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.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABOUT THE AUTHORS 2
ABSTRACT 3
RÉSUMÉ 3
INTRODUCTION 5
DEFINITIONS OF CONCEPTS 6
 Ethnic Minorities 6
 Historically Marginalized Communities 7
 Traditional Philanthropy and Divergent Philanthropy 7
 Ethnic Philanthropy 9
TRADITIONAL PHILANTHROPIC PRACTICES AND MARGINALIZATION 9
 Social Exclusion 10
 Geographical Exclusion 11
CONNECTING MARGINALIZED COMMUNITIES AND PHILANTHROPY 13
 Explaining Diversity: Social Capital of Diverse Communities 13
  Community leadership 14
  Socialization 15
 Explaining Diversity: Belongingness to Culture(s) 16
 Explaining Diversity: Model of Citizenship Inclusion and Exclusion 18
CONCLUSION 20
BIBLIOGRAPHY 22

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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 abd 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 abd 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 Trounstine, 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).

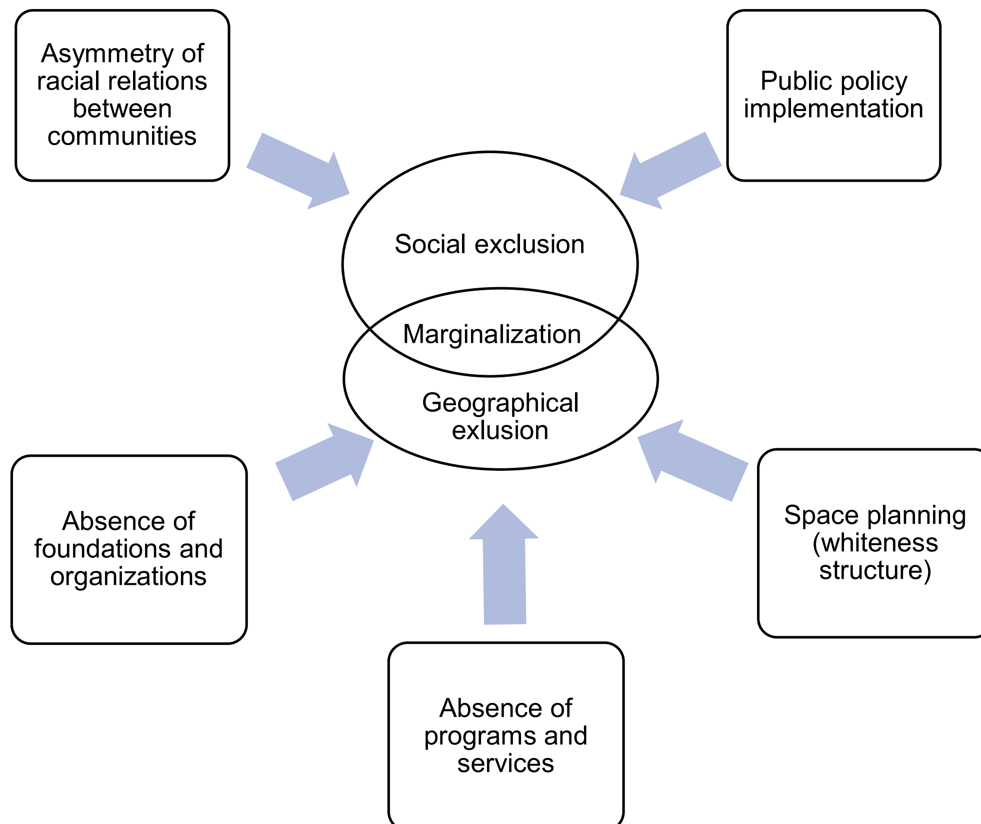
For example, in both Canada and the United States, the location of community foundations is linked to geographic areas with homogeneous populations and high social capital. In the United States, homogeneous communities are often characterized by a predominantly white population, while heterogeneous communities 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, Iglic, 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 multiculturalism[1], 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, particulary 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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