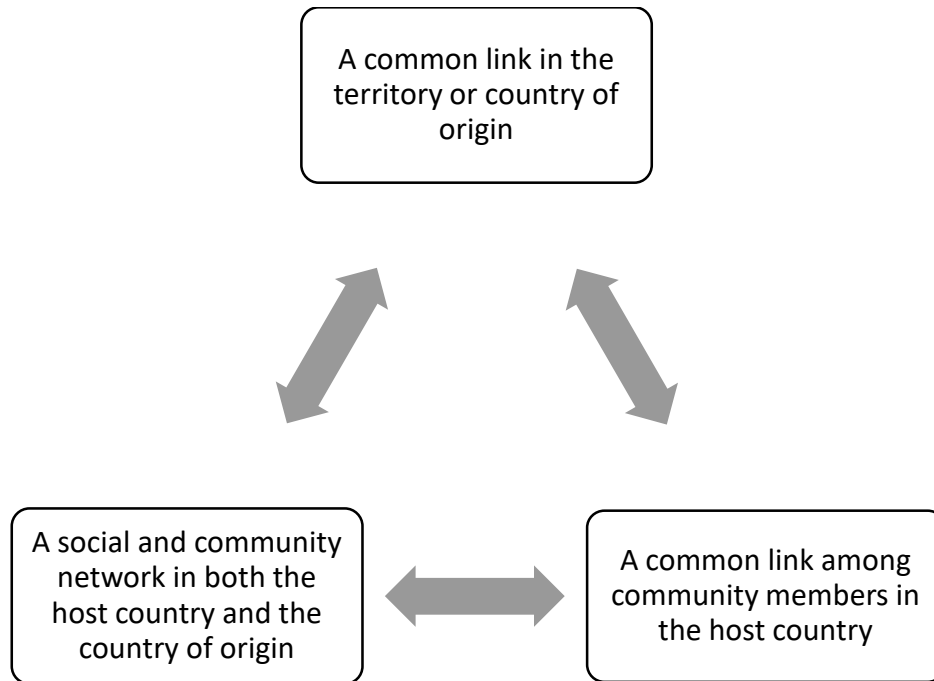
The third position taken by researchers studying diasporas has the cultural variable as an explanatory dimension. Here, the idea of belonging to a diaspora is grounded in shared culture.

In the cultural approach to the diaspora, for a community to be defined as diasporic, it must fulfill three dimensions: a common essential link among community members in the host country, a common link in the territory or the country of origin acting as an attraction pole through memory, and a networked system of spatial relations linking these different poles (Bruneau, 2010: 6). For diasporic communities to endure, they need periodic gathering places (religious, cultural, or political) where they can focus on key elements of their iconography, thus allowing them to transmit their identity to new generations. The symbols that make up an iconography are primarily distributed across three domains: religion, political past (memory), and social organization (Bruneau, 2010: 37-38).

In other words, within the cultural position, diasporas are characterized by the pursuit of a certain cultural unity. Diaspora, in this context, is linked to the concepts of identities and cultures (Paerregaard, 2010: 94). Because they live in a globalized world, migrants can continue to establish connections with their country or region of origin, enabling them to simultaneously create new lives in the host society while maintaining strong identity relations with the home society (Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt, 1999, cited in Paerregaard, 2010: 93).

Figure 2 illustrates the three components of a diaspora according to the cultural dimension: a link between members of the ethnic community and individuals from the country of origin, a link between members of the ethnic community in the host country, and a community network in both places. Here, it is the common sense of belonging that creates a diaspora.

Figure 2: Characteristics to be a member of a diaspora according to the cultural dimension



However, as culture is not fixed, a corollary of this position is cultural hybridity. The characteristics from Table 1 are part of the cultural position (a history of dispersion, myths/memories of the original culture with alienation in the host country, the desire for a potential return, support for the homeland, and a collective identity significantly defined by this relationship, etc.) where multiple identities unfold. Identities manifest in transnational contexts resulting from multiple connections, influencing negotiation and resistance practices towards host countries and their norms (Clifford, 1994: 307-308).

For this theoretical position, belonging to a diaspora means living simultaneously on the global, transnational, and local scales of the community, host country, or country of origin, combining these different scales while favoring certain ones (Bruneau, 2010: 48).

In summary, this conception of the diaspora is based on a shared sense of community, where unity among its members plays an essential role. In this definition, the desire or possibility to return to the country of origin is not a determining factor. On the contrary, attention is focused on the fundamental elements that shape a community, emphasizing

the creation of a collective identity rather than individual actions within it. This approach maintains a territorial definition of the diaspora, closely linking it to geographic location, arguing that culture is intrinsically tied to ethnicity within the framework of the national/state perspective.

Socialization and Positionality

The fourth position regarding the study of the diaspora concept positions itself as a critique of the three positions mentioned below. In the other positions, diasporas are primarily studied as communities, formed by homogeneous ethnic groups linked by identity (and/or symbolic) ties, obscuring issues of gender, race, politics, and class (Anthias, 1998; Tsagarousianou, 2004). The other positions share the common conceptualization of diasporas as monolithic ethnic communities, moving between the two stable and predefined cultural spaces of the homeland and the host country (Budarick, 2014: 142).

By emphasizing the dimension of positionality and agency, this field of study considers the formation of the diaspora “as a subjective condition marked by the contingencies of long histories of displacement and genealogies of dispossession” (Cho, 2007: 14), rather than being created by community formation or identity (Gow, 2021: 218). This way of perceiving the diaspora moves away from a transnational anchoring to focus on the actors who make up the diaspora.

The dimension of positionality explains that, in seeking to establish typologies and create ideal types to explain the formation of diasporic communities, these transnationalism, politics, or culture-based approaches assume the existence of an ethnic community without examining how this community is imagined, contested, or rejected by its members (Anthias, 1998; Budarick, 2014). Particularly for the position emphasizing cultural dimensions, it neglects to adequately consider context, meaning, and temporal dimensions, as well as how cultural practices can be “resources” used strategically and whose meaning is never fixed (Anthias, 2009: 10).

There are two corollaries to this research stream. On the one hand, authors working within the positionality approach express that the idea of ethnicity is not sufficient to explain diasporic communities. For example, according to Bonnerjee, Blunt, McIlwaine, and Pereira (2012: 10), not all diasporic communities are rooted in ethnicity, and other axes of difference can influence the creation of communities, such as language, religion, or even a broader geographical area like Latin America or the Indian subcontinent, to name a few examples.

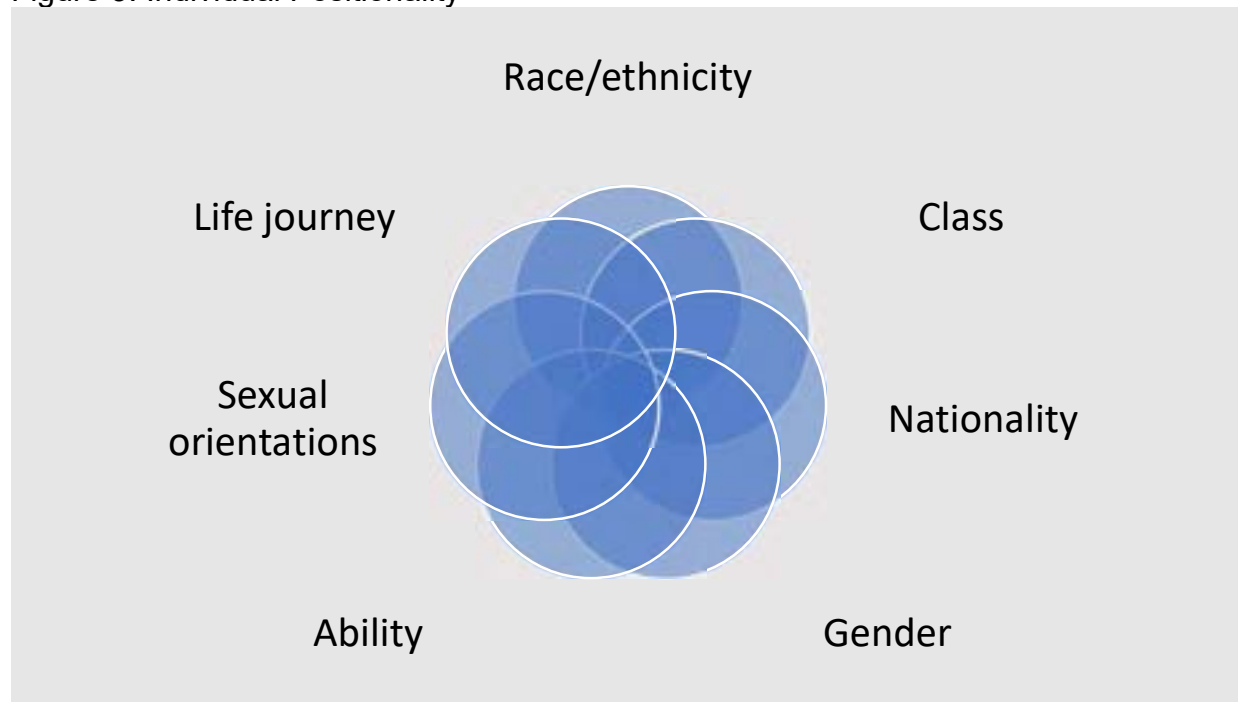
This research position does not anchor diasporas in geographical or territorial locations. In doing so, it aligns with the second theoretical stream, which considers territory as something more fluid, beyond geographical borders, as mentioned earlier in Table 2.

On the other hand, the other postulate is that members of diasporas face different situations in the host country depending on their migration trajectories, shaping their identities, political orientations, and engagement capacities, creating unique experiences for each individual. However, according to this theoretical position, one must move

beyond the one-dimensional approach of race and ethnicity and recognize that identities are fluid, multidimensional, complex, and socially constructed, shaped by an interplay of other factors such as ethnicity, gender, class, generation, and lived experience (Anthias, 1998). Authors acknowledge the hybridity of cultures, as in studies focusing on the cultural dimension, but these are specific to each community member and undergo continuous change and evolution that are not homogeneous among members. Therefore, through both individual and community socialization, individuals define and evolve.

Figure 3 illustrates the interweaving of all these factors, resulting in a unique journey for everyone.

Figure 3: Individual Positionality



With the use of the translocative positionality concept, micro-level issues, such as different positions related to gender, ethnicity, race, and class, can be studied with their mutual interactions. The term "translocation" refers to the complex nature of individuals' positions at the crossroads of various places and movements related to gender, ethnicity, nationality, class, and racialization. Positionality combines the effect of social position and the practices that underlie it, that is, the space where social structure and individual agency intersect. The notion of "position" acknowledges the importance of context and the situated nature of claims and attributions, occurring in complex and changing locations. Positionality manifests in the context of lived practices where identification is enacted (Anthias, 2009: 15-16).

In summary, this fourth approach addresses the diaspora not as a uniform group but rather as a process where diaspora members perceive and understand each other's meaning of community. Becoming a member of a diaspora involves a process influenced by factors of inclusion and exclusion, and this experience varies within the diaspora itself.

Thus, the understanding of individual positions within diasporic communities is primarily through the dimension of positionality.

In these four approaches, the recognition of group limitations and the definition of belonging are essential in the observed practices. However, in studies emphasizing the dimension of positionality, the nature of this belonging closely depends on individual positions and specific contexts, rather than being simply dictated by pre-established identities (Anthias, 2009: 11). This approach allows for exploring narratives and power dynamics within diasporas, as well as between different diasporas, taking into account factors such as race, class, and gender. Distinguished by its less generalizing scope, this method provides a more nuanced perspective for studying inherently heterogeneous diasporic communities.

Comparison of the Four Positions

Comparing these four approaches to the study of diasporas reveals a diversity of perspectives that illuminate different dimensions of the phenomenon. The first approach, centered on transnational position, provides a macroscopic view by examining the links between home countries and diaspora members, emphasizing practices such as remittances and broader political implications. In contrast, the politically engaged approach highlights the diaspora's genesis in the activism of ethnic communities, offering a more specific definition and emphasizing the underlying motivation for diaspora formation. The third approach, based on a shared sense of community, prioritizes unity among members, shifting the focus from the individual to the collective. Finally, the positionality approach, focusing on internal dynamics of diasporas, acknowledges heterogeneity within these communities and offers a less generalizing perspective.

Each of these approaches brings distinct nuances to the understanding of diasporas. While the first three provide theoretical frameworks for analyzing transnational links, political engagement, and community sentiment, the last position focuses on internal practices, group boundaries, and belonging within diasporas, highlighting the importance of individual positions and specific contexts.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the in-depth study of theoretical currents surrounding the concept of diaspora highlights a diversity of interpretations and perspectives. The lack of consensus on the definition of diaspora underscores the inherent complexity of this phenomenon and poses significant challenges for its use.

The adopted methodology, combining a comprehensive literature review and a thematic analysis of definitions, allowed for categorizing different ways of conceptualizing diasporas. The two main streams, defining territory either as a geographic location linked to a state or as something more fluid beyond state borders, were clearly identified.

Further categorization of theoretical currents according to explanatory dimensions revealed four distinct positions, emphasizing dimensions such as transnationalism, political engagement, cultural hybridization, and the individual's positionalities. These positions provide specific angles for studying diasporas, sometimes highlighting the importance of considering both external influences and, at times, internal dynamics within diasporic communities.

Finally, this approach aims to bring clarity to the conceptual landscape surrounding the diaspora, thus providing a solid foundation for a comprehensive understanding of this complex and diverse phenomenon. The categorization of different theorizations of the diaspora concept paves the way for a more consistent future use of the term, thereby facilitating research and analysis.

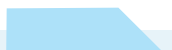
Especially concerning diasporic philanthropy, the theoretical definition of diasporas directly influences how it is studied. Each approach offers a specific angle on philanthropic practices, underscoring the importance of clearly delineating the conceptual dimensions of diasporas to guide research. Thus, the diversity of approaches contributes to a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of diasporic philanthropy, its motivations, and its transnational impacts.

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Research Note

Cause and Emergence of Ethnic Philanthropy

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ABSTRACT

As part of a larger research project on diaspora and ethnic philanthropy, this report explores the causes and drivers of ethnic philanthropy. Indeed, existing literature on philanthropy in Canada has mainly focused on traditional and European perspectives, neglecting philanthropic activities within marginalized communities, which include ethnic minorities. Recent studies highlight the need to democratize philanthropy, for example by addressing the historical under-funding of marginalized groups. This report broadens the definition of philanthropy and highlights how these models sometimes tend to reproduce social, racial, and geographic exclusions among members of minority communities. The aim is to demonstrate how parallel practices of ethnic philanthropy emerge, driven by the social capital of diverse communities and by feelings of belonging or exclusion in the exercise of citizenship.

Key words: ethnic philanthropy, historically marginalized communities, social capital, philanthropic practices.

RÉSUMÉ

Dans le cadre d'un projet de recherche plus vaste sur la diaspora et la philanthropie ethnique, ce rapport explore les causes et les facteurs de la philanthropie ethnique. En effet, la littérature existante sur la philanthropie au Canada s'est principalement concentrée sur les perspectives traditionnelles et européennes, négligeant les activités philanthropiques au sein des communautés marginalisées, dont font partie les minorités ethniques. Les études récentes soulignent la nécessité de démocratiser la philanthropie, en s'attaquant par exemple au sous-financement historique des groupes marginalisés. Ce rapport élargit la définition de la philanthropie et souligne comment ces modèles ont parfois tendance à reproduire des exclusions sociales, raciales et géographiques chez les membres des communautés minoritaires. L'objectif est de démontrer comment émergent des pratiques parallèles de philanthropie ethnique, motivées par le capital social des diverses communautés et par les sentiments d'appartenance ou d'exclusion dans l'exercice de la citoyenneté.

Mots clefs: philanthropie ethnique, communautés historiquement marginalisées, capital social, pratiques philanthropiques.

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INTRODUCTION

Existing literature on philanthropy in Canada has largely embraced traditional and European perspectives (Freeman and Williams-Pulfer, 2022). These perspectives likely overlook philanthropic activities within communities of color and other marginalized populations. As well, marginalized philanthropic perspectives are potentially disregarded because they do not immediately align with the predominant definitions and conceptualizations that typically shape philanthropy research (Freeman and Williams-Pulfer, 2022) regarding the meaning of “giving” and its purposes.

While recent scholars advocate for democratizing philanthropy, such effort demands increasing donations to these historically marginalized groups to reflect their size and needs (Carboni and Eikenberry, 2021: 247). It is evident that this democratization demand extends a recognition that funders have recurrently and inadequately financed the marginalized groups. Studies have shown that only 3.6% of foundation funds are allocated to nonprofit organizations led by people of color (Greenlining Institute, 2006). More recent sources point to the same trend: non-profits that serve or are led by people of color receive less funding than similar groups led by white people (ABFE, 2019; Kim and Lee, 2023; Taylor & Blondell, 2023). Other examples highlight that only 0.23% of philanthropic funds are allocated to nonprofit organizations led by Indigenous peoples (Barron et al., 2018), and 1.6% of all philanthropic donations are allocated solely to funding organizations for women and girls (Chiu, 2020).

The adoption of different perspective may allow a chance to rework the definition of philanthropy to include a wider range of groups and various forms of donations (Berry and Chao, 2001). For instance, it can involve recognition that philanthropy goes beyond simple monetary contributions and should encompass both monetary and in-kind donations, as well as activities of giving that enhance caring for those in need and sharing resources among community members (Agwa, 2011: 3). Consequently, the meaning of philanthropy can be influenced by various factors such as income level, gender, age, identity, Indigeneity, connections to the country of residence and/or origin, and generational status within immigrant communities (Agwa, 2011). These are factors that can help explain certain activities of giving or ethnic philanthropic existence.

This study highlights the causes and reasons behind the existence of ethnic philanthropy, focusing on agency and agents as they are related to the above explanatory factors rather than operational models. This focus on classifying the factors as reasons behind activities of giving is supported by documentary research and state-of-the-art literature review. For instance, we conducted a comprehensive review of the literature, examining books and scientific articles dealing with this subject. We selected sources that utilized both case studies and more theoretical approaches. In total, we used 165 sources from journal articles and book chapters, published mainly between 1995 and 2023. We have also added a few older theoretical sources, considered to be important elements of theoretical discussion about diversity studies and ethnic and diasporic communities in Canada and the USA. We mostly used the snowball method: after consulting the most cited articles and chapters on Google Scholar, we examined the bibliographic references of these documents to identify the most frequently cited articles. We then identified other keywords and repeated the same method.

Once the reading was completed, we grouped the authors to conduct a thematic analysis to identify certain explanatory factors. In other words, this analysis helps highlight indicators that allow for the classification of the factors as reasons behind the emergence of ethnic philanthropy. It is also important to note that these factors may vary and are not exhaustive, but they are most frequently mentioned in North American literature. An analysis of the factors helps avoid essentializing philanthropic practices or not linking specific models of giving to certain individuals or groups.

As what follows, firstly, a brief section will be dedicated to defining historically marginalized communities, and their engagement with ethnic philanthropy, or various models of giving. This aims to differentiate ethnic philanthropy from the traditional types given the experiences of these groups with marginalization. Then, the second part will demonstrate the traditional philanthropic models that constitute practices to perpetuate the social, racist, and geographical exclusions of non-European groups. Alongside examining the exclusion inherent in traditional models, we will explore the reasons for the emergence of parallel practices of ethnic philanthropy, including the social capital of diverse communities, feelings of belonging and of inclusion/exclusion in exercise of citizenships

DEFINITIONS OF CONCEPTS

Here begins with "ethnicity," followed by "historically marginalized communities," and then, the various ways of discussing types of philanthropy, or activities of giving, highlighting the peculiarities of ethnic philanthropy.

Ethnic Minorities

Scholars largely agree that ethnicity can be understood as one or several social categories of attribution and identification that individuals define for themselves within the social groups to which they belong (Barth, 1998). In other words, it is an individual's self-concept resulting from identification with a larger group, in contrast to others, based on perceived cultural differentiation and/or common ancestry (Jones, 1997). Identity can develop through the maintenance of boundaries and interaction among individuals. Depending on each social interaction, a person's ethnic identity can be perceived or presented in various ways. Overall, interactions among individuals do not lead to assimilation or homogenization of culture. Instead, cultural diversity and ethnic identity are maintained but in a non-static form (Baumann, 2004).

An ethnic minority is a group of people who share a cultural, ethnic, or racial identity distinct from the majority population in each society. Members of such groups may be characterized by cultural, linguistic, religious, or other traits that set them apart from the dominant population (Rothschild, 2021).

Within communities, members may share a common identity, but everyone can also embody multiple forms of identities. Thus, these communities are not associated with a monolithic racial or ethnic group, not always aligning with the categories assigned to them (Agwa, 2011). In other words, their identity may be linked not only to the country of origin but also to religion, a broader geographical area, or even gender or sexual identities.

Hence, the concept of “territory” is not necessarily tied to a specific country (Shiao, 1998; Veronis, 2007; Khan, 2016). A key element of this dynamic lies in the individual definition of their identity, namely self-identification.

Historically Marginalized Communities

Ethnic minorities are often regarded as historically marginalized communities due to a range of historical, social, and economic factors that have contributed to their exclusion and sidelining in many aspects of society. Historically marginalized communities are communities and groups that experience discrimination and exclusion (social, political, and economic) because of unequal economic, political, social, and cultural power relations. These factors of inequalities are at the base of experiences with barriers to equal access to opportunities and resources due to prejudicial situations and discrimination, and actively seek social justice and redress (Reid, 2021).

This concept allows us to understand how public policy and philanthropy in general have been shaped by socio-historical contexts, in which “whiteness” equals the ideological construction of normativity that provides political, social, and economic justification (Stanley, 2020: 212) to “giving”.

Traditional Philanthropy and Divergent Philanthropy

Traditional philanthropy refers to a classic form of philanthropic giving, where donors contribute financially or materially to established causes or charitable organizations. These donations are generally made on a regular basis and support existing initiatives in areas such as education, health, humanitarian aid, etc. (Salamon, 2014). In Canada, traditional philanthropy is often associated with foundations. Foundations are non-governmental, non-profit organizations with their own core funds, managed by their own trustees or directors, and created to support various social, educational, charitable, religious, or other activities in the service of the common but white-centered welfare (Jensen, 2013).

Traditional philanthropy has been criticized for its lack of effectiveness, selective approach, paternalistic behavior, and lack of professionalism (Jensen, 2013; Moody, 2022). It is accused of lacking a clear vision and promoting a dominant Euro-centric ideology to influence social norms, morality, perspectives, and political principles (Freeman and Williams-Pulfer, 2022). Some critics argue that foundations support the existing colonial sociopolitical order and serve the interests of privileged classes. Such Euro-centric orientation limits funding for organizations that challenge their fundamental principles and enables them to have rarely supported revolutionary or anticapitalist initiatives (Jensen, 2013 citing Hammack and Anheier, 2010; Berman, 1983; Faber and McCarthy, 2005).

In response to criticisms, new philanthropic approaches have emerged. One of them is “divergent philanthropy,” that is generally defined as a more innovative and experimental approach to philanthropic giving. It can be categorized by approaches such as service philanthropy, scientific approach, or outcome-focused funding (Anheier and Leat, 2006). Another approach categorizes divergent philanthropy based on its relationship with the

state or the promotion of foundation innovation, with identity profiles such as 'agenda-setters', 'advocates', and 'community builders' (Toepler, 2018).

By definition, philanthrocapitalism represents a new approach to philanthropic practice included in divergent philanthropy. This practice is characterized by the transfer of business methods to the social sector, emphasizing financial leverage, collaboration with the private sector, and rapid expansion to maximize returns on investment. It builds upon existing trends in corporate philanthropy and social entrepreneurship (Brook, Leach, Lucas and Millstone, 2009). The term "divergent" or "alternative" philanthropy must therefore be precisely defined to refer to the appropriate model that replicates the rising practices of financial capital.

In response to philanthrocapitalism, "radical philanthropy" emerges as an alternative (Herro and Obeng-Odoom, 2019). This approach advocates for a more critical and transformative vision of philanthropy, challenging conventional models and aiming to directly address structural inequalities. In theory, this means that radical philanthropy argues that to address poverty, it is necessary to promote new economic institutions, support grassroots initiatives to tackle manifestations of colonialism, and combat racist and discriminatory laws, policies, and practices. It takes a critical perspective on the economic explanation of poverty and inequality within capitalism and challenges the capitalist institutions that perpetuate the privileged position of dominant groups. Radical alternatives advocate for inclusive economic institutions that foster cooperation and draw upon local knowledge and cooperative trade (Herro and Obeng-Odoom, 2019: 884).

However, radical philanthropy does not fully overcome the Eurocentric orientation of philanthropy. For some, it remains rooted in a modern logic that overlooks non-Western traditional models (Fowler and Mati, 2019). Radical philanthropy still operates within the framework of a Northern welfare state logic, emphasizing the importance of the state's role in addressing poverty.

Therefore, current models of philanthropy, whether stemming from traditional, divergent, or radical visions, pay very little attention to ethnic philanthropic associations. Indeed, as mentioned earlier, ethnic philanthropy receives limited support from these funding sources (Carboni and Eikenberry, 2021). This situation is partly explained by the traditional perspective that non-ethnic foundations do not view ethnic philanthropy as a legitimate form of philanthropy. Members of visible and invisible minorities are rather perceived as program beneficiaries rather than active participants in philanthropic associations (Shrestha, McKinley-Floyd and Gillespie, 2007).

The literature, as we will see in the next section, reveals the existence of exclusionary factors that partially explain the lack of interest from traditional, divergent, and radical philanthropy toward minority ethnic groups. For instance, geographical disparities have been observed in the distribution of community's foundations and charitable organizations between populations living in predominantly ethnically homogeneous regions and those residing in multiracial areas or areas predominantly composed of non-white ethnic groups (Alesina and La Ferrara, 2002; Abascal and Baldassarri, 2015; Chiu-Sik Wu, 2019). Community foundations tend to emerge and thrive in urban communities and predominantly white neighborhoods characterized by ethnic homogeneity, lower

religiosity, but with high social and human capital (Chiu-Sik Wu, 2019). These links are often explained by the fact that community foundations are not usually associated with religious institutions, and that the profile of donors generally shows that they have a bachelor's degree or higher, and that they have a high level of social capital and social trust (Chiu-Sik Wu, 2019). Structural factors such as racism and discrimination are also prominently discussed in the literature (Edge and Meyer, 2019).

In response to this reality, many community organizations stemming from ethnic groups have embraced community leadership, mobilizing informal leaders to promote local changes and solidarity initiatives (Reece and al., 2022). This form of community leadership is particularly prevalent in areas where visible minorities have long endured segregation and social exclusion. Faced with discrimination, individuals find support within their own ethnic community, prompting them to establish their own donation systems to assist the most vulnerable members. This approach is termed ethnic philanthropy.

Ethnic Philanthropy

Ethnic philanthropy is characterized by the commitment of community members to provide resources, whether private or communal, to other members of their own ethnic group (Galia, 2020). This form of philanthropy is expressed through various types of donations, such as financial or material and labour contributions and giving by caring and sharing, voluntary participation in associations or community projects. It also promotes the establishment of charitable organizations tailored to the specific needs of ethnic groups (Agius Vallejo, 2015).

Ethnic associations can adopt community leadership, mobilizing informal leaders to promote solidarity initiatives (Reece and al., 2022). This type of leadership prevails where visible minorities have long suffered from segregation. Faced with discrimination, individuals find support within their own ethnic community, promoting philanthropy to assist the most vulnerable (Abascal and Baldassarri, 2015; Chiu-Sik Wu, 2019).

Especially for members from historically marginalized communities, philanthropy towards their communities is common, motivated by various factors, including awareness of their common cultural heritage and emotional ties (Carboni and Eikenberry, 2021). Ethnic philanthropy is rooted in identity and can serve as protected spaces where marginalized groups can support each other and provide platforms to engage in dominant public spaces (Carboni and Eikenberry, 2021).

TRADITIONAL PHILANTHROPIC PRACTICES AND MARGINALIZATION

In the upcoming section, the aim is to highlight, drawing from studies conducted in the United States and Canada, how the concentration of public policies and the physical absence of mainstream foundations and social services in regions historically inhabited by marginalized communities can serve as an interesting starting point for reimagining "diverse" philanthropic models. While few studies have explored the geographic absence of foundations in diverse or racialized contexts in Canada, existing research underscores the exclusion of services targeting these communities. The literature generally focuses

on two exclusionary factors perpetuated by traditional philanthropy regarding historically marginalized communities, particularly among ethnic minorities and Indigenous Nations. The first factor concerns social exclusion, and the second, geographical exclusion.

Social Exclusion

Regarding social exclusion, the literature generally highlights a correlation between public policies and their implementation, which are less effective in more heterogeneous American localities (Alesina and La Ferrara, 2002: 209). However, overall, researchers agree that it is not diversity itself that influences the implementation and diffusion of public policies, but rather the asymmetry of racial relations between communities (Abascal and Baldassarri, 2015: 755). It is material and symbolic inequalities, along with the absence of targeted solutions for the challenges faced by different communities, that play a dominant role.

Two findings emerge from the literature. On the one hand, some studies have shown that ethnically diverse communities invest less in infrastructure such as schools, roads, and hospitals, and have lower census response rates (Rugh and Trounstein, 2011; Andreoni et al., 2016). On the other hand, other studies have demonstrated that basic philanthropic models, such as community foundations, are often absent in vulnerable communities characterized by high poverty rates, vacant housing, ethnic diversity, ethnic minorities, disabilities, and lack of health insurance (Alesina and La Ferrara, 2002; Abascal and Baldassarri, 2015; Andreoni and al., 2016; Chiu-Sik Wu, 2019).

A potential explanation advanced in the literature is the reduction of government resources allocated to support activities in the community sector, while charitable associations are increasing in number (Berger, 2006: 115). This creates competition among volunteer organizations for capital and human resources (Meinhard and Foster, 2003). This competition among organizations has repercussions on communities and the allocation of government benefits. According to Young (2000), although nonprofit organizations can complement government action by voluntarily providing public goods, citizens have individual preferences regarding the public goods they desire and the amount they are willing to pay to obtain them. Governments make decisions about the quantity and quality of public goods based on these preferences but are constrained by considerations of fairness and bureaucratic procedures that require them to offer these goods in a uniform manner. Within the framework of democratic voting and policy-making procedures, governments tend to follow the preferences of the median voter or a dominant political coalition when setting tax rates and determining the levels, types, and qualities of public services. This creates an asymmetry in the distribution of services within populations and communities.

This asymmetry is explained by Young (2000: 155-156) as the result of minorities being poorly represented in public policies within heterogeneous communities. In response, minorities voluntarily come together to provide public services to their own community and exert pressure on the government to better consider their interests. They organize themselves within voluntary associations or interest groups, thus becoming key players in the relationship between the government and the nonprofit sector. However, the influence and capacity for action of these minority groups vary considerably.

Studies on inequalities during the COVID-19 pandemic have shown that community initiatives and federal policy changes do not necessarily overcome structural barriers and the various issues imposed on communities by systemic racism (Regnier-Davies, Edge, and Austin, 2023). The case of food banks before and during the COVID-19 pandemic has been studied to highlight the differences between predominantly white neighborhoods and more diverse neighborhoods. While some studies have examined this phenomenon before the pandemic (Edge and Meyer, 2019), they have identified two distinct approaches: those that provide immediate emergency assistance (such as food banks) and those that aim to strengthen individuals' skills in managing their own food (often referred to as alternatives). Critiques have raised concerns about the inadequate participation of the poorest, racialized, marginalized, and vulnerable populations in the planning and implementation of food security measures, as well as a lack of priority given to eliminating the structural sources of poverty and social exclusion (Edge and Meyer, 2019). During the pandemic, these concerns were confirmed, and pre-existing power dynamics were intensified (Schinazi et al., 2022: 22).

Geographical Exclusion

Regarding geographic exclusion, as mentioned above, foundations and organizations are often absent in vulnerable communities. The literature mentions a correlation between the geographic location of foundations and the homogeneity of populations residing in these areas, which are often urban communities predominantly white, ethnically homogeneous, but possessing greater social and human capital (Chiu-Sik Wu, 2019). The composition of the target audience and the geographical area has an impact on perpetuating a system that favors certain communities over others.

The literature highlights disparities in terms of geographic location and access to infrastructure and programs, noting that neighborhoods predominantly composed of homogeneous white populations have better access to these resources (Abascal and Baldassarri, 2015; Edge and Meyer, 2019; Chiu-Sik Wu, 2019; Ben Semla and Hafsi, 2022; Regnier-Davies, Edge, and Austin, 2023; Blacksmith, Thapa and Stormhunter, 2022).

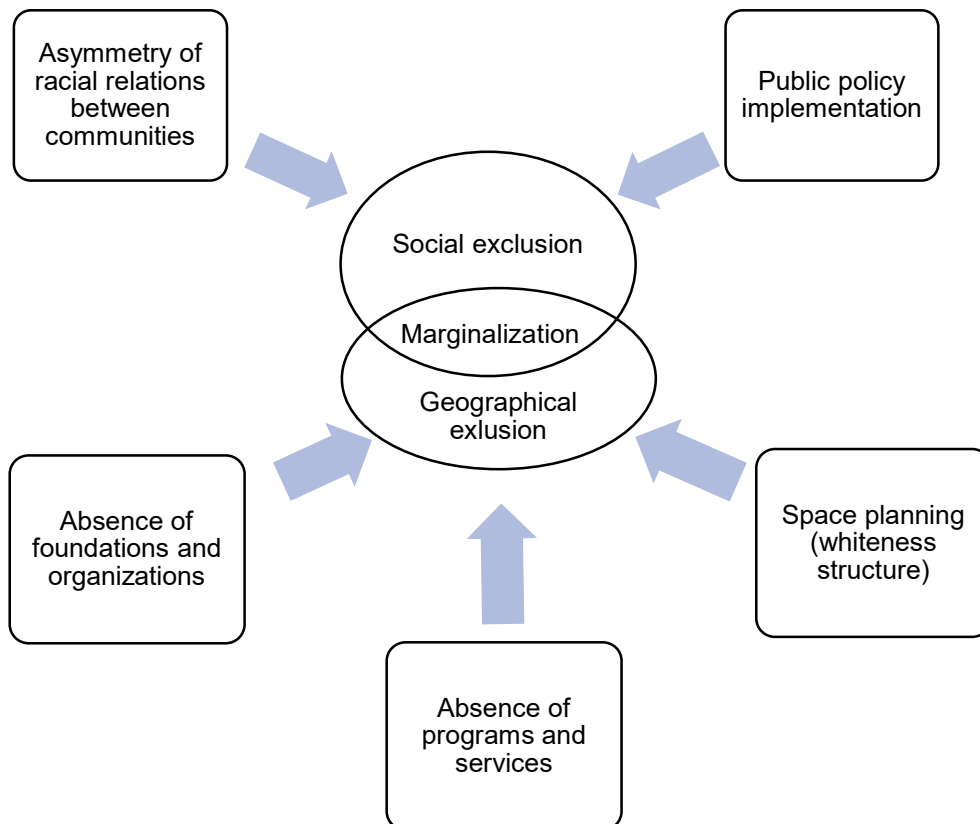
For example, in both Canada and the United States, the location of community foundations is linked to geographic areas with homogeneous populations and high social capital. In the United States, homogeneous communities are often characterized by a predominantly white population, while heterogeneous communities have a higher proportion of immigrants and non-whites (Abascal and Baldassarri, 2015: 750). Additionally, social networks, far from producing public goods, can actually exacerbate social inequalities (Abascal and Baldassarri, 2015: 760). For instance, Reece, Hanlon, and Edwards (2022: 417) underscore how urban gentrification, rooted in whiteness, is fueled by a racially structured economic system that leads to social exclusion. The influx of affluent white homebuyers into a neighborhood allows them to profit from areas deliberately devalued through discriminatory practices such as redlining. Original residents, primarily people of color, are displaced, and the presence of low-income individuals in the neighborhood is stigmatized, implicitly and explicitly associated with various community issues such as crime or deterioration. This gentrification process

extends beyond housing and also has implications for increased police surveillance and harassment of people of color.

By excluding historically marginalized communities, philanthropic models further exacerbate marginalization, poverty, and increase health risks, as well as limit access to education and economic opportunities. Additionally, the geographic location of foundations and organizations affects exclusion by determining communities' access to essential resources such as social services, educational infrastructure, employment opportunities, and healthcare (Abascal and Baldassarri, 2015; Edge and Meyer, 2019; Chiu-Sik Wu, 2019; Ben Semla and Hafsi, 2022; Regnier-Davies, Edge, and Austin, 2023; Blacksmith, Thapa and Stormhunter, 2022).

In summary, the literature highlights the effects of social and geographic exclusion on marginalized communities. Regarding social exclusion, researchers emphasize the correlation between public policies and their implementation, which are often less effective in heterogeneous communities due to racial asymmetries (Abascal and Baldassarri, 2015). This leads to material and symbolic inequalities, exacerbating challenges for marginalized groups. Geographical exclusion also plays a significant role, with foundations and organizations typically absent in marginalized areas. By excluding these groups, philanthropic models reinforce marginalization, poverty, and health risks, while impeding access to education and economic opportunities. This is illustrated in figure 1.

Figure 1: Social and geographical exclusion



CONNECTING MARGINALIZED COMMUNITIES AND PHILANTHROPY

Despite systems of exclusion, historically marginalized communities engage in philanthropic acts to create grassroots models of mutual aid. The next section will examine the justifications identified in the literature to explain the emergence of ethnic philanthropy, typically distinguished by three explanations: social capital, cultural belongingness, and the model of citizenship inclusion and exclusion.

Explaining Diversity: Social Capital of Diverse Communities

Social capital refers to the value derived from networks of social relationships and mutual trust within a society or community. It encompasses social connections, norms of reciprocity, trust, and cooperation among individuals or groups within a society (Putnam, 2007). This concept is often utilized in studies of solidarity and democracy to explain why some societies exhibit greater resilience to economic and social shocks and enjoy higher levels of collective well-being: it is due to a strong social capital (Putnam, 1993). In the literature, a distinction is made between bridging social capital and bonding social capital:

“Bridging associations bring together ‘people who are unlike one another’ (Putnam and Goss, 2002), especially across ethnic and racial lines (Putnam, 2000). Involvement in such bridging associations would stimulate connections with and attachment to dissimilar others (Coffé and Geys, 2007), generating overarching identities (Putnam, 2000). Bonding associations, by contrast, bring ‘together people who are like one another in important respects (ethnicity, age, gender, social class, and so on)’ (Putnam and Goss, 2002). Involvement in such bonding associations would stimulate intolerance and self-affirming identities (Putnam, 2000, Putnam and Goss, 2002, Geys and Murdoch, 2008, Theeboom et al., 2012). Ethnically diverse associations would thus stimulate inter-ethnic social cohesion, whereas ethnically homogenous associations would bolster intra-ethnic social cohesion. This supposed socialization effect of ethnically mixed associations has become a cornerstone of social capital theory (e.g., Coffé and Geys, 2007, Iglie, 2010, Hooghe and Quintelier, 2013, Rapp and Freitag, 2014)” (Meer, 2016: 63-64).

Yet Putnam (2007) argues that despite these distinctions, it is generally established that ethnically diverse environments can be detrimental to social cohesion, both inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic (Meer, 2016). Indeed, in studies of social capital, a significant body of literature explains how members of diverse communities tend to disengage from collective life, exhibiting increased distrust of their neighbors and lower expectations of mutual cooperation (Alesina and La Ferrara, 2002; Costa and Kahn, 2003; Putnam, 2007). These studies argue that ethnic diversity weakens civic and collective action, resulting in the absence of community foundations, as heterogeneous societies are less likely to engage in community projects or donate their time and money to charitable causes. Ethnic diversity in these studies is generally examined by focusing on communities belonging to visible minority groups, namely BIPOC (Black, Indigenous, and People of Color) communities.

These studies focus on a vision of philanthropy centered on voluntary engagement and financial redistribution. Consequently, marginalized voices and experiences in philanthropy are overlooked in these studies because they do not align with the prevailing

definitions and frameworks that typically shape philanthropy research (Freeman and Williams-Pulfer, 2022).

Therefore, social capital is an important concept for understanding ethnic philanthropy, only if we break down what is meant by philanthropy. To support this assertion, Agius Vallejo (2015) highlights in his case study research on immigrants of Latin American origin (Latinos) that research has shown socially mobile Latinos maintain an immigration narrative that drives them to support less advantaged family members financially and socially. Despite their economic assimilation, successful Latino entrepreneurs recognize that Latinos, in general, are not fully integrated into mainstream society. Consequently, they engage in ethnic philanthropy by offering mentorship and creating ethnic social structures in which Latinos can succeed by accessing financial resources, high-quality networks, information on higher education and business ownership, and financial capital. Their sense of ethnic solidarity towards their less privileged fellow citizens is rooted in their own personal struggle for upward mobility and their understanding of the obstacles faced by Latinos within educational and financial institutions (Agius Vallejo, 2015: 136).

Although the author of the article explains that the use of private solutions by Latino elites to "level the playing field" and help young Latinos reflects a neoliberal ideology and the dismantling of the welfare state, this can also be understood as what authors Reece, Hanlon, and Edwards (2022) refer to as community leadership. This can also be explained by the concept of socialization. These two concepts provide a more nuanced explanation of the importance of social capital within communities, depending on their identity(ies) and how it manifests.

Community leadership

In response, minorities voluntarily come together to provide public services to their own community and exert pressure on the government to better consider their interests. They organize themselves within voluntary associations or interest groups, thus becoming key players in the relationship between the government and the nonprofit sector. However, the influence and capacity for action of these minority groups vary considerably (Young, 2000). This practice is called community leadership and contributes to the social capital of historically marginalized communities.

Community leadership operates at the neighborhood level and involves non-elected and informal leaders who can bring about change through collaboration with influential stakeholders. It is important to note that leadership development goes beyond skills and encompasses the development of relationships and social ties. Social connectivity, both with the environment and with individuals, is associated with improved well-being and life satisfaction. Researchers also emphasize the importance of goals, context, and relationships for community well-being (Reece, Hanlon, and Edwards, 2022).

Thus, community leadership is particularly prominent in areas where visible minorities have historically faced segregation and social exclusion, often due to government policies aimed at managing diversity and diminishing ethnic identity. Immigrants often respond to discrimination by seeking support from their ethnic community as a safety net (Pearl, Chowdhury, Hussain, and Symmes, 2022: 14-15). Faced with exclusion, these

communities are excluded from traditional forms of charitable aid, which leads them to create their own systems of charity and donations to support the most disadvantaged members of their community. This defensive approach leads to collective organization among historically marginalized communities (Pearl, Chowdhury, Hussain, and Symmes, 2022).

Socialization

The concept of socialization demonstrates how identity influences the nature of perceived attitudes and normative pressures regarding philanthropic behavior. Being identified as a member of another group or having no affiliation at all can reduce the number of invitations received and thus hinder the decision to volunteer. Membership in a subgroup therefore influences philanthropic behavior through this mediated process (Berger, 2006: 117). Higher levels of identification with a distinct culture (limited solidarity) should lead to a stronger network of culturally distinct relationships (increased social capital), which in turn results in higher levels of culturally specific voluntary behavior (resources provided and available within the network).

Thus, those who have a strong culturally distinct identity will be integrated into social networks dominated by individuals with similar identities. Subjective norms within this network will guide members towards contributing resources (both time and money) to culturally valued activities within the network. Therefore, the decision to give, as well as the choice of recipients, will depend on the extent to which the behavior supports and is supported by the social network chosen by an individual, and will therefore vary based on subgroup membership (Berger, 2006: 17).

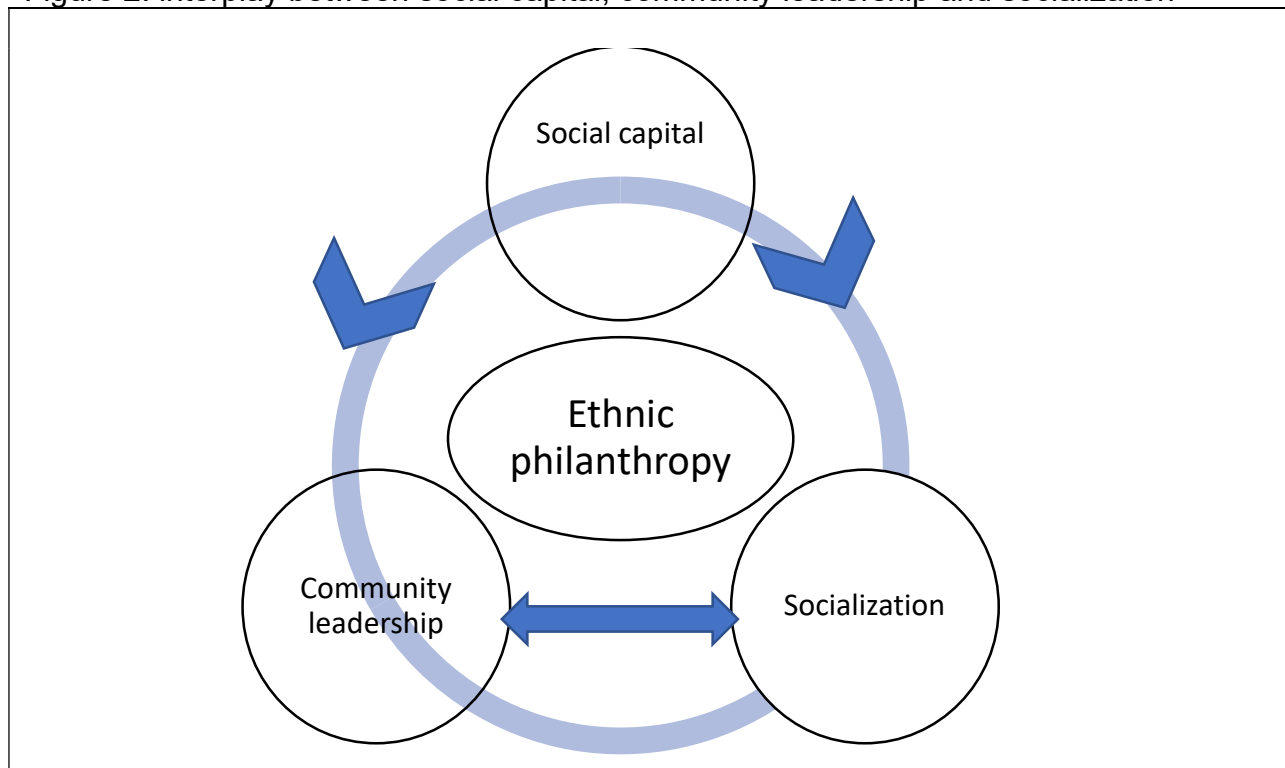
According to Schervish, O'Herlihy and Havens (2001), donation patterns show that people give to those they know, are familiar with, and causes they can identify with and are emotionally attached to. This type of identity-based philanthropy can serve as "protected spaces" where marginalized groups can support each other, create their own discourse on change, and provide supportive platforms to engage in dominant public spaces (Carboni and Eikenberry, 2021: 249).

That said, the concept of socialization does not explain all behavior. While ethnic philanthropy can allow us to observe how charitable giving and other forms of civic engagement influence the norms of trust, bonds and capacity of individuals and communities, it can also give us insights into how communities interact with their host countries. Ethnocultural diversity also influences the nature of attitudes towards philanthropic behavior and the perceived normative pressures in this regard. Additionally, being perceived or considered by others as a member of a visible minority influences the existence of factors that can facilitate or hinder philanthropic activity. It is through this process of dual mediation (socialization within one's community, and within one's country of origin) that ethnicity - particularly the status of being a visible minority - influences donation behaviors (Berger and Azaria, 2004).

In sum, the concept of social capital highlights the importance of networks of social relations and mutual trust in society. However, studies show that ethnic diversity can weaken social cohesion and philanthropic behavior. As a result, marginalized

experiences in philanthropy are often overlooked in research, leading to a limited understanding of ethnic philanthropy. Community leadership emerges in response, with minorities organizing to provide services and advocate on their behalf. This practice contributes to the social capital of historically marginalized communities. Socialization also strengthens the social capital of ethnic communities, as individuals' place in society can influence philanthropic behavior, due to shared identities and membership of sub-groups, which influence giving decisions, and thus increase the social capital of these communities. Figure 2 demonstrates the interplay between social capital, community leadership and socialization, and highlights the complexities of philanthropic behavior in diverse communities.

Figure 2: interplay between social capital, community leadership and socialization



Explaining Diversity: Belongingness to Culture(s)

Challenging conventional theories of social capital highlights another aspect crucial to understanding ethnic philanthropy: the complexity of belonging to diverse communities. Inclusion in one or more cultures also challenges the idea that diversity leads to less cooperation, highlighting instead the importance of cultural categorization in interpersonal interactions.

As previously mentioned, Putnam (2007) is often the most cited author in studies examining the negative consequences of diversity. While studies show that in homogeneous white communities, closer networks promote high levels of cooperation, it would be wrong to assert that the opposite is true in diverse or ethnic communities. According to Abascal and Baldassarri (2015: 758), in diverse societies, individuals rely

on categorization schemes to generalize their interpersonal experiences to a broader class of individuals and interact with others even in the absence of direct or indirect personal relationships.

For example, individuals who are less familiar with each other are categorized as in-group members or outsiders based on perceived traits (such as ethnicity, gender, religion, or class) that are salient in a given social context (Abascal and Baldassarri, 2015: 758). This is particularly true for members of ethnic communities, who are more likely to practice philanthropy towards communities with which they share common ties and identities. These reasons can include consciousness, emotional connection to a common language, culture, and homeland (Flanigan, 2017: 494). Consequently, the sense of community and culture goes beyond a geographical community to become a cultural community. In this sense, the diversity of a community is not synonymous with a decrease in cooperation, as the definition of community will vary from case to case depending on the criteria determined by its members.

Indeed, recent research examining transnational philanthropic activities of ethnic organizations and the civic engagement of immigrants, and their descendants suggests that ethnic philanthropic activity increases over time, demonstrating that these activities are not incompatible with assimilation (Portes, Escobar, and Radford, 2007; Terriquez, 2012 cited in Agius Vallejo, 2015: 127-128). These studies are thus focused on the hybridization of cultures and the plural identities of individuals belonging to ethnic communities. The objectives of philanthropic practice may vary depending on the concerns of the individuals involved (welcoming newcomers and assisting immigrant workers versus combating discrimination and exploitation in the host country).

In the same vein, Lan Cao (2003: 1530) demonstrates that the liberal consensus in modern developed countries, which assumes or even expects immigrants and/or ethnic minorities to disperse and seek individual economic opportunities offered by the dominant labor market, differs from reality. By emphasizing the concept of ethnic economy, which encompasses all self-employed workers of an ethnic group, their employers, co-ethnic employees if applicable, and their unpaid family workers, she shows the interaction between people sharing a common national origin or migration experience in a host society (Lan Cao, 2003: 1566). The sense of belonging to a created community becomes significant, and although the ethnic economy refers to an economy among members of a community, those who belong to it also participate in the broader economy of the country. In this way, belonging to different and overlapping communities is possible.

In conclusion, diverse identities are thus important for understanding ethnic philanthropy. Philanthropy can play a role in fostering a sense of community among individuals. For some, there is a connection between giving to ethnic groups and the identity factors that come into play in this philanthropy - especially during times of crisis (Khan, 2016: 942). While identity is significant, it is not fixed but evolving and multiple (Bhabha, 1994). In other words, philanthropy creates a community that plays a crucial symbolic role in generating people's sense of belonging (Khan, 2016: 946). Here, the authors prefer the term "identity" to "culture", as identity can be self-defined and socially constructed (Khan, 2016). Moreover, in times of crisis, the very idea of identity can change, and the way people perceive their "community" can be radically rethought (Khan, 2016: 947). The

meaning of giving and mutual aid changes according to crises and circumstances for people, and it is always in motion.

Explaining Diversity: Model of Citizenship Inclusion and Exclusion

This section seeks to demonstrate, using the prism of multiculturalism, how the citizenship model that stems from it leads to both the integration of certain individuals and the exclusion of others, taking Canadian multiculturalism as a case study.

In the context of multiculturalism¹, certain communities may be disadvantaged because certain groups have access to more institutional resources due to their initial socio-economic status or privileged relationship with the Canadian state and their country of origin (Rodríguez-García, 2010). This creates hierarchical and unequal dynamics between racialized and non-racialized individuals, as well as among different racialized groups. Analyzing multiculturalism through regimes of inclusive and exclusive citizenship provides valuable insights into understanding philanthropic trends within ethnic communities. Indeed, it highlights why members of historically marginalized communities develop patterns of charity within their own communities, in the absence of government support and specific programs, and in the face of social exclusion.

Indeed, according to some authors, the concept of multiculturalism has its roots in a specific colonial history, and it continues to contribute to the perpetuation of racial inequalities among citizens (Bannerji, 2000; Mackey, 2002; Thobani, 2007 cited in Creese, 2011). For example, Canada's history has often revolved around the white Anglophone and Francophone population, erasing the presence of Indigenous peoples, Afro-Canadians, Asians, etc., by categorizing them as "other Canadians".⁹ This has resulted in the formation of a vertical mosaic composed of hierarchical ethnic and racial relationships in the perspective of citizenship (Creese, 2011). Although immigration policies have evolved to include immigrants from beyond Europe, the racialized hierarchy has remained unchanged (Creese, 2011).

For other critics, multiculturalism leads to a homogenous and essentializing categorization of groups as "immigrants," "ethnic/racial," and "visible minorities," which facilitates the allocation of state resources under the Multiculturalism Act. These critics emphasize that these categories "manage" diversity by creating artificial and homogenous groups, thereby creating inequalities among them (Bannerji, 2000; Dua and Robertson, 1999 cited in Veronis, 2007).

¹ There are three particular regimes to understand ethnic relations within states (although within these three regimes, there are also differences in models): Integration-incorporation models are divided into three types: assimilationist, which seeks to achieve equality by adopting the values of the dominant society (as in France); multiculturalist or pluralist, which values cultural diversity within a framework of shared belonging (as in Sweden, the Netherlands, the UK, and Canada); and segregationist or exclusion, characterized by a separation or fragmentation of ethnico-cultural communities, with restrictive criteria for citizenship based on ethnicity or race (as in Austria, Germany, and Switzerland). Soysal (1994) distinguishes countries with a corporatist model (which recognizes the link between the state and ethnic minorities); an individualist model (which emphasizes individual immigrants and their integration into the labor market); and a statist model (which adopts a state-centric perspective regarding immigrant incorporation) (Rodríguez-García, 2010).

Thus, the inequalities faced by immigrants and visible minorities have increased due to neoliberal restructuring, especially with cuts in social services and budgets (Veronis, 2007). These processes exacerbate the marginalization of disadvantaged groups in Canada, particularly immigrants who have fewer opportunities to participate fully (Veronis, 2007). Specifically, as mentioned earlier, there are fewer services available in diverse or non-white communities. This absence results in a form of social exclusion, which manifests through structures and dynamic processes of inequality among groups in society. These inequalities are rooted in an economic system that commodifies social relations and reinforces racial and gender inequalities (Raphael, 2016: 392).

Berger and Azaria (2004) demonstrate that in Canada, there is evidence of discrimination against visible minorities dating back as far as World War I. Recent analyses also indicate that systematic segregation, discrimination, and marginalization based on visible minority status exist in employment, housing, social services, and political participation. Researchers have also noted that visible minorities are underrepresented in the public sector, particularly at the higher echelons of the public service roles (Black Class Action, 2020), and are less likely to participate in Canada's civil society (Galabuzi, 2001 cited in Berger and Azaria, 2004; McKay, 2021; Lam and Ng, 2021). According to these researchers, this leads to a systemic exclusion from participation in the voluntary sector, either due to their own motivations or social barriers.

Other studies focus not on the exclusion of individuals from diverse backgrounds as volunteers in the charitable sector, but rather on their exclusion from programs implemented by this sector. For instance, Power, Doherty, Small, Teasdale, and Pickett (2017), in their study on community food aid in a multiethnic and multiconfessional city in northern England, demonstrate the exclusion of certain groups from food aid and explore the relationship between food aid providers and the state. They show that although food aid takes on responsibilities previously assumed by the state, it does not imply an extension of the parallel state. Rather, it seems to reflect a pre-welfare state system of food distribution supported by religious institutions but adapted to align with certain elements of the current discourse. Most faith-based food aid providers are Christians and provide very little assistance to Muslim communities (Power, Doherty, Small, Teasdale, and Pickett, 2017). Jiannbin Lee (1998: 15) presents a similar argument, demonstrating that the distribution of state programs is unequal between non-racialized (white) individuals and racialized individuals.

In response to exclusion and inadequate state support, marginalized communities are developing models of charity within their own groups. This occurs in response to the challenges posed by systemic inequalities, discriminatory practices and the lack of representation and resources available to them. Ethnic philanthropy thus becomes a means for these communities to meet their needs and support each other in the face of social and economic disparities.

In conclusion, multiculturalism influences models of citizenship, particularly with regard to issues of inclusion and exclusion within society. Indeed, some communities find themselves at a disadvantage due to unequal access to institutional resources, dictated by socio-economic status or privileged relations with the state, which generates hierarchical dynamics between racialized and non-racialized groups. However, this

exclusion does not necessarily lead to a withdrawal of marginalized groups from social life. On the contrary, the social capital between communities, as well as their sense of belonging and identity, encourages other forms of mutual aid, such as ethnic philanthropy.

CONCLUSION

The traditional philanthropic model tends to perpetuate the exclusion and marginalization, both socially and geographically, of historically marginalized communities. Indeed, literature demonstrates that traditional philanthropic models tend to reflect both social exclusion and geographic exclusion.

On one hand, studies highlighting social exclusion argue that ethnically diverse communities have less access to infrastructure and basic services, while traditional philanthropic models are often absent in areas with high ethnic diversity or characterized by significant poverty. On the other hand, government policies often reduce resources allocated to the community sector, creating competition among voluntary organizations and exacerbating inequalities. This situation prompts minorities to come together to provide public services to their own community and to pressure the government to better consider their interests.

Similarly, geographic exclusion, where philanthropic foundations and organizations are often absent from marginalized communities, further reinforces marginalization by limiting access to education, employment, and healthcare. Furthermore, the lack of social services in these areas leads to social exclusion, exacerbating inequalities and limiting economic opportunities.

However, far from indicating an absence of philanthropy, the report demonstrates that, on the contrary, despite exclusionary systems, historically marginalized communities actively participate in philanthropy to establish community mutual aid initiatives. The report highlights the three main explanations found in the literature to explain this engagement.

Firstly, the philanthropic involvement of ethnic communities finds its explanation in the concept of social capital, which refers to the value derived from networks of social relationships and mutual trust within a society or community. In the context of ethnic philanthropy, social capital is of paramount importance, embodying the bonds and support networks within ethnic communities, particularly through community leadership and individual socialization.

Next, cultural belonging, which denotes the emotional and identity link of an individual or group to their culture of origin, also helps explain this engagement. Indeed, individuals are motivated to contribute and engage in philanthropic actions towards their own ethnic group due to their cultural attachment and desire to support their original community.

Finally, the analysis of models of inclusion and exclusion in citizenship sheds light on the influence of political and governmental practices on the integration and exclusion of ethnic groups in society. As mentioned earlier, multiculturalism tends to perpetuate patterns of

exclusion, thus prompting ethnic communities to turn more towards internal philanthropy to meet their needs in response to these dynamics.

The report therefore demonstrates the importance of merging explanations from the literature to better understand the emergence and underlying dynamics of philanthropic practices within ethnic communities.

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Research Note

Political Implications of Diasporic Philanthropy

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ABSTRACT

As part of a wider research project on diaspora and ethnic philanthropy, this report aims to examine the links between the philanthropic and political actions of diasporic communities. More specifically, we are interested in the relationship between the philanthropic and political engagement of members of these communities. The aim of this report is to classify the political effects of philanthropic actions to better understand how these links are articulated and the political meaning underlying philanthropic engagement. Using a comprehensive literature review on the links between philanthropic and political actions, we have been able to identify four areas of diasporic philanthropy where politics and giving intersect: (a) Diaspora for diaspora's sake: capacity building and support in the country of residence; (b) Diaspora for a cause: support for home communities in conflict and post-conflict zones; (c) Diaspora as ambassador: representation of the home country abroad and (d) Diaspora for change: advocacy for political change in home countries.

Key words:

Diaspora, philanthropic engagement, state-migration relations, diaspora political action

RÉSUMÉ

Dans le cadre d'un projet de recherche plus vaste sur la diaspora et la philanthropie ethnique, ce rapport vise à examiner les liens entre les actions philanthropiques et politiques des communautés diasporiques. Plus précisément, nous nous intéressons à la relation entre l'engagement philanthropique et politique des membres de ces communautés. L'objectif de ce rapport est de classer les effets politiques des actions philanthropiques afin de mieux comprendre comment ces liens sont articulés et la signification politique sous-jacente à l'engagement philanthropique. À l'aide d'une revue de la littérature exhaustive portant sur les liens entre actions philanthropiques et actions politiques, nous avons pu identifier quatre domaines de la philanthropie diasporique où la politique et le don se croisent : (a) La diaspora pour la diaspora : renforcement des capacités et soutien dans le pays de résidence; (b) La diaspora pour une cause : soutien aux communautés d'origine dans les zones de conflit et post-conflit; (c) La diaspora en tant qu'ambassadrice : représentation du pays d'origine à l'étranger et (d) La diaspora pour le changement : plaider en faveur du changement politique dans les pays d'origine.

Mots-clefs:

Diaspora, engagement philanthropique, relations États-migration, actions politiques des diasporas

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INTRODUCTION

Growing interests among researchers in diasporic philanthropy around the world in recent decades can be attributed to the emerging participation of new actors in development policymaking, including non-governmental actors, private sectors, philanthropists, and migrants (Newland et al., 2010). Broadening in their scope of studies, researchers examine the relationships between diasporic philanthropy and the political engagement that underpins the act of giving. These studies stem from the growing political interest attributed to the relationship between migration and development, particularly in the context of international relations, foreign and development practice and policymaking (Boyle et al., 2013; Espinosa, 2016; Opiniano, 2005; Shain and Barth, 2003). When looking more broadly at migration and development, the literature seems to have advanced further recently. This relationship is now referred to as: the migrant-development or diaspora-development nexus (Espinosa, 2016). Issues of power relations, equity and inequality are also included in the discourse on the migrant-development nexus, including global and societal political and economic relations (Espinosa, 2016; Mehta, 2016). These issues are moreover linked to the motivations, scope, and mechanisms of giving between countries (Brinkerhoff, 2011; Espinosa, 2016; Flanigan, 2017).

Nevertheless, understanding the relationship between diaspora, development and philanthropy in Canada is still in its infancy (Mehta and Johnston, 2011; Shridhar, 2011; Pinnock, 2013; Ramachandran, 2016; Ramachandran and Crush, 2021). Most studies focus on remittances, i.e., financial transfers and movements of resources between host and home countries (Faist, 2010; Mehta and Johnston, 2011; Wickramasekara, 2015). Diasporic philanthropy has received less attention in comparison to others forms of philanthropic actions due to "the difficulty of defining what constitutes philanthropy, the under-reporting of these initiatives and the anecdotal nature of philanthropic narratives" (Espinosa, 2016: 362).

This report aims to examine what the literature argues about the links between the philanthropic and political actions of diasporic communities. More specifically, we are interested in the relationship between philanthropic and political engagement of members from these communities. We aim to classify the political impacts of philanthropic actions in order to better understand how these links are articulated and the political significance underlying philanthropic engagement. To this end, we will first briefly describe what we mean by diaspora. Next, we will look more specifically at the link between philanthropic and political engagement (the interplay between philanthropy, the state and political action). Finally, we describe four areas of diaspora philanthropy where politics and giving intersect.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology used for this report is based on a literature review carried out previously, during the winter and summer sessions of 2023. The research drew on existing literature and was carried out in two stages. First, we undertook a comprehensive literature review, examining books and scholarly articles on diasporic philanthropic engagement. We

selected sources using key terms searches, both in the context of case studies and in studies focusing on conceptual definitions.

In total, we used 201 sources from journal articles and book chapters, primarily published between 1990 and 2023. Initially, we employed Google Scholar search engines using the following keywords: diaspora, engagement, politics, philanthropy, migration, and development. Grey literature sources were also considered. Studies defining diaspora philanthropy, its mechanisms, and processes were initially included, then expanded internationally to gain a broader understanding of the concepts' evolution and comprehension. Subsequently, we refined our search criteria to focus on political actions. Our attention was directed towards research examining the relationships between the state, political actions, and the influences of globalization, political economy, micro and macro-level relations, as well as nuances related to history and location. Recent studies were prioritized to better represent the evolution of concepts, the state of the literature, and emerging themes, trends, patterns, and gaps in the current historical context.

After examining the most cited or consulted works, we analyzed the bibliographic references of these documents and consulted them. Subsequently, we reviewed the bibliographies of new articles to find additional sources. We stopped when we reached saturation, meaning we could no longer find new references.

Then, once the reading was complete, we grouped authors who emphasized the political significance of philanthropic gestures. We then classified these authors according to the underlying explanatory factors linked to the political undertakings of giving, including citizenship, the role of the state, and the vision that diaspora groups have regarding the state. In other words, the aim of the second part of the methodology was to associate the philanthropic gesture with a political explanatory sub-field. It is possible to classify political action according to two main schools of thought: the role of the state and the role of individuals as agents and agencies of the political undertakings. These explanatory domains emerged during the second reading of the selected sources.

WHAT IS A DIASPORA?

First and foremost, it's important to define what we mean by diaspora. Researchers note that diaspora has a multiplicity of meanings, and the formation of diasporic identity involves diverse practices and processes (Patterson and Kelley, 2000; Ramachandran, 2016; Espinosa, 2016). Diasporic identity is a key factor in giving, with some authors suggesting that it stems from a sense of responsibility towards the country of origin and the new diaspora community, driving diasporic philanthropy (Brinkerhoff, 2014; CAF America and CAF Canada, 2017). Initially, the term referred to forced migration and "dispersed political subjects" (Werbner, 2002) where a common identity was formed based on this traumatic experience and a desire to return to the homeland (CAF America and CAF Canada, 2017). However, the term has expanded to encompass any group of people sharing a common ancestry or country of origin, making efforts to engage with their history, language, culture, or heritage, thus forming the basis of the diaspora community (CAF America and CAF Canada, 2017).

We adopt this definition: a diasporic community refers to self-identification within a group of people sharing a common origin or country of origin, and who attempt to maintain connections with their history, language, culture, or heritage, thus forming a diasporic community. However, we also incorporate political identity as an additional factor in explaining the engagement of members from diaspora in philanthropic activities or giving by caring and sharing.

Thus, a diaspora is a transnational network of dispersed political subjects with co-responsibility ties beyond the borders of empires, political communities, countries or nations. It is not solidarity that explains belonging to a diaspora, but the sense of co-responsibility towards one's country of origin. In this context, diasporas are generally highly politicized social formations. This means that the diaspora's location is also a historical location, not just an abstract and metaphorical space (Werbner, 2002). Members of diasporic communities demonstrate their attachment to their country of origin and other diasporic causes by actively engaging locally (to deconstruct their invisibility). They do so through public acts of mobilization and hospitality, as well as through generous gestures that extend beyond their current communities. Their tangible contribution in terms of material or cultural goods beyond national borders is evident through their participation in political lobbying, fundraising activities, and artistic creation (Werbner, 2002: 121; Dunn, 2004: 3-4; Weina, 2010: 76).

In this regard, Adamson and Demetriou (2007) explain that the diaspora represents a social community that exists beyond the borders of the state and has succeeded over time in maintaining a collective national, cultural, or religious identity through a sense of internal cohesion and enduring links with a real or imaginary country of origin, while addressing the collective interests of community members through a developed internal organizational framework and transnational ties. The corollary of studying diasporas from the perspective of political engagement is that identity is political, and members of these diasporas are defined by their ability to unite members around a common cause. What sets them apart from ethnic communities is their organized action based on co-responsibility ties. Unlike ethnic communities, diasporas are more linked to a political space than a physical one.

By adding this dimension of co-responsibility, we can better understand the political impact of philanthropic commitments. Indeed, the term diaspora is linked to a political dimension, whether through formal and informal institutions in relation to the country of origin, in reaction to the policies and actions of the latter, or even in reaction to the policies of the host country. So, a political link is always present, even in acts of donations, as they correspond to a political reaction triggered by the country of origin or the host country, or by both.

UNDERSTANDING THE POLITICS BEHIND PHILANTHROPY

In the following sections, we will define the links between politics and philanthropy. These links are often understood through the matrix of the migration-development nexus, which encompasses the interactions and reciprocal influences between population movements and economic, social and political development processes (Faist, 2010; Faist and Fauser, 2011; Espinosa, 2016). This migration-development and philanthropy nexus is influenced

by international organizations focused on the governance of people's mobility. This form of philanthropy differs from that of previous migrant philanthropists in that it now represents "the systematic appropriation of transnational giving as aid by development managers" (Espinosa, 2016: 365).

To understand these links, however, it is first necessary to understand the relationship between the state(s) and diasporic communities. Although this relationship is in fact self-constructed between individuals and state practices, the literature often distinguishes between two ways of theorizing this relationship, often wrongly perceived as one-dimensional.

On the one hand, there are approaches that primarily study the state, to understand how states respond to globalization and migration, as well as their efforts to extend their power beyond territorial borders. On the other hand, we find approaches that grant full agency to diasporic actors via transnational processes. Here, we study the processes by which immigrants form and maintain multi-level social relations that link their societies of origin and residence (Liu and van Dongen, 2016: 806). In all cases, political input remains important.

Institutionalized Policies: The Role of the State

The past decade has seen an unprecedented proliferation of formal state offices dedicated to emigrants and their descendants around the world (Gamlen, 2019). States are increasingly collaborating with diasporas as actors in migration policymaking (Weina, 2010: 73). Recent decades have seen a proliferation of state-registered formal diaspora institutions, meaning that states are establishing policies emanating from specialized state diaspora institutions: ministries, departments, directorates, and other formal origin-state offices in the executive and legislative branches of governments dedicated to emigrants and their descendants (McIntyre and Gamlen, 2019). Up until 1980, some fifteen countries maintained such non-profit institutions; by 1990, twenty-two had done so. By 2000, this figure had risen to over forty countries, and by 2015, 118 UN member states had some form of diaspora institution (Gamlen, 2019: 30).

For example, in the study by Hercog and Kuschminder (2011), the authors explore the politics of diaspora engagement, taking India and Ethiopia as case studies, and investigating the government mechanisms that foster such engagement. The authors argue that government resources and capacities to design and implement policies, as well as the composition of migrant communities, play a key role in determining the approach taken by governments towards their diaspora (Hercog and Kuschminder, 2011: 2). It is therefore the strength of the state that can vary the success of diasporic engagement (Hercog and Kuschminder, 2011: 4). A strong state will be more likely to leverage its diaspora community, while weak states – i.e., a state that struggles to fulfill the fundamental security, political, economic and social functions now associated with state sovereignty (Stewart, 2011) – will not necessarily have the resources to set up effective structures.

Government agencies in the home state can play an important role in galvanizing groups to see themselves as a loyal diaspora (Délano and Gamlen, 2014: 44). In this regard,

Délano and Gamlen mention several examples: some heads of state have presented themselves as the rulers of the people living abroad, organizing grandiose celebrations for diaspora elites whom they see as national heroes rather than deserters. Some states have expanded their consular activities and created new bureaucratic structures to manage relations with diaspora groups. Others have sought to capitalize on the remittances, investments and expertise of emigrants and their descendants, while responding to the diaspora's growing demands for political and social rights (Délano and Gamlen, 2014: 44).

This is leading to a redefinition of notions of citizenship and states (Délano and Gamlen, 2014). In this regard, Nanji (2011) provides examples that, during the 2000s, 89 countries allowed dual citizenship and used innovative approaches to involve their diaspora overseas. Mexico, for example, granted seats to elected diaspora representatives in the state parliament. In the case of Eritrea, the majority of expatriates voluntarily contribute 2% of their annual income to their country, generating "almost universal support and minimal resentment" in exchange for their participation in political processes, such as the drafting and ratification of the new constitution (Nanji, 2011, online). As an example, Shah (2020), in his study of Jain diasporic giving in the UK, the US and Singapore, explains that the transnational engagement observed is an indicator of citizenship and multiple belongings, where diasporic Jains see themselves as British, American or Singaporean in differentiated ways. Currently, 75% of countries allow dual or multiple citizenship (Vink et al., 2019).

Koinova (2018) characterizes some approaches that emphasize the role of the state as sometimes "utilitarian". In a utilitarian approach, home states engage with diasporas as potential resources for material power and social capital:

"Remittances constitute 13–20 percent of the GDP of Armenia, Haiti, Moldova, and Nepal (World Bank 2011). Direct investment in small, medium, and large enterprises (Smart and Hsu 2004), diaspora bonds (Leblang 2010), philanthropic contributions (Sidel 2004; Brinkerhoff 2008), tourism (Coles and Timothy 2004), lobbying foreign governments (Shain and Barth 2003), and the transfer of expertise (Lucas 2001) are very important. Sending states engage hometown associations to foster low-scale development (Brinkerhoff 2011a). They develop programs to attract returnees (Welch and Hao 2013) but may foster migrants to "achieve a secure status" in host-states for "sustained economic and political contributions" (Portes 1999, 467). Sending states adopt multitiered policies depending on migrants' perceived utility abroad versus home (Tsourapas 2015) and, thereby, "tap into the development potential of migration" to "share the success" (Délano and Gamlen 2014: 44)" (Koinova, 2018: 191).

Identity-based approaches are also used to study the structures put in place by the state. States cultivate diaspora identities to maintain links with the culture of origin through cultural markers such as commemorations of important holidays, education in the mother tongue and national school curricula, teachers disseminating national discourses, support for religious institutions, visits to the country of origin, and the media or even laws benefiting compatriots (Koinova, 2018: 192).

Finally, we also find approaches that rely on aspects of governance to explain the role of state (Koinova, 2018). This may refer to relations between home and host countries, and

be characterized by bilateral treaties (e.g., tax treaties), or even cooperation programs with international organizations (Koinova, 2018: 192).

Institutionalized Policies: The Role of Individuals as Agents

If back in the 1990s, authors were already talking about "long-distance nationalism" (Anderson, 1998), — the way in which diasporas exert their influence from abroad without bearing the consequences of their intervention in the country of origin — this phenomenon has become even more important.

Dufoix (2003) explains that the institutionalization of links between the diaspora and the country of origin can be explained by a desire to reduce the distance between individuals or groups and their homeland. Three means are identified to build proximity despite space based on whether natal or that of the ancestors. These are "objective and legal proximity when it is or can be inscribed in the formal bonds of nationality and representation within the state; political proximity when actions are carried out from abroad in the name of the nation, against an occupying state or against a regime deemed illegitimate; temporal proximity when today's means of communication make it possible to experience the link and intimacy with the country across distance" (Dufoix, 2003: 94, *suggested translation*).

Here, explanations based on the concept of transnationalism, which assumes that economics, politics, and culture transcend the borders of nation-states, take center stage. For instance, by employing transnationalism, researchers intend to shed light on interactions and activities that transcend national borders, focusing on how individuals and communities maintain ties with their home country while engaging in activities in their host country (Rajan, Shibu, and Irudayarajan, 2023: 5).

All these activities can occur at both individual (through family networks) and institutional levels (via international organizations) and involve a multitude of actors (Carment and Sadjed, 2017). According to this perspective, it is the actors themselves who engage in philanthropy, without the assistance of the state, and for two reasons. The first is that philanthropic engagement is supported due to the transnational connections of individuals with their families, friends, neighborhood associations, and professional organizations, still established in their countries of origin. The second is that transnational structures - facilitated by globalization - enable the circulation of various resources, including financial capital, human resources, and social capital, across borders.

Diaspora philanthropy goes beyond financial contributions. It encompasses a variety of practices, including advocacy, capacity building, knowledge transfer, and cultural preservation (Rajan, Shibu, and Irudayarajan, 2023). This latter point (the diversity of means of action) is corroborated by Carment and Sadjed (2017). They define means of diaspora engagement as dynamic links with the home country that span from political lobbying and economic development, including remittances and investments, to social tasks, including the promotion of human and cultural ties through, for instance, support for diaspora newspapers.

Interactions and Influences of the State and Individuals: A Key

While these studies examine diasporic philanthropic practices from two different perspectives, we argue that to gain a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of this type of philanthropy, it is necessary not to limit ourselves to examining only state perspectives or actors' actions, but rather to link them together. It may be a key in understanding politics and philanthropy in diasporic communities. Indeed, "the organizational form of the 'diaspora' is adopted by both non-state political entrepreneurs and state elites who take advantage of new technologies to use transnational practices of diaspora mobilization as a means of generating material resources and political support in an increasingly integrated global economy" (Adamson and Demetriou, 2007: 491).

It is therefore by studying both the state and non-state dimensions of diaspora philanthropy that we can fully appreciate its dynamics and effects. Thus, the particularities of social, political, and economic structures, linked to the history of nation-state-building in the country of origin as well as in the host countries, play a crucial role in diaspora engagement.

For example, as Skulte-Ouais and Tabar (2014: 146) point out, in the case of Lebanese diaspora engagement, divided and sectarian politics in Lebanon are often reproduced abroad, with some diaspora organizations supporting more radical political practices in Lebanon, which can lead to "circular dynamics" with both positive and negative effects. This example highlights the importance of examining both the state structures and individual motivations behind this commitment.

Another example is demonstrated by Kamaras (2022), who argues that crises influence the relations between the diaspora and the homeland, particularly through the philanthropic channel. Investigating whether the economic crisis has led to an increase in policy experimentation and/or norm diffusion through diaspora and transnational philanthropy, within the state and civil society, Kamaras (2022) concludes positively. The author also adds that the effects of the philanthropic diaspora on Greece have also been influenced by the location of its diaspora:

"The Greek diaspora is well-represented in affluent countries, namely the USA, the UK, Canada and Australia, where philanthropy, including cross-border, diaspora-to-homeland philanthropy, is a dominant mode of action among the wealthy. Such philanthropy is supported by favourable fiscal regimes, well-established networking and socialisation strategies of the wealthy and the compelling normative expectations of 'giving back'" (Kamaras, 2022, *online*).

Here, the role of states is once again important in explaining the success or failure of diaspora philanthropy. In fact, the authors indicate that both home and host states will explain - in part - the success or failure of diaspora philanthropy.

However, it's not just the role of states that will explain behavior and success; the positionality of individual diaspora members within both the host and origin state will also have an effect. To illustrate this, Patterson (2006: 1894) gives as an example of the fact that racial-ethnic groups in the U.S. South, who have "honorary white" status, tend to

possess greater human, social and economic capital, meaning they may have a greater means of helping the country of origin. In other words, American immigrants are both assimilated into their racial-ethnic group and accorded the group's general status, which will have an effect on their ability to contribute to their home state (Patterson, 2006: 1894).

Other studies focus on the policies of host states. This is the case of Nanji (2011), who examines Canada's immigration policies and the extent to which they promote or hinder diasporic capacity and connection for development. According to the author, the impact of a diaspora on its country of origin depends on how successful immigrants are in their host country, particularly in terms of integration, education, and employment. A second necessary condition, according to Nanji (2011), is that immigrants be allowed to express their culture if it is important to their identity as a community.

Here, Canadian policies are mixed due to multicultural policies which, while allowing room for individual freedom, do so on condition that it is expressed within the confines of Canadian society, thus failing to recognize the equal value of different groups (Nanji, 2011). Canadian multiculturalism, which values cultural diversity as part of a shared sense of belonging (Rodríguez-García, 2010), does have its limitations. For example, one of the main criticisms of Canadian multiculturalism lies in the creation of a homogenous and essentializing categorization of groups as “immigrants”, “ethnic/racial” and “visible minorities”, which creates artificial and homogeneous groups that do not always reflect the multiple and complex identities of individuals (Veronis, 2007).

It's also important to note that degrees of multiculturalism are not uniform across Canadian provinces. Due to provincial jurisdictions, approaches to diversity management vary across Canada. Ethnic philanthropy outcomes are also likely to differ, requiring further study.

Nevertheless, the Canadian multicultural model allows some members of diasporic communities to identify with both the country and society as a whole, without forsaking other ethno-cultural identity affiliations. These ties must, however, be established within the framework of recognitions granted by Canada, while reflecting processes of ethnicization, racialization and social discrimination rather than free choices within a supposedly horizontal social structure (Rodríguez-García, 2010: 254). This approach allows some diasporas to be recognized and supported in their philanthropic and political actions, but limits others.

Thus, conditions in the country of origin and those in the host country, as well as the profile of the diasporas involved, can influence how philanthropic commitments will be transmitted (Nkongolo-Bakenda and Chrysostome, 2013: 34; Chikezie, 2007: 4-6). While diaspora members have a certain agency to carry out diasporic engagements, this will only be possible if certain conditions in host and home countries are met and appropriate strategies are implemented (Nkongolo-Bakenda and Chrysostome, 2013: 46).

According to Nkongolo-Bakenda and Chrysostome (2013: 46), four factors explain diaspora success: entrepreneurship (of the individual), the environment (host country and country of origin), the political window of opportunity (know someone, natural disaster, the country recruits them, etc.) and strategy and organizational capacity (to make it

effective). Brinkerhoff (2006) also uses the term "structures and contexts of opportunity" to explain how states frame relations with diasporas. According to the author:

"These opportunities may be present, or not, in the hostland, homeland, and/or internationally. These may include: availability of economic opportunities; at least neutral regulation of diaspora activities generally and with respect to specific agendas; access to necessary infrastructure (political, technical, informational/ communication); host country government proactive support of the diaspora, through targeted service provision for integration and potential reliance on the diaspora for input and action in support of its foreign policy vis-à-vis the homeland; a home country government that is neutral or actively solicits diaspora participation and contributions (e.g., through policies and programs as noted above); and private sector actors who recognize the market that diasporas represent for both home and host country business opportunities. Opportunity structures are highly dependent on diasporas' access to power resources" (Brinkerhoff, 2006: 12-13).

Access to power is relative to six factors: economic, social, political, informational, moral, and physical (Brinkerhoff, 2006: 13).

On the other hand, if diasporas do not have windows of opportunity, this can lead them to encounter challenges when implementing their projects. For example, Thandi (2013) explains that although the Punjabi diaspora is mainly located in economically advanced countries, which in theory should increase its potential to help in its country of origin, this is not the case in practice. Indeed, the diaspora continues to have a difficult relationship with the state of Punjab. This is reflected in the absence of constructive engagement between them, with diasporic communities and state governments (Thandi, 2013). The relationship with states is therefore of crucial importance to the success of the diaspora.

CRITICAL JUNCTURE AND RELATIONS BETWEEN DIASPORAS AND STATES

The literature identifies four approaches to studying diasporic political and philanthropic engagement: (a) Diaspora for diaspora's sake: capacity building and support in the country of residence (b) Diaspora for a cause: support for home communities in conflict and post-conflict zones (c) Diaspora as ambassadors: representation of the home country abroad (d) Diaspora for change: advocacy for political change in home countries.

However, before we turn to these areas of study, it is important to emphasize that they have their origins in a common phenomenon: critical junctures. A critical conjuncture can be defined as events and developments in the distant past, usually concentrated over a relatively short period, which have a crucial impact on subsequent outcomes (Collier and Collier, 1991; Mahoney, 2002; Pierson, 2004).

Thus, a common link in the literature is the increase in diaspora involvement in philanthropic acts during critical moments. For example, Rajan, Shibinu and Irudayarajan (2023) demonstrate that when there are crises or special events, there is an increase in diaspora philanthropy. In their studies, they show that the importance of diaspora philanthropy was particularly evident during the Kerala floods in 2018, as well as during the COVID-19 pandemic, when the diaspora supported migrants stranded in different parts of the world (Rajan, Shibinu and Irudayarajan, 2023).

The concept of critical conjuncture therefore cuts across all the studies, providing a clearer picture of philanthropic actions and their political impact in the four areas mentioned above, which we will now detail.

Diaspora for Diaspora's Sake

The literature shows that historical relations, social, religious, cultural and political pressures, interests and norms all influence the process of giving (Brinkerhoff, 2014; Ramachandran, 2016; Shridhar, 2011), which could lead to one or a combination of the motivations being about the cause, the giving norms, or about particular 'ethnic' or 'religious' identities and affiliations. As explored earlier, a primary driver and defining feature of diaspora identity and community is the affective and/or intellectual connection to a symbolic or physical homeland, in other words, the "love of the homeland" or contributing to "back home" (Mehta and Johnston, 2011). It is not just simply identifying with a particular cultural or ethnic group that creates the bonds and thus an impetus for philanthropic giving, the motivations and interests in diaspora philanthropy from the perspective of diaspora individuals, groups or communities may be viewed in a spectrum with different levels of intensity and with various "push and pulls" of giving, for example, stemming from a homeland and from natural altruistic tendencies (Johnson, 2007).

As studies on South African diaspora philanthropy in Canada demonstrates, the relations with a nation-state can be historically and presently fraught, with a possible hostile view of the sending State toward the diaspora and tenuous relations to the history of nation-state building around regimes of apartheid (Ramachandran, 2016). However, being engaged in this diaspora community through development to the country-of-origin has been associated to strong self-identifications with the country of origin, other people from the origin country, and the importance of South Africa to their identity (Crush et al., 2013). Through these philanthropic activities, disposition toward altruistic activities and continuing association through social ties with the country of origin can be reinforced (Ramachandran, 2016).

Brinkerhoff's (2014) study of having minority status in the country-of-origin, as with the Coptic diaspora in New York, found that, contrary to assumed beliefs, discrimination and persecution in the country-of-origin did not lessen their philanthropic participation. Their findings somewhat support that with time in the country-of-residence, higher education, and income, interest in philanthropy to country-of-origin increases, except for those living the greatest number of years in the country-of-residence compared to the least number of years who were less likely to engage. Subsequent generations continue to be interested in philanthropy to the country-of-origin. More opportunities to give contributes to more volunteerism regardless of integration. Over time, giving focused less on informal mechanisms and faith-based organizations and more on strategic philanthropy such as organizational effectiveness. Overall, socialization, cultural transmission mechanisms, such as the Coptic church, and diaspora cohesiveness influence preferences for giving, intermediaries and expectations of results (Brinkerhoff, 2014).

Similarly, we observe that diaspora cohesion is a key issue addressed in Lebanese diaspora engagement and philanthropy, as the political structure and history of nation-

state building has been built around particular sects, with less formation of a national identity, reducing the effectiveness and capacity of the state to engage with philanthropic and welfare issues on a transnational and national scale (Skulte-Ouaiss and Tabar, 2015).

Faith-based institutions and practices are more studied and is a consistent driver and contextual factor for giving (Brinkerhoff, 2014; Shridhar, 2011). Faith-based institutions are an ongoing mechanism for mobilization while they also provide an environment to influence giving priorities and avenues through their affiliations with certain intermediaries and causes (Ramachandram, 2016) as well as being an avenue for socialization on their norms and belief systems in philanthropy (Brinkerhoff, 2014).

The trust and legitimacy accorded to the individual has also been highlighted as a factor. Already having trust with potential donors and intermediaries for collaboration can ease some of the barriers to gathering and administering donations, such as drawing from alumni networks (Chen, 2019). The social clout of individual diaspora actors that are driving donations or mobilizing groups are found to influence the scale, visibility and success of their philanthropic initiatives surrounding their social-professional standing and reputation which can influence giving over and above the wider groups (Ramachandran, 2016). Pinnock (2013) found that amongst case studies of Jamaican Canadian youth diaspora philanthropy, a major challenge in effectively engaging young people is the perception of a lack of legitimacy and authenticity due to generational status (first generations possibly having more legitimacy than later generations) and age (the older viewing the young as lacking legitimacy).

So, in conclusion, one of the first clues to understanding why diasporic communities help and give can be understood in terms of emotional and intellectual attachment to the homeland, as well as strained or strong relations with the country of origin. Both factors play an important role in determining the philanthropic behavior of diasporas towards their home countries. The studies reviewed also reveal that religious institutions and faith-based practices are important, as is the role of trust and legitimacy in the giving process, via secure channels. In this way, the scope of solidarity intersects with historical factors, social, religious, cultural and political pressures, all of which contribute to a climate conducive to giving. The political scope is implied, as the donation emanates both from a link to the homeland of origin, and a reaction to conditions in the host country.

Diaspora for a Cause: Support for Home Communities in Conflict Zone

One way of understanding how the philanthropic gesture takes on a political character is to study philanthropic mobilization in times of crisis. Thus, a key catalyst for diaspora philanthropic mobilization is the occurrence of a specific event that can even spark the start-up or rapid growth of an organization, such as a natural disaster (Chen, 2019; Johnson, 2007). Present or post-conflict societies is another important area of study in influencing the mechanisms, motivations and processes of giving (Brinkerhoff, 2008; Brinkerhoff, 2011; CAF American and CAF Canada, 2017; Nielson and Riddle, 2008; Skulte-Ouaiss and Tabar, 2015).

In Brinkerhoff's (2011) review of the state of knowledge of diaspora engagement in conflict societies, they state that negative stereotypes of diaspora engagement in conflict/post-conflict societies persist, and this area is largely excluded from policy making processes and considerations. However, while their contributions can be complex and contradictory there is a plethora of positive ways in which they engage in peacebuilding and reconstruction. Regarding philanthropy, Brinkerhoff maps out the motivations which can span from positive philanthropic interest or being a cover up for other political and conflict aims, with increased challenging conditions in the place of origin potentially supporting more philanthropic interest. A crisis in the country of origin may particularly enhance interest among those in later generations. Mechanisms can include smaller scale and informal efforts, such as providing in-kind remittances for humanitarian causes, fund microenterprises, or support rebuilding and development projects, which can help decrease dependencies. Diaspora organizations can also be useful in acting as intermediaries in these contexts. In a negative sense, conflicts may take advantage of diaspora engagement for political aims, such as pursuing philanthropy for political power, or "conflict entrepreneurs" who draw from violent and non-violent tactics to gain resources in transnational networks that ultimately support violence. In some cases, unintended consequences can include making conflict worse by being discriminatory and selective in its implementation and furthering polarization, yet their contributions are also interpreted depending on the beliefs any individual around peacebuilders and conflict actors.

Of course, commitment and giving are not without their problems. Equity issues can arise when it comes to identifying priorities, specifying locations, needs and the scale of problems, as there may be gaps or duplication in services or communities. Particularism towards one's own ethnic, religious or social group can contribute to others facing significant barriers or needs not being reached (Brinkerhoff, 2008). Access to these foreign currencies and development resources can also reduce dependence on the state for investment in social protection and its own development (Sidel, 2008), and potentially weaken the state's interest and ability to remain accountable for these investments (Brinkerhoff, 2011; Metcalf-Little, 2010). There is also evidence that diaspora members living in conflict zones may support warring parties in their home countries around the world (Brinkerhoff, 2011; Newland and Patrick, 2004) and may be less inclined to compromise because they are more protected from everyday violence (Newland and Patrick, 2004).

In this way, critical moments help us to understand the impulse of diasporas towards their communities of origin in times of crisis, underlining once again the political dimension underlying acts of giving.

Diaspora as Ambassadors: Representing the Home Country Abroad

Sidel (2008) existing research on governmental support by receiving states points to varying degrees and sporadic encouragement, enabling, restricting, controlling or channeling diaspora giving through a variety of mechanisms. Local, regional and/or national governments influence giving processes and motivations through their various collaborations, priorities and push/pull factors (Cohen, 2017; Opiniano, 2005).

Local governments and civil society organizations in particular can pull in the philanthropic giving of the diaspora (Mehta and Johnston, 2011). However, how the country-of-origin government views the diaspora (and vice versa) as an important development partner is also a factor, whether as a hostile or supportive group (Brinkerhoff, 2012; Ramachandran and Crush, 2021). Brinkerhoff (2011a) suggests that there is a continuum of tolerance by sending states diaspora organizations, with smaller and less professionalized being less of a threat on one end, and larger more professionalized organizations and/or those that identify political advocacy priorities may be viewed as more of a competition and/or threatening in accumulating donor resources or protecting political interests of minorities.

As mentioned, the public engagement opportunities provided by the host and/or receiving State and their political structures and culture influences diaspora activities with a specific example being the politics of Lebanon wherein lobbying groups predominate in the U.S., while Australia and Canada have political groups across the spectrum of activities (Skulte-Ouaiss and Tabar, 2015). The authors state that a hybrid relationship exists in which the transnational organizations always include domestic actors in Lebanon. The historical development of the Lebanese political system, which did not achieve a national interest opened conditions for diaspora organizations to influence state-related responsibilities, is yet based on communal interests rather than central or unified rights, citizenship and equality.

While some scholars propose that an increase in skilled migrants with professionalized success, such as experts, entrepreneurs and athletes, is increasing and drastically changing philanthropic initiatives (Newland et al., 2010), others also consider that those in less skilled categorized positions still give back despite different challenges with migration and settlement (Opiniano, 2005). However, this growth in connection and mobilization amongst transnational communities in addition to their wealth seems to result in greater sums of money flowing from diaspora communities in host counties to their countries of origin (Newland et al., 2010). Indeed, private philanthropy to developing countries is surpassing foreign aid by governments (Brinkerhoff, 2014; Newland et al., 2010).

By exemple, Espinosa (2016) builds from research doing interviews and being a participant-observer of 200 organizations of diaspora philanthropists who are Philippines born in Germany, France and Luxembourg, as well as field work in Manila with government officials and workers from migrant-related NGOs. The author emphasizes that larger governance bodies have major power in the discourse around harnessing the wealth of migrants, securitizing refugee migration and regulating the traffic of labour migrants which impacts prioritization of giving and reveals power relations in how the main driver of 'love of homeland' in diaspora giving relates to displacement and international labour market schemes.

In all cases, individuals engaging in philanthropic acts can be described as political entrepreneurs. In the literature, they are defined as "individual and institutional agents who actively assert the rights of homelands" (Koinova, 2018: 191). They are both formal and informal leaders of diasporic networks, making public claims with a homeland-oriented focus (Koinova, Blanchard and Margulies, 2023: 3-4). It is these actors who create links and can bridge the gap between members of their communities, while

carrying messages. They can mobilize in more or less contentious ways through different channels, preferring state-based or transnational channels to organize their activities, and they can vary in intensity, ranging from weak, medium-strong, to strong (Koinova, Blanchard and Margulies, 2023: 3-4).

Of course, not all diasporic actors have the same levels of engagement, and the effects of these involvements vary considerably between diaspora members themselves, and between diasporas. Diasporic communities can, for example, influence the outcomes of policymaking in their "host countries", particularly in the field of foreign policy, or foster economic development or contribute to democratization and respect for human rights (Adamson, 2023). Care must therefore be taken not to consider diasporic actors as a unitary whole and to start from the premise that the activities of members of diasporic populations vary (Adamson, 2023).

In conclusion, diasporas play a crucial role as ambassadors representing their home countries abroad. Their philanthropic engagement is influenced by a multitude of factors, including government policies in both host and home countries, as well as political and social dynamics within the diasporas themselves. Acting as political entrepreneurs, diasporic actors shape the ties between members of their communities, convey ideas and have direct effects on state and development policies in their countries of origin.

Diaspora for Change: Advocating for Political Changes

While local governments and civil society organizations in particular can attract philanthropic donations from the diaspora (Mehta and Johnston, 2011), how the home government perceives the diaspora (and vice versa) as an important development partner is also a factor, whether as a hostile or supportive group (Brinkerhoff, 2012; Ramachandran and Crush, 2021). Brinkerhoff (2011a) suggests that there is a continuum of tolerance by sending states towards diasporic organizations, with smaller, less professional ones seen as less of a threat on the one hand, and larger, more professional organizations and/or those identifying political advocacy priorities potentially seen as more competitive and/or threatening in accumulating donor resources or protecting minority political interests.

Diasporas can also exert political and mobilizing power against the state of origin. According to Werbner (2002), despite their internal complexity and heterogeneity, diasporas can adopt similar policies. The author explains that diasporic communities established in democratic national states share a commitment to fighting for improved citizenship rights both for themselves and for diaspora members elsewhere, often lobbying Western governments to defend human rights in their home countries. If, according to Werbner (2002), this can be seen as a defining characteristic of postcolonial diasporas in the West, it can also be linked to the concepts of hybridization mentioned earlier in this report.

Diasporas can also have direct effects in crisis situations in their home countries: in some cases, they can actively promote or aggravate conflict through several causal mechanisms, including ethnic one-upmanship, strategic framing, lobbying and persuasion, as well as resource mobilization (Carment and Sadjed, 2017).

Adamson's (2023) study demonstrates, for example, the effect of diaspora members' involvement in violent conflicts:

The implication here is that members of diasporas can involve themselves as supporters of violent conflicts in their home countries, without paying the consequences of living in societies marked by political violence. These observations have recently been extended more broadly to the phenomenon of terrorism – Sageman (2004), for example, claims that 84 percent of those involved in al-Qaeda-inspired terrorism have been recruited in a diasporic context, with the majority of recruitment taking place in Western Europe. In addition, there is a growing body of empirical studies of particular conflicts (Biswas 2004; Danforth 1995; Fair 2005; Gunaratna 2001; Ho 2004; Hockenos 2003; Lyons 2006; Rapoport 2003; Shain 2002; Smith and Stares 2007) that have examined the extent to which members of diaspora groups have been active supporters of political violence (Adamson, 2023: 65).

Intermediary organizations are often used by smaller individuals or diaspora groups who may not have the technical or organizational capacity to manage donations, such as communication, matching donors with the project, identifying priorities for donations and administering funds, aggregating funds from other sources and monitoring the use of philanthropic resources as well as political campaigning (Newland et al., 2010).

Here, unlike political entrepreneurs, diaspora members actively militate against the home state, albeit with the aim of promoting an ideology that diverges from that of the government in power.

CONCLUSION

The diaspora engagement model shows that the geographies of diaspora engagement include local and international development, as well as an element of advocacy, which mainstream definitions of diasporic philanthropy do not necessarily highlight as components. The political influence of diasporic communities on sending countries appears to be a less studied area, but one with important implications for the social and political structures of the homeland and the possibilities for diasporic engagement, or disengagement (Skulte-Ouaiss and Tabar, 2014).

In this report, we began by defining what we meant by "diaspora". By emphasizing the political significance of the philanthropic gesture, we have been able to demonstrate this link by highlighting the importance of the role of the state and the actors involved. It is the conditions in the country of origin and those in the host country, as well as the profile of the diasporas concerned, that can influence the way in which philanthropic commitments are passed on. While members of the diaspora have a certain capacity to carry out diasporic commitments, this will only be possible if certain conditions in the host and home countries are met, and appropriate strategies are implemented. So, sometimes implicitly, sometimes explicitly, there is a political agenda behind diaspora philanthropy.

The literature identifies four approaches to studying diasporic political and philanthropic engagement: (a) Diaspora for diaspora's sake: capacity-building and support in the country of residence (b) Diaspora for a cause: support for communities of origin in conflict

and post-conflict zones (c) Diaspora as ambassadors: representation of the country of origin abroad (d) Diaspora for change: advocacy for political change in countries of origin. Although others exist, these four examples highlight the implicit or explicit political position, as well as the importance of context in understanding outpourings of generosity.

Of course, a more comprehensive understanding of the position and effects of diasporic participation in international relations, foreign affairs, politics, and public affairs in their countries of origin is needed to capture all the nuances of this engagement. There is also a need for more case studies, aimed at understanding the phenomenon, to better grasp the reasons for and practices of diaspora philanthropic involvement. There is also a need to decompartmentalize fields of study and linking with other fields of research in a more intentional way could strengthen this exploration, such as diaspora and migration studies and citizenship studies. This would allow for the nuances, historical, social, economic, and political circumstances and changing nature of different diasporic communities, as well. Their heterogeneous ethnic, religious and social groups, affiliations and geographies, are important to this field of study. A challenge is to get away from a single or static narrative in assessing the relationships between diaspora, migration, development and philanthropy, while allowing for some typography of practices and dimensions relating to the act of giving.

In any case, the political effects of diasporic philanthropic engagement remain a subject of interest, yet little researched in the literature. While the focus on social justice and advocacy has been increasing for over a decade, and transnational giving is seen as a form of diasporic activism and resistance, it is unclear whether this trend has intensified, or what the influences and nature of social justice activities within diasporic communities are.

Regarding diasporic philanthropy, while it can be encouraged by tax incentives and public-private partnerships, as well as by efforts to improve diasporic participation, it is questionable whether increased investment in such philanthropy, with its different interpretations and measures of impact, could inadvertently reinforce systemic inequalities and poverty, especially if ties with home states guide forms of giving. This could encourage the emergence of a privileged donor class, the privatization of diasporic philanthropy or the introduction of other potentially problematic mechanisms, in line with state orientations.

On the other hand, the "anti-state" implications of diaspora members could also contribute to increasing undesirable effects in home countries and disrupt stability, while possibly enabling a form of activism. As there are few studies on this subject, it is difficult to measure and qualify these effects. While this report does not go far enough in answering these questions, it does underline the importance of such studies in the future.

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