The Secularization of Muslim-American Giving and New Styles of Community Building by Arab-Americans

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Abstract

Among Arab Americans, secular ethnic giving is displacing religiously inspired giving in ways similar to that are reshaping American Muslim philanthropy. This trend is supported by evidence of the way donors position themselves and philanthropic organizations appeal to their donor base. The case is supported by qualitative data drawn from interviews with key informants and from trend data on giving. A typology of nine different types of donors, based on research on U.S. based Arab American and American Muslim faith-based organizations is proposed to explicate these shifts, along with a model for giving in crisis situations (DMIPS). This change is significant because it challenges our understanding about the connection between community and philanthropy. The paper concludes that community and ethnic identity both shapes and is shaped by philanthropy, especially when the giving is animated by an external crisis that catalyzes the community to take action.

Introduction

Is philanthropy towards humanitarian institutions (during crisis situations) impacting how individuals in the U.S. are understanding their notion of 'community'? Further, what are the tensions in giving to religious institutions versus secular 'ethnic' organizations? These are the two primary questions I will seek to answer in this article. While my argument that 'secular' ethnic giving is becoming more prominent than religiously inspired giving may seem a stretch, looking at the qualitative data in the interviews and econometric data from reports such as Giving USA corroborates the claims made herein. I offer a model of identity inspired giving called "Development Model of Intercultural Philanthropic Sensitivity"(DMIPS[1]). I do this by offering a typology of nine different types of donors, based on my research of U.S. based Arab American and American Muslim faith-based organizations. I have taken these organizations to represent patterns of giving based on identity – both ethnic and religious.

Consider the following: Giving to religious organizations has declined over the last 40 years. Data from Giving USA (2013), the most authoritative source of individual giving in the U.S. points out that, adjusted for inflation, giving to religion declined 2.2 percent, and it remains about one third of the total $314 billion given by individuals. This reflects the broader trend in American society, as observed by many scholars, who have argued that the religious landscape is shifting, with more people self-identifying as 'nones,' or those without any religious affiliation and also those who are moving between various religions and denominations (Wuthnow, 2008). While philanthropy can be considered the most American traits, perhaps more American than

[1] This is based on the Milton J.Bennett's "Development Model of Intercultural Sensitivity" (DMIS) (1993).

church attendance, it is certainly shifting, due to a number of factors including religious shift, changing demographics and technology. This shift in giving could be also considered as a move towards a greater 'secular humanitarian' orientation among donors, who are perhaps giving to development organizations and agencies that promote non-religious causes, rather than purely religious objectives.

Aims of the Study

This paper seeks to understand the relationship between giving and identity (religious and ethnic) and proposes a model of how giving might be occurring in crisis situations. By a close examination of the giving patterns towards 15 large American Muslim and Arab American NGOs, I try to create a typology of donors as well as offer a model of how giving occurs in crisis situations and the various responses that can occur from different types of donors. While this is a small, qualitative study and the results are not statistically generalizable, I believe that they are analytically generalizable across the types of organizations studied. The findings can offer us a theoretical perspective, grounded in empirical data on some of the key aspects of giving towards these types of faith-based organizations. Through this model, this paper seeks to re-define the 'identification' model proposed by Paul Schervish (1998) that argues for looking at philanthropy through the lens of individual and communal identity.

Literature Review

Is identity the primary factor determining giving? Schervish and Havens (1998) have argued that "charitable giving comes from identification and identification comes from contact and contact comes from relationships." While this is true, this model assumes that identity and relationships

are static and unchanging. I seek to revamp this model, while creating a typology of donors, as they emerge in a crisis situation, based on empirical data and offer a theoretical framework to understand giving in crisis situations and how it impacts our notion of 'community'.

Historical literature about philanthropy outlines the ways in which faith-based and secular nonprofits contribute to and build community. While the focus on ethnic and religion-based philanthropy, there are a few key points to be kept in mind: First, as Schneider (2013) points out, the voluntary sector and religious institutions have a long history in the US and many programs have been run by congregations. In fact, according to data in the Giving USA (2013) data, roughly one-third of all giving in the U.S. goes towards religious institutions. Historical literature points to the creation of a wide variety of religion-based organizations in the early part of US history. She points out that many of the settlement houses eventually became secular institutions, but some retained connections to their founding religions. Secondly, there is also a recognition of the role that African American churches played in their communities to develop schools, hospitals and other institutions in the local communities. Finally, there is a growing recognition of the key role that both secular and faith-based organizations can play in the provision of social services and related services, given the withdrawal of the state, with the emergent neo-liberal framework of the American economy, since the Reagan presidency (Trattner, 1979).

Recent government efforts to support FBOs may be widely accepted, though some scholars such as Wineburg (2011) have argued strongly against the faith-based initiatives brought in during George W.Bush's presidency. Scholars such as Göçmen (2013) have argued that the Charitable Choice and Faith-Based Initiative represent an effort to return to the heavily religion-based social welfare system of the 19th century rather than a new initiative to involve

faith communities in social welfare systems (Schneider, 2013). Also, given how religious the general population in the US is, and the general acceptance of religious rhetoric in the public sphere, the distinction between the religious and the secular in the public sphere is minimal and is tolerated to a large extent (Miller.T, 2008)

I will cover four aspects of literature in this brief literature review: 1. Different notions of 'community' in the U.S. 2. Giving among Muslims and Arabs in the U.S. 3. Giving during crisis situations and 4. Identity and giving behavior. Each aspect illuminates in a specific way how religious and secular (ethnic) giving is related to notions of community. While this review is by no means exhaustive, I hope to provide a framework of ideas that will be helpful in understanding the arguments made in this paper.

1. Different notions of 'community'

Though there are various conceptions of 'community' in the U.S., depending not only on regionalism, individualism, communitarianism and religious differences; the bigger tensions in how one defines one's community arises in how one defines one's relationship as an individual with the community. The broadest difference in how Americans define one's community can be, arguably, based on individualism and communitarianism. American society is assumed to be an 'individualistic' one that has its own versions of communitarian spirit that manifests itself in various forms (Bellah et al, 1985).

In *Habits of the Heart (1985)*, Robert Bellah and his co-authors argue that despite the individualistic traits in most Americans, they find ways to contribute to the common good and one's community – defined in a geographic sense – and find meaning through this process. They say " We are less concerned with whether they are average than they represent

the ways in which Americans use private and public life to make sense of their lives. This is the central issue with which our book is concerned." (p.21). Further, they argue that how Americans think of community, individualism, success and happiness is often rooted in tradition and for us to understand how they are reacting to rapid changes, then closely examining these traditions is crucial.

Other scholars have explored notions of community and its changing importance in America. Amitaz Etzioni has become one of the most important proponent of communitarian ways of thinking and living. He argues for balancing the role of 'autonomy' and 'true needs' of all community members by building multiple layers of loyalty to different communities. He has argued for the development of an overarching 'community of communities' to respond to the needs of constituent communities, as those who are responsive to the needs of their members (Etzioni, 1995). Responsiveness is key to the relevance of the 'community' to its members, argues Etzioni. While there can be no perfectly responsive community, at least the contradictions can be reduced, he says.

In contrast to a Communitarian vision of society, Libertarians argue for a more individualistic view of society, based on the premise that the individual is fully formed and his/her needs "precede and over-ride that of any society." (Etzioni, 1995, p.3). While this notion seems to be holding sway currently, with politicians and economists of various stripe endorsing individual choice as the mantra for solving all social problems, there are many 'contradictions' in this system, that puts individualism and capitalism at the forefront, as David Harvey(2014) and others have argued. As Etzioni argues, the main criticism of Libertarianism is that it often ignores the ways in which isolation can harm the individual and society at large. "Much of communitarian writing in the 1980s by nonsociologists focused on remaking this basic

sociological point: There are no well-formed individuals bereft of social bonds or culture." (p.4). But how does one solve collective problems when people don't agree that there are common goals and shared visions – as in a Libertarian worldview?

While the notion of what constitutes a community is still under debate, with some scholars negating the term altogether– Etzioni points to the work of Margaret Stacey (Bell and Newby, 1974) – that the best thing to do is to avoid using the term. While this is an extreme view and ignores the social bonds formed, over time, I believe there is value in using the concept of community, as a phenomenon, as it is a very 'real' construct. With over ninety definitions of 'community' there is no consensus on which one is the best one, or most appropriate to use.

Etzioni's definition of community encompasses two characteristics: 1. A community entails a web of affect-laden relations among a group of individuals, relations that are often crisscross and reinforce each other 2. Community requires a commitment to a set of shared values, norms and meanings and a shared history and identity- in short, a shared culture. Finally, he argues that a community should also be 'responsive' to the needs of its members and their true needs.

2. Giving among Muslims and Arabs in the U.S.

Giving is central to the Muslims around the world, as charity is one of the key 'pillars' of Islam. Giving occurs at all levels among American Muslims – at the individual level, from individuals offering other individuals help or 'charity,' or through institutions, such as mosques, faith-based NGOs or even informal 'Giving circles'. A report by Pew Research Center titled Muslim Americans : Middle Class and mainly mainstream (2011) argues that most of American Muslims

are ‘mainstream’, in that they uphold the ‘American dream’ and are opposed to any extremist interpretation of Islam. These findings are similar to another recent Pew Report titled *The World’s Muslims: Unity and Diversity (*2012), which says that a full 77 percent of those surveyed said that they give money in charity. While both the reports say out that most Muslims agree on the core foundational beliefs or the ‘pillars’ of Islam, there is vast diversity in how important religion is in their lives and also on how Islamic law is to be interpreted. This is truer in America, which is considered the Mecca of Islam in some regards, as it is home to Muslims from quite literally the entire world.

The U.S. is home to all major schools of Islamic thought – Sunni : Shafii, Hanafi, Hanbali and Maliki – and also Shii schools of thought – the Twelver’s, niners, Ismailis and various local ‘indigenous’ forms of Islam such as Nation of Islam, Moorish Science temple etc. (Ghaneabassiri, 2010). While there is enormous diversity in sects and denominations within Islam, one can safely say that they all have some form of giving – derived from the religious norms of discernment, one that Paul Schervish (2010) has called ‘religious discernment’. While the exact form (and amount) of giving may vary between Sunnis and Shiis, for instance, there is no denying that both major traditions of Islam encourage giving to the weak and vulnerable. There is no data available that captures the exact amount of charitable giving among American Muslims. This is because of several methodological issues that come up, when one tries to put an exact number or even an estimate on such a figure. For starters, there is no exact consensus on how many American Muslims there are in the U.S. While Pew Research Center estimates that there are about 2.5 million Muslims in America, other organizations such as the Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR) claim that there are upwards of six million Muslims. The fact that U.S. Census bureau does not collect religion related data complicates this issue.

While my focus in this paper is not quantitative, but rather qualitative, in that I am attempting to map the impact of identities on giving in a crisis situation, the quantitative numbers are in themselves not too helpful. Also, given that my research is exploratory and aims to build theory form data- using a grounded theory approach, I believe that offering analysis based on qualitative data will be useful for our current purposes. We may not have all the data about individual giving, but looking at the tax returns of the largest Muslim NGOs gives an indication of the level of giving.

There is a growing body of literature that looks at ethnic groups that are engaging in philanthropy in the U.S. Arab Americans, Asians from all countries in the continent- Pakistanis, Indians and people from Turkey, Bosnia all have their own organizations, catering to education, health, cultural issues and a vast range of activities that are part of the ethnic mobilization efforts. Ibrahim and Sherif, in their book *From Charity to Social Change* (2008)discuss the ways in which Arab diaspora giving is evolving, albeit slowly. Speaking of the change from a religious norms to more institutionalized ways of giving, they point out: "There are important social traditions of giving – i.e. Takaful among Arab Muslims (social solidarity) and 'Ushr among Christians – What is new is the reconfiguration of the old forms *(Waqf* into social investing, corporate philanthropy, and establishment of grant-making foundations. Another trend is regional funding institutions, based in one country but governed by a pan-Arab board of directors (p.5).

The discourse surrounding poverty, development and philanthropy has never been so strong, with even international organizations such as the United Nations and The World Bank embracing the same. As the report points to the efficacy of this approach : " The percentage of Individuals living in extreme poverty declined from 52% in 1981 to 22% in 2008.

According to the World Bank, this means that the Millennium Development Goal of cutting extreme poverty in half by 2015 has already been met. "(Hudson Index, p. 6).

In the U.S, ethnic mobilization in philanthropy is particularly strong, given that about 2/3 of American Muslims are of immigrant origin. While the giving patterns of diaspora have not been studied closely, one can reasonably estimate that much of the philanthropy among this segment occurs to the countries of their origin (i.e., through remittances or even helping in development or other needs). This may perhaps be changing, as the demands of institution building and growing of American Muslim presence in the public sphere.

While all of the above shows the behavior of just 15% of the American Muslim population (Najam, p.4), this is based on empirical evidence and a thorough investigation into the community's behavior and one can say that this provides us a glimpse of what is going on.

3. Giving during crisis situations

Philanthropy and crisis situations are intimately connected, especially in our hyper-technology driven world, with online, text giving making giving easy and quick. Boin et al (2005) define a crisis as a situation "A serious threat to the system when the basic values and norms, which under time pressure and uncertain circumstances necessitate timely decision making." (p.2). In this paper, I am treating crisis that require a humanitarian response – flooding and other natural causes, political crises that displace large number of people, among others. Crises of the kind which do not have a humanitarian angle – such as internal political instability, technological crises - are not included here.

As Jonathan Benthall has argued in his book The *Charitable Crescent* (2003) the global humanitarian movement in the Muslim world and towards it is somewhat of a new phenomenon, and is not as old as that in the Western world, which pioneered it, in the model of Red Cross. But

this is not to say that the notion of charity is new. He points to the diversity of objectives among NGOs working in the relief and reconstruction efforts in Iraq and says "Those charged with regulating relief and reconstruction in Iraq need to bear in mind both the diversity of objectives that Islamic charities bring to bear and the diversity of their funding sources. Some are awash with Gulf States'oil, while others represent the fruits of zakat contributions from all Muslims around the world and what has been described as the 'philanthropy of the poor.' There is also a case to be made for the businesses to get involved, as in the case of Mecca Cola, which can mobilize the *Ummah*." (p.10). Benthall is referring to the often monolithic discourse about any sort of funding that goes to the Muslim world and the tendency to club all forms of giving under that which supports spurious and extremist activities. While support to militant groups did occur during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, Bosnia and other armed conflicts, the trend seems to be more towards humanitarian giving. We must pay attention to the latter, as much or perhaps more than the former, as it forms a significant part of global giving, Benthall points out. Further, Benthall (2008) makes a claim that all giving is political in nature. He makes this argument on the basis of the history of trans-national aid from Muslim organizations. I believe that this goes counter to the ethos of giving and there is greater evidence in the contrary view that philanthropy is more than politics. Peter Frumkin (2006) argues for this position that giving reflects not just political action, but is more than that. In combining one's vision, values; philanthropy is an expression of a bigger vision of one's life and is cannot be considered only political. Especially, looking at it from a donor's perspective, it would be wrong to assume that the only thing that donors are interested is in influencing some political outcome or policy. Donors are motivated by a range of ideas, visions and emotions all of which could be considered as trying to make the world a better place.

Literature on humanitarian relief tells us that humanitarian aid implementation is better conceived as a network of actors enmeshed, in part, within a set of pre-existing relationships but with no natural lines of authority existing among them. (Stephenson & Schnitzer, 2006a). This is quite evident when one looks at how crisis situations bring together various groups, organizations—both formal and informal—to solve the problems that are being encountered. Islamic Relief, a global NGO with headquarters in the United Kingdom is an example of this type of a network. While this example illustrates short-term emergency relief, there is another aspect to this issue – that of long-term development philanthropy, given both by individuals and nation-states. This is where civil-society organizations are supposed to step in and provide much needed support, to help these vulnerable population groups. In fact, a majority of the programming carried out by Islamic Relief and Helping hands for Relief and Development – the NGOs' I examine in this article provide help to refugee groups around the world.

4. Identity and giving

Robert Wuthnow (1991) has argued that religious giving is motivated by 'conviction' and 'community', similarly Paul Schervish (1998, 2007) has called for looking at philanthropy through a 'moral biography' lens and he is famous for his 'identification' theory of philanthropy, that claims that 'identification is the mother of all philanthropy'. Of the five factors[2] that he mentions as being responsible for why people give, 'community of participation' ranks as the most critical one. He argues that philanthropy occurs because people feel obliged, in many cases to give, as an 'obligation'. Schervish has further argued that the problem of our times is not a

[2] The five factors include : Communities of participation, frameworks of consciousness, models form youth, requests to give and discretionary resources (Schervish, 1997)

shortage of wealth, but rather one of managing the surplus – at least in the industrialized West – and this will lead to questions of 'meaning' and related substantive aspects of philanthropy. Rather than asking how wealth can be created, Schervish has argued that many millions of people will be on the lookout for 'ideal' ways to spend, so as to create meaning for their lives.

While these scholars have explained how identity shapes philanthropy, their models and theories assume identity to be a static, unchanging construct. I seek to challenge this notion of identity and argue that in a crisis situation, the very idea of identity can undergo a shift and there can be a radical rethinking of how people think of what their 'community' is. This perspective and insights can offer us new ways of looking at identity and philanthropy and question the many taken for granted assumptions of philanthropy and identity.

Allison Schnable argues in her paper, *Religion and Giving for International assistance: Evidence from a Survey of U.S. Church Members* (2013) building on the well-known hypothesis that greater church attendance is associated with greater charitable giving, following the argument made by Bekkers and Wiepking (2011a, 2011b), to develop three mechanisms by which religion shapes Americans' preferences on international assistance: values, social norms, and exposure to need. This is particularly true in crisis situations, when congregations tend to promote giving at the local level as well as internationally. She has used data from the 2005 national survey of church members, and found that 1) higher service attendance, placing importance on spiritual growth, and exposure to international needs through one's congregation all are associated with giving to international causes; 2) individuals with more frequent attendance, those who place importance on spiritual growth, and evangelicals are significantly more likely to prefer church over government aid; and 3) aid organizations affiliated with a religious tradition enjoy an "in-group" advantage in support. She builds on the work by other

scholars such as Wuthnow (2009) and Schervish (2010) who have sought to demonstrate the central role of religion in philanthropic giving.

The crux of her argument is that while it is possible to demonstrate the impact of religion on giving, it is harder to say whether it is as a result of religious value or a social norm. She says "Without an in-depth interview—perhaps even with one—it would be hard to say whether an evangelical woman who wrote a check to World Vision each month did so because of tradition-specific views about aid that were consistent with World Vision's approach (values) or because a member of her Bible study asked her to donate (social norms). But there is some evidence in this study to support the distinctive contribution of each of these mechanisms." (p.20). This is also true in the case of other faith-based groups and denominations. The interaction effects of the various values and social norms is hard to separate out.

Similarly, in trying to draw out the motivation of giving among different faith-based groups in Netherlands, Carabain and Bekkers (2011) have argued in their paper *Explaining Philanthropic behavior among Hindus, Muslims and Christians in Netherlands* that among Muslims, 'faith is built through community and community is built through faith.'(p.4). Further, they argue that Muslims in Netherlands exhibit more religious philanthropic behavior than Hindus.

Bekkers and Carabain point to work by earlier scholars such as Wuthnow (1991) who has shown that religious giving is motivated by 'conviction' and 'community'. They further argue that higher church attendance is linked to greater philanthropy, following Durkheim's theory of Suicide (1897).

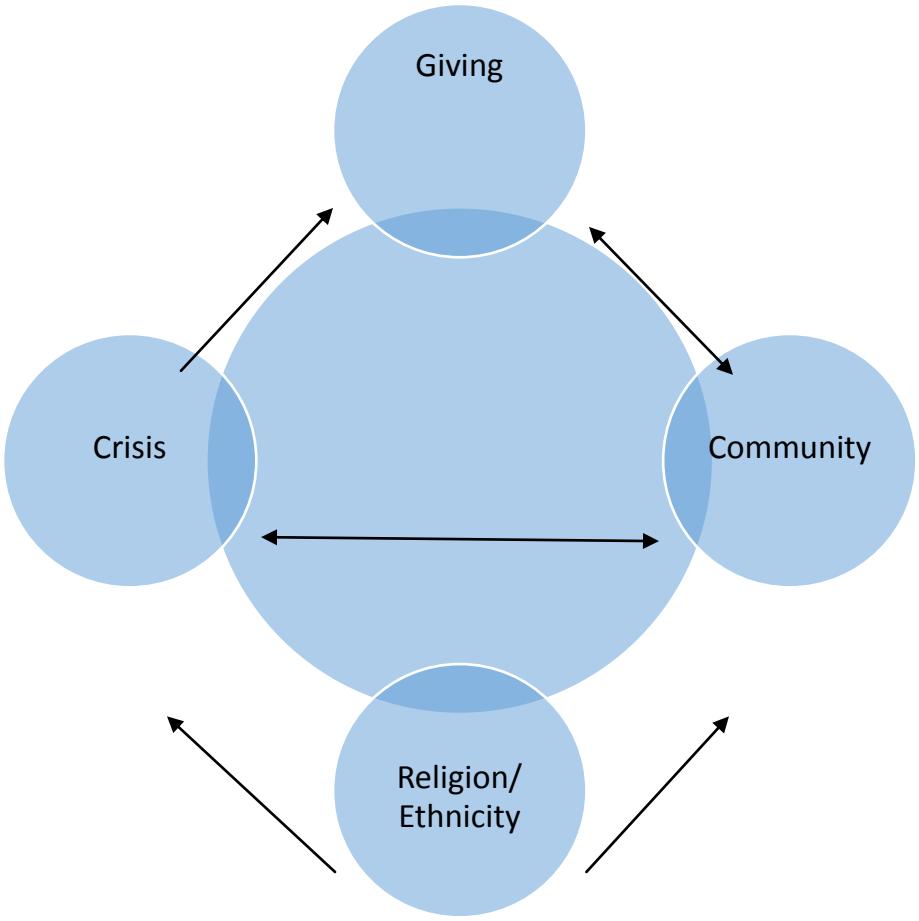


Fig: Giving and its relation with 'Community'

The diagram above illustrates the relationship between the variables involved, as existing literature characterizes it. While the existing literature argues that philanthropy is a social relation and that giving occurs to one's 'community', however that is defined, my preliminary research has led me to the tentative conclusion that giving can form 'communities.

Towards a new model of giving?

Paul Schervish's identification theory (1998) posits that communities of participation can motivate people to give. This has been accepted as the standard, conventional wisdom and for good reason. But, in our global, connected world, where identity, 'community' is fluid and there is a greater awareness of need, on a global scale; I ask: can giving form 'community'? Can philanthropy inverse the relation that we have taken for granted?

1. Identification theory : Community ⟶ Giving

OR

2. My proposition : Giving ⟶ Community

Fig: Community leads to giving or can Giving form communities?

The hypothesis that I have proposed is that 'giving can form communities'. While the interviews I have conducted seem to reinforce this hypothesis, there needs to be further research to validate my findings. Schervish's model of "identification theory" assumes that the notion of 'community' remains static. My argument that pushes the boundaries of this theory is that the notion of community is evolving and changing, as a result of various factors – technological, sociological as well as personal.

Sample

The sample chosen here is a purposive one. There are over 2000 mosques in the U.S. according to a recent survey by Dr. Ihsan Bagby (Bagby, 2001). While many mosques perform charitable

activities including zakat collection, distribution to poor and needy –mostly locally, my focus in this article has been humanitarian relief, and in a global context. While useful in describing the behavior of American Muslims locally, this sample does not help inform my research questions. Hence, the case studies chosen also include large NGOs that have a trans-national network, as their work covers both local as well as trans-national projects.

I chose NGOs that are active in the Washington D.C. area, to represent American Muslim giving in a large metropolitan area and also smaller mosques in rural communities like Blacksburg, that have a smaller (largely student) population, with some locals. I also used snowball sampling, to get interviews with influential community leaders, when it was necessary.

Data Collection methods

As this research has largely focused on qualitative data, the following is a brief description of the methods used in conceptualizing this study and implementing it. The primary methods of investigation involved a literature review and identification of existing reports, and analysis of faith-based organizations in the US. This was followed by semi-structured interviews with 15 leaders of Arab-American NGOs' (secular) and also faith-based organizations. The purpose of these interviews was to get the respondent's perspective on the motivations for why donors give money, the key issues that attract the most donations, and the framing of issues in their marketing activities.

The sample for the interviews consisted of mosques, local NGOs' as well as two trans-national NGOs. The most well-known ones were selected and a letter to request participation was sent (after IRB approvals of protocol, consent form and letters, etc.). A set of questions was

prepared in advance of the semi-structured interview and shared with the participants. Some of the questions were along the lines of: a) What are the key issues your organization focuses on (and raises funds for)? b) What do you think the key priority areas for your donors are? c) What are your learnings in the field of fund-raising for short-term emergency funds vs. long-term development needs? d) How do you frame the issues, and causes that you raise money for? e) Which issues receive the most support, and why?

All interviews were recorded and transcribed and later coded to identify common themes. What emerges is a picture of discourses surrounding giving in some of the Arab-American and American Muslim NGOs'. While this is by no means a claim toward generalization, a few common strands emerge, and they may point us in the right direction with respect to further research and investigation.

Data Analysis methods

Rubin and Rubin (1995) point out that "To improve communication and increase the chance of real understanding, researchers encourage the interviewers to teach them about the meanings of words that are distinctive in their research setting." (p.18). This is precisely the effort I made during the interviews, while trying to understand what each of the interviewees meant when they used the word 'charity' or 'zakat'. While it is well known that the religious meaning was used somewhat synonymously among all the interviewees (with zakat, sadaqa) being used interchangeably, there was much more variation when it was used in a non-religious setting.

Especially, in interviews with ethnic Arab run NGOs, there was a larger focus on more 'instrumental' needs of giving such as using charity also in terms of utilizing tax benefits etc.

Findings and discussion: Towards a Development Model of Intercultural Philanthropic Sensitivity (DMIPS)

My preliminary analysis and findings fit with the model proposed by Milton J. Bennett called "Development Model of Intercultural Sensitivity" (1993), in which he argues that as people become more culturally sensitive, they move from *ethnocentrism* to *ethno relativism*. By ethnocentrism, he means a focus on one's own ethnic background as the primary organizing principle or 'reality' of life; while ethno relativism means accepting that one's own experience or ethnic background is one of the several organizing principles. "There also seemed be six distinct kinds of experience spread across the continuum from ethnocentrism and ethno relativism. The most ethnocentric experience was named the *Denial* of cultural difference, followed by the *Defense* against cultural difference. In the middle of the continuum the *Minimization* of cultural difference seemed to be a transition from the more virulent forms of ethnocentrism to a more benign form, leading to the ethno relative *Acceptance* of cultural difference. At the heart of ethno relativism was *Adaptation* to cultural difference, followed in some cases by the *Integration* of cultural difference into identity. The sequence of these experiences became the "stages" of the DMIS."

Further, one can see how this model seems to align well with the 'Lewin's freeze phases' proposed by Kurt Lewin.This seems to hold particularly well in times of crisis and when analytically applied along with the DMIS model, we can see how this could hold true for philanthropic behavior in crisis situations. The figure below overlays the two models to propose a new model that I would call a "Development model of intercultural philanthropic Sensitivity" that takes into account the cultural sensitivities that can be reshaped/ shaped as a result of a crisis

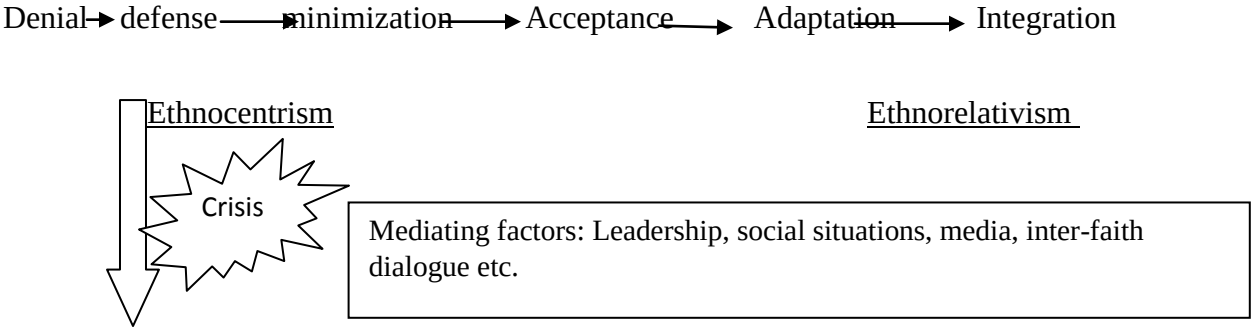
situation and I argue that a crisis situation in many cases is the right time to *focus* and *expand* the definition of a 'community'. While it is possible that the definition of who belongs to the 'in-group' and 'out-group' may contract, thereby restricting the definition of 'community', I believe that with the right leadership and existing global networks of communication and an emerging civil society, there is a greater change of expansion of the definition of community rather than contraction.

One interesting example of ethnic mobilization that goes beyond religious lines is that of ACCESS, based in Michigan, with Maha Freij as its Deputy Executive Director and CFO. ACCESS is an umbrella organization which has the Arab-American national museum, Center for Arab-American Philanthropy and the National Network of Arab American Communities as its constituent parts (ACCESS. Web). ACCESS may be considered a community foundation, with assets of over $55 million. It works primarily with Arab-Americans in the state and across the country. During the interview, she pointed out the dynamics of how the donors of ACCESS prioritize giving. She pointed out that: "The longer the Arab-Americans have been here, the more they support local causes. If I am dealing with a 6th generation Arab, they support causes that affect America and their local community though they may do something on and off internationally, from a humanitarian perspective. They are progressive enough. For example, if there is an earthquake in Japan, they will support it. But, with the recent immigrants, we get support for international and religious causes more. This is understandable as they come from countries where they are not required to build institutions, and it is the prerogative of the state. So, many of our donors don't know that they should support [local] civil society." This reflects some of the tensions and understandings of philanthropy among Arab Americans in the U.S.

Aisha, a youth volunteer with Muslims with Borders pointed out that her organization believes in doing development work, without a 'political' or 'religious' agenda. This comment, coming from a young, socially committed Muslim, using the language of development and not religion is indicative of some of the discourses about aid and development among American Muslim NGOs'. Coming from another perspective were insights from Imam Hendi of Georgetown University who added "People give because they know the chaplain or the University, and also been positively impacted by the program. The campus or Imam supported them, things like that. Because it impacted their upbringing, they feel they should help their community. Some feel that they should help Muslim causes. At the end of the day, I am a Muslim and I want to help a cause and what is better than helping a Muslim cause." This identification model that he proposed, as a theory to explain conforms closely with what Paul Schervish has proposed, his identification model (1998), where identification with the donor's community may be a key factor in determining contributions.

While some of these comments and observations are based largely on the "20th century" model of giving, based on identity, I ask: Are we witnessing a new "21st model of identity based giving"? An outline is given below and I elaborate on this in the following sections.

A New model of identity based giving



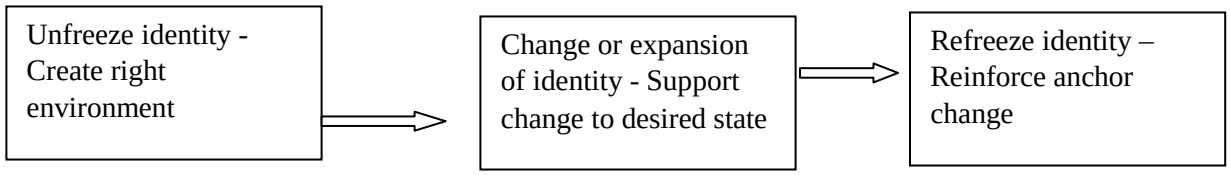


Fig: Towards a new DMIPS model[3]

I hypothesize that as a major humanitarian disaster strikes, there is a greater awareness of need and a consequent drive to generate support for the cause – both financial and material- resulting in enhanced fundraising efforts. Bekkers and Weipking (2011) have argued for this 'awareness of need' to be a critical component of the success of a philanthropic effort. With greater awareness of need, through media campaigns, online and social media outreach, a greater number of people are being mobilized for activism and fund-raising.

While a major disaster (Tsunami for instance) strikes, philanthropy tends to go up, as various reports and empirical studies have shown (Giving USA 2013, Hudson Institute 2012). The leaders of humanitarian NGOs' face the five tasks, as Boin et al have mentioned. "Crisis leadership then involves five critical tasks: sense making, decision making, meaning making, terminating, and learning. (Boin, A., Hart, P., & Stern, E., 2005)." While they are dealing with the various aspects of sense-making, including that of their own care values, the conclusions they reach can have profound implications on how they understand their own selves and their communities. As shown above, one of the possibilities is that there is a move from ethnocentrism to ethno relativism; that would correspond to a move from having a very narrow definition of

[3] Based on Kurt-Lewin hypothesis and Bennett's Development Model of Intercultural Sensitivity.

one's own 'community' to a much broader and expanded version. Of course, the converse can occur too, when the crisis can contract the sense of identity and there can be an increase in ethnocentrism. But with globalization, increased contact with others, greater opportunities to understand and interact with others, I believe the chances for identity expansion are greater than identity contraction.

Conclusion

I have argued for a view of religious and ethnic philanthropy that takes us beyond the 'melting pot' hypothesis in America. In a provocative and ground-breaking work in ethnic studies Daniel Patrick Moynihan and Nathan Glazer argued in their book *Beyond the Melting Pot* (1963) that the 'melting pot[4]' hypothesis is essentially misleading. Ethnicity is a far greater organizing force in America than race or religion. Further, I have shown that ethnicity, 'community' and other markers of identity vary in their importance, when it comes to giving behavior, in times of crisis.

As Frumkin (2006) argues, "giving back to one's 'community' can be a powerful motive and that it can be linked to dreams and realizations about what institutions and forms of assistance might have been helpful along life's way, rather than on what help was actually received by the donor."(p.366). With the ethnic and religious communities studied here, there is definitely an element of this form of 'giving back' to the community, where one comes from, no matter how one defines it – either religiously or in terms of ethnicity.

[4] Melting pot thesis argues that as immigrants assimilate in America, their primary identity 'melts 'into the potpourri that is America. Many Sociologists and policy makers such as Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan argued against it and said that ethnicity is still the key marker of identity for most Americans. For a more detailed treatment of this see American Mythos, Wuthnow (2008).

Following this, I would also argue that giving to religious institutions or religiously motivated giving can be what Paul Schervish (2010) has called 'religious discernment', referring to a more motivated, personally meaningful and financially magnanimous and culturally formative philanthropy; which in other words could be considered 'expressive philanthropy' while ethnic giving could be considered 'instrumental philanthropy'. While there are elements of both in religious and ethnic giving, the interview data shows that there is a greater instrumental reasoning in ethnic giving and expressive reasoning in religious giving.

The plurality of giving within the American Muslim and Arab American communities is manifest in the data shown above. As Frumkin further adds, this plurality of giving is manifest not only in the projects to which people give, but also in the choices that donors make. These choices are, as I argue, becoming more and more directed by the needs of the community for assimilation, better infrastructure in the form of schools, institutions for grooming and political advocacy – such as the Arab American Institute etc.- or in social service programs for the poor. There is also an increasing awareness of the political rights and opportunities to participate in more public issues, among the communities examined.

Typology of Donors:

Based on the research and empirical data gathered, I propose a typology of donors among the NGOs I studied. This is based on their orientation to give – in crisis situations. While the context is specific, one can draw a few analytical frameworks from this. The nine types of donors are identified based on their orientation to give across international, national and local needs and also whether their giving can be classified as secular, religious or ethnic. While the categories

may overlap and the distinction may, at times seem arbitrary, I argue that this can be a useful framework for us to understand identity based giving in a crisis situation.

International	1. Secular cosmopolitan	2. Devout globalist	3. Ethnic globalist
National	4. Devout Humanitarian	5. Devout nationalist	6. Ethnic
Local	7. Religious Communitarian	8. Devout neighbor	9. Ethnic neighbor

Secular Religious Ethnic

Fig: Typology of donors in humanitarian crisis situations

Based on my findings and model above, I propose nine different types of donors, based on their motivations to give in crisis situations, as listed below:

1. The devout humanitarian – A religious person driven by humanitarian motives
2. Ethical humanitarian – Non-religious person with humanitarian motives
3. Religious communitarian – Religious person for whom ‘community’ is very important and he/she defines it largely based on one’s religious/ denominational affiliation

4. The hand holder – A communitarian who is non-religious
5. Devout neighbor – Religious person who is concerned with 'local issues' more than global or national issues
6. Ethnic neighbor – Humanitarian with local leanings
7. Devout globalist – Religious person whose vision spans the whole world
8. Ethnic cosmopolitan – Humanitarian with a global vision and concern
9. Secular Cosmopolitan – A non-religious donor, driven by purely humanitarian motives

As seen in the interviews, we see that there is a growing shift of the religious donors to secular causes and initiatives. While further research and survey data can help us find the exact shift, interviews with the 15 stake-holders of NGOs gives us the indicative data that can help us hypothesize that there is a slow, but steady shift in this direction.

Further, the model of "Development Model of Intercultural Philanthropic Sensitivity", that I have proposed represents one of the scenarios, i.e., the best case scenario, when there is a move from ethnocentrism to ethno relativism and as represented by the typology of donors presented above, a move from a religious communitarian to an ethical humanitarian. The worst case scenario could mean a rigid stance towards giving, as represented by defining one's identity and community in very narrow terms, perhaps even more narrowly than it was before the crisis struck. This can happen in cases where identity is the major cause of a conflict. A riot involving religion or race, for instance. One can see how giving would correspond to the changed landscape.

An example of this sort of 'expansion' of identity and 'governance', is given by Joseph Nye and Koehane (2000), whose framework (given below) could be applied to the world of philanthropy, as well. They define globalism as a state of world where there are networks of dependence and interdependence at multi-continental distances and these networks are linked through flows of influences of capital and goods. Joseph Nye and Koehane (2000) offer their perspective on the growing importance of the third sector as well as private sector in today's interconnected world. They argue that "Instead, we believe that the nation-state is being supplemented by other actors – private and third sector – in a more complex geography.

The nation state is the most important actor on the stage of global politics, but it is not the only important actor. If one thinks of social and political space in terms of a nine-cell matrix, more governance activities will occur outside the box represented by national capitals of nation states." (p.10). In the context of a humanitarian response, for example we can see the confluence of the global actors – nation states, private actors and civil society agencies coming together to form alliances to address specific problems. This does not mean that globalism will lead to homogenization, they argue. And I would agree with this perspective that cooperation on certain specific instances or events does not necessarily mean that the parties involved will agree to all principles and values, over the long-term. The donor type may be expanding form the center of the diagram outwards, to more international causes and initiatives, similar to the hypothesis that Ney and Keohane have advanced in their model of international governance.

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Appendix: Interview Questions

Interview Questions

Questions for Faith-based organizations and NGO Leaders Concerning how local vs. international giving informs notions of 'community'

<u>Introductory questions</u>

1. What is your current position or role in your organization? How long have you been in your present post?

   (*Follow up*: Have you served in previous positions? If so, when, where and in what capacities)?

Charitable giving in your current position or post

2. a) Please describe the current situation (socio-economic) that confronts your organization in your present role and location, particularly the key sources of charitable giving?

   (*Follow up*: Which group of people has donated the most, among your members/congregation?) Ethnic, Demographic, Gender breakdown.

   b) Which issues have you received most support for (local vs. domestic projects)?

3. How do you think donors prioritize giving and why? What is important to them, in your opinion?

   (Follow up: Can you elaborate on short-term vs. long-term and how you do it between humanitarian aid, social service delivery etc.)

4. Has there been a shift in donations you have received over the years? If yes, please explain.

5. How effectively can diaspora communities address needs in countries of origin? In real terms, do you think your giving makes a difference?

6. What specific challenges (pertaining to fund-raising), if any, have you experienced in the recent past?

7. How well do members of your organization understand zakat and *Sadaqa?* (For e.g. Is volunteering considered *Sadaqa*?)

8. What kind of primary concerns do people have wrt giving? And what kind of questions do you get from people who want to give money? Are they religious in nature or more practical, in terms of financial management?

Collaboration with additional groups / organizations

9. How do you collect and dispense with your charity? Do you have partnerships/networks that you work with?

10. What is your outreach strategy to collect charity? Do you use non-traditional means for this, or is it largely word of mouth?

Closing questions

11. How do you think charity happens? Why do you think certain people give to certain causes? What are your learning in this regard?

12. Do you think American Muslims should receive *Zakat*? (Considering there is state support for the poor and homeless and also the general needs of most people are met here)

13. Do you conduct any trainings or workshops towards educating people in financial tools/ making charitable donations?

Do you have any additional ideas or insights you wish to share that might help us understand better the strengths and weaknesses of using charity, as a lens to understand community formation and development?

Thank you for very much for your time and consideration.