Malika Ouacha

Receiving by Giving

The examining of cross-border diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropy
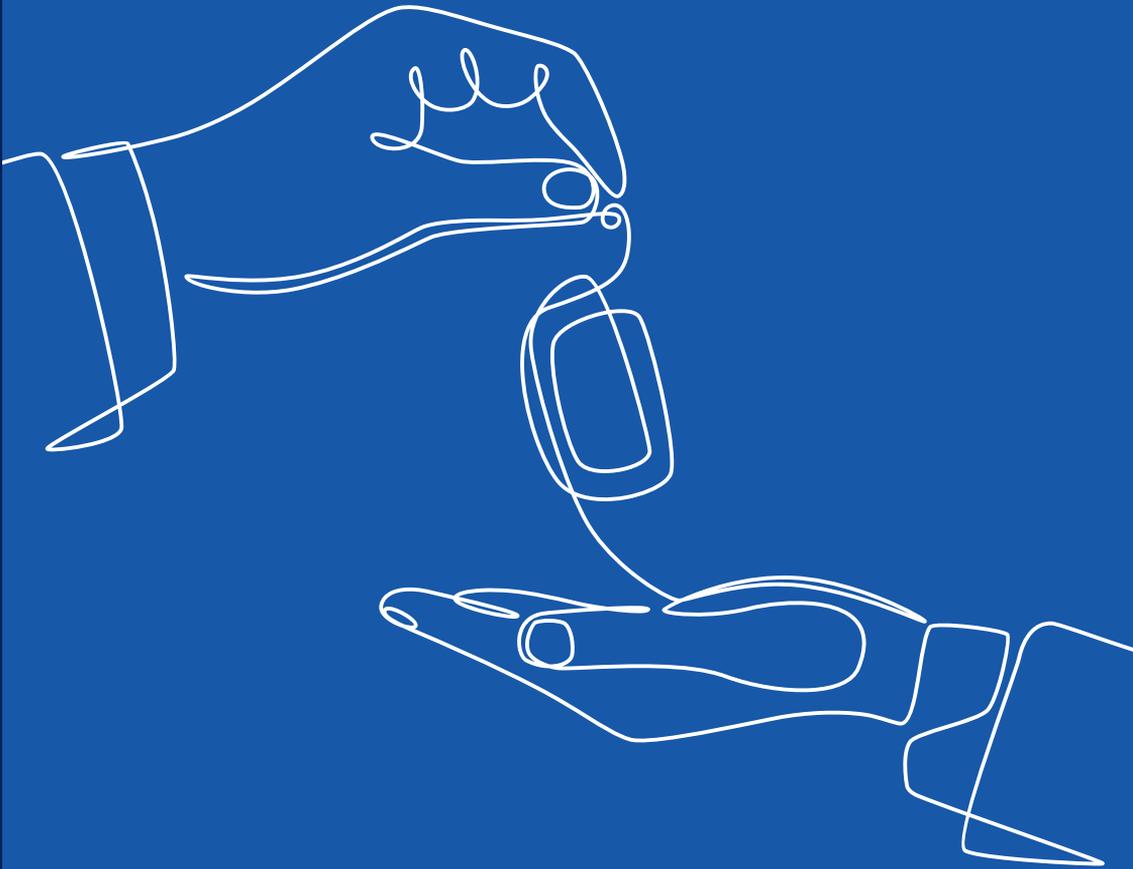
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The examining of cross-border diasporic and bi-cultural

philanthropy

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The examining of cross-border diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropy

Het ontvangen door het geven
Het onderzoek naar cross-border diasporische en bi-culturele filantropie

Thesis

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By

Malika Ouacha, born in Alkmaar.

Erasmus University Rotterdam

Doctoral Committee All names with the initials and full title without stating the university

Promotor(s): **Prof.dr. L.C.P.M. Meijs**

Co-promotor(s): **Dr. C.H. Biekart**

Other members:

Dr. L. Hustinx

Prof.dr. R. Cnaan

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I dedicate my PhD dissertation to my birth-parents,

Beyza Aicha Ghouby (1953-2000) and Mohamed Said Ouacha (1949-2021), who gave

birth to me.

And to my mother,

Johanna Maria de Kievid, who raised me,

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"Love to mankind, benevolence toward the whole human family, universal good will,

desire and readiness to do good to all men are opposed to misanthropy."

Webster and Porter, 1913

1. Introduction

1.1 Cross-border versus domestic philanthropy

Cross-border philanthropy has figured into most of my memories from my earliest childhood, as well as from every other phase that followed. As a child of Moroccan immigrants, the act of cross-border philanthropy and constant connection (and re-connection) with Morocco played a role in our household until the day my parents passed away. After returning to the Netherlands, even before we unpacked our bags, they would already be worried about providing continuous support to family members in Southern Morocco. This sentiment of concern has followed me throughout my life. I have always wondered why they would care about people with whom we spent six weeks each year, but from whom we were separated for the rest of the year.

Growing up, I found my way in both national and international societies while being on the receiving end of the giving behavior of my adoptive mother. This type of giving is also a form of cross-border philanthropy. Although we spoke several similar languages, religious and cultural differences created borders that appeared in our conversations. The necessity of coping with these borders has been an important influence on the topic of this dissertation. It has also helped to shape me as the woman that I am, as well as my career as an academic.

Moving across national and international societies, I have regularly encountered others with similar memories. Most of these memories involve parents or grandparents supporting their relatives in their countries of origin, and all have to do with members of diasporic or bi-cultural groups settling in Western Europe. The people recounting these memories often performed the same type of support as their parents or grandparents had, although they phrased it differently, with greater emphasis on faith-based motivation. What was once referred to as remittance has now become faith-based, Islamic, cross-border philanthropy, framed as *zakat* or *sadaqa*. Some were motivated to give by a desire to honour parental traditions, while others had different motivations. They nevertheless shared one similarity: they were more concerned about the country of origin than about the country of residence.

To investigate this distinction, I returned to Morocco over a period of six years. Several situations led me to study both the receiving and the giving ends of cross-border philanthropy. When I did the same in the Netherlands, I discovered a sentiment different from that emerging in Morocco. This awareness struck me and led me to write this dissertation.

What is it that touches and moves citizens within diasporic and bi-cultural communities to be on the giving end of cross-border philanthropy directed toward the country of origin? Does this intrinsic, sentimental motivation resemble that which drives cross-border philanthropy within the country of residence?

As noted by Peebles (2009, p. 16), "while many are content to focus their philanthropy near home, increasing numbers wish to aid causes abroad. Whether the

motivation be compassion, personal ties to a foreign country, political expediency or moral conviction". International giving is clearly increasing along with economic globalization (Peebles, 2009). At the same time, however, cross-border philanthropy and volunteering are becoming increasingly complex as specific socio-cultural groups become more engaged with their host societies.

The literature on philanthropy focuses on philanthropic actors—givers and recipients—as well as on the age-old question of "who gets what" (Webb Farley, 2018). As the world continues to develop and change, however, existing answers to this question are no longer conclusive. A turning point in philanthropic intent can be observed, as reflected in approaches that start by examining the actors and then addressing the questions: "*who* are we, as givers," "*how* do we give *what*" (Schultz and Futures, 2009) and, finally, "*why* do we give *what* we give?"

As observed by Schultz and Futures (2009, p. 3), "the development of the infrastructure for philanthropy follows the evolving complexity of human organization." Originating in the form acts of charity to family members, it gradually extended to needy clan members, and then to unfortunates within tribes and villages. Schultz (2009, p. 3) continues, "once Judeo-Christian religious institutions emerged and began evolving their own complex economies, charitable action acquired a powerful intermediary. We extended the reach of our benevolence by […] distributing alms to the deserving beyond our immediate village".

Power structures and public institutions were obviously evolving as well, with community associations forming to undertake charitable works, all with the aim of

improving security and stability for the community as a whole by providing assistance to the needy (Cohen, 2003). This process becomes especially interesting when the needy are not homogenous with or identical to the giver. Diversity on both the giving and the receiving end is accompanied by frames or "borders," as well as by the process of crossing them.

Cross-border philanthropy can be seen as the opposite of domestic philanthropy, which usually takes place within national and regional borders. It is important to add, however, that the examination of cross-border philanthropy goes beyond the term "international philanthropy". As demonstrated in this dissertation, cross-border philanthropy also takes place within the borders of nation-states.

The act of cross-border philanthropy has been evolving over the past few centuries, as has the body of knowledge about this act. Sulek (2010, p. 198) notes, "as the 19th century progressed, philanthropy became increasingly employed in reference to the many new charitable societies dedicated to social and political reform that arose after the American Revolution in the early American republic, as described by de Tocqueville". At the same time, philanthropy has been increasingly employed in references to the generous benefactions made by wealthy industrialists to this new generation of charitable institutions (Carnegie, 1993; Gates and Morison, 1977). In the process (and much to the chagrin of some of the more pre-eminent, classically trained philosophers of the period, such as Emerson, Thoreau, and Nietzsche), the substantively developed meaning of philanthropy has been almost entirely eclipsed by popular usage to describe either socio-political movements or monetary donations money to the charitable institutions embodying that movement (Sulek, 2010).

As noted by Miller (2006, p. 52), "clear thinking about philanthropy requires us to define it, to specify the boundaries between motifs, means, and objectives that are truly philanthropic. Any proper definition must pay attention to how the term 'philanthropy' has been applied in practice." The precise meaning of the ancient Greek *philanthrôpía* has received relatively little attention in the scholarly literature of philanthropic studies (Sulek, 2010). Given my objective of examining various types of philanthropy, each of which is clarified throughout my dissertation, it is important to state the main definition of philanthropy.

Philanthrôpia is a compound word, composed of the root words *phileô* and *anthrôpos*. The particular aspect of love usually signified by *phileô* is affectionate regard or friendship. It is one of four major word groups usually employed in ancient Greek to express the concepts of love, attraction, or desire; the other three being *eros*, *stergô*, and *agape* (Sandys, 1868). Whereas *eros* is the most all-encompassing form of love, *stergô* refers to a form of love encompassed by the concepts of loyalty or liking. Finally, *agape* signifies brotherly love. In turn, *anthrôpos* is the generic word for "humankind," signifying human beings in the widest sense of the word, including both men and women, civilized and uncivilized, dominant and enslaved. In classical Greek, *anthrôpos* is derived from the phrase *anathrôn-ha-opôpe*, which translates to "one who observes closely what he has seen" (Sulek, 2010). According to Sulek (2010, p. 395), a brief historical-etymological overview clearly demonstrates that "the use and meaning of *philanthrôpía* evolved considerably between the mid-5th and late 4th centuries BCE." Many schools of thought in classical Athens—sophistic, poetic, philosophical, and oratorical—have played pivotal roles in propelling this

evolution, each coining, refining, and redefining the meaning of *philanthrôpía* to suit their various rhetorical purposes.

Given the extreme divergence in the outlooks of these various schools, as well as the interminable social and political conflicts in which their members were frequently enmeshed, it should come as little surprise to learn that their usage of the word also widely varied. In general, however, these various modes of usage can be arranged into various broad categories, "[a]ccording to the nature of the primary subject to which it refers: theological, in reference to divine beings, philosophical, in reference to the knower […] and fiduciary, in reference to financial generosity" (Sulek 2010, p. 395).

Sulek (2010, p. 397) continues to explain that, in the modern era, "philanthropy is reborn in the late Renaissance as a term of philosophical significance in the writings of Francis Bacon. He employs it to describe the concept of goodness and the habit of doing good, as well as his own efforts at 'affecting of the weal of men' through his radical epistemological reform of the natural sciences." In the early 17th century, English theologians also coined a theological mode of usage, likely following the usage established by the Septuagint Greek Bible. An ontological mode is first discernable in Johnson's 1755 definition of philanthropy as 'goodness of nature'. This is reflecting discussions of the moral sentiments among Enlightenment political philosophers (Sulek, 2010). Webster's 1828 definition attained currency in American English, referring to a volitional mode of philanthropy, with no precise corollary in classical Greek usage (Sulek, 2010).

As noted by Sulek (2010, p. 397), "philanthropy as the act of giving time or money (i.e., 'benevolence') also makes an early appearance in Webster's 1828 definition, an

'actual' mode of expression that would eventually come to almost completely dominate the English meaning of philanthropy in the late 20th century." Sulek thus argues that "the modern English usage of *philanthrôpía* may be seen to parallel similar developments in the late Hellenistic and Greco-Roman eras, except that the modern corollary to the fiduciary mode of philanthropy is somewhat more narrow in scope. Encompassing only private giving to public purposes" (2010, p. 340). At the same time, however, "the definition of philanthropy as a form of 'social movement' roughly correlates with the social mode of ancient Greek usage, although the former refers to duly constituted societies, whereas the later tends to refer to fewer formal modes of socialization, such as symposia or 'drinking parties'" (Sulek 2010, p. 340).

Through a brief survey of contemporary academic definitions of philanthropy, Sulek discerns a number of disagreements concerning the precise meaning of philanthropy in the modern era, even among the leading scholars within the field of philanthropic studies. In particular, there is fundamental disagreement over whether philanthropy is voluntary, or whether it is compelled by such factors as moral restraint, social obligation, and the like; whether it serves a public purpose, a public good, a charitable need, or simply a communicated want or desire; whether it is an intention to achieve a particular aim or is the actual attainment of that aim; or whether it is simply a private act of giving (Sulek, 2010).

Sulek's survey (2010) reveals a significant degree of divergence between the academic meaning of philanthropy intended by most scholars and how it is generally understood by society at large. Although the act of donating money to charity is recognized as an aspect of philanthropy in both common and academic usage, the predominance of this

aspect of its meaning is regarded as a more recent development in common jargon, which has been subject to social, cultural and, in some cases, religious conditioning.

In addition to the definitions and agreements (and disagreements) detailed above, the practical literature contains exact definitions of cross-border philanthropy, referring to those who continuously cross borders driven by social, cultural, religious motivations and imaginations for the sake of philanthropy. This concept refers to both the recipients of such philanthropy and the contexts within which they reside. At this point, I refer to the concept of *diaspora*.

1.2 Diasporic philanthropy in global civil society

A diaspora is an "ethnic minority group of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with its country of origin— its homelands" (Sheffer 1986, p. 3). For the purpose of this dissertation, I follow Flanigan (2017, p. 494) in defining diaspora philanthropy as "money, goods, volunteer labor, knowledge and skills, and other assets donated for the social benefit of a community broader than ones' family members, in a country or region where there is a population with whom the donor(s) have ancestral ties."

The focus extends beyond the geographic locations in which donors have ancestral roots to other locations hosting populations with whom they share ancestral ties. The geographic location specified in my dissertation is Morocco, as all of the donors considered were residing in the Netherlands at the time of investigation. The division in this geographical case is intentional, and further details are provided in subsequent chapters.

Practitioners in the field of international human aid policy see "strong potential for diaspora communities to contribute to economic and social development in their countries of origin" (Flanigan 2017, p. 494). A substantial share of existing empirical research on diasporic impact in international development focuses on "ways diaspora remittances (i.e., money sent to family members in countries of origin) may stimulate economic growth in less economically developed countries" (Flanigan 2017, p. 494). Less is known about how, when, and why a diaspora can fuel development in the donors' countries of origin aside from the provision of support to immediate and extended families.

As noted by Flanigan (2017, p. 404), "members of diasporas, or diasporas, are drawn to practice philanthropy toward communities with whom they share ancestry for many reasons. Awareness of and emotional connection to a common language, culture, and homeland are integral to diaspora membership." Werbner (2002) further explains that diasporas regard themselves as single communities with a shared destiny, despite their geographic dispersion. This emotional connection promotes awareness and concern for the challenges faced by other diasporas (Best et al., 2013; Brinkerhoff, 2008; 2011). Philanthropy toward the diaspora becomes a way to demonstrate connection to and membership in the group, in addition to being a key means of expressing diasporic identity (Brinkerhoff, 2008; Nielsen and Riddle, 2010; Werbner, 2002). Some scholars contend that a sense of obligation due to comparatively high income or quality of life can motivate diasporic philanthropy (Brinkerhoff, 2008; 2011), while others reason that the cultural norms of the country of origin are at play, dictating that social needs should be provided by the family, clan, or ethnic group (Brinkerhoff, 2008; Tchouassi and Sikod, 2010).

While diasporic philanthropy has been underexplored and remains poorly understood in the academic field, interest is growing, spurred by an emerging awareness of the underlying mechanisms. Diasporic philanthropy accounts for a portion of the remittance flows returning to the homeland in all countries. Referring to a growing body of literature on remittances, Sidel (2008) explains that this is highly relevant to understanding mechanisms of diaspora philanthropy: "Family channels are central in many cases, including diaspora giving through families" (Flanigan 2017, p. 495; Sidel, 2008) and giving through clan associations (Sidel, 2008; Tchouassi and Sikod, 2010). "Philanthropic intermediaries help funnel assistance from diasporas to causes in the country of origin and are especially useful to middle- and lower income migrants" (Flanigan 2017, p. 495).

According to existing literature, diasporic philanthropy is also characterized by the lack of time, resources, and expertise that are common features of a diaspora. This makes it difficult to pursue projects independently in the country of origin (see model 1) (Newland et al., 2010; Sidel, 2008). As clearly demonstrated later in this dissertation, the results of my research reveal the opposite.

In some cases, diasporic philanthropy is a key player in global civil society, sometimes reaching and supporting individuals who are unlikely to be reached by large NGOs. Due to the emotional and spiritual motivation in their philanthropy, "diasporas are thought to bring an advantage to the table when compared to other development actors, who have generated optimism among international development practitioners" (Flanigan 2017, p. 496). Aside from the comparatively greater resources that a typical diasporan can offer relative to individuals in the country of origin, it is thought that the additional and social

commitment of diasporas may lead them to target their philanthropy toward places and projects that are not of interest to traditional donors (Brinkerhoff, 2014).

Unlike other actors who are likely to be risk-averse, diasporas may be more prepared to persist through obstacles and setbacks. They may also be more willing to engage in smaller-scale albeit beneficial efforts that many larger donors would not pursue (Brinkerhoff, 2008).

		Donor Aggregation	
		Individual donor	Multiple donors
Donation Size	Small	Some remittances, individual donations	Hometown associations, neighborhood and regional groups, ethnic and clan associations, foreign-based ethnic NGOs, online platforms, small foundations
	Large	Direct donations from highly successful businesspersons, celebrities, sports stars, and large foundations started by such individuals	Professional associations, family foundations, venture philanthropy funds

Adapted in part from Newland et al. 2010, p. 10

<u>Model 1</u> Mechanisms of diasporic philanthropy. Adapted in part from Newland et al. (2010, p. 10)

Cultural knowledge and deeply rooted competency in dealing with local structures and systems place diasporas in a more powerful and effective position to specify the needs of the recipients in the homeland, especially in comparison to non-diasporic philanthropists and volunteers (Johnson 2007; Newland and Patrick, 2004). Having a better understanding and larger network of local organizations—particularly faith-based ones (Brinkerhoff, 2008)—while also living in another country equips diasporas to address issues in a way that no other

actor within global civil society ever could (Brinkerhoff, 2008). Diasporas may be at an advantage in locating reliable partners, establishing their own credibility, and enforcing agreements within weak legal systems (Brinkerhoff, 2011; Newland and Patrick, 2004). The "social remittances" (Levitt, 1998) that "diasporas bring from their countries of residence can be valuable as well; ideas, behaviors, and social capital that transmit from the country of residence may make diasporas more willing to engage with locally sensitive issues like gender equality, human rights, or the use of violence in conflict resolution" (Flanigan, 2017, p. 497; Al-Ali et al., 1999; Brinkerhoff, 2009; Brinkerhoff, 2008; Johnson, 2007).

In some cases, however, the good simply does not outweigh the bad. In the case of diasporic philanthropy, this means that the aforementioned advantages are also accompanied by challenges, one of which concerns financial capacity. While diasporas may be relatively well-resourced in comparison to their counterparts in their countries of origin (Brinkerhoff, 2014), advocates warn that burdening migrants with such financial obligations can impose excessive demands on individuals who are also struggling to adapt and survive in their new and, in most cases, more expensive societies (Brinkerhoff, 2008). This is especially true when the new society does not actually treat every member of the diaspora group as equally as it claims (de Haas, 2016) or when the histories of specific countries share common features, like a colonial past. The latter applies to the relationship of Morocco to France and Spain, but not to the Netherlands.

The absence of a colonial past can create a larger bridge between immigrant groups and the countries to which they migrate (see Ouacha and Meijs, 2021). The combination of political friction, polarization, and crises can make diasporic philanthropy more attractive.

This is because it can help to forge a bridge toward one's own neighbours, despite differences in definition, thereby helping to cope with the aforementioned friction and crises. It may also make it easier for diasporas to remain loyal to family or tribe members in their countries of origin, thus creating an obligation to cross the border. The act of crossing the border does more than simply creating space between cultures. In the process of such crossing, cultures may interfere or, in some cases, even clash. In the case of diasporic philanthropy, this can occur between the culture of the country of residence and that of the country of origin. One question that arises in this regard, however, concerns whether diasporic philanthropy is automatically bi-cultural. Answering this question requires first elaborating on possible differences and similarities between forms of philanthropy.

1.3 Bi-cultural versus diasporic philanthropy: Is there a difference?

In general, societies, groups of people, or movements that include two main ethnic cultures are referred to as "bi-cultural" (Grbic, 2010). The two main ethnic cultures simultaneously exist and influence the sociocultural-political context within which they are both included. This logically raises the question of whether philanthropy performed by diasporas should be described as "diasporic," "bi-cultural" or, in some cases, even both. It is also important to consider whether the terms "diasporic" and "bi-cultural" are similar to each other or whether differences exist below the surface. Other questions concern whether an individual can be part of a diaspora without being described as bi-cultural and, if so, what is the proper approach to philanthropy performed by such individuals.

Individuals living at the intersection of two cultures while also laying claim to belonging to both cultures are considered marginalized (Park, 1928; Stonequist, 1935). They

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could have been born in one culture and raised in a second, or they could be of mixed racial heritage. Such duality and marginalization are sometimes accompanied by several psychological and social properties. For example, Dubois (1968) describes such duality as "double-consciousness", meaning "the simultaneous awareness of oneself as being a member and an alien of two or more cultures. This includes a dual pattern of identification and a divided loyalty, leading to an ambivalent attitude" (Stonequist, 1935, p. 96).

Such ambivalent attitudes can be reflected in the negative stereotypes that are often applied to people who are intimately related to two or more cultures. As noted by LaFramboise and colleagues (1993, p. 395), the scholars Park (1928) and Stonequist (1935) explain that "living in two cultures is psychologically undesirable because managing the complexity of dual reference points generates ambiguity, identity confusion, and normlessness. Park also suggested, however, that the history and progress of humankind, starting with the Greeks, has depended on the interface of cultures. He claimed that migration and human movement inevitably lead to intermingling". Park describes an individual who is the product of such interaction as a "*cosmopile*": a wiser, independent person (1928). In other words, even though the experience of being isolated and restrained by the injunction existing between two cultures "is psychologically uncomfortable for the individual, it has long-term benefits for society" (La Framboise et al. 1993, p. 395).

At this point, it is important to note that Park's (1928) statement regarding the long-term benefits of bi-culturalism for society is based on the geographical context of the United States of America. If being part of two cultures is considered a collective norm, however, as was the case in the USA at the time of Park's statement, this could reduce the amount of

emotional and psychological discomfort associated with such experiences. The opposite could be expected when the collective norm is based on a monocultural context instead of a bi-cultural context, particularly if bi-culturalism is absent from the relevant historical-local contexts. It is at this point that differences emerge between the long-term and short-term cases of existing between two cultures and, more specifically, between diasporic and bi-cultural individuals. Contact with such individuals improves the longer they exist between two cultures. It is in this specific act of existing (or finding oneself) between two cultures, that a difference can emerge between diasporic and bi-cultural groups.

As mentioned above, a diaspora is an "ethnic minority group of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with its country of origin—its homelands" (Sheffer 1986, p. 3). The amount of time that such ethnic minority groups have resided in the country of origin—whether centuries or decades—does not matter; they are diasporic groups in all cases. Time nevertheless plays an important moderating role in the comparison between bi-cultural individuals and diasporic groups. As an individual has been embedded within a society for longer, the benefits of having two cultures becomes more visible (Park, 1928). For relatively short periods, however, it is important to consider the difficulty that individuals and groups experience with regard to embodying and acting upon both cultures and how this influences the relationships that an individual has with both countries.

According to Ennaji (2018), difficulties in embodying and acting upon two cultures can force bi-cultural groups to lean more toward the country of origin than the country of residence. For Moroccans in Europe, the increasingly extreme-right political climate is

strengthening the tendency toward the country of origin, even though policy objectives are aimed in the opposite direction. For this reason, it has not yet been possible to realize the desired quotas of bi-cultural groups throughout the various layers of society.

In Europe, bi-cultural groups (in this dissertation, Moroccans) have not yet had time to embody the criteria for a diaspora. As individuals spend more time in one geographical place, its culture becomes more prominent in their current experience. The culture of parents, grandparents, and earlier generations may seem to be regarded more as part of the past (origin) and less as part of the present. In addition, the influence of the manner in which individuals move through society, and therefore the way in which they perform philanthropy, may be directed more toward the country that was once known as the "host country" and less toward the country that was once part of their origin.. To observe such phenomena and make valid statements concerning true differences between diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropy would nevertheless require more time than the period available for this research.

1.4 Faith-based philanthropy in global civil society

In the West, "religion has long been an important source of philanthropy: the Hebrew and Christian scriptures are filled with admonitions about caring for the poor, and the Koran exhorts faithful Muslims to give regularly for the common good" (Lindsay and Wuthnow 2010, p. 88).

Through time, philanthropy has typically emerged from religious motivations, and it has often been organized through religious networks (Lindsay and Wuthnow, 2010). Examples

include the significant patronage received by the largely Congregationalist American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions during the 1820s and 1830s, the religious roots of many of the nation's colleges, and the urban relief efforts of the Salvation Army and similar groups that began in the 1890s (McCarthy, 2003; Winston, 1999).

Within the European context, faith-based philanthropy is included in two of the four models of philanthropy developed by Macdonald and Broms (2008): the Latin/Mediterranean model and the Scandinavian model. The church plays a role in both of these models, through either its presence or absence due to a clear division between church and state. In the Latin/Mediterranean model, "the role of the state is strong with a clear division between church and state. Traditionally, the church does charity work and the state is responsible for delivering goods and social services" (Macdonald and de Broms 2008, p. 19). In the Scandinavian model, "the state traditionally plays a strong role, but because of the Protestant roots in these countries, personal initiative is viewed as a positive. … The civil society often identifies a need, which is later filled by government" (Macdonald and de Broms 2008, p. 19).

Neither of these two models is suitable for addressing diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropy. Although the mosque and Islam reflect the role of the church within the context of this dissertation, the European government is often absent from the context of philanthropy performed by Moroccans in the Netherlands. The division between diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropy is explained further in this dissertation.

As explained by Alterman and Hunter (2004, p. 3), "philanthropy and charity are central tenets of Islam, and many Muslims regard charity as a form of worship. According

to traditional concepts of Islam, charity is one of the five pillars of the faith". What is less well understood outside Muslim communities is the way in which philanthropy binds Muslims to each other, as well as to non-Muslims (Abu-Ghazaleh Mahajneh et al., 2021). Alterman and Hunter (2004, p. 3) further note that, "in Muslim conceptions of faith and community, humans are linked to each other through their obligations to God. It is the building of community through faith, and the building of faith through the deepening of community." This idea is elaborated further in the Islamic concept of *takafful*, or the responsibility of each Muslim for every other Muslim. Within this structure, charity is not so much an act of piety as it is an act of obligation (May, 2019).

The obligation to perform acts of charity based on Islamic motives can be divided in two categories: individual (*zakat*, *sadaqqa*, and *kaffara*) and organizational (*waqf*; plural *awqaf*). "*Zakat* is the charitable obligation, generally calculated at 2.5% of wealth and paid at the end of the Ramadan fast. There are elaborate rules for calculating *zakat* obligations" (Alterman and Hunter 2004, p. 5). *Sadaqa* is the charitable obligation that should be performed voluntarily (May, 2019). Finally, *kaffara* is the form of penitential charity that is given as a contribution for breaking an oath (May, 2019). It is the least mentioned in most studies done on Islamic faith-based philanthropy. As demonstrated throughout this dissertation, the division between the individual and organizational forms of Islamic philanthropy is less exact than described in Quranic sources.

In Islam, an elaborate pattern of institutional religious foundations is known as *waqf*. "Foundations can be endowed by individuals, families or institutions, and they often have income producing activities attached to them. A mosque, for example, may be

surrounded by commercial stalls, the rent from which helps maintain the mosque" (Alterman and Hunter 2004, p. 3). There are two principal kinds of *waqf* (May, 2019). A *waqf khayri* is established primarily to further the public good. Hospitals and clinics, schools, baths, and other such institutions fall into this category (May, 2019). Within the Western context, *awqaf* are less common than *zakat* or *sadaqa*. Extensive observations of the increase in faith-based philanthropy (e.g., in Islamic, bi-cultural, and diasporic groups) could nevertheless easily refute the popular notion of Western secularization.

1.5 Research questions

In this dissertation, I elaborate on the role of diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropists in global civil society. The data for this research were collected over a period of six years, starting in 2016. As part of the diasporic group under investigation, I had the advantage of easily entering the community and finding respondents to interview. This was the case in both Morocco and the Netherlands. Some of the respondents are dear friends of mine, to whom I am forever indebted. As mentioned earlier, given my personal relationships to the population of my research, this dissertation also advocates for a broader approach to data from a "native" perspective within the context of business and management studies.

In subsequent chapters, I demonstrate how such insights can be created by ensuring access to data. Given my personal story, as described above, similar experiences of *zakat*, *sadaqa*, and *waqf* provided me with the opportunity to delve further into the answers given by some respondents. Over time, I became aware of the similarities between my respondents and myself. As an anthropologist, my extensive academic training in conducting ethnographic fieldwork and qualitative research, both in the Netherlands and Morocco, has

given me the expertise needed to collect the data needed for this research. Given the similarities between myself (as the researcher) and my respondents (as the subjects), however, maintaining an appropriate distance was of crucial importance.

Throughout the research, my excellent supervisory team continuously made me aware of the need for such distance, in addition to pointing out my own blind spots. Without their guidance, the formulation of research questions and the search for data would have been much more challenging. In the following section I introduce the research questions, connecting each to theory and practice from the segments of civil society in which I was active during my research.

The overall research question addressed by this dissertation concerns the movement of a diaspora within the local and global field:

How does the philanthropy of cross-border diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropists between their country of residence and their country of origin look like?

A diaspora is specifically recognized by its image (often nostalgic) of the country of origin (i.e., "homeland"). Diasporic philanthropy is performed in the homeland, while the diaspora maintains residence in another (in this case, Western) country, to which they have departed from the homeland to seek a better future for coming generations than would have been possible in the country of origin (May, 2019). Continuous family visits in the country of origin, along with remittances performed by the first generations, have been reproduced in similar behaviour by the second and third generations. In contrast, however, the later generations were born and raised in the West, while performing their philanthropy in the

country of origin. In other words, membership in a diaspora plays a highly interactive role in global civil society. The main research question of this dissertation is derived from this interactive process while crossing borders of many kinds:

Research Question 1: How does cross-border diasporic philanthropy influence local and global civil society?

As mentioned above, the importance of faith-based philanthropy (e.g., *zakat*, *sadaqa*, and *waqf*) within the context of diasporic philanthropy raises many questions. Existing literature provides extensive evidence of a growing Islamic identity among European youth, as well as of the influence of this identity on their participation in global civil society (de Haas, 2003; Ennaji. 2018). This touches upon the outreach of diasporic philanthropists, who often have faith-based motivations and who are often active within their countries of origin. Within the context of Moroccan diasporic philanthropists in the Netherlands, Islamic motivations lead to the practice and objective of philanthropy in the country of origin. The combination of exploiting the efficiency of such practices and these motivations with the religious sources gave rise to a two-part research question. The second research question is as follows:

Research Question 2: Is diasporic philanthropy more successful in crossing borders in global civic society and reaching its philanthropic objective when driven by faith-based motivations?

Drawing on the Quranic sources used by the diasporic philanthropists in my research, this dissertation also explores the social identity of diasporic groups within the

Western context. In light of the negative connotations that often appear in the mainstream media with regard to Islam as a religion and Muslims as a social group, Islamic diasporic groups have reported experiencing frequent polarization since at least 2001 (May, 2019). The literature provides extensive evidence of how the experience of polarization can lead to two types of reactions: striving for excellence and striving to be the "perfect" immigrant. At the same time, however, such experiences could lead to a refusal to obey the law and conform to societal expectations. My exploration of this division within my research population raised an underlying question: *To who does one truly belong?* The experience of being considered different by the majority of the society (at least in one's own perception) can have a deep effect on an individual's identity (Tabor and Milfont, 2011). Moreover, the mandatory nationality of Moroccans—in Morocco, as well as abroad—strengthens the search for identity. Within the context of bi-culturalism, the perceived need to "choose" can seem impossible, especially when the choice is between two cultures that feel like two parts of one self (Ennaji, 2018). The second part of this research question formulates the search for identity as the search for "a sense of belonging".

> *Research Question 3: How do diasporic philanthropists experience the country of residence, and how does this experience influence their sense of belonging and practice of philanthropy?*

The fourth research question addressed in this dissertation draws further on the division between diasporic and "Western" philanthropists within the context of cross-border philanthropy. According to my analysis, the images that diasporas have of their countries of origin (i.e., "homelands") are not much different from the images that Western

philanthropists have of these countries when visiting them abroad. Although diasporas do sometimes experience deeply rooted racism and polarization in the country of residence, I argue that it is also important to research the European/Western aspects of their identities as well. This can help to identify possible similarities between the members of a diaspora and those who polarize them. Drawing on the theoretical framework developed by Edward Said (1978), this dissertation questions the images that members of a diaspora have of their country of origin and whether this image is in line with reality or, as argued by Said, whether it is more in line with a post-colonial view of the Orient (MENA) (1978). Instead of examining the ability of philanthropic efforts to reach the intended recipients, I focus on the images that motivate diasporic philanthropists. In this section, my dissertation contributes to the ethical debate in which researchers raise questions regarding the motif of diasporic philanthropists. The fourth research question is thus as follows:

Research Question 4: How do diasporic philanthropists in the country of origin differ from Western CSOs active in the same region?

Then, as demonstrated throughout the dissertation, the fifth research question focusses on how my research positionality has led to situations in which my participants admitted that they were able to "share more" because of my cultural identity. It resulted in recognition concerning several aspects, in addition to my upbringing, as described above, and my bias. The fact that respondents felt comfortable sharing more during their interviews with me than they would have in an interview with a non-diasporic, non-bi-cultural colleague of mine rightly raises questions concerning the replicability and comparability of my research.

Research question 5: How should we use the bi-cultural identity of a researcher as a methodology?

1.6 Outline of this dissertation

This manuscript dissertation consists of six separate studies investigating the roles that cross-border diasporic philanthropists play in global civil society. Though each study is also based on a paper that is either published, or in the process of publishing, together they form a solid body for a manuscript dissertation. The studies examine the impact of cross-border diasporic philanthropy when driven by faith-based motivations, as well as its impact when it is not. I also investigate the sense of belonging of cross-border diasporic philanthropists, the effect of diasporic philanthropic motivations on the recipients, and the authenticity of cross-border diasporic philanthropists. The latter consists of two parts. More specifically, the research reported in this dissertation enhances understanding concerning the important role that cross-border philanthropists play within civil society. It also explores whether cross-border diasporic philanthropists are indeed different from their monocultural counterparts.

The combination of these two dimensions in the research included in this dissertation contributes to several academic fields. The first study is a conceptual study based on a scoping literature review. The second study is a literature review using case studies. The third and fourth are based on a qualitative method. The fifth study combines a

conceptual investigation with an empirical research method. And the final study is based on a conceptual study in which the researcher' positionality is discussed.

An overview of the studies in this dissertation and how they relate to each other is provided in model 1.2. The following section contains a brief summary of each study, as well as an explanation of how the studies use interdisciplinary approaches and angles to enhance understanding of cross-border diasporic philanthropy. Model 1.3 provides an overview of the studies including type of methodology and contribution.

Study 1: Non-governmental organizations and diasporic volunteering and philanthropy in an Islamic faith-based tribal nation-state: A case study from Morocco

Research Question 1 | Chapter 2

Study 2: Cross-border philanthropy in the Islamic World, from Europe to the Middle East and North Africa (MENA): An introduction

Research Question 2 | Chapter 3

Study 3: Diasporic volunteering in cross-national perspective: Is faith-based philanthropy more effective than secular philanthropy? A case study from the Netherlands and Morocco

Research Question 2 | Chapter 4

Study 4: "To where and to whom do I belong?" The sense of belonging in the performance of cross-border diasporic philanthropy

Research Question 3 | Chapter 5

Study 5: Cross-border philanthropy and its failure in avoiding post-colonialism and white-saviorism.

Research Question 4 | Chapter 6

Study 6: A conceptual study on the researchers positionality as a methodology

Research Question 5 | Chapter 7

Model 1.2 Interrelation between the six chapters.

	Study one	Study two	Study three	Study four	Study five	Study six
Methodology	Conceptual Study based on a scoping literature review	Literature review using case studies	Qualitative; ethnography using the narrative approach method (including participant observation)	Qualitative; ethnography using the narrative approach method (including participant observation)	Qualitative; phenomenological approach	Conceptual study based on grounded theory
Title	Non-governmental organizations and diasporic volunteering and philanthropy in an Islamic faith-based tribal nation-state	Cross-border philanthropy in the Islamic World, from Europe to the Middle East and North Africa (MENA)	Diasporic volunteering in cross-national perspective: Is faith-based philanthropy more effective than secular philanthropy? A case study from the Netherlands and Morocco	"To where and to whom do I belong?" The sense of belonging in the performance of cross-border diasporic philanthropy and volunteering	Cross-border diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropy and its failure in avoiding post-colonialism and white-saviorism.	A conceptual study on the researchers positionality as a methodology
Aim	To deepen understanding of the relationship between civil society and the governance of a faith based, tribal nation-state.	To unfold the interrelationships between the Islamic world and the non-Islamic world, along with the historical effects on global civil society.	To take a qualitative measurement of the effectiveness of cross-border philanthropy by international and national diasporic groups, along with the influence of having religion as the primary motivation.	To identify the true motivations of diasporic philanthropy in the country of origin, and the effects of these motivations on the way philanthropy is performed.	To explore differences and similarities between diasporic philanthropists and non-diasporic philanthropists, and to examine whether post-colonialism can be performed only by the latter.	To elaborate the importance of a researchers positionality and the explanation of how such positionality, in combination of a researchers bias, may effect research and data.
Theoretical lens	Institutions, governance	Cross-border philanthropy, religion, socio-politics	National and international migration, organizational policy	Migration, intergenerational psychology, institutions	Post-colonialism, systematic theory	Researchers positionality, insider-outsider perspective, personal bias
Contribution	Demonstrating the complexity that diasporic philanthropy may encounter when serving the faith-based, tribal homeland.	Uncovering the international relationship—both historical and contemporary—between the Islamic world and the non-Islamic world.	Revealing the importance of faith-based diasporic philanthropy and enhancing the understanding of religious importance among diasporic groups.	Introducing the influence of intergenerational pain on cross-border diasporic philanthropy and the existence of diasporic organizations.	Explaining the similarities between diasporic and non-diasporic groups, and explaining the persistent dominance of superficial differences.	Explaining the importance of awareness on a researchers positionality and a researchers bias, and its possible effects on research and data.

Model 1.3 Overview of the six chapters including methodology and academic contribution.

1.6.1 *Study one (chapter two): non-governmental organizations and diasporic volunteering and philanthropy in an Islamic faith-based tribal nation-state: A case study from Morocco*

The first study in this dissertation serves as the literary foundations for the subsequent studies. To develop a clear understanding of cross-border diasporic philanthropy within contexts similar to the Moroccan diaspora in the Netherlands, it is important to explain how Morocco is organized as a civil society in which diasporic groups are the most active.

According to the existing literature, Morocco's civil society organizations (CSOs) served to counter colonial forces during the 1940s and 1950s (Ennaji and Sadiqi, 2012). After Morocco attained independence, existing CSOs kept their organizational forms and

continued their contributions to the country's civil society. Migration flows increased, however, and hundreds of thousands of Moroccans went abroad seeking more promising futures. They were also fleeing the regime of King Hassan II (De Haas, 2003), which was especially difficult for people in rural areas, where national government investments were minimal. The lack of formal training for CSO staff members, the scarcity of resources, and social and cultural differences between CSO staff members and recipients combined to create an overall image of Moroccan civil society as failing to serve the less fortunate (Sadiqi, 2008). Beginning in the 1950s and 1960s, these gaps were increasingly filled by remittances from migrants who were sending money back to their family members and people in the direct or indirect surroundings (May, 2019).

According to existing literature (Brinkerhoff, 2008; Appe and Oreg, 2021), remittances constitute the starting point for the cross-border philanthropic activity of generations of diasporic migrants who established an existence in Western countries (e.g., the Netherlands).

Given that the Moroccan diaspora in the West is rooted in rural areas of the country of origin, my dissertation demonstrates that its philanthropy is also performed in those same regions. Whereas Moroccan CSOs fail to serve the country as a whole, the diaspora provides a solution for this failure. The second study of this dissertation examines whether this is done according to the ethical organizational standards of the non-profit sector, in addition to considering the motivations underlying these philanthropic acts.

1.6.2 *Study two (chapter three): Cross-border philanthropy in the Islamic World, from Europe to the Middle East and North Africa (MENA): An introduction*

This chapter forms the introductory chapter of the special issue of the *Journal of Muslim Philanthropy and Civil Society*, entitled "Cross-border philanthropy in the Islamic World: from Europe to the Middle East and North Africa (MENA)."[1] It builds upon the insights of Study one, addressing civil society in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, of which Morocco is part. In addition to having its own national context, along with its own historical, cultural, religious and social features (Obdeijn and de Mas, 2004), the country is part of a larger geographical region that also constitutes a coherent whole.

This chapter consists of an extensive literature review designed to deepen the existing understanding of Morocco's positioning and to explain the importance of such positioning to enhancing understanding of cross-border diasporic philanthropy. The other papers included in the special issue elaborate further on specific aspects that are addressed only in general in the introduction. The results of this chapter provide evidence to refute the persistent popular assumption in the mainstream media, as well as in neo-liberal European politics, concerning the foreignism of Islamic relations with and in the West (Nordbruch and Ryad, 2014). Islamic social groups, like the Moroccan diaspora in the Netherlands, are one form of such Islamic relations. This perspective continues to be unpopular in both academia and the outer world. As a result, diasporic philanthropy is not as well understood as it would be if the perspective were to be more popular.

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[1] Ouacha, M. and Meijs, L. C. P. M. (Eds.) (2021). Special issue: "Cross-border Philanthropy in the Islamic World: from Western Europe to the Middle East (MENA)." *Journal of Muslim Philanthropy and Civil Society. Vol. 5:2.*

The inclusion of this chapter in the dissertation highlights the importance of a regional understanding of diaspora, in addition to the national understanding presented in study one. In essence, study two demonstrates that diasporic philanthropy comprises three geographical angles that should be investigated: regional, national, and international (both intracontinental and intercontinental).

1.6.3 *Study three (chapter four): Diasporic volunteering in cross-national perspective: Is faith-based philanthropy more effective than secular philanthropy? A case study from the Netherlands and Morocco*

Delving further into the cross-border philanthropy of the Moroccan diaspora in the Netherlands, this chapter elaborates the importance of the philanthropic motivation. By comparing Moroccan CSOs to Moroccan diasporic philanthropic organizations (as done in study one), this chapter further examines their co-existence within Moroccan civil society. Although Morocco once again forms the geographical context for this comparison, the clear division between these two organizational actors allows for the ideal operational framework for this chapter.

Although the title of this chapter points to the importance of the philanthropic motivation (i.e., faith-based or secular), the results demonstrate that, in the case of Morocco, the recipients are the deciding party. Ethnographic research and a narrative approach are used to provide empirical evidence to demonstrate the importance of the giver's ethnic Amazigh[2] identity to the receiving party within the context of cross-border philanthropy.

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[2] The Amazigh are a tribal ethnic group who are regarded as the indigenous people of Morocco. Amazigh literally means "free people." Decedents of this ethnic group are known as Imazighn or, more commonly, as Berbers.

One interesting aspect in this regard is that both the staff members of CSOs (e.g., , the vice-president of Morocco's largest NGO) and diasporic philanthropists from the Netherlands report a preference for the indigenous, Amazigh identity. The first social group (CSO staff members) underwent internal rural-to-urban migration, while the second (diasporic philanthropists) migrated internationally, in many cases from rural Morocco to the urban West. The combination of the Islamic, faith-based approach of diasporic philanthropists in the West nevertheless seems to go beyond the preferred ethnic Amazigh identity. Given that both the giving and the receiving ends of cross-border philanthropy within the context of the Moroccan diaspora identify as Muslims, the question in the title of the study is answered: faith-based cross-border philanthropy is indeed more effective. This is only the case, however, if the philanthropy is performed by diasporic organizations of people whose parents and grandparents had left the same regions that they serve in their philanthropy.

This chapter contributes to the aim of both national and international CSOs that seek to serve socially isolated groups (e.g., the Amazigh in Morocco) but that struggle to develop a strategy that suits this objective. As demonstrated by the results of this chapter, diasporic organizations constitute the ideal partner for collaboration in realizing such philanthropic aims. Such collaboration nevertheless requires a deep understanding of the diasporic organization as both a cultural-social phenomenon and as an important key player in global civil society. It is important to add here that chapter three and four are led by the same research question. But as chapter three addresses mostly literature and theory as an

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They tend to live in communities scattered across Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt (in Siwa), Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso, and Niger (Chaker 1998:14).

answer to the research question, chapter four does so through empirical data and the development of new theory.

1.6.4 *Study four (chapter five): "To where and to whom do I belong?" The sense of belonging in the performance of cross-border diasporic philanthropy*

Performing philanthropy in one country while living in another country easily raises questions concerning which of the two countries an individual feels the most connected to. During the research for this chapter, it became apparent that the answers to such questions are not as easy as they may seem. This chapter investigates the sense of belonging in a diaspora and the way it effects the cross-border philanthropy of diasporic groups. The results of a narrative approach and ethnographic research reveal yet another layer beyond the sense of belonging for diasporic philanthropists: the important, decisive layer of inclusion and polarization.

In general, cross-border philanthropy is performed with the aim of supporting the country of origin. Such loyalty seems to be inherited from the first-generation migrants who moved to a country that was more well-established than their country of origin. One aspect that tends to be overlooked in the existing literature on philanthropy and migration is the void that first-generation migrants create upon migrating. In addition to their place within the system (i.e., in the family and community), they experience their own personal processes of re-defining and re-finding another place in a society that is less familiar than the place from which they migrated (Bouras, 2012). This creates inner crises that are greater than acknowledged in previous studies. According to existing literature, most migrants leave places characterized by extreme poverty (de Haas, 2003). This chapter therefore examines

whether Moroccan migrants in the Netherlands should or should not be identified as refugees.

Diasporas inherit a broad array of personal crises that touch upon the inevitable question: "*To where and to whom do I belong*?" This chapter therefore introduces two additional profiles of diasporic philanthropists to complement the six identified in previous studies (see Lehner et al., 2021). The first profile is of diasporic philanthropists who give from a perspective of inclusion and aims. The second is of diasporic philanthropists who give from a perspective of polarization. Both of these profiles are driven by the same two layers: faith-based Islamic motivation and the search for a sense of belonging.

As demonstrated by the results of Study two, diasporic philanthropy organizations are an important key player in global civil society. According to the literature, however, Western non-profit organizations tend to have difficulty creating collaborations (Appe and Oreg, 2021). Members of diasporic groups are apparently difficult to attract as volunteers in non-diasporic organizations. This chapter demonstrates that diasporic organizations are a platform for the extension of the search for and finding of a sense of belonging. Non-diasporic organizations are therefore unable to provide the same type of platform, even if that is the organizational aim. Such an objective could become possible, however, if both profiles were to be well understood. This chapter advocates for a separate approach to each profile, as the members of a diaspora simply do not constitute a homogenous social group.

1.6.5 *Study five (chapter six): Cross-border philanthropy and its failure in avoiding post-colonialism and white-saviourism.*

This chapter draws further on the aforementioned observation that the members of a diaspora do not constitute a homogenous social group. In reality, they tend to be more similar to Westerners than is often assumed.

Proceeding from the phenomenological method for the qualitative comparative approach, this chapter starts by demonstrating the theoretical framework developed by Edward Said (1978) and Frantz Fanon (1968), which refers to the contemporary perspective of the West as post-colonial. This means that, even though colonial times have passed, Western perspectives on formerly colonized nation-states have not changed accordingly. Said refers to this perspective as "oriental" or "other" (Hamadi 2017, p. 8), creating distance between the observer and the observed. The current study applies the narrative research approach to place this perspective within the context of cross-border philanthropy. The results of in-depth interviews with diasporic philanthropists indicate that it is the giver who observes and the receiver who is observed. More specifically, this analysis demonstrates three examples of diasporic objectives—change-ism, conservatism, and romanticism. This to illustrate the similarity between diasporic philanthropy organisations and colonial NGOs.

This chapter' conclusion emerges when viewing the receiving end as 'the other'. Although this was not specifically mentioned by the recipients who were interviewed, it is implied by the online campaigns of diasporic philanthropy organizations. Such perspectives are similar to the manner in which Said argues that post-colonial societies view the MENA region. For this reason, the current study examines whether diasporic groups are able to avoid post-colonial behavior and "white saviorism" in their philanthropy. If not, as the

results suggest, this might be a point of concern for researchers and practitioners of civil society, as studies are increasingly revealing the defects of diasporic philanthropy.

1.6.6 Study 7: A conceptual study on the researchers positionality as a methodology

Throughout the writing process of my dissertation, my supervisory team and I noticed that my research positionality offers more advantages than disadvantages, due to the thin line between my insider and outsider perspective. This obviously forms an important common thread throughout my research. By treating this common thread as a positive detail without denying the biases and prejudices of which I am aware, my dissertation could also function as an invitation to future academics. Although we cannot change who we are or where we come from, we can use the insights provided by our background to transform academia into a more diverse, inclusive, and multi-cultural space for all kinds of research. I hope that my dissertation will also contribute to this aim. Important to mention here is that the conceptual framework in study six serves as a base for a methodology paper which is still in progress.

1.7 Overall Methodology

Each of the studies in this dissertation contains its own methodology. In this section, I discuss the overall methodology of the research as a whole. As mentioned before, this dissertation is based on qualitative mixed methods. As noted by Butina (2015, p. 190), "Qualitative methods allow the researcher to study issues in depth through open-ended questions permitting one to understand and capture the points of view of other people without predetermining those points of view through prior selection of questionnaire categories." All five types of qualitative methods are represented in this dissertation:

grounded theory (study one and six), case studies (study two), ethnography (including participant observation) combined with the narrative approach (studies three and four), and phenomenology (study five). Based on the fit between the research question and the accessibility of data, I selected the qualitative method that was best suited to collect a sufficient amount of data while also paying attention to the research context.

Data collection for this dissertation began in 2016 in Morocco and the Netherlands. Between 2016 and 2021, I conducted ethnographic fieldwork in Morocco: in Rabat, Marrakech, Casablanca, Ouarzazate, and the High Atlas (more specifically, Tilmi, Msemrir, Tinghir, and Imilchil). Between fieldwork episodes, I also collected data in the Netherlands, where my respondents were of Moroccan descent. Most were living in Amsterdam, Utrecht, Den Haag, Rotterdam, Breda, or Nijmegen. As stated by Butina (2015), a maximum variation is promoted by my purposeful sampling. The demographic questionnaires allow to sample a wide variety of participants (including gender, educational background, discipline area, and years in the profession (if employed)).

In all, I interviewed 150 respondents, with interviews lasting an average of between 45 and 75 minutes. The total length of the recordings of the interviews amounted to approximately 171 hours. The interviews were semi-structured, meaning that they were based on a standardized, open-ended interview guide consisting of questions that were carefully prepared in advance, with each participant being asked the same question in a certain sequence (Patton, 2002). At the same time, however, the interviews were of an informal, conversational character, with additional questions emerging spontaneously throughout the natural flow of conversation. The interviews were recorded, unless the

respondent explicitly asked me not to. To protect privacy, data from each respondent were saved under a pseudonym. For my own administration, I saved the names of all respondents in a separate document, which is accessible only to my supervisors and myself. Each respondent granted oral consent to this procedure.

Transcripts of the recorded interviews were created using the software *AmberScript.* Interviews were conducted in Arabic, Tachelhiyt, French, English, and Dutch. I translated the interviews directly during the transcription. For the sake of validity of my translations, I asked Mohamed Saadouni and Harry Stroomer, both formerly involved in and employed by the Linguistic Center of Leiden University, to assess the translation terms. Where necessary, I re-translated the interviews. For the interviews with respondents who were not comfortable being recorded, I took notes during the interview and elaborated them afterwards. It is interesting to note that there was a considerable difference in what respondents did and did not say during interviews that were recorded, and interviews that were not recorded. Although this difference did not necessarily reflect distrust or suspicion, given the highly personal nature of the interviews, it is likely that respondents felt safer and more comfortable when they were not being recorded.

After each set of interviews was transcribed for each study, the coding process was started. As defined by Glesne (2006), coding is a progressive process of sorting and defining, determining the strategy for sampling and defining, and sorting scraps of collected data that are applicable to the research purpose. Furthermore, as noted by Butina (2015, p. 135), "The coding process consists of re-reading the transcripts and identifying recurring words, ideas, or patterns generated from data." I then applied codes from the general coding list that I

developed for each study. This yielded recurring patterns, which formed the base for the theory developed in each study.

As mentioned before, several methods were applied throughout the various studies included in this dissertation. Each study belongs to one of the five traditions (or groups) in qualitative methods: ethnography, narrative, phenomenological, grounded theory, and case study (Creswell, 2015).

Study one, which is a conceptual study, is based on a grounded theory method. According to Pandit (1996, p. 3), "The three basic elements of grounded theory are concepts, categories and propositions." These three elements were combined based on technical literature on the subject of Moroccan civil society, which constitutes the initial case (unit of data) for this case study. As stated by Strauss and Corbin (1990, p. 52), who support this approach, "the literature can be used as sources of data. This includes quoted materials for one's own purposes. Along with descriptive materials concerning events, actions, settings, and actors' perspectives." I used these materials as data. No data from my own interviews were used in this chapter. Because this conceptual study is based on grounded theory from existing literature on Moroccan civil society, I created the coding process based on the three basic elements of the grounded theory method:

- Concepts (civil society, philanthropy)
- Categories (theoretical and empirical; domestic, Islamic, Western-based)
- Propositions (effective, ineffective, problematic)

For the literature review in study two, I used a combination of grounded theory and case study methods by using a "codes and coding" technique (Miles and Huberman, 1994). I selected this technique because it allowed me to link the data back to the research questions and the propositions (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The data were collected carefully through extensive reading of literature and academic work, specifically on civil society in the MENA region. As noted by Miles and Haberman (1994, p. 57), "The codes and coding technique using the case study approach strategy referred to as 'partial ordered displays' to analyse the case study data. This strategy allows the identification of the segments relating to the research questions and any potential themes." Making the link between the data and these respective components made it possible to interpret the output from the case studies more intuitively (see model 1.4 (based on Atkinson 2002)).
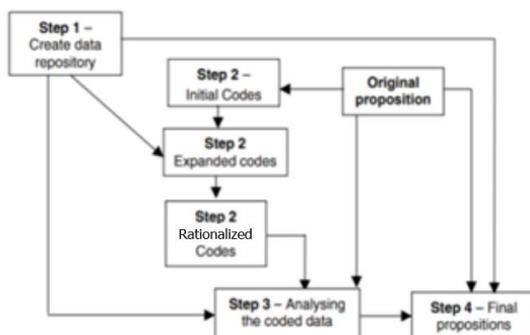
Model 1.4. Interpret of the output from case studies

Examples of codes used in this chapter include:

- Faith-based (or secular) motivation

- Inspired/driven by post-colonialism

- Urban

- Cross-border

- National/domestic

In studies three and four, both of which are ethnographic (including participant observation), I used the narrative approach method. This was the case for 140 interviews (110 in study three and 30 in study four). In all, my research spanned a period of six years. During this period, I interviewed the research participants in a formal setting with semi-structured interviews, in addition to joining them in the field. For example, I attended a fundraising event, a philanthropic mission in Morocco, and a meeting with all philanthropists involved in a specific organization. I also spent 12 months in the region of Southern Morocco visiting Amazigh villages that were framed as "the receiving end of cross-border diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropy" (Ouacha and Meijs, 2021). Following a traditional anthropological fieldwork method, my observations reflect both a "native perspective" and my positionality as a researcher. Due to this combination of perspectives, I am keenly aware of both my insider perspective and my outsider perspective, along with the blind spots that exist between them. During the interviews, the questions were phrased in an open-ended manner. This so that participants would feel free to tell stories and to write about what they deemed most significant (Bell, 2003). After transcribing these interviews and my fieldwork notes, I coded the interviews using literary codes, which organized my categories. The categories were based on terms or expressions that were used frequently by the participants. This aspect clearly reflects my use of the narrative approach.

Examples of codes used in study three include:

- Motivation

- Identity

- Setting

- Upbringing

- Perspective

Examples of codes used in study four include:

- Motivation

- Intergenerational

- Healing

- Polarization

- Inclusion

For the qualitative comparative approach in study five, I used 40 interviews from the database of 110 participants which were used in study three. I analysed these 40 interviews using the phenomenological method. In applying this method, I utilized "an approach to research that seeks to describe the essence of a phenomenon by exploring it from the perspective of those who have experienced it" (Teherani et al. 2015, p. 669). This was because, "in the hermeneutic approach to phenomenology, theories can help to focus inquiry, to make decisions about research participants, and the way research questions can be addressed" (Lopez and Willis 2004, p. 726). Against the background of Said's theory on orientalism and "white saviorism" (and its criteria) (1978), I coded and analysed the

interviews. The codes were based on the motivations and views described in Said's theory and similarities among my research participants and their philanthropic objectives. Examples of such codes include:

- Development

- Loyalty

- Implementation

- Socially constructed views

- Eurocentrism

Finally, I framed three categories that are also demonstrated in my theory: change-ism, romanticism, and conservatism.

Finally, in the sixth study, added to this dissertation, I again used grounded theory as a method to further dive into a researcher' positionality as both a theoretical and an empirical concept. Study six demonstrates how existing theories explain my positionality as a researcher and how my own bias influenced my research. My dissertation demonstrates how a researcher' positionality is defined by bi-cultural upbringing and status as part of the same diasporic social group as one' research population. These factors, in my case, along with education, religion and social class have undeniably biased and provided me with advantages in my research. They have nevertheless imposed limitations as well. All things considered, however, chapter seven explains how the advantages of my researchers positionality outweighed the disadvantages in the course of this research. Because this conceptual study is based on grounded theory from existing literature on a researcher'

positionality, I created the coding process based on three elements of the grounded theory method:

- Concepts (insiders versus outsiders perspective, bi-cultural versus mono-cultural)
- Categories (theoretical and empirical)
- Propositions (advantages and disadvantages)

1.8 Ambitions and Academic Embedding

This dissertation aims to enhance understanding concerning cross-border diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropy in global civil society. Through a specific focus on diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropists, it goes beyond the surface on which most existing studies build. More specifically, the research on which this dissertation is based combines organizational, management, migration, and civil society studies with psychological and anthropological studies.

The assumption that diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropy emerges from the largely researched act of remittances leaves an enormous empirical and theoretical gap (Espinosa, 2016). Existing theory in which remittances are described as a means of supporting family members and individuals in one's direct and indirect surroundings in the country of origin is open to refutation. As stated by De Haas (2003), giving to the country of origin is an act of loyalty and an attempt to re-connect after migrating.

It is possible that respondents might conceal their true feelings and motivations when participating in the interviews or other types of research methods. Moreover, with

regard to diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropists who mentioned first generations as their philanthropic role-models, it is not clear why their philanthropy once again found its way to the country of origin, and not to the country of residence, where most of the diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropists included in existing studies were born and raised. This continuous support of and boundless connection to the country of origin, and not with the country of residence, could also explain the lack of diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropists in Western non-profit organizations. Rather than joining an existing non-profit organization with both a community of donors and a clear receiving end, diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropists tend to start their own non-profit organizations, which they subsequently join through their acts of remittances to the homeland. In this dissertation, the layers of motivations, arguments, and philosophies in the creation and existence of diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropy organizations are spread over five studies.

This dissertation pursues three main observations. First, the continuous support of and giving to the country of origin makes diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropists more capable of moving between national and local civil societies. Social, emotional, spiritual, and financial support from cultural peers in the country of residence makes diasporic organizations in the country of origin more accessible than international organizations.

Second, the motivation to support the country of origin is not limited to the inspiring act of remittances. It is also expressed through the existence of intergenerational trauma. Connection and loyalty can be created from the perspective of both healing and of pain. As demonstrated by existing theory, many migrants depart to Europe (e.g., , from Morocco) for reasons of extreme poverty (Obdeijn, 1990), the search for political refuge (De

Haas, 2003), and to escape disturbing violence in familial and direct environments. The results of this dissertation demonstrate that, until these problems are resolved, diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropists will continue to support their countries of origin, while simultaneously continuing their search for healing and a sense of belonging. The pain that they experience might not even be theirs, but that of an ancestor (in some cases, only one generation apart), such that it remains unresolved.

Third, while political movements in the West may strive for existential homogeneity of white culture, diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropic organizations continue to form a counter voice. When comparing the two profiles according to their norms, values, and daily routines, however, one could conclude that diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropists are more similar to "white people" than they are to those on the receiving end in the country of origin. Over time, diasporic and bi-cultural groups cultivated in the West adopt Western norms and values, which eventually form the base of their individual and collective identities.

The act of supporting the country of origin could thus be described as post-colonial or even "oriental" (Said, 1978). The ways in which both diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropists frame the receiving end of their efforts resemble those of Western non-profit organizations (Vossen and Van Gorp, 2017). The results of this dissertation demonstrate that, because diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropists are who they are (in terms of cultural identity), they seem to have a continuous *carte blanche*. Meaning, diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropists can do whatever they want without being held responsible in any legal

matter. This nevertheless does not negate the possible ethical damage that diasporic non-profit organizations may cause.

The studies included in this dissertation draw on the literature on diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropy, and they are based on a phenomenon-driven approach. This approach involves the reassessment of existing theory on diasporic and bi-cultural motivations to give and donate, as well as on connections with and loyalty toward the country of origin and the division between mono-cultural and bi-cultural groups. In times of both extreme polarisation and integration, I am convinced that deeper knowledge and its longevity depends on a precise, detailed examination of the human experience. This is needed, even if it requires pushing our boundaries in order to understand the other, and thereby enhancing our understanding of ourselves.

1.9 Declaration of Contribution

This dissertation is based on countless hours of reading, literature reviews, collecting data, analyses, fieldwork visits and writing. To say that I accomplished all these steps on my own would simply be untrue. It has not been easy, but it has definitely been fun and inspiring. Each study was realized with the help of a few individuals, whom I would like to acknowledge in this section.

Study one (chapter two): The seeds for this chapter were planted during a Zoom call with Lucas Meijs and Shariq Saddiqui. We were discussing the position of Morocco in the Islamic world and how its diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropists cope with the

country's national and local civil society. Both of these scholars provided me with valuable suggestions.

Study two (chapter three): Together with Lucas Meijs, I developed the idea for the special issue of *Journal of Muslim Philanthropy and Civil Society* entitled "Cross-border philanthropy in the Islamic World: From Western-Europe to MENA" (Ouacha and Meijs, 2021). This chapter serves as the introductory chapter in the special issue. We wrote the study together, and we implemented our suggestions for each other throughout our shared journey. Two anonymous reviewers provided feedback, which we incorporated into our study. It was through such collaboration that I learned the most during my PhD program.

Study three (chapter four): The research idea and design, the data collection, the analysis and writing were my responsibility. I combined my data, which I collected between 2016 and 2020, with new data that I collected in 2021. Lucas Meijs continued to provide me with feedback during the first few drafts. During the RSM seminar week in October 2021, I submitted my study as part of the preparatory work. During this event, I received feedback and valuable suggestions from Conrad Heilmann and Frank Wijen. After implementing their feedback, two anonymous reviewers provided me with more feedback, which I also incorporated. The study was accepted for a presentation at the 2021 ARNOVA Conference in Atlanta, Georgia, USA, and was ultimately published in the *Journal of Muslim Philanthropy and Civil Society* (Ouacha, 2021).

Study four (chapter five): The research idea for this chapter was created during the data analysis for study three. After discussing my idea with Lucas Meijs and Kees Biekart, I decided to collect additional data. The writing process was completely my responsibility,

as was the literature review, argumentation, and theory development. Lucas Meijs and Kees Biekart reviewed several versions of the study and provided valuable suggestions and feedback. Zeynep Kasli also provided feedback. I presented the study during the monthly Migration Seminar at the Institute of Social Science (ISS) in The Hague, as well as during the 2022 ISTR Conference in Montreal, Canada. The paper has been submitted to *Voluntas*, where it is has been reviewed and requested for a re-submit.

Study five (chapter six): The data collection, analysis, and writing of this chapter have been my responsibility. Lucas Meijs and Kees Biekart provided valuable suggestions and moments of feedback. The study was presented at the 2022 ARNOVA Conference in Raleigh, North Carolina, USA. I am currently exploring possibilities for the publication of this chapter, along with a minimum of two anonymous reviewers.

Study six (chapter seven): Heading towards the end of my PhD journey resulted in several moments of reflection with my supervisory team. In those moments, we became aware of the advantages and disadvantages we have experienced during my research, due to my bi-cultural identity. To question whether such experiences are common and indeed, valuable for future research as a method, Prof. Dr. Lucas Meijs and I organized a breakfast-session during the ARNOVA Conference 2022, in Raleigh, North Carolina, USA. We invited colleagues Prof. Dr. Femida Handy, Prof. Dr. Ram Cnaan, and Dr. Chao Guo from Penn State University, Pennsylvania, USA, because of the similar experience of doing research within a population that carries the same ethnic and cultural identity as they do. This session resulted in a mutual agreement to collectively develop this methodology paper.

The data collection and analysis will be done by all five of us. However, I will be taking lead in the process of writing.

'It is in giving that we receive'.

– attributed to Francis of Assisi

2. Non-governmental organizations, diasporic volunteering and philanthropy in an Islamic faith-based (tribal) nation state

Abstract

Based on an extensive literature review, this chapter contributes to the existing body of knowledge concerning cross-border diasporic philanthropy. In this first study in my dissertation, I examine cross-border diasporic philanthropy performed by diasporic groups. In the interest of deeper understanding, the study is positioned within the socio-geographical context of the Netherlands and Morocco. The literature review is used to compare the motives of national NGOs to those of diasporic cross-border philanthropists. I further elaborate the existence of a civil society similar to that of Morocco, along with its maintenance during the 20th and 21st centuries. By including both historical and contemporary literature on a single country, I lay a foundation upon which to build a deeper understanding of active diasporic philanthropists residing in a foreign, Western country (e.g., the Netherlands). This chapter has three primary objectives: 1) to gather existing literature on cross-border diasporic philanthropy; 2) to demonstrate the relationships that diasporic and bi-cultural groups have with their countries of origin; and 3) to lay a foundation for future research on the effects of diasporic volunteering and philanthropy.

2.1 Introduction

To develop a deep understanding of diasporas and the ways in they perform philanthropy, researchers should almost always try to (first) understand the diasporas country of origin. In the case of diasporic and bi-cultural groups from Morocco, this process can be complex, but it is not impossible.

Morocco serves as an attractive gateway to Europe for African countries, to Africa for European countries, to the East for Western countries and to the West for Eastern countries. While some studies position the country in the Middle East (e.g., De Haas, 2007), others treat it as part of the African continent (e.g., Ennaji, 2014). In this dissertation, I position Morocco within the Middle East North Africa (MENA) region.

In addition to its unique geographical position, the internal diversity of civilizations, cultures, languages and landscapes within Morocco has been recognized in several fields of knowledge. This has inspired scholars to observe the heterogenous diasporic and bi-cultural groups from this country. Regardless of where they might live, one Moroccan simply cannot represent another Moroccan. One of the exceptions, however, is within the context of philanthropy towards Morocco as a nation, which is of a more homogenous character. I elaborate this point further in the sections below, with reference to observations from the existing literature.

While partly observing and participating in the development of the MENA region throughout the 20th century, Morocco was also experiencing its own turbulent times. "From a sultanate that was divided in thousands of Arab and indigenous Amazigh tribes, ruled from Fes, by the last sultan Mulai Abdulhafid of the Alaouite dynasty (1875 – 1937)" (Naciri 1998, p. 8). Sultan Mulai Abdulhafid signed the Treaty of Fes on Mars 30th, 1912 which

officially established Morocco as a French Protectorate. This became the start of the realization of the Islamic state of Morocco as we know it today. Until 1960 at least, both political and social influences from France found their ways into Morocco's society, the country's civil society started becoming boisterous (Naciri, 1998). Slowly but surely, less visible social groups, mainly women in Morocco's urban areas started appearing on both political and social surfaces (Sadiqi, 2012). "While striving for more equality in a patriarchal authoritarian society, they did so through several feminist movements, of which the first in 1946" (Naciri 1998, p. 8).

Throughout this chapter, it is important to recall that the development of feminism in Morocco has been inherently connected with the country's civil society as a whole. "After having contributed actively to the independence movement which resulted in the independence of Morocco on November 18th, 1956, the first feminist activists worked in philanthropic associations" (Naciri 1998, p. 8). Akhawat Al-Safaa (Sisters of Purity) was the first non-governmental organization (NGO) and feminist voice within the public sphere in Morocco. At this point, it is important to note that the organizational structure of this NGO was fully inspired by existing associations in France. It is therefore fair to state that Morocco's civil society has a postcolonial fundament. Interestingly, "all active actors within the civil society did advocate for a inclusivity of women, during the first movement. This continued in a second wave of several social movements during the 20th century, which held the country's gender inequality as its main-concern" (Ennaji and| Sadiqi 2012, p. 95). It is important to note that these movements have historically been divided between the secularist trend and the Islamist trend.

"Akhawat Al-Safaa stemmed from the Parti Démocratique de l'Indépendence– PDI (Democratic Party of Independence), where female activists had male relatives. In addition to the independence of Morocco, these urban and elite women sought to promote girls' and women's education" (Sadiqi 2014, p. 20). "Their (public) speeches, of which only one survived, called *al-Wathiqa* (the Document), contained three main demands. The abolition of polygamy, dignity at home, and dignity outside the home. The nature of these demands and the attraction of their class to modernity position these pioneer women as 'secular'" (Sadiqi 2014, p. 2).

This could be regarded as a controversial act, in a country where faith and state have always remained interconnected. Women who continued to work towards integration into the parties in the 1960s and 1970s are considered the 'first generation' (Sadiqi, 2014). "It is to them, without denying the function of efforts by women in 1946 and during the independence movement, that the second feminist wave owes the most" (Naciri 1998, p. 7–9). As this generation of the social movement progressed since the mid-1980s, it pushed for change to family law. These efforts resulted in the passage of the Moroccan Family Code (Al Mudawana) in 2004. This legislation was only marginal at first, however, and some considered it extremist.

Rooted in the second wave, the third wave of the social movement expanded its reach through social media, allying itself with the Amazigh[3] activist movement, which I

[3] The Amazigh are a tribal ethnic group who are regarded as the indigenous people of Morocco. The name Amazigh literally means 'free people'. Some descendants of this ethnic group are known as Imazighn, and many more are known as Berbers. They are known to live in communities scattered across Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Libya, Egypt (in Siwa), Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso and Niger (Chaker 1998, p. 14).

address further below. At this point, it is important to note that the 'focus of the first two feminist waves and the presence of non-governmental organizations remained in the urban areas of Morocco' (Sadiqi 2014, p. 3). Together, these waves constituted a continuum that has regenerated itself from within and that has (and continues to have) a profound impact on power structures and gender policies in Morocco. This was made possible in part by the fact that secular feminist thought was grounded in universal human rights and avoided religion without dismissing it (Ennaji and Sadiqi, 2011). For example, patriarchy—and not Islam—was constantly defined as the source of oppression. Without supporting the Sharia (Islamic law) as the main source of legislation, secular feminists have been eager to adopt other frames of reference, including civil law and the resolution of human rights conventions, as adopted by the United Nations.

Within an Islamic state like Morocco, such ground-breaking achievements are indeed remarkable. As shown by several studies, however, the main benefits of these socio-political changes continue to be restricted to the residents of urban areas. In this chapter, I provide a further discussion of the benefits existing throughout the civil society and, more broadly, the operation of civil society within the context of an Islamic tribal nation-state.

2.2 Methodology

This literature review is based on a grounded theory method. The studies reviewed are from a variety of disciplines, combining historical literature with anthropological and organizational studies. Following an extensive search, publications within these three disciplines were selected on two major subjects: 1) motives of NGOs in Morocco and the

MENA region in general, and 2) motives that drive cross-border diasporic philanthropy in general.

To elucidate the context within which I compare national civil society with diaspora philanthropy, I first provide an overview of the history and important events of Morocco, followed by an historical overview of Moroccan migration to Europe, with a specific focus on the Netherlands. Such developments could possibly explain the potential for friction emerging in the absence of historical pasts. I then discuss diasporic philanthropy in the broadest sense, accompanied by several examples of diasporic groups in other parts of the world. Finally, I briefly combine these sections to demonstrate my research agenda on cross-border diasporic philanthropy and to answer the central research question in this chapter: *how does cross-border diasporic philanthropy influence local and global civil society?*

As argued by Levine Daniel and colleagues (2023), and as clearly evidenced in the current study, "…cross-border philanthropy is a complicated phenomenon to measure. … tracking transfers (both material and immaterial) of cross-border philanthropy on a large scale is possible to a certain degree, but it's constrained by limitations created by the structure of the available data" (p. 92).

The shortcomings of such data within the context of my overall research design are discussed further in my dissertation. It is nevertheless important to indicate the overall body of existing literature to which my research is intended to contribute through my research.

2.3 God, the Nation and the King - الله, الوطن, الملك

In an analysis of Moroccan politics, El Maarouf and colleagues present the kingdom of Morocco as historically reflecting the concept of equality by law. They describe Morocco as an Islamic, democratic and social constitutional hereditary monarchy of which 90% of the total population (33,546,150) practices Islam and is Sunni by faith, of the Malikian rite (El Maarouf et al. 2009). "Since the crowning of his majesty King Mohamed VI on 23 July 1999, Morocco has seen major changes in different domains, including changes in its political structures. The constitution set up in 1962 and officially adjusted in 1970, 1972, 1992,1996 and 2011 continues to uphold the king as both the head of state and spiritual leader" (El Maarouf et al. 2009, p. 257). As head of state, King Mohamed VI has the right to appoint the prime minister, as well as to appoint and remove from office the members of the cabinet. The king can also dissolve parliament, arrange new elections and rule by decree.

Since the reform of the constitution in 1996, parliament has comprised two chambers: the Assembly of Representatives (Chambre des Représentants) and the Assembly of Councillors (Chambre des Conseillers). The power of parliament is very limited, but it has been reinforced by constitutional reforms from 1992 and 2011. Its responsibilities currently include "…the right to fix the budget, propose laws, question ministers and convoke research committees. It can also overthrow the government by an act of impeachment" (El Maarouf 2009, p. 258). Basic civil rights are established in the constitution, which guarantees for all Moroccan citizens: equality before the law, equal political rights, protection for the secrecy of personal correspondence, uniform accessibility of opportunities for employment in public offices and positions, equal rights in seeking education and employment and the right to strike (Chapter one, Articles 5, 8, 11, 12, 13 and

14) (El Maarouf et al., 2009). However, these rights are not fully established in practice. "Freedom of the press and freedom of assembly, for instance, are not permitted completely. Moreover, the constitution underscores, in many of its sections, key lines on the expression of critical opinions concerning the king as the holder of absolute power, the Moroccan state, religion (Islam), and its civil society" (El Maarouf et al. 2009, p. 258). It is since the accession of Morocco's current king Mohammed VI in August 1999, however, that secular philanthropy has become more active.

In the current study, philanthropy is understood according to the definition formulated by Johnson (2007) as "the private, voluntary transfer of resources for the benefit of the public. Yet, even with such a basic working definition, it is not always easy to distinguish philanthropy from other financial flows, including remittances and financial investments (p. 6). The movement of secular philanthropists resulted in the reform of family law, with the passage of the Moroccan Family Code (*Al Mudawana*), which expanded and improved the legal rights of women and children.

"The new constitution stood for more gender equality in Morocco's civil society and was considered as a great achievement by both the government and feminist activists mentioned earlier, who were enjoying a freedom of activity that Morocco never witnessed before" (Sater 2007, p. 101). As observed by Mouna (2018), further study of the democratization process in Morocco clearly reveals that, "…the country has faced political and economic challenges while also dealing with the increasing activities of its civil society' (p. 2). Moroccans have increasingly undertaken such activities both nationally and internationally. While civil society actors began to operate in all sectors, proceeding from a

human rights paradigm, they faced two major difficulties. The first difficulty was inherent in the actors themselves, as many continued to lack resources and professionalism. The second was rooted in the nature of power and its centralization, including the vulnerability of central power to co-optation by political actors (Ennaji and Sadiqi, 2011). "Thus political actors and social activists such as non-governmental organizations, should start from consensus as a prerequisite, while also avoid anything that could challenge the political system" (Mouna 2018, p. 2).

By varying their domains of action, however, NGOs did challenge Morocco's patriarchal power structure and endeavoured to reach more and more women, especially in the marginalized rural areas (Sadiqi, 2013). "At the end of the 21st century, secular philanthropy in Morocco was divided in two types of actors: the ones that focus on service provision by filling gaps, which were left by the deficient state structures in terms of socio-economic development" (Sadiqi 2013, p. 44). "And the ones that focus on advocacy and lobbying with the aim of defending a vision of society where women's legal and civil rights are respected" (Sadiqi 2013, p. 44). [Both types of secular actors maintained] "a dialectical relationship with the broader civil society (human rights associations, youth organizations that involve women's issues, etc.). This advocacy and lobbying tightened the link between secular actors and other actors within Morocco's civil society" (Sadiqi 2013, p. 45). Morocco's civil society started to become an example of possible, alternative projects of transformative gender roles while still having to deal with an authoritarian Islamic state (Sadiqi, 2013). Within the MENA, this was and still is exceptional. However, in order to do so, Morocco's civil society "protected and guaranteed an effective exercise of public

freedoms favouring the emergence of pluralist collective identity based on the universal values of the culture of citizenship, for bottom-up development and for empowerment" (Sadiqi 2013, p. 44–45).

2.4 Civil society in an authoritarian state

According to Sater (2007), civil society came to be seen as a means of defence against potential abuse by political leaders. "It was a concept for the description of a new European civilization and it expressed this civilization's consciousness and self-confidence as to its own possibilities" (Sater 2007, p. 107). This was in contrast to the non-productive and non-innovative absolutist state, which was linked to the economy, as the dynamics and possibilities of civil society emerged from within the productive sector (Sater, 2007). Both the form and origins of the Moroccan civil society were based on the Western (European) example.

In the 19th century, De Tocqueville became one of the most explicit theorists of civil society, arguing that it should function as a counterweight to the state in order to ensure the freedom of citizens. According to De Tocqueville, in pursuit of equality, citizens empowered the state to undertake the widespread provision of public goods (De Tocqueville [1835/1840] 1956). As observed by Sater (2007), that "in doing so, they surrendered a measure of liberty, which would allow 'the administrative suffocation of civil society' and descent into 'relations of political dependence'" (p. 107). "Within the context of Morocco, this theoretical identification of civil society could be viewed as a counterweight to the state, which has been particularly prominent" (Sater 2007, p. 110).

Guided by normative assumptions about 'civility', some authors have connected civil society directly to pro-democracy movements. For example, Ibrahim (1995) argues that the connection between civil society and democratization should be obvious. "Democracy after all is a set of rules and institutions of governance through a peaceful management of competing groups and/or conflicting interests. Thus, the normative component of 'civil society' is essentially the same as that of 'democracy'" (Ibrahim 1995, p. 124).

Other authors do the opposite. For example, Norton (1995) claims that there is no direct link between civil society and democracy. "Societies do not take two tablets of civil society at bedtime and wake up the next morning undergoing democratization" (Norton 1995, p. 45). As Sater (2007) explains, however, while referring to De Tocqueville who contends that a liberal civil society provides, both the structural underpinning of representative democracy and the terrain on which an organized working class can develop. "… civil society is grounded in free economic markets and the quest of the bourgeoisie for political differentiation from the state. It is, therefore, indirectly the force that is pushing for democratic transition" (p. 118). At the same time, however, civil society is also grounded in neo-populist and neo-authoritarian movements aimed at restricting democratic freedoms. If the features of associative life that are supportive of a liberal democratic project are considered civil society proper, therefore, the hypothesis of a link between civil society and democracy becomes, in mathematical terms, an identity function (Sater, 2007). Moreover, this confines civil society to the static framework of predefined values, thereby obstructing the analysis of these features of state–society relations.

When analysing the terminology relating to civil society, it is important to recall that, in general, non-democratic regimes (e.g., Morocco) also have a stratum of supportive elements (e.g., civil society) that constitute a political discourse outside the immediate reach of the state (Beckman, 1997). According to Beckman, identifying civil society within the context of contemporary Morocco would be in clear opposition to the state. Through their opposition values, secular philanthropic associations were able to contribute to political changes while constituting a societal core of democratic values (Beckman, 1997). As argued by Beckman, however, the free engagement of civil society in political affairs is by no means guaranteed in an authoritarian state. Moroccan civil society is confronted with both a changing state and a changing political party system, These two entities continue to suppress and alter the free engagement of civil society, as it is regarded as a threat to their power bases (Beckman, 1997).

As observed by Sadiqi (2003), in addition to being confronted with the restrictions of the political system, "secular philanthropic organizations in Morocco are also confronted with the constitutions underscore in the equality for all Moroccan citizens" (p. 181). This follows El Maarouf (2009), who refers to the link between power and identity from a multidisciplinary approach. In addition, Chetrit (2007) notes, "the main sociocultural problems (e.g., of contemporary Morocco) are interrelated with (a country') diverse traditions, its faith-based (Islamic) foundations, its diverse population and languages, its distribution of power, its monarchic regime and its general socioeconomic and socio-political gaps, and finally often presented in the differences between men and women" (p. 185).

Sadiqi (2006) further explores what can be understood, analysed and imported from universal concerns relating to Morocco, as a faith-based country, "where old and tenacious political and cultural traditions, foundational religious values and visible patriarchal dominance continue to be cultivated" (Chetrit 2007, p. 186). Such knowledge remains important, given that the first civil society organizations were founded as a voice of dissent to patriarchy and male dominance.

Drawing on socio-political and socio-cultural assumptions concerning the structures of power in Moroccan society, Sadiqi (2006) argues that an understanding of power perception and subversion in Moroccan context can be achieved only within a given socio-cultural approach to gender and identity. Finally, the literature allows space for research on the socio-political discussion concerning the outreach of secular philanthropy in Morocco and its engagement with the country's gender and identity politics.

"As Morocco's secular philanthropy also endeavoured to promote participation, social mobilization, and associative lobbying that encourage good governance and a culture of responsible citizens, not passive subjects, it worked towards a dynamic participatory and equitable democracy" (Moghadam 2009, p. 91). Over the last seventy years, actors within Morocco's civil society have become "schools of democracy, which encouraged women to get involved in decision-making in local public affairs and to empower women at all levels of governance. Morocco's secular philanthropy enabled women to critically assess their own situation, create and shape a transformation of society" (Sadiqi 2013, p. 45).

For the time being, Morocco is perhaps an unique example in the Arab world – a country where the battle led by feminist secular philanthropists has begun to have a tangible

impact on national human rights and development policies. Support for these movements remains essential, not just for Morocco, but also for the sake of social development throughout the MENA region. "Moroccan secular philanthropist helped promote awareness and knowledge of legal rights among marginalized social groups, such as women. They also did so to develop networks between civil societies in other parts of North Africa and therefore create community-based groups. All of this, to ensure a broader spectrum of participation in the public sphere" (Sadiqi 2013, p. 35).

The examination of the communities whose awareness and knowledge of legal rights is further developed could generate insight into the strategy used by secular philanthropists. This is especially important, given the previously addressed diversity within Moroccan society and the importance of equal representation for all parts of society.

2.5 Contemporary Morocco: the Islamic state, its civil society and tribal Amazigh societies

By addressing the social heterogeneity and diversity among Moroccans in Morocco, Sadiqi first refers to urban and rural geography, Islam as a culture, orality, oral literature and multilingualism on a broader scale. Furthermore, "the six major social variables which influence the social heterogeneity and diversity among Moroccan citizens: geographical origin, class, education, job opportunities, language skills, and marital status" (Sadiqi 2003, p. 187).

These variables are obtained derived from social oppositions, and they have a direct influence on, "gender perception, political awareness, self-awareness,

independence, critical assignment and fashioning of modes of resistance. Because these social variables carry significant social meanings that linguistically indexed in speech" (Sadiqi 2003, p. 164), in Moroccan society women are not given the same social choices nor the possibility to elaborate these as men. Due to its patriarchal dominance, which are mentioned earlier. "The choices given to women depend on their positioning within each social variable. Thus, urban, rich, educated, working and married women have more social choices than rural, poor, non-working, illiterate and unmarried ones" (Sadiqi 2003, p. 164). By addressing Amazigh identity, Sadiqi adds another dimension to such oppositions: the importance of social identity. By investigating the social-cultural identity and the impact of its conditions, social-cultural identity theory examines the relationship between individuals and the groups in which they are involved. "It stipulates that individuals identify with various social identities which can be divided in two types; social identities that relate to social groups and personal identities that are more based on one-to-one relationships. Both types of identities allow the individual development of the self which is signaled by his or her linguistic behavior" (Sadiqi 2003, p. 165–166).

According to Giles and Johnson (1987), "…social identity is corroborated by the social psychology of language. Hence its main issue of who in an ethnic group uses what language strategy, when, and why in interethnic encounters" (p. 69). Referring to this approach, Sadiqi adds that, although the separation between urban and rural women has been the case for much longer, the constant change of Morocco as a multi-layered country has created flexibility (2003). This corresponds to Norton's (1995) description of civil

society (as mentioned previously) as the quest of the bourgeoisie for political differentiation from the state.

Although the first and second waves of feminism in Morocco (as mentioned previously) were initially marginal and, at times, considered extremist, the third wave of the social movement expanded its reach through social media. This wave allied itself with the Amazigh activist movement while aiming for an inclusive civil society that advocated for Morocco's Amazigh societies. Amazigh issues were addressed as the third wave grew from a rather complex socio-political context, while continuing to challenge Morocco's political power structures. This reflects the intersection of five major factors: identity, Islamism, globalization, new technology, and the uprisings in the region.

As described by Sadiqi (2016), this wave was "…more versatile and complex in terms of class, level of education, language, gender, strategies, and internationalization. More lower class and multilingual youth, both male and female, made their voices heard. This was especially remarkable during the 20 February Movement which was partly started by a young woman, Nidal Hamdache Salam, by initiating a Facebook forum discussion on the political and socio-economic issues in contemporary Morocco" (p.14). Topics of discussion in this forum included the separation of the executive, legislative and judiciary, individual freedoms, secret detention centres, the corruption of state elites, nepotism, clientelism, regular violations of human rights and personal freedoms, as well as unequal access to education, healthcare and employment. Videos calling for people to demonstrate in major cities followed suit, and the movement materialized in massive demonstrations on February 20th, 2011, during the Arab Spring.

Hamdache coordinated the Youth Commission (of the Moroccan Association for Human Rights) and was instrumental in mobilizing youth. "It is reported that more than 50% of the protesters in the movement were women" (Sadiqi 2016, p. 14). "The use of Moroccan Arabic and Tamazight, next to English instead of French, in texting, Facebook, and other social media facilitated this, and the images of the revolutions in the region added more fuel during the movement" (Sadiqi 2014, p. 10). Of the five factors that have shaped the third wave, the most influential has been identity politics, which resulted in the adoption of the Amazigh language (Tamazight) as one of Morocco's official first languages in June 2019. The form of Tamazight that was selected to serve as a collective language of all Amazigh languages in Morocco was designed by the Royal Institute of Moroccan Amazigh culture (IRCAM). At this point, it is important to note that the official Amazigh language differs from the Amazigh languages that are spoken throughout Morocco, as well as within the diaspora and bi-cultural groups. Four major Amazigh languages are spoken in Morocco: Tarifit (in the northern region), Tmazight (in the central region), Tachelhiyt (spoken by the largest population, in the south-eastern region) and Tassousiyt (in the southern region).

According to the socio-linguistic expert Ennaji (2011), "a possible critique could be that such linguistic officializations, like all others, only benefit the ones who understand the language. This could therefore lead to oppression which results in marginalization still being possible due to the lack of language or social class" (p. 85). Sadiqi (2003) describes Amazigh societies 'as illiterate and presumably monolingual who use oral genres to achieve personal and social 'gains' in their daily use of language' (p. 35). In 2021, 47.7% of all inhabitants of Morocco (33,546,150) were illiterate (WTO 2021). As observed by El Aissati (1991), "in

Amazigh societies, language is the base of their identity. Speaking the Amazigh language is interpretable as holding the Amazigh identity" (p. 59). Given that four major Amazigh languages are spoken in Morocco, it would be logical to assume that this has been considered within Moroccan civil society as well, particularly in light of the important contributions of these languages to the country's development. According to existing research, however, this is not the case.

"While Morocco's secular philanthropy achieved ground breaking initiatives, when critically examining the internal organizations, the same actors in the civil society, such as the associations mentioned earlier, were charged with a lack of professionalism and a lack of accountability" (Ennaji 2011, p. 79). The problems were related to a lack of training, information and expertise in collective management and initiatives, as well as to weak communication (both internally and externally) and a heavy reliance on international donor agencies for financing. The strategies and philanthropy that were adopted enabled them to achieve sustainability by empowering women with the support of the state, although such action was largely absent with the broader national context (Ennaji, 2011).

In addition to the internal and external lack of professionalism and organizational management, the presence of NGOs in the realization of equal rights for all reveals other issues in Moroccan society. "These issues form the main reasons certain developments such as healthcare and education are much present in urban areas and less in rural ones, which led to complex contributions between rural Amazigh societies and Morocco's civil society" (Ennaji 2011, p. 80). It is therefore important to address the extent to which Amazigh societies agree with or differ from the actors active in Moroccan civil society. If the largest

NGOs in Morocco consist of elite, urban and highly educated women striving for equality and development for all Moroccan women, but constantly failing to include poor, rural and illiterate ones, there is good cause to question their politics of representation. Further research could provide further insight on such issues, perhaps generating possible innovations that could help NGOs become more capable of serving the country's culturally diverse population.

2.6 The existence of diasporic and bi-cultural (Moroccan) philanthropists

Migration has led to the dissemination of several Moroccan lineages throughout the world. It is important to note that the flow of migration from Morocco (from which the diasporic philanthropists discussed in this chapter originate) dates from the early 1950s. As noted by De Haas (2007), "beginning in the 1950s, rapid post-war economic growth in northwest Europe created expanding unskilled labour shortages in sectors such as mining, housing construction, and agriculture. Until the early 1960s, most workers were recruited from southern European countries. When this migration stagnated, attention shifted towards south Mediterranean countries" (p. 46). "Morocco signed agreements on the recruitment of workers 'with former West Germany (1963), France (1963), Belgium (1964), and the Netherlands (1969)'" (De Haas 2007, p. 46). De Haas continues, "…this initiated the spatial diversification of Moroccan migration to Europe, which had formerly been directed mainly towards France. Migration boomed, particularly from 1967 to its peak in 1972" (p. 47). "Over the second half of the twentieth century, Morocco evolved into one of the world's leading migration countries. Moroccans form one of Western Europe's largest and most dispersed migrant communities, consisting of well over two million people of Moroccan

descent" (de Haas 2007, p. 40). Such migration flows were soon followed by a flow of remittances and, later, volunteering and philanthropy.

Throughout and beyond the post-independence period, the Moroccan state has actively encouraged migration, and the associated counter-flow of remittances was also viewed as a tool for national economic development (De Haas, 2007). Due to the effectiveness of fiscal policies, the development of an efficient banking system and the return of macro-economic stability, Morocco has been relatively successful in directing remittances through official channels (Obdeijn, 1993). Despite some fluctuations, remittances surged from USD 23 million in 1968 to more than USD 2.1 billion in 1992. Following a period of stagnation at levels around USD 2.3 billion throughout the 1990s, a surge from 2001 to 2004 brought the value of remittances up to USD 4.2 billion, and to an estimated value of USD 5.6 billion in 2006 (World Development Indicators database). It is important to note that most remittances emerged from the principle of alms-giving, which is an individual duty for every adult in Islam (see Ennaji, 2016).

The continuous flow of collective support resulted in an ongoing relationship between migrants and their country of origin (Morocco), which would be inherited by forthcoming generations. As explained by Ennaji (2014), "transnational links between immigrants of different origin are established by maintaining their own traditions and identities […] This new development changes the traditional models of migration and poses new questions on identity, both cultural and religious, and citizenship" (p. 127).

Cultural identity may be defined as the need of individuals to belong to a group within which they feel recognized and accepted. It is a modality of the distinction between

'us' and 'them', based on cultural difference (Cuche, 2004). According to social identity theory, identifying oneself with a community allows one to develop an identity that has an attachment or commitment to the group (Turner et al., 1989). This raises questions concerning what happens when one is exposed to two groups and therefore multiple identities. According to Ennaji (2007), "young Moroccan-Europeans who descend from immigration are exposed from their earliest years to two different cultural systems: the culture of the host country and that of Morocco" (p. 128). Therefore, achieving cultural coherence and building an identity that is based on several cultures can be difficult. "Born in Europe or arrived in Europe after their birth, having kept or not their nationality of origin, young people facing the problem of identity construction fall into several categories" (Ennaji 2007, p. 129). In other words, one group consists of those who have adopted syncretic cultural identity have an active identity strategy that draws on the two systems of cultural reference (Ennaji, 2014), with the other consisting of those who claim a religious identity (in the case of Moroccan migrants, Islamic). The two groups do not have the same relationship with their origins (Ennaji, 2014). This is especially interesting when comparing the secular motives of Moroccan NGOs, as explained earlier in this chapter.

The legacy of the first generation for both the second and third generations has become increasingly clear as the diasporic relationship with the country of origin has evolved. With reference to the third generation, we understand a diaspora in terms of the definition formulated by Werbner (2002) as "… a transnational network of dispersed political subjects. One key feature of certain kinds of diasporas (Jews, Muslims, Armenians) is that they are connected by ties of co-responsibility across the boundaries of empires,

political communities or (in a world of nation-states) nations. Using the notion of co-responsibility in preference to usual evocations of 'solidarity' or 'loyalty' towards the country of origin" (p. 121).

The elements of solidarity and loyalty reflect three important critiques. One, the global flow of cultural goods, philanthropic giving or political support between diaspora communities or their countries of origin possesses a vector and a force, such that diasporic communities can be globally ranked according to wealth, political clout and cultural authenticity, or production. Two, a diaspora does not necessarily have a singular centre. On the contrary, it may recognize and foster multiple concerns and more than one sacred centre of high value (Goldschmidt, 2000). And three, a diaspora is not simply an aesthetic community, nor is it merely a reflection of the displaced or hybrid consciousness of individual diasporic subjects: on the contrary, diasporas are usually highly politicized social formations (Werbner, 2002). Werbner concludes that diasporas are therefore not a 'physical place of history, but rather a metaphorical place of identity' (2002).

Diasporas should be understood as de-territorialized, 'imagined' communities that conceive of themselves as sharing a collective past and common destiny, and thus also a simultaneity in time, despite their dispersal (Anderson, 1983). Moreover, as observed by Johnson (2007), "…diasporic philanthropy contains several fundamental elements. They include: (1) charitable giving from individuals who reside outside their homeland, who (2) maintain a sense of identity with their homeland, (3) give to causes or organizations in the homeland, and (4) give for public benefit in the homeland" (2007, p. 5). Extending the first critique, in which Werbner (2002) indicates diasporic solidarity and loyalty with

philanthropy towards the homeland, it is important to note that diasporic philanthropy in Morocco originates from all parts of the globe.

In my dissertation, I focus on diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropy originating from the Netherlands. More specifically, I examine whether Dutch-Moroccan philanthropists do or do not contribute to the known profiles of diasporic philanthropists. I also explore whether the lack of colonial history between the Netherlands and Morocco influences their philanthropy and volunteering, as well as how philanthropy without a colonial history is received by Morocco. Further questions concern possible differences between diasporic philanthropy from the Netherlands and from France (which does share a colonial past with Morocco, as demonstrated earlier in this chapter) and how NGOs view diasporic philanthropy within the same civil field. These issues are addressed throughout my dissertation (e.g., see Ouacha and Meijs, 2021), as diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropy continues to raise questions across several disciplines.

As argued by Werbner (2002): "…ultimately, there is no guiding hand, no command structure, organizing the politics, the protests, the philanthropic drives, the commemoration ceremonies, the poetries and devotional singing styles of diasporas. No single representation by a diasporic novelist or film maker, even in a single country, can capture this diversity or define its politics. What people buy into is an orientation and a sense of co-responsibility. The rest is up to their imaginative ability to create and invest in identity spaces, mobilize support or manage transnational relations across boundaries" (p. 128).

2.7 Diasporic motives in philanthropy

"Diaspora philanthropy is not a new phenomenon" (Newland et al. 2010, p. 27). "Both the migration of peoples and the tradition of 'giving back' to one's ancestral country are centuries old" (Johnson 2007, p. 4). However, "there is an increasing awareness of the unique roles that diaspora and philanthropists play in improving the lives of people throughout the developing world" (Newland et al. 2010, p. 27).

As demonstrated above, Moroccan diasporic philanthropists followed in the footsteps of earlier migrants, who performed remittances as an act of support towards their country of origin. In addition, existing literature has identified several motives that stimulate the movement of diasporic philanthropists. Continuing with Werbner (2002), diasporas perform philanthropy for several reasons, one of which is "… to prove their identification with their homeland and other diasporic causes, members of diaspora communities. This must constantly confront their local invisibility through public acts of mobilization and hospitality, and through demonstrations of generosity which reach out beyond their present communities. They must be seen to contribute real material or cultural goods across national boundaries through their political lobbying, fund-raising or works of poetry, art and music" (Werbner 2002, p. 128). For example, "Pakistani diasporas create havens of generosity for visitors from Pakistan (especially distinguished ones), for refugees and tourists. In return, these itinerants bear witness that the idolatrous wasteland of Britain has been appropriated and civilized" (Werbner 2002, p. 128).

The latter refers to a confirmation for the country of residence (in the case of Pakistan, the former colonizer) and proof of development. The former is in line with the coexistence of diasporic communities within a given country, even though their countries of origin differ.

In the West, 'buying in' to diaspora thus currently includes buying into local citizenship and fighting for the citizenship rights of other diasporic groups elsewhere. This process of playing on multiple citizenships is typical of contemporary diasporas and distinguishes the orders that they represent from those of earlier, pre-national diasporas (Werbner, 2002). Diasporic philanthropy can thus also serve as a mechanism for coping with discrimination in the country of residence. Space must always be reserved for nuance as further research may demonstrate deeper layers of why diasporas may feel excluded by the mass. This raises questions concerning whether diasporas experience exclusion only from 'outsiders', or whether such exclusion also occurs within the diasporic community itself. If the latter is the case, further questions relate to how such experience might influence diasporic philanthropy.

As demonstrated earlier in this chapter, diasporic philanthropy also serves as an important factor in the quest for social change. As observed by Johnson (2007), "diasporic philanthropists view themselves as providers of basic social services which were once viewed as the responsibility of the state" (p. 13). On a more personal level, diasporic philanthropy can also be a form of *zakat* and sadaqa, the two forms of almsgiving in Islam. In an examination of these two forms of Islamic philanthropy, May (2020) argues, ´… when exploring both forms, it is important to address the differences between the two' […] … *zakat*, as an individual obligation does not require a third party for its completion. In recent tradition, it is far more common, particularly for followers of Sunnism, to privately and discreetly distribute *zakat* to those they are acutely aware are of need. There are therefore no accurate official national, let alone global, figures to provide the financial flows derived

from *zakat*. Nonetheless, it is possible to gather generalized estimates of financial flows" (p. 920).

As observed by Ouacha and Meijs (2021), however, 'not all Muslim charities, and diasporic philanthropy, cater for the giving of *zakat* as the obligations' (p. 12). Future research could generate deeper insight into when diasporic philanthropy is strictly faith-based or religiously inspired, and when its motives are different. It would therefore be justified to assume that the results may be less black-and-white than they might appear.

2.8 Conclusion and suggestions for further research

This chapter demonstrates why the country of Morocco provides an ideal case for examining diasporic cross-border philanthropy. A country may contain a civil society with its own national organizations (e.g., NGOs) while still being part of a larger international field of human aid and support. By taking NGOs as a point of comparison, this chapter reveals an open field for further studies with a specific focus on the differences that diasporic philanthropists can make in their countries of origin. Relevant questions could include the following:

Do diasporic philanthropists consider a 'combination of forces' with the country's own civil society actors, or are their actions strictly independent? If the latter is the case, what is the reason? What truly moves a diaspora in the 21st century? Are there differences according to 'age of residence' (i.e., do diasporas give differently after 70 years since the first migrants arrived, as compared to 35 years)? How do NGOs in the country of origin feel about diasporic philanthropy? Do secular motives (e.g., of NGOs) conflict with faith-based

motives (e.g., of diasporic philanthropists)? Are there differences between diasporic philanthropists from countries with shared colonial histories (e.g., in the case of Morocco, France and Spain, in the case of Morocco). as compared to those without such histories (e.g., in the case of Morocco, Belgium and the Netherlands)? And, does the perspective on cross-border diasporic philanthropy from NGOs affect the way diasporic philanthropists design their philanthropy, or do the paths of these parties never cross?

According to existing theory, a diaspora is moved by several factors (e.g., see De Haas 2007; Ennaji 2014; May 2020; Ouacha and Meijs 2021). In turn, such movement is heavily influenced by historical variables from several angles, ranging from the way the first migrants ended up in countries of residence (e.g., the first Moroccan migrants arriving in the Netherlands in the 1950s) to their decision to stay and raise future generations. In the case of the Netherlands and Morocco, the Dutch-Moroccan community consists of three generations. This means that the community itself is relatively young, such that the relationship between diasporas and their homeland and residence is quite easy to measure. Throughout this dissertation, I am constantly moving between these two variables: the relationship of diasporas with their homeland and the relationship of diasporas with their country of residence.

As aptly described by De Haas (2007), 'a large part of the second generation Moroccans experienced the move of migration every year, when families returned to Morocco to spend their summertime'. Each article contains variables that are placed between the first two. Further exploration of what is lying beneath these variables and the correlation they share could increase awareness concerning the depth of diaspora. As stated by Johnson, "…some

scholars and recent studies include in their framework of diaspora philanthropy the total giving of a diaspora […] back to the homeland, to communities of residence, or elsewhere. This may represent a considerate approach in terms of understanding philanthropic motivations and practices. Moreover, it may be much more useful in providing guidance to new diaspora giving initiatives" (2007, p. 8).

"And God, the Exalted, said: 'Spend, O son of Adam, and I shall spend on you'".

– Prophet Muhammad (Al-Bukhari and Muslim)

3. Cross-border philanthropy in the Islamic World, from Europe to the Middle East and

North Africa (MENA)[4]

Abstract

Remittances, a well-known form of international giving, were traditionally done to facilitate economic and social modernization in the home countries of migrants. Such acts of giving were 1) faith-based, 2) international and 3) performed from a secular social context towards an (Islamic) faith-based society. In recent decades, however, such acts have developed into the phenomenon of cross-border philanthropy, which has thus far been under-examined. This chapter contributes to the body of knowledge in this area by distinguishing a ternary of three key elements: the foundation of cross-border philanthropy (religious or secular), its influence on the local, regional and global civil society (social geography) and, finally, the importance of religious norms and values (societal opposites). Each of these elements influences the others which leaves it impossible to examine one without including the others.

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[4] This chapter has been adjusted for the sake of this dissertation, but the vast majority of its content is taken from the following publication: Ouacha, M. and Meijs, L. C. P. M. (Eds.), (2021). Special issue: Cross-border Philanthropy in the Islamic World: from Western Europe to North Africa and Middle East (MENA). *Journal of Muslim Philanthropy and Civil Society.* Vol. 5:2.

3.1 Introduction

Cross-border philanthropy has broadened in recent decades. The exploration of this phenomenon nevertheless requires first examining one of the initial drivers of investigation into cross-border philanthropy: migration.

As demonstrated by De Haas, migration from the MENA region to Europe started with post-colonial migration in the 1950s, followed by the migration of guest workers from Morocco and Turkey to several Western European destinations. This continued until the 1973 oil crisis, which led European countries to discontinue the recruitment of guest workers (De Haas, 2003). Bommes and colleagues (2015) continue, "migration from Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and, especially, from Turkey, to Europe continued both as family and as asylum migration. Destinations diversified – in particular for Moroccans, who have increasingly also moved to Southern Europe" (p. 21). De Haas identifies three factors as decisive for determining flows of migration. The first consists of political and economic developments (e.g., the 1973 oil crisis or the 1991 Gulf War). A second factor has to do with differences in economic and social opportunities between the sending and receiving countries. The third consists of path dependencies, in the sense that migrants tend to follow the routes laid out by pioneers (De Haas, 2015). The first of these factors is addressed in chapter six, and the latter two are discussed further in this chapter.

As previously stated by De Haas (2003), it is fair to regard migration as one of the starting points of cross-border philanthropy. At the same time, however, the "… fundamental assumption of migration-systems theory is that migration alters the social, cultural, economic and institutional conditions at both the sending and receiving ends – that is, the

entire developmental space within which migration processes operate" (De Haas 2003, p. 56). As defined by the founder of migration-systems theory, Mabogunje (1970), migration is "…a set of places, linked by flows and counterflows of people, goods, services and information, which tend to facilitate further exchange, including migration, between the places" (p. 3). In my field of interests, exchanges can also occur between the giving and receiving parties can occur within a cross-border context.

Systems of international migration are composed of countries that exchange relatively large numbers of migrants. They are characterized by feedback mechanisms that connect the movement of people between particular countries, areas and even cities to the constant flows of goods, remittances, ideas and information (Fawcett, 1989; Gurak and Caces, 1992; Massey et al., 1998). As Mabogunje (1970) emphasizes, "…the role of feedback mechanisms through which information about the migrants' reception and situation at the destination is transmitted back to the place of origin" (p.4). This nevertheless facilitated movements and migration flows with an element of organization, particularly between places, regions and countries (Mabogunje, 1970). Money sent back to families from migrant-sending communities increased the feeling of relative deprivation among non-migrants. This subsequently increased aspirations to migrate as a way to achieve upward socio-economic mobility (Quinn, 2006). In addition to this motivational effect, remittances have also been used directly to finance the migration of other family and community members (Van Dalen et al., 2005) or to help improve their livelihood in the country of origin.

The argument advanced by Nyberg-Sorensen (2014) concerning the extensive amount of capital sent towards the home countries of migrant communities (e.g., in the form

of remittances) calls for the examination of examine several actors involved in this form of philanthropy. These actors include parties on both sides of the act of philanthropy, as well as their foundations for philanthropy. While the giving party may act from a religious perspective, the receiving party may not share the same perspective. Given that the converse is also possible, I argue that it is crucial to examine possible differences or similarities in these foundations. As observed by Bommes and colleagues (2015), "throughout the 19th and 20th century, Western Europe dealt with several migration flows from North Africa and the Middle East (MENA). While these patterns of migration differ greatly across countries and times, they are closely linked to migration flows to other geographical regions, in particular the Gulf States" (p. 20). This is illustrated in a comparative overview of the Euro-Mediterranean migration history and future, as exemplified by the cases of Morocco, Egypt and Turkey (De Haas, 2015).

This motivational effect has expanded in recent decades, resulting in the act of remittances aimed at improving the livelihood of others in addition to family and community-members in the countries of origin. The difference in this regard is that such philanthropic acts are performed not by pioneer migrants, but by diasporas, who have since established their existence in the destination country. Such philanthropical acts are not driven exclusively by personal cultural heritage, but also by personal Islamic motives within a non-Islamic societal context (e.g., Western European countries). Which leads to the central research question in both this and next chapter: *is diasporic philanthropy more successful in crossing borders in global civic society and reaching its philanthropic objective when driven by faith-based motivations*? The latter feature is explored further in the next section, along

with the Islam-inspired social engagement within the civil societies of both Europe and the MENA region. Along by further extending the position of the cross-border philanthropy of the MENA diaspora in Western Europe on a global scale.

Before exploring the diversity of actors in the civil societies of Europe and the MENA region, as well as the foundations of their volunteering and philanthropy, it is important to clarify our own use of terminology and that of actors engaged in the acts of cross-border philanthropy examined in this dissertation. As asserted by Miller (2006), "… clear thinking about philanthropy requires us to define it—to specify the boundaries between motives, means, and objectives that are truly philanthropic. Any proper definition must pay attention to how the term 'philanthropy' has been applied in practice" (p. 52). Moreover, according to Sulek (2010), "…the precise meaning of philanthrôpía in ancient Greek has received relatively little attention in the scholarly literature of philanthropic studies (p. 385).

Given our aim of examining different types of philanthropy (all of which are clarified throughout the dissertation), the definition mainly used in this dissertation originates from Flanigan (2017), who defines diaspora philanthropy as "money, goods, volunteer labor, knowledge and skills, and other assets donated for the social benefit of a community broader than ones' family members, in a country or region where there is a population with whom the donor(s) have ancestral ties" (p. 494). However, after a brief survey of academic definitions of philanthropy, Sulek (2010) adds that "…a number of disagreements are discerned as to the precise meaning of philanthropy in the modern era, even among the leading scholars in the field of philanthropic studies. In particular, there is fundamental disagreement over whether philanthropy is voluntary, or whether it is

compelled by factors such as moral restraints, social obligations, and the like. Whether philanthropy serves a public purpose, a public good, a charitable need, or simply a communicated want or desire, whether philanthropy is an intent to achieve a particular aim, the actual attainment of that aim, or just simply a private act of giving (p. 203). Finally, Sulek's (2010) survey also reveals that "a significant degree of divergence between the academic meaning of philanthropy intended by most scholars and how it is generally understood by society at large" (2010, p. 203).

To summarize, this examination of differences and similarities in the foundations of cross-border philanthropy opens a discussion on secular giving, as contrasted with faith-based giving. In addition to Flanigans definition of diaspora philanthropy, to which I refer several times in this dissertation, I discuss secular philanthropy according to the more widely accepted definition developed by Salamon (1999), "…the private giving of time or valuables (money, security, property) for public purposes" (p. 10). Salamon further identifies philanthropy as a form of income for private non-profit organizations (1999). I apply this definition within the context of faith-based philanthropy—more specifically, religious, Islamic philanthropy. This approach is examined further in the next section of this chapter, which explores the social geographical contexts underlying the foundations of philanthropy.

3.2 Social geography: local, regional and international cross-border philanthropy

The form of cross-border philanthropy addressed in this dissertation is performed by individuals in one social context (Western Europe) and received by individuals in another (the MENA region). According to MacDonald and de Borms (2008), the philanthropic landscape of Europe can be captured in four models, as are described below. Such models

are accompanied by an important set of questions related to the importance of engaging in the further examination of social geography.

The first model is the Anglo-Saxon model. "In Anglo-Saxon societies, civil society organizations (CSOs) are viewed as being a counterweight to government and the state. In an ideal world, they foster pluralism in their societies and cast themselves in the role of critics of the state and advocates of reform. There is a strong culture of volunteerism, and foundations support civil society and fund issues that governments do not" (MacDonald and de Borms, 2008, p. 8). The second is the Rhine model. This includes Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands and is characterized by CSOs that "are institution like and receive contracts from the state in a form of 'societal corporatism', rather than operating as a counterweight to the state. They function much like subcontractors in sectors such as healthcare and education. Paradoxically, they are independent from the state, but predominantly publicly funded" (MacDonald and de Borms 2008, p. 8). The third is the Latin/Mediterranean model, "here the role of the state is strong with a clear division between church and state. Traditionally, the church does charity work and the state is responsible for delivering goods and social services. The state is a strong economic actor and the relationship between the state and market is different from that in other models" (MacDonald and de Borms, 2008, pp. 8–9). Finally, in the Scandinavian model, "…the state traditionally plays a strong role, but because of the Protestant roots in these countries, personal initiative is viewed as a positive. There is a strong welfare state, but at the same time volunteerism is a powerful force CSOs […] fulfil a complementarity role to bridge the gaps in the system. Civil society

often identifies a need, which is later filled by government" (MacDonald and de Borms, 2008, p. 9).

Linked to these models, Macdonald and de Borms further call for 'more attention to dialogue and cultural differences'. "Concepts such as social justice, social economy, social entrepreneurship, leadership, community and volunteer work […] are not necessarily understood in the same way in different parts of Europe. […]. At the same time, the lingua franca is often being simplified into a type of shorthand, which risks leaving out nuances and meanings behind it.. We need to be consciously aware of this intercultural learning challenge as we branch out into doing cross-border or international work" (MacDonald and de Borms, 2008, p. 17). This specific argument points directly to a second gap in scientific literature addressed in this dissertation: the further examination of the influence of cross-border philanthropy from Europe to the MENA region on civil society at the local, regional and global level. Given that these two regions share a philanthropic flow emerging from a colonial (or post-colonial) resource (e.g., from France to Morocco, Algeria and other former colonies), Werbner (2010) argues that they offer an ideal territory for carrying out various philanthropic projects from countries in Western Europe.

Throughout the 20th century, researchers have shown that such forms of philanthropy were established either by colonial forces or by the diaspora emerging as people migrated from the colonies to the country of the colonizer. Examples include several philanthropic projects that are currently taking place in Pakistan, which appear to be following a predictable process (Werbner, 2010). With reference to the example of Pakistani migrant-settlers in Britain, "…the social formation of a diaspora replicates itself transnationally. Yet,

it is not the product of any central organizing force able to control the multiple goals pursued by local diaspora communities through a philanthropic project. Diasporic philanthropic organizations retain their autonomy along with a capacity to switch agendas and shift orientations in response to local predicaments or world historical events" (p. 121).

In this dissertation, the term 'cross-border philanthropy' is used in two ways. First, it refers to diasporic philanthropic projects from one country (in Europe) to another (a country in the MENA region), which is often a country of origin. Second, the term refers to philanthropic projects performed by actors in the national civil field towards a culturally different context within the same region. This usage is further elaborated and examined in Chapter six.

It is interesting to note that, even in the absence of a colonial past between a Western country and the MENA region, cross-border philanthropic projects nevertheless take place within a cross-national field of philanthropy. This is the case for both secular and faith-based projects. The only difference is that projects emerging from a history of colonization often reflect post-colonial or neo-colonial sentiments (see e.g., Werbner, 2002). Upon analysing several projects conducted by both secular and faith-based philanthropists in the MENA region, I noticed a gap in the existing literature on cross-border philanthropy. To the best of my knowledge, much of the focus in current body of literature is cross-border Muslim philanthropy within the context of the MENA region. In this regard, I refer specifically to several forms of philanthropy from one Muslim country to another. It might be more accurate to speak of aid from the Gulf to North Africa, given the societal faith-based norms and values prevailing in the Gulf and the MENA region.

The same argument cannot simply be used for the types of philanthropic work performed by Muslims living in Europe, even if their philanthropy are aimed at recipients in the MENA region. It is nevertheless important to consider the extensive colonial past that France has with Morocco, Algeria and Lebanon (Ennaji, 2011). Based on explorative empirical research (as further examined in chapter four, 5 and 6), I have identified a flow of philanthropic work from the Netherlands to North Africa—which share no colonial past— performed by Muslim philanthropists. In light of the migration histories of these philanthropists and their acts of *zakat*, I refer to their projects as 'diasporic philanthropic Islamic organizations'.

In the next section, I address the third and final element of the ternary under examination—the importance of religious norms and values (societal opposites). I do this by differentiating types of philanthropy according to their fundamental base, applying the aforementioned definition formulated by Salamon (1992). The exploration begins by examining the extent to which religion can influence the form of faith-based philanthropy.

In increasingly pluralistic societies characterized by rising immigration and intersections between ethnicities, cultures and religions within Western contexts, one important line of questioning in contemporary political discourse concerns the factors that bring societies together and create closer communities (Hann, 1996). As suggested by Hann (1996) "…debates about civil society are closely linked to other debates: about modernity itself, about individualism, culturalism, pluralism and the boundaries between public and private" (p. 6).

Each study in this dissertation contributes to the discussion on the influence of religion on faith-based philanthropy (e.g., see May, 2019) from a different but important angle. At this point, I provide a brief discussion concerning the presence of Islam as a crucial motive for diasporic philanthropy in post-modern Europe and its civil society. Any such discussion should begin by considering the presence of Islam in Western Europe before the growth of the MENA diaspora since the 1960s.

3.3 The illusion of an 'Islam-absent' European civil society

As stated by Nordbruch and Ryad (2014), "Muslims in Europe during the interwar period (1918–1939) were no passive strangers to local politics and public debate. Like their non-Muslim European peers of that period, many intellectuals and activists among them had a variety of ways to articulate" (p. 6). […] "The local interwar European controversies and prevailing social and political concerns impacted the intellectual outlook and political visions formulated by Muslim thinkers. The ideas and visions formulated by Muslims in interwar Europe were related to prevailing discourses in Muslim societies" (Nordbruch and Ryad 2014, p. 6). During the interwar period, the European countries that most Muslim political mediators chose were Switzerland, Germany, Britain and France, based primarily on their political mobility. After the Second World War, Germany offered many exceptional opportunities for fraternal ties. The establishment of journals and newspapers in both Europe and the MENA region contributed to the development of the Arab and Muslim press. This led many Muslims to popularize European political, socioreligious and intellectual thought throughout the wider Muslim world (Nordbruch and Ryad, 2014).

The intercultural and interreligious correspondence between Europe and the MENA region has thus been the subject of considerable examination. Within the context of philanthropy and European civil society, however, such correspondence has yet to be explored extensively. As observed by Reyhan-Kayicki (2021), "…relevant literature has neglected the experiences of European Muslim volunteers, especially how it informs their ethical subjectivation with regards to religion and society. Volunteering has been the bedrock of Western societies, and it is paradoxical that Muslims have been given relatively little empirical and theoretical attention in this area, especially in studies emerging from Europe" (p. 45). Through time, mosques and Islamic community centres have come to be regarded as secluded spaces of worship that are disconnected from the larger society (Reyhan-Kayicki, 2021; Vertovec, 2010; Peucker, 2017). The connection between Muslim community spaces (both religious and non-religious) and pro-social activities (e.g., philanthropy) have been largely neglected and underexamined (Peucker and Reyhan-Kayicki, 2021). This is surprising in light of worldwide *zakat* and sadaqah collections, the value of which has been estimated at USD 200 billion to USD 1 trillion per annum across the world (Weiss, 2020).

As observed by Reyhan-Kayicki, (2021), "for the Belgian Muslim volunteers, religion is at the very heart of the volunteering. Their events are secular in form and content, however the motivation to volunteer comes largely from how they understand a good practicing Muslim should conduct herself in social propriety" (p. 45). First-generation Muslims born within the UK widely distribute *zakat* to those in need in the homeland (May, 2019). This is similar to the previously mentioned act of remittances. An important share of

all *zakat* finances are thus subsumed under the general category of 'remittances'. As further noted by May (2019), however, given that, "…ties to homelands weaken over generations, extended families are lifted from absolute poverty and ties to Britain and local communities harden, the practices of zakat are beginning to alter as more and more" (p. 9).

British-born Muslims prefer to distribute *zakat* in their local lived communities, devoting other projects to causes in the homeland (May, 2019). Public expressions of religion in secular societies have traditionally been viewed with suspicion, if not with downright hostility. According to May (2019), "… in classical secularization theory, religion is relegated to the private sphere thus a public expression of religiosity is viewed as religion seeping out of its marginalized role and a potential danger to the pluralism and tolerance of 'civilized' society" (p. 9). Over time, however, the role of religion entailed a provision and charitable purpose that became recognizable as fulfilling an important role in civil society (May, 2019), as well as in its continuation.

Not all Muslim charities focus on the giving of *zakat* as an obligation. The restraints of following faith-based obligations, such as *zakat*, are relatively restrictive and many require the validation of religious scholars to be considered legitimate. Even if they have been validated, however, charities that collect *zakat* do not always publish the amounts/percentages that have been collected specifically as *zakat*. Nor are they required to do so under the regulations of the Charity Commission, or other current legislation.

More often, *zakat* donations are recorded under the 'secular' categories of 'restricted' funds, in contrast to 'unrestricted' funds, thereby distinguishing donors who allow their gifts to be spent on general charity from those who have donated for specific projects (e.g.,

'water', 'orphanages', 'flood relief' or specific geographical regions). Many charities nevertheless retain their own private records concerning the amount of donations received for different funds.

3.4 Conclusion and suggestions for future research

Subsequent chapters of this dissertation present the results of further research on the effects of *zakat* and *sadaqah* (two forms of Islamic philanthropy), as compared to secular philanthropy, all within the context of the Netherlands and Morocco. Given that most countries in the MENA are known to be faith-based Islamic nation-states (Nordbruch, et al., 2014), their civil societies as a whole are also likely to involve both secular and faith-based flows of philanthropy. This is examined further by addressing the importance of religious norms and values at both the giving and the receiving end of cross-border philanthropy within the context of Morocco.

The over-arching questions raised throughout this examination are as follows: Does cross-border philanthropy influence local, regional and international philanthropic landscapes? If so, what are the important variables and how can their influence be recognized? If not, why does cross-border philanthropy continue to be done on such a large scale?

In summary, a substantial amount of recent research has examined cross-border philanthropy between several countries. To the best of my knowledge, however, an empirical and theoretical gap continues to exist with regard to the examination of societal sources of norms and values (e.g., religion) and flows of philanthropy between countries that do not

share historical events (e.g., colonialism). Examples of countries that do not share a colonial past include the Netherlands and Morocco, as well as Belgium and Tunisia, and Germany and Turkey.

As a result of migration, diasporic philanthropy has served to create bridges between these countries. It would be interesting to conduct further examination of whether the recipients in the flow of diasporic philanthropy are less receptive to this type cross-border aid than they are to aid coming from their countries' own civil society or from post-colonial sources (e.g., British resources within the context of Egypt, and French resources in the case of Algeria and Morocco). In chapter four, I will do this by investigating a theoretical ternary: the foundation of cross-border philanthropy (faith-based or secular), its influence on the local, regional and global civil society (social geography) and, finally, the importance of religious norms and values (societal opposites).

"Every charitable act is a stepping stone towards heaven."

–Henry Ward Beecher

4. Diasporic volunteering in cross-national perspective: Is faith-based philanthropy more effective than secular philanthropy? A case of the Netherlands and Morocco

Abstract

Several studies have demonstrated the impact of cross-border philanthropy performed by diasporic groups in Europe towards members of their families and communities in the homeland. Most of these studies focus on diasporic groups in countries with post-colonial histories, while largely ignoring those without such histories. As two countries that share no colonial past, the Netherlands and Morocco serve as a social context for the current study on cross-border diasporic philanthropy in cross-national contexts. This chapter examines ways in which national and international diasporic groups can co-exist, as well as the ways in which their philanthropy is perceived by recipients. This empirical exploration concludes with a philanthropic model that could help to improve cross-border philanthropy in similar cross-national contexts.

4.1   *Introduction*

As demonstrated in chapter two, the geographical position of Morocco and its wide-ranging socio-cultural and socio-economic diversity make the country an interesting context in which to examine cross-border philanthropy. It is particularly interesting, given that both North Africa and the Middle East (MENA) region have long been an objective of aid performed by actors in Western civil society (Fowler, 2021). It is nevertheless important to

note that Morocco is part of both of these geographical regions. Following Fowler (2021), it would be interesting to investigate possible differences between philanthropy and volunteering performed within the borders of Africa and that performed within the MENA region. Given that the MENA region is often referred to as the Islamic 'Arab' world (see Gerges, 2019), any study of a particular country within the region will necessarily touch upon a complex variety of important concepts (e.g., ethnicity, cultural and religious identity, form of state and the associated governance, civil society). The situation is further complicated by the strong international ties founded on volunteering and philanthropy. Studies conducted in Morocco have indicated that most volunteering and philanthropy are performed by Moroccan diasporas living abroad (see Mahieu, 2020).

Before discussing the importance of Moroccan diasporas for the country of origin in greater detail, it is necessary to consider the position Morocco holds within the Islamic world. As stated by Contreras and Martinez (2015), "tracking down religion in the context of Morocco today and understanding the mechanisms by which religion makes itself manifest in that country and abroad is not an easy venture" (p. 113). […] As C. Geertz noted […] the key is to recognize "the material reasons why Moroccan Islam became activist, rigorous, dogmatic and more than a little anthropolatrous" (1968: p. 20). […] "Geertz tried to understand and explain Islam in Morocco as a cultural whole homogenized over time by the contact between rural tribes and city dwellers" (Contreras and Martinez 2015, p. 113).

The extent to which statements such as that of Geertz characterize the relationship between Moroccans and religion in their practices today was analysed with a survey of 1,156 people by El Ayadi et al. (2007). "In terms of religious practice, 15% of Moroccans say they

never pray and only 16% go to the mosque to do so (only 2% of women). The level increases with age (using morning prayer as an example, 9.8% of 18-24 year-olds practice it, compared to 57.6% of people over 60)" (El Ayadi, Rachik and Tozy 2007, p. 51-55). "Despite the proliferation of practices like pilgrimages and religious festivals, pilgrimage seems to attract increasingly fewer Moroccans" (El Ayadi, Rachik and Tozy 2007, p. 61-62).

Note that, in this regard, a significant difference between generations has to do with the common posture of political tensions against the West (i.e., North America and Western Europe). "The common use of specific religious vocabulary reveals a generational and ideological break and a greater understanding of their religion, indicated by 56.7% of the survey respondents (El Ayadi, Rachik and Tozy 2007, p. 75). "Religious knowledge is trending upwards, not only among the well-educated, but in general. Simple practice no longer appears to be sufficient; rather, there is a growing interest in knowing religious history and doctrine better [perhaps due to the political involvement of Islam in the war on terror or other current events]" (El Ayadi, Rachik and Tozy 2007, p. 97). "The study offers empirical data about the secularization of Moroccan society. Moroccans increasingly support separating religion and politics: 41.5% believe that politicians should not be involved in religion and that religious scholars should not be involved in politics (35.4%), although 25.2% believe the opposite" (El Ayadi, Rachik and Tozy 2007, p. 82). Additionally, "an important number of the survey respondents say they have no opinion about the matter. For the authors, after the 2003 Casablanca attacks and subsequent events, part of the population became disinterested in questions related to Islam and politics" (p. 114).

This disinterest might have been due to the possibility that such questions could lead to useless tension. This is striking, as the religious component has been identified as one of the most important aspects in the upbringing of Moroccan diasporas in the West. Which is why the central research question in this chapter, as mentioned in chapter three, is: *is diasporic philanthropy more successful in crossing borders in global civic society and reaching its philanthropic objective when driven by faith-based motivations*? I address this further when presenting my data.

Given that this chapter focuses on the Moroccan diaspora in the Netherlands, it is also important to outline the European context. As observed by Mahieu (2020) "Moroccan migrants constitute a large and widely dispersed population, with important diaspora communities settling in European countries in the past century, ranging in size from just over 100,000 (in Germany) to more than a million (in France). The Moroccan diaspora in the Netherlands falls about halfway between these two countries, with a population of around 420,000" (p. 231). Mahieu (2020) further notes that these migrant populations are a source of varied and important contributions to the country's economy and society. In particular, the high volume of remittances (estimated at around USD 7 billion per year) are second only to tourism as a source of cash income. Moreover, a large share of tourism revenues come from Moroccan migrants returning on holiday. As observed by Mahieu (2020), the Moroccan diaspora "… is often depicted as Morocco's "cash cow". Many own houses in Morocco, and at the community level, numerous small-scale non-governmental initiatives improve general welfare and contribute to local development in Morocco" (p. 232).

Throughout the 20th century, the Moroccan population abroad was growing, as was the flow of remittances and other forms of cross-border philanthropy (e.g., orphanages built from funds collected from the diasporic community). At the same time, the country was undergoing many internal changes. Social movements that had started right before the country's independence in 1956 had developed into a national civil society with national NGOs as the most important actors. These organizations were often managed and guided by elite Arab-speaking women living in the major cities of Casablanca and Rabat (see Ennaji and Sadiqi, 2006).

Despite the important role that these actors have clearly played in Moroccan civil society, the Moroccan diasporic population has also made major contributions to the country's development. in valuta, it is fair to make a comparison between the diaspora and the country's own civil society organizations (CSOs) (Fowler, 2021).

The available scientific literature within the field of philanthropy and transnationalism has emphasized several flows of voluntarism and philanthropy between continents, countries and communities (both religious and non-religious). To my knowledge, however, few studies have compared local and cross-border philanthropy or focused on cross-border philanthropy between countries with little or no colonial or post-colonial history (as in the case of the Netherlands and Morocco). Several studies have examined cross-border philanthropy performed by diasporic communities for countries that do share a colonial past (see e.g., May 2019) on the Pakistani-English diaspora in the UK).

Given the economic importance of the Moroccan diaspora, this chapter examines the effects of diasporic cross-border philanthropy from a country that shares no colonial past on

Moroccan civil society, as compared to the philanthropy that is performed locally. The importance or influence of religion (e.g., faith-based giving, *zakat*, *sadaqah*, *waqf*) is not taken into consideration at this point, but it is addressed later, along with the relative effectiveness of question mentioned in the title concerning the relative effectiveness of faith-based and secular philanthropy.

4.2   The   heterogeneity   of   the   Moroccan   diaspora   in   the   Netherlands
As observed by Mahieu (2020), the demand for inexpensive labour in Europe following the Second World War served as an important driver of emigration from Morocco. In fact, the labour treaties between Morocco and various European states that were signed during the 1950s and 1960s have been identified as the major factor determining emigration from Morocco in the 20th century.

Mahieu (2020) further argues that the overall pattern of migration from Morocco should not be characterized solely by the male-dominated and low-skilled wave of labour migration immediately following the Second World War. For example, the presence of Moroccans well before that time is evidenced by the participation of Moroccan soldiers in both World Wars. Migration to Europe was also driven by other factors, including the need to escape political repression under various authoritarian regimes in Morocco during the 20th century. Mahieu (2020) continues, "… after the abandonment of the labour recruitment treaties in 1973, Moroccan emigration continued, albeit in different shapes. […, Including female] family reunification, student migration, high-skilled migration, marriage migration, etc., thus adding to the diversity in the Moroccan expatriate population" (p. 231–232).

Over time, Moroccan migration has broadened to include a wide range of geographic destinations. The initial flow of labour migrants to France was followed by waves to Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany, all signatories to a labour treaty with Morocco. As noted by Mahieu (2020), "France was the primary destination, with population movements being anchored in the status of Morocco as a French protectorate until the Moroccan independence in 1956" (p. 232).

As argued by De Haas (2003), however, Moroccan migration to specific European regions depends on the migrants' regions of origin. De Haas (2003) further notes that: "… these patterns seem to be partly reproduced and reinforced by migrant networks. The northern Rif Mountains, the southwestern Sous area […] have been the earliest and most renowned 'expulsion zones' of international migrants" (De Haas 2003, p. 109). […] "The provinces with the highest international migration rates are Agadir (Sous), Ouarzazate (which comprises most oases), and the northern provinces of Al Hoceima, Nador, and, to a lesser degree, Oujda" (Refass 1990, p. 228). "The Rif, the Sous, and the southern oases […] form the principal 'migration belts' extended and transformed in the twentieth century following colonization, state formation, and modernization" (De Haas 2003, p. 109).

Several factors explain why international migration has predominantly occurred from these regions. "First, it has been argued that in Morocco the most intensive out-migration has typically occurred in rural regions characterized by low rainfall" (Bencherifa 1996, p. 404) "and high population densities in relation to limited agricultural resources" (Fadloullah et al. 2000, p. 53). Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that these areas—with the possible exception of parts of the Rif—are not among the most marginal in Morocco. For instance,

"oases that have heavily participated in international migration are relatively prosperous oases located in fertile river valleys. More peripherally and agriculturally marginal oases (e.g., , the Bani and mountain oases) tend to be far less involved in international migration" (cf. De Haas 1998, p. 58). Second, the fact that these regions had already established ancient traditions of circular migration within Morocco and to Algeria appears to have greatly facilitated their participation in new forms of rural-to-urban and international migration to Europe. Third, recruiters and employers in Europe generally preferred illiterate people, as they were seen as hard working, non-plaintive, and not prone to 'subversive' activities such as trade union membership. Finally, the Moroccan government actively stimulated labor recruitment from these regions. It saw migration as an instrument to decrease tensions in these poor, generally Berber speaking rural areas, which had a rebellious reputation vis-à-vis the power of the predominantly urban, Arab-speaking government.

According to (Fadloullah *et al.* 2000), "nowhere else in Morocco is migration as rooted in social life to the same extent as in the Rif mountains (p. 51). "The Rif was among the first regions to participate in labor migration to France in colonial times, mostly via Algeria" (Heinemeijer *et al.* 1976, p. 90). Direct migration to France and internal migration to central Morocco was limited, however, as the north was part of the Spanish protectorate, and therefore had developed little links with central Morocco and France. As of the late 1950s, the Rif entered a period of deep economic crisis, which resulted in a rebellion against the Moroccan state in 1958-1959. […] "Since the 1960s, the Rif mountains and surrounding areas in the north have concentrated on migration to the Netherlands, Belgium, and Germany. The large majority of Moroccans in those three countries are from the north. For

instance, more than three quarters of Moroccan migrants in the Netherlands originate from the Rif mountains (provinces Nador, Al Hoceima, Taza, Chaouen and Tétouan) and the region around Oujda and Berkane (Maroc oriental) (De Mas 1990b; Haleber 1990:139). France is also an important destination, but less than in other regions, which can partly be explained by the absence of historical colonial links" (Heinemeijer *et al.* 1976, p. 109–110).

In France, there is a larger community with roots in the area of Ouarzazate and the Atlas region. The separation in regions to which Moroccans immigrated has had an immense impact on the ways in which diasporic correspondents refer to their philanthropic behaviour towards the country of origin. It is therefore important to mention the relationship between the homeland and the countries in which diasporas reside, as the Netherlands and Morocco share no colonial past (in contrast to France and Morocco). Humanitarian assistance in the forms of philanthropy between the Netherlands and Morocco is thus based on a different kind of diasporic behaviour. The extent to which this is more or less post-colonial is addressed in the Discussion section.

With reference to the amount of remittances sent by Moroccan migrants commit to the homeland, the sense of belonging amongst diasporas plays an important role (see Bouras, 2012). According to Contreras and Martinez (2015), "over the course of the last two decades, the Moroccan state has created a transnational field of action that fosters a sense of belonging among those living abroad […] [and where] identities, sense of belonging, and unique forms of citizen development…are negotiated. These 'diaspora policies' consist of an array of measures, including ministerial and consular reforms, investment policies to attract remittances, the extension of political rights (dual citizenship, the right to vote from abroad),

and the extension of state protection or services and symbolic policies, all of which are meant to reinforce a sense of belonging" (p. 112).

In addition, many first-generation migrants have kept alive their initial plans of returning to the homeland, even after subsequent generations have found their way into the daily life of Europe (e.g., by becoming part of its education system) (Bouras, 2012). This has resulted in a complete generation growing up in one continent, while being told by their elders that the future remains in Morocco. Religious aspects are present as well, with ancillary material elements of worship, the inclusion of religious content in classes on the language and culture of origin for children of Moroccans and the creation of a symbolic language of belonging to a community defined by religion.

As stated before, in addition to the geographical importance of Morocco, religious aspects have played a prominent role in the upbringing of subsequent generations. As noted by Contreras and Martinez (2015), however, this has been accompanied by, "…ancillary material elements of worship, the inclusion of religious content in classes on the language and culture of origin for children of Moroccans and the creation of a symbolic language of belonging to a community defined by religion" (p. 112). This explains the importance of Islam and the Islamic identity within Moroccan diaspora communities outside of Morocco (see Werbner, 2002), as well as the visible contradiction with the country of origin. Though the official state and law are based in part on *Sharia* (Islamic law), the rest remains rooted in the French protectorate legal system, which was implemented in 1912 (De Haas, 2003).

4.3   *Methodology*

The methodology for this chapter is based on a narrative approach. Data were collected

through qualitative interviews with three different groups: Amazigh diasporas living in the Netherlands (N=35), Amazigh diasporas living in Morocco (N=30) and the social groups on the receiving end of the philanthropy performed by the first two groups (N=45). The first two groups were interviewed between 2019 and 2021, and the third was interviewed between 2016 and 2021. The first group of respondents consisted of five Dutch diasporic philanthropic organizations whose philanthropy takes place in Morocco. The second group of respondents consisted of five Moroccan non-profit organizations located in the capital city of Rabat, with a total of 25 volunteers. The third group consisted of Moroccan citizens on the receiving end of the philanthropy and volunteering performed by both the first two groups. These citizens were residing in both urban and rural areas.

The semi-structured interviews were intended to generate in-depth ideas, motives and opinions from first-hand observers. This was the case for both the giving and receiving parties for this form of philanthropy. Comparison of the two groups on the giving end was intended to allow either confirmation or rejection of the hypothesis that an Islamic civil society (as in Morocco) is best served by cross-border diasporic philanthropy only when it is driven by faith. Data from the third group were collected during the COVID-19 pandemic, and the interviews were therefore conducted online through ZOOM. The vast majority (90%) of the interviews conducted for this chapter took place in person, either in Morocco or in the Netherlands. Given that all participants were diasporas, they were asked about their personal reasons for joining NGOs or diasporic philanthropy organizations. They were also asked about their long-term philanthropic aims and goals. This was done by addressing the future of Morocco's civil society, their hopes for the future and whether they would regard

the act of philanthropy between the country of origin and the country of residence as an important value to be promoted.

All of the interviews conducted for this chapter were recorded, transcribed and analysed. Interviews were conducted in Arabic, Tachelhiyt, French and Dutch. I translated all transcriptions into English. Given that I personally knew and had engaged in similar philanthropic events with many of the interviewees, we shared a certain level of familiarity. This enhanced continuity in participation in this and subsequent studies.

The participants were between the ages of 30 and 55 years. Participants living in Morocco were living either in the urban areas of Rabat and Casablanca or in the rural areas of Ait Hdidou. Most of the interviewees in the Netherlands had roots in the Rif Mountains, which are located in the northern part of Morocco. In contrast to the Moroccan philanthropists in Morocco, those in the Netherlands were performing their philanthropy alongside full-time employment in several fields (e.g., financial services, academia, governance and art). The philanthropic activities of those in Morocco constituted their primary employment, from which the receiving end was able to make a living.

In the results section, I indicate the types of questions I asked during the interviews, as well as the types of answers that were given. During the interviews, the questions were phrased in an open-ended manner, so that the participants would feel free to tell stories and to write about what they deemed most significant (Bell, 2003). All interviews were transcribed, either manually (for interviews conducted in Arabic or Tachelhiyt) or using Amberscript software. After transcribing all of the interviews and my fieldwork notes, I coded the interviews. I used literary codes to organize the data into categories, based on

terms or vocabulary used frequently by the participants. The narrative approach was particularly clear in this step of the process.

The following are several examples of codes applied:

- Motivation

- Identity

- Setting (urban or rural, national or international)

- Upbringing

- Perspective

It is important to note that, during the interviews, neither of the Moroccan national philanthropists and volunteers working in NGOs acknowledged similarities between their own volunteering and philanthropy and those of the Dutch-Moroccan philanthropists and volunteers. They regarded their own activities as engagement in Moroccan civil society. In contrast, the Dutch-Moroccan philanthropists and volunteers did recognize Morocco's national NGOs, although they did not express much eagerness to engage. As demonstrated below, both parties acknowledged each other's existence, but were active in the same civil society (i.e., they were serving the same recipients) without any form of engagement or collaboration. Assuming that the well-being of recipients is of high priority for both groups of philanthropic actors, collaboration is likely to generate better results from the philanthropic and voluntary efforts of both parties.

A survey of diasporic philanthropists and volunteers in the Netherlands between 2019 and 2021 indicates that Islamic aspects do not constitute the sole motive for diasporic cross-border philanthropy and volunteering. Some participants even denied the presence of these aspects in their strategies,[6] even though they used Islamic terminology in their marketing on social media. They also added that, although they attach personal importance to their identity as Muslims, it does not play a prominent role in their philanthropy. At the same time, however, the combination of a sense of belonging and Islamic morality has led to the proliferation of diasporic volunteers in the Netherlands. According to one interviewee, these volunteers tend to use their Moroccan Amazigh ethnicity primarily to meet the needs of Morocco's lower social class, which have always been associated with the isolated, rural Amazigh groups in Morocco. I argue that the philanthropic outreach of this group of cross-border volunteers tends to be more effective than that of Moroccan domestic CSOs, due to the use of their cultural identity. It should nevertheless be mentioned that this argument should be considered valid only in light of the experiences of recipients.

All volunteers in the five Moroccan diasporic organizations in the Netherlands (N=35) had roots in the Rif areas. This suggests that religion had played a prominent, but not exclusive role in their upbringing. As previously stated by De Haas (2003), migration from Morocco flows from several regions. Due to the cultural diversity of Morocco,

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[5] All respondents have been given a code to protect their privacy. The overview of all respondents is demonstrated in the appendix.

[6] Due to privacy concerns, the organizational websites that were used to analyse the strategies of the philanthropists and volunteers interviewed have not been included in this article.

Moroccan migrants should not be approached as a single, culturally homogenous group. There is an obvious separation between Arabs and Amazigh[7] groups. The latter can be recognized through language, norm and values, as well as in terms of geography, given that most Amazigh societies are located in rural, isolated areas (see Ennaji and Sadiqi, 2012). Before the Amazigh language (Tamazight) was recognized as an official language in 2011 (see Sadiqi, 2018), correspondence with state officials had been a challenge. One interviewee (R34), a doctor who was providing medical care through a diasporic Dutch organization specifically pointed to linguistic differences between medical care workers and citizens:

> *Every time my team and I travel to Morocco for another mission, I become aware of this huge bridge that must constantly be built between the officials and the patients. This is the case in the Rif region, as well as in other regions where the majority of people do not speak Arabic. Although I don't speak every Amazigh language, I do speak the Riffian language and Darija.[8] This allows me to cover all the translations.*

When following up on his reference to a linguistic bridge by questioning its foundation, R34's motive was consistent with those of all other participants. More specifically, all Dutch-Moroccan volunteers participating in this chapter reported having served as a

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[7] A tribal ethnic group regarded as the indigenous people of Morocco. Amazigh literally means 'free people'. Known as Imazighn or, more commonly, Berbers, descendants of this ethnic group live in communities dispersed across Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Libya, Egypt (Siwa), Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso and Niger (Chaker, 1998, p. 14).

[8] The Arabic dialect spoken in Morocco and Algeria.

linguistic bridge between state officials/authorities when performing their philanthropic activities in Morocco.

> *Our parents couldn't help our homeland the way we can today. We are educated, we have our connections outside of our families, so we can do more than just send money.*

The interviewees' references to Morocco as their homeland directly highlight the importance of the diasporic sense of belonging in acts of philanthropy and volunteering. When asked why they did not perform the same type of philanthropy in the country of residence (i.e., the Netherlands), the respondents made reference to social governmental care. As added by R34's colleague, R138, who was also volunteering as a medical doctor:

> *The way our insurance plans work here in Europe is just not the same as it is in Morocco. Sure, there are doctors and officials to rely on, but a lot of money is still needed, along with certain social class origins, to provide for these specific resources. People in the rural villages, not just in the Rif area, are suffering, and I feel responsible—not just as a doctor, but also as a human being, as someone with roots in those same mountains.*

References to geographical context to explain the feeling of longing for and belonging to Morocco as the homeland was a constant in this chapter. For example, R149, who volunteers for a well-known Dutch initiative, referred to the village as being a physical part of her, in a spiritual way:

I feel like I meet a part of me, every time I set foot in the Rif. Even though I was born in Amsterdam, it doesn't feel the same as the northern mountains of Morocco do. It's home in a special way, and that's why helping these people—and especially the children in the area—get what I always had feels like a mission of my soul. Sure, I gain blessings through the act of zakat*, but it's more than that for me. I cannot get enough of it. I constantly feel the urge to go back and keep giving.*

The interviews were replete with nostalgic emotions, and participants often opened up and shared their most personal stories. Interestingly, the connection between personal motives and the act of volunteering did not emerge in the second study, which included national Moroccan philanthropic and volunteer organizations. The interviewees in that study described the overall feeling of loyalty towards Morocco and its citizens in more formal terms, in line with national political aims and with less emotion. The motives emerging for volunteers and paid staff thus differed.

One of 30 volunteers in an Amazigh organization in Rabat, R129 explained his motives:

My mother is Amazigh. She's from the South near the Todgha Valley, but she grew up in the suburbs of Marrakech. When she met my father, they moved to Rabat. I think it was because of his work, but I don't remember. My mother has always been a housewife, and I liked that as a kid. There was always someone home. But I also wanted her to be less isolated as I grew up. She had her own bubble in the neighbourhood but, outside of that, she didn't know anyone. So, what we do at the association is that we strive to de-isolate these types of women so they can become more part of society. It's nevertheless a big challenge to interact with them once

> *you've found them in the first place, because they are as isolated as my mother, and they often don't speak any language besides their own tribal one, which is often Tachelhiyt.[9]*

The difficulty described by R129 was also mentioned by another paid staff member, R127, who referred to these isolated women as 'those who do not want to be helped':

> *We've tried several campaigns in the areas where most of these women live, such as Salé and Tmara, just outside of Rabat. Most of them come from villages in the southern areas in Morocco, wanting to provide their children with better chances than they could if they were to stay in the village. Sure, it's great that the government wants us to include these women in our social movements, but what do you do if they don't want to be included themselves?*

The observations of both groups of staff members were based on the Moroccan governmental objectives for achieving greater development amongst rural Amazigh women. As stated by Sadiqi (2016), 90% of rural Amazigh women in Morocco are considered illiterate. The actual percentage of illiteracy amongst Amazigh women in Morocco is probably higher, as these figures do not include those living in urban areas. The both groups of staff members identified the challenge of not imposing their own ideas on these women with regard to the development they should experience. It was remarkable to note the absence of personal emotions in interviews as a whole. The participants in this series of

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[9] In socio-linguistic terms, the Tachelhiyt variety is an integral part of the Tamazight dialect. Given that the native speakers in the Southern parts of Morocco refer to it as Tashelhiyt, I refer to it as such in this article.

interviews adopted a more analytical approach to discussing their philanthropy and volunteering.

As mentioned before, because Morocco is part of both Africa and the MENA region, we can discuss the flows of giving and volunteering from the perspective of both literatures. With reference to Africa, various scholars have observed that sources of African philanthropy have become more diverse in recent decades[10]. According to Fowler (2021), "three processes merit attention: innovation in foreign philanthropy, growth in corporate social investment (CSI), and variations in domestic resource mobilization (DRM), including Diaspora remittances" (p. 7). Empirical evidence suggests that diaspora remittances continue to be the most influential from the perspective of recipients. In the context of national diaspora, such as those working in Moroccan NGOs, Ennaji (2016) refers to them as organizations who did achieve ground breaking initiatives but who could also be charged with a critical examination because of the lack of professionalism and national accountability. Therefore, it could be argued that the foreign (often also post-colonial) foundation of philanthropy is due to the fact that the organizational structure of most NGOs was fully inspired by associations existing in France. As observed by Naciri (1998), "…the contemporary women's movement owes much to the women who, for lack of better options, worked in philanthropic associations after having contributed actively to the independence movement" (p. 7). Ennaji (2016) attributes organizational problems to "…a lack of training, information, and expertise in collective management and initiatives, as well as weak communications (both internally and externally) and a heavy reliance on international donor

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[10] [African Grantmakers Network- A knowledge repository on African philanthropy - Alliance magazine](#)
(Accessed on March 13th, 2023).

agencies for financing" (p. 77–78). "Women's NGOs are usually characterized by pragmatism and clear objectives, namely improving women's socioeconomic conditions, integrating them in development and ensuring their participation in public life. They adopt strategies and actions that enable them to achieve sustainability through the empowerment of women with the support of the state" (Ennaji 2016, p. 78). In this regard, it is important to consider the perspectives of recipients, who are often described as the subjects served by NGOs. As well as to which extent the recipients do or do not agree with the strategies of the NGOs.

One participant, R131 (who was interviewed in Rabat), echoed statements made by other volunteers, confirming that the communication between isolated women and NGOs in Morocco did not proceed as she would like. She described herself as one of the 'isolated women' referred to in the previous section:

> *My husband left when my son was two years old. I've not been able to reach him ever since. He just left. My mother came from Ait Hdidou to take care of my son while I worked to provide a living for us. I work from 7 to 7, 7 days a week. Just across the street, in that juice bar. I see you coming in sometimes. It's nice to see people living abroad still speaking our own language (referring to Tachelhiyt).*

When asked why she had not requested assistance from local women's organizations, she noted her own inability to find these organizations:

> *And suppose I were to find them, what would they do? I would still need to feed myself and my family.*

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In their interviews, Amazigh women who had migrated from the rural areas of Morocco to Rabat repeatedly confirmed that certain needs could not be filled by outsiders. For R131, that need was to provide a living for her family. Several participants used language as a tool to describe someone as either an insider or an outsider. Amazigh women in both rural and urban areas mentioned language (or oral communication) as another major factor influencing their choices. More specifically, language either motivates or fails to motivate them to connect with volunteers (whether diasporic or local). Because most local volunteering activity is performed in the urban environment, however, it is automatically associated with the monolingualism of the Darija-speaking part of the country (see Sadiqi, 2003).

Regardless of whether they live in rural or urban areas, most Amazigh women, are illiterate and, presumably, monolingual. They therefore use oral genres to organize the world around them, thereby achieving personal and social 'gains' in their daily use of language. When dealing with volunteer organizations (e.g., NGOs), they assume that they will have to rely on people who are able to speak Darija or other official languages. Given that Tachelhiyt belongs to the Tamazight languages, its usage in daily life inherently differs from Darija. This maintains the gap between Morocco's civil society and its Amazigh groups, and it forces women like R131 to learn the official Darija language themselves. R131 added:

> *My neighbour owns the juice bar, so when he heard that my husband had abandoned us, he told me that I could work for him. Even though he's from Tafraout (Souss-area), we understand each other. You know how it works. I was taught Darija by my colleagues. Step by step, I knew how to find my way outside in the city, because I could ask people on the street if I didn't know something. You can't be sure that*

someone you ask a question in Tachelhiyt will also respond in Tachelhiyt. So I made it easier for myself and my family.

Participants in earlier interviews (held from 2016 to 2020 in Ait Hdidou) referred to the same ease with learning Darija that was expressed in communities outside the rural areas. This reveals similarity between communities of diasporas outside Morocco and those who migrated within the borders. As observed by De Haas (2003): "new forms of internal rural-to-rural and rural-to-urban migration evolved following the establishment of the French protectorate in 1912. Initially, the new forms of migration were an extension and intensification of older patterns of seasonal and circular migration. However, migration gradually tended to become more long-term and migrants tended to migrate further away and, increasingly, abroad. In colonial times, two forms of internal migration prevailed. The first was seasonal migration to agricultural areas in northern and western Morocco, such as the Moulouya, the Middle Atlas, the Gharb, the Tadla, and Doukkala. In 1954, an estimated 1,300 Todghawis, or 6.4 percent of the total population, participated in this type of seasonal migration. Like Algerian migration, this in fact concerned a continuation of older, pre-colonial migration patterns, which were, however, intensified due to the increased demand for agricultural labor at the modern farms established by *colons* [colonizers]. The second type of internal migration was the movement to the cities located on the Atlantic coast, notably Casablanca and Rabat. This region increasingly developed into the industrial and urban heartland of modernizing Morocco, which attracted an increasing number of migrants [from the South]" (pp. 159–160).

The participants in this chapter (e.g., R131 and the isolated women in Salé, as mentioned in earlier interviews) could be regarded as members of these groups. De Haas (2003) continues, "modern rural-to-urban labor migration started in the early 1940s, and rapidly increased afterwards. More than seasonal migration, this rural-to-urban migration was a deviation from pre-colonial migration patterns. In comparison to seasonal migration, this migration was relatively long-term, with most migrants settling on a semi-permanent basis in new quarters or slums of the swelling cities. From the Todgha, rural-to-urban migration was particularly directed at Rabat-Salé" (p. 160). In contrast to these patterns, national and international migration did not take place in Ait Hdidou until the late 2000s. Older participants were particularly likely to describe the flow of migration from the village to other parts of Morocco as '*a move of the youth*'. R14, the owner of a café on the Avenue Allal Ben Abdellah in Rabat, referred to the village as '*the only place where Amazigh identity can survive*'. He moved to Rabat in 2001. He added:

> *There was no future for me in the village. And along with me were my peers. Some did stay, but they* [the ones who stayed in the village] *can't blame us for wanting other things. An easier life in the city.*

When asked about other actors (within Morocco's governance system or civil society) who could help to create this easier life in the village as well, he responded:

> *How can one* [CSO] *help you if they* [CSO] *don't know what you need? So, in addition to wanting a better life for myself and my children, I sent money back to the village so that they could buy whatever and whenever they needed something.*

R14's reference to CSOs in Morocco is similar to an experience shared by one of the diasporic volunteers:

> *We came to the village of Ait Hdidou and had all this stuff that we collected through our social media. Toys for children to play with, books, pens, you name it. When we got there, I became sick to my stomach. I realized we collected everything, except for the things they really need. And that's when I asked myself: do I even know what they need? I decided to ask the women around using a translator, because I don't speak Tachelhiyt and neither do my other Moroccan volunteers. Most of them are from other, Darija-speaking, parts of Morocco. That's when I learned they would be much better served with clothes, food supplies and healthcare. I had no idea before. I thought, 'We're Moroccans ourselves, even if we're living in the Netherlands, we know our country well enough'. The opposite is true.*

Another volunteer R12 added:

> *We* [diasporic volunteers] *think we can help our country by giving everything we didn't have when our families lived here (before they migrated to the Netherlands). But Morocco has changed, and its citizens have changed too, and therefore their needs. Sure, there still isn't enough healthcare, education or equal rights, but no research is done to learn exactly what people need. Morocco's own volunteers don't even know. How are we supposed to know? The money is collected before the volunteers really know what to do with it. It's the opposite of how things should go, and it's very post-colonial, if you ask me.*

Referring to the post-colonial aspect and his opinion on it, he added:

> *Every diasporic volunteer organization should do research first, and then decide who and how to help. They often don't know the law. I didn't either until the last years of my volunteering. I realize how I should have done things differently, but I didn't know any better. That's why my criticism is as loud as it is now. People* [diasporas in the Netherlands] *keep setting up these funds to collect money for people in need. Using pictures of people in Morocco living in a certain* [pathetic] *state. It's just not okay.*

This criticism was similar to that expressed by another volunteer R5:

> *I went along on the trip and thought there was going to be a big group of volunteers, but it was only me and a few others on the airport. We went to Morocco, and specifically to the areas where the generally spoken language is Tachelhiyt. But here's the thing: I'm from these areas myself, and I know from childhood memories that there are also people who are provided for here, who don't need our philanthropy, etc. In fact, they need other things. Not even medical care, but more tools on how to improve their mental health. Not a single volunteer is aware of that, I realized.*

Such criticism raises several points for discussion: the constant existence and motivation of diasporic volunteer organizations; the gap between these organizations and the country's own CSOs; the sense of post-colonial behaviour mentioned about both voluntary groups; and, finally, how recipients act in light of both forms of volunteering and philanthropy.

4.5 Discussion

As stated before, although diasporic volunteering organizations do include religious terminology in their online marketing and strategies, the participants in this chapter denied that their religious identity served as a motive for their volunteering and philanthropy. Personal motives reflected their cultural identity as Moroccans, rather than their religious identity as Muslims. This is in line with the importance of both culture and Islam in the upbringing of first-generation migrants in the Netherlands (De Haas, 2003).

El Ayadi and colleagues (2007) argue that Moroccan volunteers should be viewed as similar to diasporic volunteers. Contributing to the development of the homeland by focusing on isolated, marginalized (often Amazigh) groups as a form of public service. According to the results of this chapter, philanthropists and volunteers may mention religion in their online strategies, but it does not figure into their own personal terminology concerning their philanthropic and voluntary efforts. It is therefore fair to argue that both voluntary groups are motivated by a sense of belonging relative to the recipients. Amongst the participants in this chapter, international diasporas (e.g., in the Netherlands) did so through their Moroccan-Amazigh identities, while national diasporas (e.g., in the city of Rabat) did so through their Moroccan-national identity. We can therefore conclude that, although both groups were performing cross-border philanthropy, they were doing so in a different order, with different borders to cross. The striking finding that diasporic volunteers reach isolated, rural areas more than Morocco's CSOs do calls for further attention. As noted by one respondent living in the rural area of Ait Hdidou, R90:

> *Sadaqah from you or your parents is the same for us. We know it comes from a person of God (al-mou'meen).*

In this respect, the terminology on social media apparently makes a difference. Given that religion (in this chapter, Islam) can organize several diasporic groups who donate through money, gifts or time in a horizontal manner (see Fowler, 2021), recipients see the philanthropy of these groups as a religious act on the part of people who also share an ethnic identity. This creates a multi-layered connection between givers and recipients. In addition, the use of religious motives ensures that the audience of diasporic organizations are not composed exclusively of Moroccan diasporas, but also of others (e.g., Turkish, Surinamese, Hindu or Iraqi diasporas).

Although all the diasporic organizations in this chapter focused their philanthropy on Morocco, they also had volunteers of other ethnicities who had joined them in their mission. This suggests that diasporic cross-border philanthropy not only crosses borders between countries, but also between diasporic groups. Bound by a shared identity as Muslims, diasporic volunteering and philanthropy could therefore be regarded as faith-based. If recipients (both inside and outside the borders) describe the faith-based approach as more effective, however, further exploration of the possibilities for collaboration between diasporic volunteers from their perspective is needed. As demonstrated by the results of this chapter, both of these groups often cross the same borders.

To visualize the possibility of such collaboration, it is important to clarify the flow of current diasporic volunteering in Morocco, as reflected in the data. The current state of Moroccan civil society is depicted in model 4.1. The two arrows represent two flows of cross-border philanthropy. The solid arrow represents external cross-border philanthropy performed by international diasporic volunteers (e.g., those in the Netherlands). The dashed arrow represents internal cross-border philanthropy performed by national diasporic volunteers in Morocco. Each of these flows moves towards the same recipients: isolated, rural Amazigh societies.
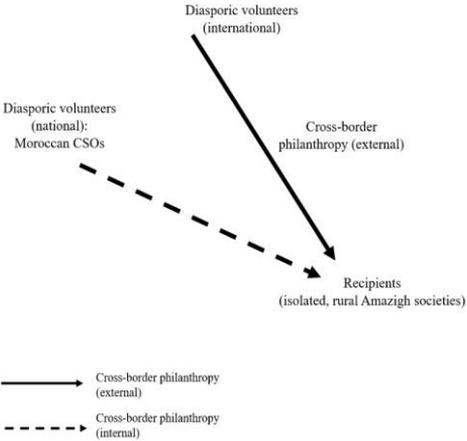
Model 4.1 The current state in Moroccan civil society

Combining these two flows could generate a new, perhaps more inclusive and effective perspective on diasporic volunteering and philanthropy, in which both religion and secularism are combined into a single mission of service.

Diasporic volunteers
(international)

Diasporic volunteers
(national):
Moroccan CSOs

Recipients
(isolated, rural Amazigh societies)

Cross-border philanthropy
(external)

Cross-border philanthropy
(internal)
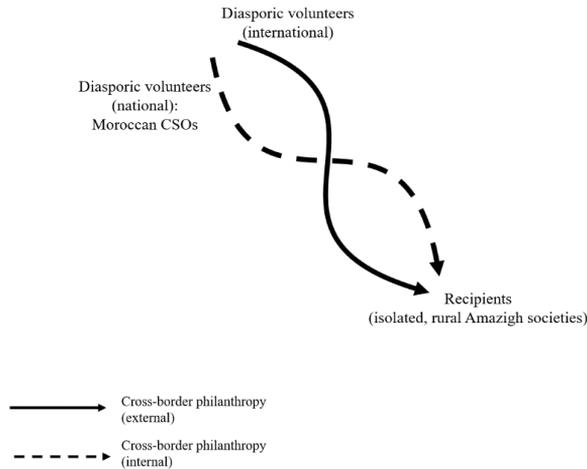
Model 4.2 Suggested collaboration in Moroccan civil society

As visualized by the crossing arrows, the combination of the two flows could expand the

philanthropic outreach of both groups, with recipients benefiting in a way they have stated

that they desire (i.e., greater financial security and stability). If both national and

international diasporic groups take this desire as the main force in their philanthropy and

volunteering, the configuration depicted in model 4.2 could be achieved. Such propositions

could create crucial points at which the true aim of CSOs could be amplified.

As mentioned earlier, this chapter shows that philanthropic groups both in the homeland

and abroad perform cross-border philanthropy. Due to their different diasporic identities,

however, they do not cross the same borders. For example, many diasporic international

volunteers speak the Amazigh language, which is necessary in order to reach the Amazigh

groups that they aim to help. As demonstrated in this and other studies (e.g., Sadiqi and

Ennaji, 2012), however, diasporic national groups in Morocco are lacking on this important

point. On the other hand, national diasporic groups possess important national insight and information that international diasporic groups do not. The results of this chapter build a strong argument for collaboration, as illustrated in model 4.2. Such collaboration could help to address the issue of financial dependency on international donors. More specifically, direct philanthropic aid through national NGOs could provide strategic support (e.g., rural-based, Tamazight-speaking). This could allow national NGOs to go beyond the priorities of donors, which are not necessarily aligned with the actual needs of marginalized Amazigh communities, thereby also contributing to the further elimination of post-colonial behaviour.

In summary, this paper proposes a collaboration between two types of diasporic cross-border philanthropists. This collaboration could eliminate post-colonial behaviour while greatly expanding philanthropic outreach to Morocco's often isolated and marginalized Amazigh groups. Finally, these changes could help to generate the socio-economic progress for which both the country's government and civil society have been aiming for more than 75 years but are still struggling to realize.

4.6 Conclusion and suggestions for future research

This chapter demonstrates the importance of diasporic cross-border philanthropists within Moroccan civil society and its development. Information obtained through empirical interviews conducted in Morocco and the Netherlands between 2016 and 2021 suggests that the different flows of diasporic international philanthropy have the potential to collaborate with actors within the country's own civil society. The information further indicates that international philanthropic efforts are apparently better than Moroccan national NGOs are at reaching the largely isolated Amazigh societies in the rural areas of Morocco. This is

important, in light of the observation of Sadiqi and Ennaji (2006) that "modernization [and the uprising of national NGOs] benefited upper- and middle-class women" (p. 94). Up to present times, rural women still suffer.

Literature relating to philanthropy and transnationalism has emphasized several flows of voluntarism and philanthropy between continents, countries and communities (whether religious or non-religious). A small sub-set of the existing literature draws comparisons between national and cross-border philanthropy from a diasporic perspective. Few studies have addressed cross-border philanthropy between countries sharing little or no post-colonial (or other) history, as is the case with the Netherlands and Morocco, which are the central focus of this chapter.

The findings reported in this chapter contribute to several fields of knowledge, including that of both global and local cross-border philanthropy between Europe and the MENA region and that of cross-border philanthropy between Europe and Africa. As stated before, Morocco occupies a unique position within from the perspectives of both Africa and the MENA region. An additional contribution of this chapter is that it provides an in-depth understanding of this specific type of philanthropy from the perspective of the recipients. Based on these insights, Morocco's own CSOs and the international diasporic communities could be invited to investigate possibilities for collaboration, as demonstrated in model 4.2.

Any discussion of international diasporic communities obviously concerns communities beyond those addressed in this case study. Further elaboration could lead to the development of tools that could facilitate cross-border activity for the various philanthropic objectives of various actors within the field of civil society. This could be

particularly useful for actors serving those who remain isolated, marginalized and segregated within a country with similar cultural, social and religious complexities (as is the case in Morocco). A final contribution of this chapter is that it further emphasizes the important role of Moroccan diasporas in highly effective cross-border philanthropy.

"What is silenced in the first generation, the second generation carries in the body".

- Francoise Dolto

5. 'To where and to whom do I belong?' The sense of belonging in the performance of cross-border diasporic and bicultural philanthropy

Abstract

This chapter examines how the philanthropic behaviour of cross-border diasporic philanthropists in the Netherlands influences their sense of belonging. It combines theories of migration, cross-border diasporic philanthropy and civil society to inform the existing understanding of a diasporic sense of belonging within the context of philanthropy. It provides an empirical exploration of the perspectives and motives of cross-border diasporic philanthropists in the Netherlands who perform their philanthropy in their country of origin: Morocco. The analysis reveals two profiles. For some philanthropists, the country of residence constitutes a negative reference, due to the experience of exclusion. For this group, cross-border philanthropy is intended to maintain the status quo in the country of origin. For others, the country of residence serves as a positive reference, due to the experience of inclusion. Therefore, the country of residence is used as a reference for social change in the country of residence. The findings of this chapter contribute to the existing literature on profiles of cross-border diasporic philanthropists, thereby enhancing understanding of diasporic and bi-cultural motives.

Cross-border diasporic philanthropy has been studied extensively in recent years. As stated by Faist, 'it is important to study how diasporas are constituted, with which consequences for the various agents and institutions involved' (2010, p. 11). This constitution could help to deepen existing understanding of the personal motives of diasporic philanthropists within the context of cross-border philanthropy. This is especially the case for philanthropy performed towards the country of origin, or the imaginary homeland of the philanthropist (Safran, 1991). This chapter focuses on the Moroccan diaspora in the Netherlands to provide an in-depth empirical analysis of *why* cross-border diasporic philanthropists give. This responds to the observation of Appe and Oreg (2022) that 'the research on motivations to giving indeed provides a foundation to understanding why individuals engage in philanthropic behaviour, highlighting a range of mechanisms…that seek to explain motives to give' (p. 1212). The study specifically examines these motives, in addition to investigating whether all cross-border diasporic philanthropists do or do not experience the sense of belonging in the same way.

The term *diaspora* refers to 'ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries. While maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origin—their homelands' (Sheffer 1986, p. 3). Diasporic philanthropy (also referred to as diasporic cooperation (see Kerlin and Manikowski, 2011)) is the act of sending private donations back to one's homeland (Bar Nissim, 2019; Koff, 2017; Newland et al., 2010). This includes the transfer of services and resources, such as money, labour and, increasingly, knowledge (Flanigan, 2017). In particular, remittances (often in the form of

money sent directly to family and friends or through intermediary organizations) have emerged as a significant part of international development and service delivery (Appe, 2017; Brinkerhoff, 2008; Mariano, 2017). However, Joseph et al (2012) reminds us to be careful not to apply the term diaspora to every different ethnic group in a host-land. They argue that "belonging to a certain diaspora group does not depend on essential definitions of race or ethnicity. Rather, it is determined by self-identification and participation in diasporic activities. In other words, one belongs because one chooses to participate and take part in the community" (p. 148), of which philanthropy towards the homeland is a form of such participation. Therefore, the central research question in this chapter is: *"how do diasporic philanthropists experience the country of residence, and how does this experience influence their sense of belonging and practice of philanthropy?"*

As demonstrated in this chapter, although cross-border diasporic philanthropy has not emerged as a separate form, the motives have changed.

A focus on reasons instead of on mechanisms can help to explain how diasporic philanthropy can simply be a result of individual charitable and philanthropic impulses (Sidel, 2008). Additional reasons could include a sense of obligation to those left behind, based on the relatively high income or quality of life obtained in the new location (Brinkerhoff, 2011; Werbner, 2002). This sense of obligation can be manifest in acts of philanthropy, and it may be connected to other motivations, including an emotional longing for the homeland (Flanigan, 2017). As a motivator, obligation overlaps with connections to a shared identity, history, destiny, culture and language (Brinkerhoff, 2014). Philanthropy is regarded as an act of 'expressing diaspora identity' (Flanigan, 2017), which can be motivated

by 'kinship, ethnic or national obligations' (Liberatore 2017, p. 159). This view has been challenged, however, as the assumption of a singular identity might be unrealistic, given the emergent transnational identities of bicultural generations (Ghorashi and Boersma, 2009).

In an examination of the process through which ethnic identity is formed within the Moroccan diaspora in Western Europe, Heelsum and Koomen (2016) observe that, 'within the process of (ethnic) identity formation, the migration context plays a pivotal role. It seems easy to assume that the dynamic and multidimensional nature of ethnic identity becomes especially heightened in the migration context' (Heelsum and Koomen 2016, p. 278). Potentially large social and cultural differences between immigrant and native populations can manifest themselves in clear or strong boundaries between these two groups (Heelsum and Koomen, 2016).

Due to a certain understanding of 'groupness' in society, migration has historically been seen as one of the prime driving forces in the formation of ethnic groups (Weber, 1978). As noted by Heelsum and Koomen (2016), however, 'contemporary definitions of ethnic identity point to the fact that the importance of the migration context should not be overstated' (Heelsum and Koomen 2016, p. 278). Any examination of ethnic identity should consider both the context in the country to which the group has migrated (in this case, the Netherlands) and that of the country from which they have migrated (in this case, Morocco). As asserted by Ennaji (2018), both countries play an important influential role in analyses of ethnic identity: 'diaspora does not cut ties with their country of origin' (2018, p. 3). Instead, diasporas maintain close relationships with their families and culture within the society of origin. The context should not be treated as heterogenous, however, as 'the

country of origin itself offers a large amount of cultural diversity' (Haleber 1990, p. 139). Diasporic giving can also have religious motivations (Brinkerhoff, 2008; Liberatore, 2017).

Whereas the motivations noted above might be tied to emotional reasoning, previous studies have identified several pragmatic reasons for giving. One is that diasporas give to their homelands for reasons relating to status (Sidel, 2008). More specifically, they are likely to be recognized and praised for their acts of giving. Second, for professionals who give and make their donations public, such philanthropy might simply be 'good for business', as their giving allows then to garner trust in the community and generate further business opportunities (Ghorashi and Boersma, 2009). A third group of motivations relate to the desire to transfer knowledge (Sidel, 2008), including 'knowledge and skills; cultural competencies and associated intermediary roles that diaspora communities have come to' (Brinkerhoff 2008, p. 414). Finally, "diaspora engagement in philanthropy has intersected with the building of diaspora communities and political mobilization. Indeed, diaspora mobilization and organizations of many kinds emerge and shape collective identity" (Babis 2016, p. 361). The latter process stems from the search for a sense of belonging on the part of a collective.

In the current study, the sense of belonging is understood according to the definition proposed by Rosenberg and McCullough (1981), which generally refers to a feeling of connectedness and that one is important or matters to others. As demonstrated by the results, however, these 'others' include both members of the same diasporic group and those who are not members. These insights add depths to existing understandings of the sense of

belonging within the context of diasporic and bicultural philanthropy at several layers. Which will be explained more detailed in the findings section below.

One primary contribution of this chapter is that it enhances the general discussion on cross-border diasporic philanthropy (through donations of money and time). Its results broaden existing profiles of philanthropists (see e.g., Handy et al., 2000). By focusing specifically on Morocco, this chapter demonstrates the non-negotiable connection between the act of cross-border philanthropy and cultural identity. In the case of diasporic philanthropy, the former is often driven primarily by the latter. Existing understandings of cross-border philanthropists are also influenced by spiritual experiences and familial contexts. Due to the presence of migration within the empirical contexts of our respondents, our contribution is also relevant to the field of migration studies. We adopt a contemporary perspective to examine ideas of first-generation diasporas concerning either 'leaving or staying'. Finally, we consider whether the result of staying continues to influence the sense of belonging amongst diasporas.

By contributing to the field of migration studies, this chapter automatically also contributes to civil society studies, with a specific focus on the global South. This is due to the constant motivations of diasporic philanthropists living in the Netherlands but performing their philanthropy in Morocco. This specific analysis of cross-border diasporic philanthropy could generate important insights concerning the effects of actors from the global North who are active in and feel connected to the global South.

Finally, given that it is performed by Moroccan diasporas, the act of giving (i.e., philanthropy from the Netherlands to Morocco) automatically opens a discussion on

diasporic cultural identity. The current study focuses specifically on this shape of collective identity and its important role in the act of philanthropy. According to the results (as reported in the sections below), philanthropy performed by diasporas was driven primarily by the thought of feeding one specific identity (i.e., Moroccan). This raises important questions concerning whether the notion of an identity having might instead ultimately reflect a collective search for an identity. And therefore, reveal how such an identity-search takes place.

As noted by Appe and Oreg (2020), 'the literature on diaspora philanthropy has tended to focus on the mechanisms that allow for the transfer of resources to the homeland and the motivations behind these transfers' (Appe and Oreg 2020, p. 1213). These authors describe diasporan philanthropic organizations as intermediary organizations, which are mechanisms for diasporic philanthropy involving ethnic and professional organizations. Neighbourhood and regional associations, hometown associations, faith-based or church-affiliated organizations, and other types of foundations are included as well (Brinkerhoff, 2008; Newland et al., 2010; Sidel, 2008). Some of these intermediary organizations have transformed from volunteer-based charity groups to transnational professionalized organizations (Brinkerhoff, 2008). In addition to more traditional organizations, online platforms (Appe, 2017) and crowdfunding (Flanigan, 2017) have emerged as channels for diasporic philanthropy. Studies have revealed that, because diasporic philanthropy performed by individuals often consists of small and medium gifts, 'intermediary organizations or online platforms are needed to aggregate and make impactful donations through collective remittances' (Kerlin and Manikowski 2011, p. 367). In addition, 'it is

known that motivations for diaspora philanthropy can be both emotional and pragmatic for diaspora communities' (Appe and Oreg 2020, p. 1212).

Philanthropy has been defined as the private giving of time, goods or valuables (money, security, property) for public purposes (Lehnert, 1992). Contributing to the existing theory specifically on the gift of time, Hustinx and colleagues (2010) demonstrate that 'a new conceptual framework which takes the complexities and contradictions as a fundamental part of departure' (p. 5) is needed. They further argue that volunteering is currently 'treated as a unidimensional category devoid of any complexity' (Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy 2010, p. 4). Despite their validity, dominant theories thus represent only one view (which is often a Western view). This dominant view should be complemented with more process-oriented accounts and attempts to 'de-familiarize' and 'enlighten' the body of knowledge and to broaden the possible points of view by questioning conventional domain assumptions (DiMaggio, 1995; Van Maanen, Sørensen and Mitchell, 2007). This chapter contributes to this ongoing debate by offering a more diverse definition of philanthropy.

Sociological interest in the systematic study of philanthropy can be traced back to classic questions of social order and social solidarity. In other words, it can be traced to the degree of integration within a society (Durkheim, 1893). It refers to the kinds of social ties that bind members within a society. Given its voluntary, unpaid and collectively oriented nature, volunteering represents a unique type of social bond that is distinct from ascribed status (i.e., the social position assigned to a person based on kinship, ethnic group, sex or other external characteristics). It is considered an essential and exceptional form of social solidarity that binds society together (Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010). The act of giving

time is a prime expression of core human values, including altruism, compassion, concern for others, generosity, social responsibility and community spirit (Wuthnow, 1991). According to Hustinx and colleagues (2010), "therefore, [the act of giving] is a fundamental expression of community belonging and group identity and contributes to individuals' social integration" (p.10). The focus of the current study is on whether the reasons for philanthropy and volunteering are similar within a diasporic context.

5.2   'Plans   changed;   we're   staying'–but   did   they   really?
For a better understanding of the diasporic motive, it is important to keep the historical process of the existence of diaspora in mind. As stated by Tabor and Milfont (2011), 'migrants' lives do not begin when their plane lands as only few studies consider the pre-departure period. This area of acculturation research has been neglected, perhaps because it is not about the interface between cultures. Rather, it is about the emotional baggage that migrants take with them to a new country' (Tabor and Milfont 2011, p. 818). This emotional baggage also includes expectations (Jasinskaja-Lahti and Yijälä, in press; Pitts, 2009; Zodgekar, 1990), family dynamics (Adelman, 1988; Bürgelt et al., 2008; Tabor and Milfont, under review), cultural identities (Tartakovsky, 2009; 2010), personality (Boneva and Frieze, 2001; Frieze et al., 2004) and motivations (Savicki et al., 2004). Studies of forced migration (e.g.,   refugees and asylum-seekers) have acknowledged how pre-departure experiences become a part of what makes up individuals (Ingleby, 2005). However, 'in the situation of adults deciding to voluntarily migrate to a new country, life before arrival is rarely examined' (Tabor and Milfont 2011, p. 819). Cross-cultural studies have been placing increasing emphasis on context (Tan et al., 2010). This leads to the essential importance of

examining pre-departure experiences to understanding the context of migration (Tabor and Milfont, 2011). In this chapter, the context of migration is narrowed to the one between Morocco and the Netherlands in the 1950s and 1960s. The absence of a colonial component might be especially interesting (e.g., the Netherlands and Morocco, the Netherlands and Algeria, etc.).

Europe's need for cheap labour after the Second World War was an important driver of post-war emigration from Morocco (Charef, 2014). Another decisive factor was the signing of a series of labour treaties between Morocco and European states during the 1950s and 1960s (Ouacha, 2021). It is also important to specify the regions from which diasporic groups primarily originate. Regarding the case at hand, approximately 375,000 of the 400,000 Moroccan migrants in the Netherlands are originally from the Rif mountains (Bouras, 2012). The importance of the geographical context of one's roots is demonstrated in a previous study on the motives behind faith-based philanthropy by Morocco diasporas in the Netherlands (Ouacha, 2021). It is re-emphasized in the current study on the sense of belonging.

"At the end of the late 1950s, the Rif entered a period of deep economic crisis, caused by little to no economical and societal investments from the government" (Heinemeijer et al., 1976, p. 90). This resulted in a rebellion against the Moroccan state in 1958/1959. After the definitive closure of the Moroccan-Algerian border in 1962 following political-military tensions between the two countries, new migration destinations were increasingly explored in north-western Europe (Heinemeijer et al., 1976). Within this context, high economic growth led to an increasing shortage of unskilled labour. Since the 1960s, migration from

the Rif mountains and surrounding areas in the north has concentrated on the Netherlands, Belgium and Germany. A large majority of Moroccans in these countries are from the northern regions. For example, more than three quarters of all Moroccan migrants in the Netherlands originate from the Rif Mountains (the provinces of Nador, Al Hoceima, Taza, Chaouen and Tétouan) and the region around Oujda and Berkane (Maroc oriental) (De Mas, 1990; Haleber, 1990). As noted by Haleber (1990), 'France is also an important destination for migrants from the Riff, but less than in other regions of Morocco which can partly be explained by the absence of historical colonial links, such as language' (Haleber 1990, p. 139). The case of migration between Morocco and the Netherlands does not involve any historical colonial links. It could be assumed that such links enhance social understanding of diasporic cultural identities. Due to shared history of the countries involved, the absence of these ties could be expected to cause the opposite.

Differences in the regions from which Moroccans immigrated have had a major impact on the ways in which diasporic correspondents referred to their philanthropic behaviour towards the country of origin (Ouacha, 2021). Many first-generation migrants kept their initial plans of returning to the homeland alive. The socio-economic situation in Morocco remained unchanged, however, which resulted in family reunification and second generations finding their way into daily life in Europe (Bouras, 2012). An entire generation grew up in the European continent, while being told by their home base that plans for the future remained in Morocco (Ouacha, 2021). These plans would never materialize. The sentiment was also kept alive in several ways within the private sphere. Examples include the dominant language spoken in the home (either Arabic or Amazigh), the social

communities of which migrants and their children become part, annual family vacations to Morocco and various acts of giving and gifting. All of these factors could be expected to have a major impact at both the individual and collective levels. They are thus also likely to affect the ways in which Moroccan diasporic philanthropists in the Netherland experience their identity as philanthropists and citizens of two cultures. This could result in a sense of belonging that always remains rooted in Morocco.

In a comedic sketch on a Dutch national television programme, a supposed Turkish resident blames his cousin—a second-generation migrant living in the Netherlands—for not sending as much money as his parents had in the past. Rather than measuring either the quality nor the quantity of their philanthropy, however, the current study concentrates on the motives that diasporas have for following their parents or grandparents in providing support to the country of origin.

As stated by Tabor and Milfont (2011), when examining the process of any migration, it is important to consider both *why* people leave their countries (along with their jobs, friends and familiar surroundings) and *how* they experience their migration. It is important to consider the experiences of those performing the move between countries, as well as of their descendants. The Stages of Change model (Tabor and Milfont 2011, p. 825) can be used to develop a deep understanding of the effects of migrations (see model 5.1).
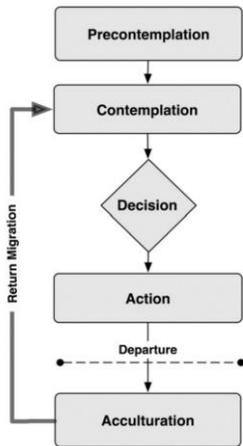
Model 5.1 Stages of the effects of migration

Model 5.1 consists of five stages, the last two of which are separated by the actual departure. The first stage is *precontemplation*, which characterizes a period in which the individual has not given any serious consideration to moving abroad. The second stage, *contemplation*, is defined by active examination of the possibilities of moving out of the country of origin. This period may begin before any opportunity arises to make this a possibility, or immediately after an unexpected opportunity (e.g., a job offer). In the case of Moroccan migrants in the Netherlands, this was the period of recruitment by Dutch organizations in need of labour. When potential migrants make the decision to move abroad, they proceed to the third stage, *action*. Although making a decision is a step in itself, the true psychological ramifications are not felt until action on that decision begins (e.g., applying for residence, purchasing an airplane ticket or informing extended family members). These increased demands lead to higher stress levels, thus demanding a coping response. The stress

and coping framework are often used to examine the acculturation experiences of migrants upon arrival in their new country (Ward, Bochner and Furnham, 2001).

Stress researchers have identified a type of stress appraisal known as 'challenge', which is characterized as 'eagerness, excitement and exhilaration' (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984, p. 33). Self-selected migrants might appraise the demands they face in terms of challenge. Stress could be expected as well, given the level of uncertainty involved in the process (e.g., visa, employment, adaptation to a new country). In a longitudinal study of Russian migrants to Finland, pre-departure stress was linked to expectations of socio-cultural difficulty and discrimination (Jasinskaja-Lahti and Yijälä, in press). In an earlier study, Adelman (1988) reports that social support was important both during the pre-departure period and after arrival. Migration-related stress has also shown to predict lower well-being in pre-departure British migrants. These migrants also reported better well-being and less stress when their partners were equally enthusiastic about the move (Tabor and Milfont, 2011). For people temporarily moving abroad, extended family members provide a great deal of emotional support (Ong and Ward, 2005). Conversely, people expecting to leave permanently for New Zealand reported a decline in support from their extended families after informing them of the decision (Tabor and Milfont, 2011). Social support from family remaining in the country of origin may therefore be problematic for pre-departure migrants. This is particularly likely to be the case for those moving across great geographic distances that make it difficult to visit home regularly.

Continuing in the model, migrants pass out of the action stage, depart from the country of origin and enter the final stage. *Acculturation* is the process resulting from intercultural

contact. This topic has been more thoroughly researched by psychologists than have the other stages in the model. The two most important aspects that migrants face at this stage are psychological adjustment and sociocultural adaptation (Ward and Kennedy, 2001). Within the new cultural context, migrants make choices about how they will cope in a society that is different from their own. The choices involve a relative preference for maintaining one's culture and cultural identity (cultural maintenance) and/or for having contact with and participating in the host culture (cultural contact) (Berry, 1980; 2005).

Berry's model of acculturation identifies four distinct acculturation strategies: integration, segregation, assimilation and marginalization. These strategies depend on the ways in which migrants relate to the culture of origin relative to the culture of settlement (Berry, 1980, 2005). Berry adds that historical colonial relationships could shorten the cultural distance, but that this is not always the case. For example, Algerians also experienced marginalization in France, even after their country had been its colony for 130 years (De Haas, 2003). The experience of marginalization can present migrants with an ongoing choice of whether to stay in the new country or return to the country of origin (Ley and Kobayashi, 2005).

In an early study involving a small sample of return migrants, Dashefsky et al (1992) identify 'cross-pressures' for remaining versus returning. The primary factors identified by their participants were family reunification (social networks) and adjustment problems on the part of family members (psychosocial adjustment). In general, a combination of social, psychological and economic factors apparently influences the decision to leave or stay (Constant and Massey, 2003). To date, researchers have not systematically examined the

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processes and stages that migrants experience before departing the country of origin and after arriving in the new country of residence (Tabor and Milfont, 2011). This constitutes an important gap in existing theory, as well as in the body of empirical literature.

This chapter involves an empirical exploration of how philanthropy influences the sense of belonging of diasporic philanthropists, based on the case of Moroccan diasporas in the Netherlands. It is done through the use of a narrative approach method. The research question is as follows: '*How does the act of philanthropy influence the sense of belonging of diasporic philanthropists?*' The investigation focuses specifically on the motives of Moroccan diasporas living in the Netherlands and performing philanthropy in Morocco. It also addresses how philanthropy may shape cultural identity and the sense of belonging. This chapter draws on qualitative data collected through semi-structured interviews and observations conducted between April 2021 and April 2022. Nine diasporic philanthropy organizations were followed through their social media activity, as well as through their online reports of their philanthropic achievements.

During the same period, in-depth, semi structured interviews were held with 30 philanthropists (18 women and 12 men) working in the same diasporic philanthropy organizations. Four of these philanthropists were interviewed twice, due to their leading roles within their organizations and philanthropic projects. An interval of two months elapsed between the first and second interviews. These philanthropists were active both online as offline. Due to the COVID-19 restrictions in the Netherlands, 75% of the interviews took place online through ZOOM, and 25% were held in person, taking the social

distancing rules into account. The overall group of participants can be divided in two groups: second-generation and third-generation diasporas. More specifically, second-generation respondents were born in the Netherlands to parents who had migrated from Morocco in the 1970s or 1980s, while third-generation respondents were also born in the Netherlands, but it was their grandparents who had migrated from Morocco. The parents of the latter group had either been born in Morocco and migrated at a young age or had been born in the Netherlands to parents who had migrated before the 1970s. As discussed in the Results section, however, neither generation nor gender had much influence on the experience of searching for a sense of belonging.

Given that all participants were diasporas, they were also asked about their long-term philanthropic aims and goals. This was done by addressing future generations and whether they would promote the act of philanthropy as an important value.

All interviews were recorded, transcribed and analysed. Interviews were conducted in Dutch, and the transcriptions were translated into English. Given that the interviewees had also participated in our previous studies, a certain level of familiarity existed, which resulted in continuous participation in this chapter. Such stable relationships enhance the quality of the data collected, despite the limitations imposed on social scientific research during the pandemic (Bania and Dubey, 2020).

The youngest participant was 25 years old, and the oldest was 45. All of the participants had roots in the Rif Mountains, which are the northern part of Morocco. All of the participants performed their philanthropy in addition to either (full-time) employment in

several fields (e.g., financial services, academia, governance and art), or unemployment in some cases.

The following are several examples of questions posed to the participants. 'What leads you to give to a certain recipient in Morocco?'. 'If applicable, what leads you not to give to recipients in the Netherlands?'. 'How do you feel after completing such a transaction, or when participating in a collective action to support the homeland (Morocco)?'.

After the transcribing all the interviews and my fieldwork notes, I coded the interviews, using literary codes to organize the categories. The categories were based on terms or dictions frequently used by the participants. It is at this point that my use of the narrative approach becomes clearer.

Examples of codes include:

- Motivation
- Intergenerational
- Healing
- Polarization
- Inclusion

When asked about their main motives to give to Morocco, participants often cited faith-based, Islamic reasons. With regard to the ends to which they intended their philanthropy to lead—besides a continuous connection to the homeland—participants' answers could be coded into two sub-motives: change and status quo.

When change was given as a second motive (i.e., as a sub-motive to the main motive), I asked participants to indicate the type of change that they wished to achieve. In their answers, they mentioned many examples within the social context of the homeland (e.g., better education, equal rights between male/female and urban/rural, local/regional economic growth). These sub-motives were therefore framed within the over-arching category of '(realizing) social change'.

In addition to those seeking social change, other participants mentioned other sub-motives for their philanthropic activities. Some were not interested in changing situations in the homeland, but in maintaining the situations as they were. This sub-motive was reflected in such answers as, 'We need to support people in their natural habitat', 'What they need is different from what we need, so we should follow their needs' and 'their livelihoods are simpler and more peaceful (than ours); we should help them remain within that context'. This category of sub-motives is framed as '(maintaining the) status quo', with reference to the recipients in the appendix.

It is important to note that, during the process of conducting and analysing the interviews, it became clear that both the main motives and sub-motive were always situated in the country of origin (i.e. Morocco), even if the Netherlands or another location in Western Europe was mentioned as an example of how equality should be realized. Later in the interviews, both the main motives and sub-motives continued to reveal more layers.

As shown in Model 5.2, the motives of cross-border diasporic philanthropists can therefore exist throughout the same first layer ('faith-based'). Going deeper into the

second layer ('sense of belonging'), another overall motive is demonstrated. However, the third layer ('social change') reveals a division. This division makes an important contribution to the profiles of cross-border (and other) philanthropists as developed in the existing literature. Some perform philanthropy in a search for healing and a desire to expand the inclusion they have experienced, while others perform philanthropy in a search for healing and a desire to create an act of agency towards the society that has excluded them.
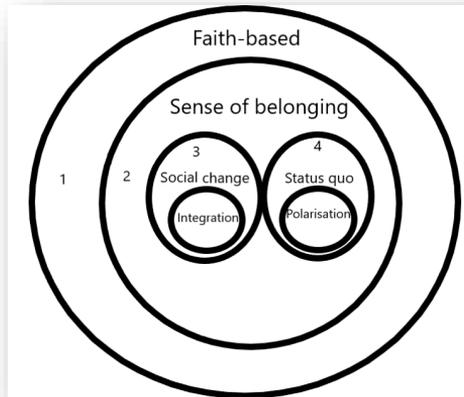
Model 5.2 Layers of diasporic motives to give to the homeland

In the following section, I demonstrate how these layers form the theoretical base for a deeper understanding of the emergence of a sense of belonging in the cross-border philanthropy of diasporas.

This chapter centres on the research question of *how* cross-border philanthropy engages with the sense of belonging on the part of cross-border diasporic philanthropists. More specifically, it focuses on cross-border philanthropy performed from the Netherlands towards Morocco, the country of origin of the diasporic philanthropists who were interviewed.

Inheriting   philanthropy   from   the   home   base
All of the participants in this chapter were raised with the performance of philanthropy as a faith-based, Islamic value. The data reveal no significant differences in the ways male and female philanthropists perform cross-border philanthropy. Gender has therefore been excluded as a variable. All participants, male and female, regarded it as 'normal' that their parents and grandparents had advanced the same religious, Islamic perspective. Participants often described this collective inheritance from the home base as a part of their upbringing, regardless of the generation to which they belonged. Throughout the data, participants constantly linked faith-based giving to philanthropy. Regardless of age or generation, participants constantly mentioned their Islamic upbringing within the private sphere as a motive for their philanthropy.

As remarked by R85, a second-generation migrant who had been volunteering in both Morocco and the Netherlands for five years:

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[11] For reasons of privacy, all names of the quoted participants are left out and coded.

I remember collecting money in the mosque after Friday prayer as a teenager. I was expected (by my parents and the local community in general) to join my mother. I often did when I didn't have class on Friday afternoon. The lady who takes care of our side of the mosque (where women pray separately from men) always gave me this plastic bag. I was asked to stand next to the door and ask women who were leaving the mosque to donate money. I don't remember anyone not throwing some coins in the bag, and the money was for the widows in our village in Morocco.

R95 also a second-generation migrant, referred to the Quran and added his interpretation to that specific phrase:

In Phrase 215 of Chapter two 'Al-Baqarah - The Cow', God told the prophet Muhammed: 'When they ask you as to what they should spend, say: "whatever good you spend should be for parents, close ones (such as relatives), kinsmen, orphans, the needy and the wayfarer; and whatever good you do, God is all-aware of it"'. I think God refers to close ones as the ones close to us who are really struggling. And if I have to decide who those people are, I automatically think of people I know in our village in Morocco.

He continued:

I support (financially) my parents, together with my siblings. This phrase also speaks about parents, or the ones who raised you. And I really think that's important. It is because of them that we get to live here and know little struggle.

Life would have been different if they hadn't migrated, so we owe that to them. But we also owe it to them to embody the way they raised us. So I give zakat every few months, and sometimes I just give the money to my mother and tell her to send it to people who need it. I consider the latter as zakat too.

Both R85 and R95 demonstrated that their philanthropy was rooted in remittances made by first-generation migrants. To draw the line forward into the present, however, we also examined motives other than the inspiration gained through the act of giving by the first generations. During one interview, R117 opened her heart with regard to this issue. She is part of the third generation. Her grandparents had been amongst the very first Moroccan migrants to arrive in the Netherlands in the late 1950s.

When my little brother passed away four years ago, right after my divorce, it really forced me to reflect upon life and what I want to contribute to humanity. I didn't know who I was anymore. One of my friends was volunteering in this organization, so I was able to join her on a trip to Morocco. We visited an atelier where single mothers who were making clothes that were being sold to shop owners in the local market. I spoke with a few of the women working in this atelier, and it made me aware of my privileges here in Europe. But because they were Moroccan too, I really felt a connection. This led me join the organization and, now years later, to lead the project.

When I asked R117 if her joining the organization had also led her to question her personal identity, she replied:

No, but I think I need more time for that. Yes, I feel a bond because they're Moroccan, but I do feel like I also belong in the Netherlands. A Moroccan-Dutchie, as they say. So I don't think I belong in any one (geographical) place. Maybe I belong in two. I don't know; time will tell.

A younger male participant, R119, responded:

I'm definitely Moroccan, but I'm also very proud to have a Dutch passport and dual citizenship. Sure, it can be difficult sometimes, because you can feel the force of having to choose between the two countries. But I wouldn't be able to do that. I do believe I have a responsibility towards Morocco and its development. Because my father didn't leave without reason. As a medical doctor, I feel this urge to help the country improve its healthcare system, and I hope to do that by continuing my medical aid as a volunteer.

The personal search for an answer to the question of belonging was mentioned in every interview conducted for this chapter, and all participants reported experiencing bi-culturalism. They differed, however, in the ways in which they used bi-culturalism as a motive for performing philanthropy. As mentioned above, participants were asked to identify their main motive if forced to choose between two options: (realizing) social change or (maintaining the) status quo. As demonstrated in Model 1, both answers continued to reveal additional layers of motivation to perform philanthropy. The choice between realizing social change and maintaining the status quo turned out to be the least important outcome. The choice was nevertheless dependent on the previous answer. More specifically, respondents who expressed a desire to realize social change followed

up with the perspectives held by people in the country of origin, often with a positive reference to the country of residence. For example, R118, the friend to whom R117 referred in the quotation above, explained:

> *I volunteer in Morocco because there are people who really need it. And I just didn't see the same type of poverty elsewhere in the world as I have seen in Morocco. I can't enjoy my time there (during family vacations) if I know that, somewhere close by, some people are struggling to survive. So, by giving them what they need, I hope to make life easier for them. Because my life is easy in the Netherlands as well.*

R115, a second-generation migrant, added:

> *The best way to help people, is to teach them how to fish. Instead of constantly feeding them. […] That is our responsibility (as diasporas).*

When asked whether he felt that his philanthropy contributed to his sense of belonging, R115 added:

> *Yes, but in a bi-cultural way. I belong here (in the Netherlands), but I also hold a feeling of social responsibility there (in Morocco). We should share our knowledge on how to improve society with the ones in that same field (of improvement) there (in Morocco).*

The quotations included above demonstrate slightly different things. Participants who perform philanthropy out of a desire for social change nevertheless share a constant search for belonging and creating an impact. They act from within a perspective that

reflects how positively different their lives are in the Netherlands. In contrast, participants who chose the second sub-motive (maintaining the status quo) revealed experiences of polarization and racism. This strengthened their aim to support the country of origin. For example, as stated by R121:

> *If the white man doesn't support people like me, why would I support people like him?*

In addition, R120 observed:

> *When it really gets to the point of treating people equally, we (diasporas) will never be treated the same way as our white peers. So I don't wait for them to reach out to the ones in need. I do it myself. Moreover, I know my country better than any foreigner ever will.*

The two quotations presented above reveal a broader desire shared by most participants, which is to invest in maintaining the status quo in the country of origin. All of the data collected point to a conclusion that this desire seems to be driven by the experience of polarization and racism in the country of residence.

5.5 *Discussion*

As argued by So, Lehner and colleagues (2021), rather than being forced to deal with all contemporaries, philanthropists describe a process of choosing the 'bubbles' to which they aim to belong. This element of choice and the companionship of belonging is an important process described by the philanthropists in previous studies. Some philanthropists have reported feeling free to make their own choices, strengthened by their cross-border

philanthropy. More specifically, they regard their philanthropy as their own deliberate decision, as well as an outcome and further extension of their freedom.

In contrast, our participants stated the opposite, pointing to the important recurring example of members of the first generation. Not donating, giving, gifting or being involved in any other form of philanthropy was simply out of question. Even though none of the respondents explicitly referred to an obligation (to volunteer or perform philanthropy) emerging from their parents, this assumption was shared by all participants and appeared on the surface of every interview. It would be fair to conclude that this reflects a lack of freedom, which stands in direct contrast to the freedom observed by Lehner and colleagues (2021). If philanthropy is done from the assumption that it is something that should be done, one could question whether diasporic philanthropists would perform this act independently if this assumption turned out to be false.

Returning to the previously mentioned model of Berry, in which acculturation is identified by four distinct acculturation strategies (i.e., integration, segregation, assimilation and marginalization), the relationship of a migrant with the culture of origin and the culture of the country of settlement influences the acculturation strategy that is embodied (Berry, 1980; 2005). This is especially the case when such embodiment can be recognized through an organization in which social, cultural and spiritual environments come together. Such immigration process could result in strengthening and therefore further shaping collective identity (Senkman, 1988). Babis (2016) adds, 'immigration is an event that challenges ethnic identity and requires re-evaluation of its cultural basis and its meaning, for both new and long-term migrants' (2016, p. 361). Thus, 'immigrant diasporic organizations serve as a

place for the construction of a unique collective identity, through festivals and customs from the country of origin' (Babis 2016, p. 361). Diasporic philanthropic organizations serve as a similar place to seek and find a collective identity.

As demonstrated in the findings (as reported above), all of the participants mentioned their history of migration as an important motive for their philanthropy. This is not surprising. Because, consciously living with the continuous expectation of returning to the homeland could lead second and third-generation diasporas to have experiences similar to those of their parents and grandparents. Even though they were already settled in the Netherlands, continuously going back to Morocco and returning to the Netherlands could create intense experiences that could may feel like a repeated process of migration and re-migration. The relationships of philanthropists to their migration histories might have been different if this chapter had included members of later generations, who would have missed this continuous experience.

The diasporic organizations in which philanthropists are active provides a needed platform. The experience of marginalization could confront migrants (and subsequent diasporas) with an ongoing choice of whether to stay or return (Ley and Kobayashi, 2005). Interestingly, none of the participants mentioned having experienced marginalization. This could probably be explained by the fact that they were socially and spiritually active within an environment that was subject to heavy cultural influence. The choice to perform philanthropy could thus be regarded as a combination. More specifically, even though they stayed (and eventually grew up in the Netherlands), they also returned—not to lead their own lives in the country of origin, but to support those who could not do it themselves.

In addition to providing a platform for collective identity, diasporic organizations also provide a space in which a sense of guilt can be transformed into an objective to serve the homeland. In this regard, it is interesting to note that the motive of the diasporic organization (i.e., faith-based or secular) does not matter (see Ouacha 2021).

For the philanthropists participating in this chapter, the ongoing choice to stay or return was embodied by a sense of compassion towards the first generations. Most participants mentioned as a persistent feeling of 'indebtedness' or 'guilt' towards the first generations, which fundamentally supported their philanthropy. This was felt and expressed extensively throughout the interviews. Feelings of guilt can be translated in two ways. According to one, the country of origin should be (or become) as developed as the country of residence (social change). Alternatively, the country of origin should stay as it is, but diasporas have a responsibility to support the livelihoods of its citizens according to their local standards (status quo). Both of these motives, however different they may be, reveal a political position or layer (see Model 5.2) from within which diasporas act—either from a place of integration or from a place of polarization. This observation can be used to develop two profiles that categorize diasporic philanthropists:

Profile 1: The philanthropist is driven by faith (Islamic), seeks a sense of spiritual (or other) belonging through a diasporic organization to (sometimes unconsciously) heal family trauma, aims to create social change in the country of origin out of a sense of political inclusion and considers the country of residence as the right example of a civil society.

Profile 2: The philanthropist is driven by faith (Islamic), seeks a sense of spiritual (or other) belonging through a diasporic organization to heal family trauma, aims to invest in

maintaining the status quo in the country of origin due to a sense of political exclusion and nostalgia, and considers the country of residence as the wrong example of a civil society.

The two profiles of cross-border philanthropists and the motives associated with each profile (as demonstrated in Model 5.2) follow Compion and colleagues (2021), who state that motives for performing philanthropy can be divided into three parts: 1) a desire to do good for the community (altruistic motive), 2) a desire to gain work-related experience to enhance their résumé (utilitarian motive) and 3) the desire to meet new people while performing philanthropy (social motive) (Compion et al, 2021; Andreoni, 1990; Holdsworth, 2010; McCabe et al., 2007; Smith et al., 2010). Model 5.2 contributes to two additional motives to the list proposed by Campion et al. (2021): 4) a desire to heal family trauma (socio-psychological motive) and 5) a desire to demonstrate the political state of the country of origin, as either inclusive or polarizing (socio-political motive). As demonstrated above, in the case of diasporic philanthropy, these two motives do not exist separately, but each forms a sub-motive within the broadest (i.e., faith-based) motive.

Upon further analysis, the specific motives lead to two specific groups, which initially proceed from the same group (i.e., faith-based, as mentioned above). As demonstrated in model 5.2, however, in addition to faith-based motives and motivation related to the sense of belonging, diasporic philanthropists are driven by a *bi-valent strategy*. More specifically, the strategy applied to achieve the intended objective can be recognized in two ways. Diasporic philanthropists may realize their objectives either through a faith-based approach or from a sense of belonging, albeit from a place of inclusion. For these philanthropists, the second objective is to deepen their experience of inclusion in Dutch society and to send a

positive message about life in the Netherlands. Alternatively, philanthropists may realize their objectives either through a faith-based approach or from a sense of belonging, albeit from a place of polarization. For these philanthropists, the second objective is to deepen the feeling and experience of polarization and to send a negative message about life in the Netherlands.

The popular motive expressed by participants in this chapter demonstrates the constant influence of first generations on their philanthropy in a manner similar to how Appe and Oreg (2021) demonstrate the importance of 'home' within the context of diasporic philanthropy. 'For diaspora, the saying "charity begins at home" and "home" are a metaphor for both the place and the cause which helps to explain why people give internationally' (Appe and Oreg, 2021, p. 516). This could also have been the case in the current chapter (i.e., why they give to the homeland/ country of origin). 'Metaphorically, "home" symbolizes individuals' personal, emotional, ideological, and, in some cases, ethnic and spirituality identities' (2021, p. 516-517). The paradoxical link between the habit of giving that started at home, which also is performed towards the homeland, raises questions concerning *who* is serving *whom*. This calls for further research.

5.6 Conclusion and remarks for further research

This chapter provides an empirical analysis of the motives of second-generation and third-generation Moroccan diasporic philanthropists. More specifically, it analyses how these motives influence the sense of belonging amongst these philanthropists. The results reveal a double-layered motive: to achieve social change in the country of origin (from a place of

inclusion) and to invest in maintaining the status quo in the country of origin (from a place of polarization).

When analysing the cause and effects of such motives, researchers should take the regional history of the diaspora's country of origin into consideration. In the case addressed in this chapter, the wide geographic diversity and historical events of Morocco have influenced patterns of migration and processes of integration (see De Haas 2003). Interviews reveal a correlation between an individual's political experience in the country of residence and the objective of cross-border philanthropy. All of the diasporic philanthropists in this chapter shared a collective sense of guilt, combined with a desire to compensate the first-generation migrants who moved to the Netherlands in the 1950s and 1960s. This was the case throughout all three generations. Diasporic philanthropists give and gift so that the efforts of their parents and grandparents will not go to waste. There is a widely shared belief that, by giving, they can convince their parents that their choice to migrate was a good one.

First and foremost, members of the second and third generations are confronted with a sense of guilt, as the act of migration was performed by the first generation. There is a shared belief that this guilt can be assuaged only by supporting the country of origin. Second, both the feeling of guilt towards the first generation and the motivation to support the country of origin exist simultaneously with the aim to heal family trauma and the aim to continue being good Muslims. Third, as demonstrated by model 5.2, having gone through the first, second and third layers, the motives of diasporic philanthropists can be categorized into two types: 1) cross-border philanthropy to maintain the status quo in the country of residence and 2) cross-border philanthropy using the country of residence for the right social

change. The first type emerges from a place of polarization in which the philanthropist has had to cope with discrimination and racism, while the second emerges from a place of integration and inclusiveness. In both cases, Moroccan diasporas in the Netherlands give and gift to Morocco. This suggests that the sense of belonging seems can be achieved only when acting towards the country of origin, and not towards the country of residence.

My conclusions are contrary to Ley and Kobayashi (2005), who state that the experience of marginalization can confront migrants with an ongoing choice of whether to remain or return. Such ongoing choice can persist even if the choice to stay is not made explicit. As noted by De Haas (2003), not returning to Morocco became a remarkable event as more and more families joined their husbands and fathers in the Netherlands. Because this was also done with the temporary intention of eventually returning to Morocco, many diasporic philanthropists developed a critical shared soul-searching journey. This journey is also revealed through their giving, gifting and the subjects they are supporting.

Finally, most participants in this chapter admitted that their bi-culturalism had created a collective question concerning *to where and to whom a diaspora belongs*. Such questions demand further research on the importance of geography and identity. The current chapter lays a foundation for such research by explaining how the act of cross-border philanthropy can provide a platform in which diasporas continue to live with this question.

"Out beyond ideas of wrongdoing and rightdoing there is a field.

I'll meet you there".

- Djalal ad-Din Rumi

6. Cross-border diasporic philanthropy and its failure to avoid post-colonialism and 'White saviourism'

Abstract

In this study, the layered objectives of diasporic philanthropy organizations in the Netherlands are compared to objectives held by colonial NGOs in the past—and, in some cases, continuing into contemporary times. Proceeding from a mixed-method approach, this study demonstrates that cross-border diasporic philanthropists who are active in the country of origin can have three types of objectives: (1) *change-ism*, (2) *conservativism* and (3) *romanticism.* Empirically, there appears to be little difference between such diasporic objectives and the objectives held by colonial NGOs (historically, as well as currently). Results of the comparison demonstrate that cross-border diasporic philanthropists may also have difficulty avoiding post-colonialism and 'White saviourism'.

6.1 Introduction

Cross-border diasporic philanthropy refers to the donation of time and money by diasporic groups to their homelands. 'The word diaspora, the dispersion or spread of any people beyond their original homeland, is both familiar and strange' (Faris 2013, p. 8). A diaspora has been defined as a social group of people living in one country, while having ethnic and cultural origins in another country (Brinkerhoff, 2008). The term has proved elusive and

difficult to define, however, given its association with 'an ever-broadening set of cases: essentially [belonging] to any and every nameable population category' (Brubaker 2005, p. 3). King and colleagues (2010) propose three concise and appealing defining criteria for diaspora: 'dispersion across international space, orientation to a homeland, and a clear sense of common identity sustained through ethnicity, language, and religion' (p. 36). Cohen (2008) refers to the definition formulated by Safran (1991), which states that 'members of a diaspora retain a collective memory of "their original homeland"; they idealized their "ancestral home", were committed to the restoration of "the original homeland" and continued in various ways to "relate to that homeland"' (Cohen, 2008, p. 4).

As cautioned by Lok Siu (2012), it is important not to apply the term *diaspora* to every different ethnic group in a host country. According to this argument, 'belonging to a certain diaspora group does not depend on essential definitions of race or ethnicity. Rather, it is determined by self-identification and participation in diasporic activities. In other words, one belongs because one chooses to participate and take part in the community' (p. 148). Philanthropy towards the homeland is one form of such participation.

In a review of motivations for and objectives of diasporic philanthropy, Johnson (2007) suggests that political diasporas or those created in response to conflict are less likely than other diasporic groups are to engage in philanthropy. There are several notable exceptions. Despite considerable obstacles, Vietnamese diasporas were remitting money their home country as early as the 1970s, and more formal philanthropy was initiated in the mid-to-late 1980s (Sidel, 2007). Conflict-generated, minority and faith-based diasporas can obviously be partisan, with a tendency towards providing selective support to communities and causes.

For example, several Hindu charitable organizations have been associated with the Hindutva (Hindu nationalist) movement (Anand, 2004), Somali diasporic philanthropy is frequently clan-based (Horst, 2008) and the voluntary sector is characterized by particularism (Salamon, 1987). Diasporic philanthropy is no exception. One of the main channels of diasporic philanthropy consists of collective remittances through hometown associations which, by definition, prioritize specific locations over regional and national concerns (see e.g., Orozco and Lapointe, 2004). As observed by Ouacha, 'both regional and national concerns are taken along in their strategies, but diaspora often tends to focus on locations where they have personal relations' (Ouacha 2021, p. 124). One example of such a location could be the village from which first-generation immigrants have immigrated. 'Referring to the geographical context as a form of explanation for the feeling of belonging and longing to Morocco as their homeland was a constant' (Ouacha 2021, p. 124).

According to Appe and Oreg (2022) 'research on motivations to giving indeed provide a foundation to understanding why individuals engage in philanthropic behaviour, highlighting a range of mechanisms […] that seek to explain motives [that philanthropists may have to] give' (p. 1212). Similar claims could be made with regard to objectives in diasporic philanthropy. In earlier studies, Ouacha and Meijs noted that the diasporic philanthropists with whom they spoke were quite open and willing to share highly personal stories that reflected nostalgic emotions. It has also been observed that the giving behaviour of diasporas pursuing faith-based objectives is more successful than that of secular actors (e.g., NGOs) within the civil society (Ouacha and Meijs, 2021). Interestingly, national Moroccan NGOs largely lack personal nostalgic and faith-based connections. Within these

organizations, the overall feeling of loyalty towards Morocco and its citizens was described in more formal, less emotional terms, and in line with national political aims (Ouacha and Meijs, 2021).

As asserted by Young (1994), material wealth leads to diasporic philanthropic activities within the civil society that are radical, in the sense that they are driven by important individual and community values. These philanthropic activities are motivated by normative commitments. They make moral appeals, and do not simply view the social and political field as an opportunity to maximize personal benefits. In such strategic thinking, 'anything can be traded against anything else for the sake of maximizing material benefit. Civic social movements often refer to activities of strategic manipulation for the sake of furthering the interests of the movement as "selling out"' (Young 1994, p. 85). In other words, diasporic philanthropic activities are likely to avoid causing too much distress and raising questions that are overly deconstructive.

As Young (1994) further explains, 'through outwardly directed civic activities, social movements create politicized publics of discussion and criticism under circumstances where state and economic systems tend to depoliticize social life' (p. 85). Modern systems of bureaucratic power and popular interaction are well-known within the exercise of depoliticizing political and economic power. Those in need are framed as being 'left to themselves' when dealing with modern systems and bureaucratic power (Young, 1994). As is the case in cross-border diasporic philanthropy, the exercise of political and economic power is depoliticized, yet similarly present in its philanthropy. As described by Young (1994), corporate managers tend to prefer rule-bound, accountable and routinized processes.

Similar preferences can be observed amongst Dutch-Moroccan diasporas with regard to faith-based, Islamic giving (Ouacha and Meijs, 2021). Through the acts of *zakat* (mandatory almsgiving) and *sadaqah* (voluntary giving), diasporas perform philanthropy as Muslims (May, 2019). Because their identity as Muslims plays a fundamental role in their philanthropy, and because the recipients are also considered Muslim, the same question could be raised with regard to their possible strategic manipulation. This could result from a desire to advance both the organizational and individual objectives of the movement in the homeland.

6.2 Diasporic saving behaviour: Is it also 'White'?

In addition to the search for belonging, diasporic philanthropy is also based on the aim of doing good within the homeland. The general idea is to give something back from what has been earned in the country of residence that will be of value to the homeland. The relatively high income or quality of life that diasporas have achieved in the new country of residence could lead them to feel a sense of responsibility for those left behind in the homeland (Brinkerhoff, 2011; Werbner, 2002). This sense of responsibility can be manifest through acts of philanthropy, and it can be connected to other motivations, including an emotional longing for the homeland (Flanigan, 2017). As a motivator, obligation has been shown to overlap with connections to a shared identity, history, destiny, culture and language (Brinkerhoff, 2014). It is considered an act of 'expressing diaspora identity' (Flanigan, 2017), which can be motivated by 'kinship, ethnic or national obligations' (Liberatore 2017, p. 159). At the same time, a sense of belonging towards the homeland is at play within diasporic nonprofit organizations. They continue to feel an urge to make a difference, with

constant reference to the relative failure of local governance in the homeland (Ennaji, 2020). The characterizations of diasporic philanthropists do indeed refer to their loyalty towards the homeland (Ennaji, 2020). Within the context of diasporic objectives for giving, however, only limited research is available on how diasporic philanthropists perceive their homelands (May, 2008).

Differences in the ways in which people refer to diasporic philanthropists have to do with either defining conditions (e.g., one is a diasporic philanthropist if one performs philanthropy towards the homeland, as part of a diaspora) or objectives of cross-border diasporic philanthropy. Diasporic organizations enter the homeland with the will to support the poor, while also seeking to provide organizations in the homeland with models for how to succeed in their philanthropy and intended development (May, 2019). For example, a study conducted in Pakistan identifies an array of objectives, ranging from personal benefit (e.g., recognition) to the benefit of local areas of origin (May, 2019), and from the institutional to the political (Najam et al, 2007).

As addressed by Ennaji (2020), diasporic philanthropists could make it appear as if they know 'better' than any other foreign CSOs in the homeland. Because it is done by 'insiders', philanthropy performed by diasporas in the home country (i.e., domestic diasporic philanthropists), post-colonial behaviour is not expected within this context. This assumption apparently excludes the possibility that diasporic philanthropists may approach the homeland with a Western perspective on 'how it should be'. In practice, however, such philanthropy could indeed be based on Western norms, thereby revealing potential

differences in the ways in which diasporic philanthropists might experience their countries of residence.

Led by Western norms and referring to them as the 'ideal' or 'most developed' may appear to reflect a 'post-colonial image'. According to Said's theory of post-colonialism (1978) a post-colonial image is based on a 'false image', as fabricated by Western explorers, poets, novelists, philosophers, political theorists, economists and imperial administrators. As summarized by Hamadi (2014), a false image of a region refers to it 'as the primitive, uncivilized other, according to Said, along with an attempt to create it as the contrast to the advanced and civilized West' (Hamadi 2014, p. 40). These comments refer to former colonies of European nation-states (e.g., Egypt and Palestine in the case of Great Britain and Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, in the case of France). Said was nevertheless convinced that 'a powerful colonizer has imposed a language and a culture' (Hamadi 2014, p. 42), all in the name of enlightening, civilizing, and humanizing the colonized regions (Hamadi 2014; Said 1978). The contrast with the advanced West may still exist, and its persistence may be fed by long-standing (albeit inaccurate) images.

In contrast to Said, Fanon (1968) adopts a more psychological approach to the identification of colonial (and post-colonial) effects. As summarized by Maldonado-Terres (2017), 'Fanon sought to identify the basic components of an attitude that could lead human beings to become agents, both in thinking and practice, in a context that persists in understanding and organizing humanity in terms of the production of boundaries that segregate human beings and that deprive subjects and groups' (p. 435). Fanon's (1968) attention to these attitudes led to an approach with a focus on identifying self-deception, as

expressed in the title of the ground-breaking work, '*Black Skin, White Masks*. Although Black (or non-White) individuals may present themselves as decolonized, their approach to various aspects of life reflects the complete opposite. Fanon calls for a more psychoanalytical perspective with regard to decolonization. Although colonized societies tended to take pride in their Black, non-White ethnic and cultural identities, their behaviour was more White than they admitted—or even dared to admit (Fanon, 1968).

Within the context of cross-border philanthropy, the objectives referred to by Said (1978) could also be described as reflecting 'White saviourism'—a phenomenon in which young, White philanthropists from the Global North take their Western norms and standards as the main objective in their philanthropy (Germann Molz, 2016). As suggested by the existing literature, White saviourism is not restricted to White philanthropists. It can be exhibited by people of all genders, ages and ethnicities (Van Overbeeke and Ouacha, 2022). By empirically replacing the concept of a White, Western philanthropist with that of a diasporic philanthropist, this study aims to answer the following main question: *Can diasporic philanthropists avoid post-colonialism?* It thus identifies 'false, post-colonial' images that are active amongst diasporic philanthropists who are unconsciously driven by a sense of White saviourism in their acts of cross-border diasporic philanthropy.

6.3 Methodology

The data for this study were collected and analysed according to a mixed-method approach. Narrative participant observation was conducted in five diasporic philanthropy organizations and supplemented by (40) semi-structured interviews. Social-media content of the same organizations was analysed from a phenomenological perspective.

Data gathered through narrative methods focus primarily on the personal experiences and life stories of the research participants, as shared during interviews (Riessman, 1993). The method portrays the participants involved as humans who, both individually and socially, are story-telling organisms who lead 'storied lives'. Studies conducted from the narrative approach are thus conducted according to the ways in which humans experience the world (Connelly and Clandinin, 1990).

In the current study, 40 semi-structured interviews ($N = 40$) were conducted between August 2020 and May 2022. The five organizations in which the observations and interviews were conducted were based in the Netherlands but performed their philanthropy in Morocco. During the interviews, first-generation (5) and second-generation (35) Dutch-Moroccan philanthropists were asked about their philanthropy in Morocco. The gender composition of the sample was approximately equal (18 men and 22 women). Interestingly, gender and generational differences did not explain any differences in the views of respondents. All interviews were conducted in Dutch, the fieldnotes were written in Dutch and both sets of data were analysed in Dutch. During the coding process, codes were translated into English by the author, as were the quotations presented in this chapter.

The semi-structured interviews were divided into three main topics. The first part focused on why the interviewees performed philanthropy in their country of origin. The second part addressed what they aimed to achieve through their philanthropy, and the third section concerned how they viewed their homeland (Morocco). These topics were explored according to several questions. Examples include 'Why did you join a diasporic philanthropy

organization that is active in the homeland (Morocco)?' and 'What do you gain from joining a diasporic philanthropy organization in the homeland (Morocco)?'

During the interviews, the main objectives presented by the participants appeared to be framed as faith-based, but only on the surface. Upon further interrogation, however, they talked about other personal and philanthropic objectives. To arrive at this point during the interviews, however, I was at times obliged to repeat or rephrase questions I had already asked. In other interviews, this led to the emergence of development-driven objectives. Depending on whether the participants were comfortable with the interview being recorded, transcriptions of the interviews were made either manually (for interviews that were not recorded) or using *Amber Script* software (for recorded interviews). If a participant was not comfortable with the interview being recorded, information was noted during the interview and subsequently written out extensively. In all, 14 interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed, and 26 interviews were conducted without audio-recording. The privacy of all participants was protected throughout the study through the use of pseudonyms.

From August 2020 to May 2022, 532 social media posts were retrieved from the Instagram and Facebook pages of the five diasporic philanthropy organizations included in the study. These posts were analysed according to the phenomenological method, 'an approach to research that seeks to describe the essence of a phenomenon by exploring it from the perspective of those who have experienced it' (Teherani et al., 2015, p. 669). This is because 'in the hermeneutic approach to phenomenology, theories can help to focus inquiry, to make decisions about research participants, and the way research questions can be addressed' (Lopez and Willis 2004, p. 726). The focus of the inquiry was guided by Said's

(1978) theory on orientalism and White saviourism, along with the associated criteria. The analysis was performed with an emphasis on the following criteria: language used (e.g., Dutch, Moroccan Arabic or Tamazight); virtual resources used (e.g., photos, videos); transparency (e.g., results of charitable collections, projects announced); objectives (of philanthropy); and commentaries (which types of profiles commented under which kinds of post, and how they reacted). Analysis of sample visuals in social-media posts revealed no differences between the organizational and individual objectives. The visual embodiment of the perspective made it possible to understand potential expressions and their symbolic significance (Zhang, 2021).

6.4 Results

This study distinguishes three types of objectives: *change-ism*, *conservatism* and *romanticism*:

1. **Change-ism:** 'The current reality in the country of origin can be improved, and it is our job (as diasporas) to change it' (changing the homeland for the sake of improvement/development).

2. **Conservatism:** 'The homeland (Morocco) is the closest Islamic country (when calculating the geographic distance from the Netherlands), so our *zakat*/*sadaqah* should be given to them (the *Ummah*[12])'.

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[12] The Islamic international community.

3. **Romanticism:** 'It is the land of our (late) grandparents and parents; they were happy there until the economic and political situation made them leave', (often with reference to the sentiments belonging to first generations).

The quotations included in this section are presented according to the order of objectives listed above. As an objective, change-ism became obvious during the interview with one respondent:

> *When you look at the way our parents used to support their families, without having that much to spend, earning more than our parents should automatically lead to giving behaviour. I often get requests through WhatsApp to donate money for someone in need living in Morocco. Then I just transfer some money through the online link*'. – R118

This was further illustrated during another interview:

> *I'm quite busy in my daily life, so it's nice to see fellow Muslims and Moroccans being devoted to supporting the homeland. I just give them money; I trust that it will be spent well on the needy in Morocco. It's my home, even though I was born and raised here in the Netherlands*'. – R134

Both of these respondents performed their philanthropy through diasporic organizations in Morocco. From a more individual perspective, however, other respondents preferred to engage in *zakat* (the third pillar of Islam and the second objective in the overview above) independently. Inability to travel to the homeland was a popular reason for joining diasporic philanthropy organizations, although a sense of mistrust remained. Participants would refer

to the Netherlands as an example of what the intended development in the homeland should accomplish.

> *I acknowledge that we have social issues here (in the Netherlands) too. But it is never as bad as in Morocco. We can't have a good life here without thinking of those who have less. Even the ones who have less here, still have more than the ones in Morocco. This is why I will always continue to give to Morocco, until one day, hopefully, it becomes a much better country for the poor to live in.* – R130

While some participants quite clearly identified the growth of the online ethnic (Moroccan) and religious (Islamic) appearance of the diasporic organizations as their main objective for giving and gifting through these organizations, others preferred the opposite:

> *I know who they are; you see these people on Facebook and Instagram. I grew up with some of them in the same neighbourhood. It's the same every year, right before the summer, or Ramadan, or the winter when it gets really cold in the Moroccan mountains. First, they first collect lots of* zakat, *and then they go to Morocco and spend it on behalf of those who gave them the money. But God didn't say that. He never told us to use others between us, our* zakat *and the ones receiving it. So, I don't participate; I prefer not to. But sometimes, it does make it easier to donate.* – R142

Another respondent appeared to have the same thoughts on diasporic philanthropists for whom the performance of *zakat* as their primary objective:

> *Sure, they are our Muslim brothers and sisters, but that doesn't mean that I should just blindly trust them with my* zakat *or that of my family members. I prefer to do it myself, so that I won't have doubts concerning whether it will be spent well, or not. But when I don't travel to Morocco, it's easier to do it through the ones (organizations) I know personally. This way, I know I can trust them. – R143*

When asked whether a similar posture would apply towards other non-Islamic organizations, one respondent replied:

> *It depends on who it is. I know a few organizations in which Moroccans are not active. They know Morocco only to a certain extent, but never as well as we* [diasporas] *do—those who are from Morocco or whose parents are from Morocco.* – R125

Such answers were quite different from those of respondents who did not know any non-diasporic organizations that would (as phrased by one respondent) '*even care about our country of origin*' (R120). Interestingly, the comparison between diasporic and non-diasporic organizations was quite difficult to make within the population addressed in this study. Respondents seemed to focus only on other diasporic organizations, as they shared the same professional or personal networks. Other participants performed cross-border philanthropy without either interacting or interfering with diasporic and non-diasporic organizations. Although these participants did acknowledge the presence of diasporic organizations and the work that they do, they referred to their own personal experiences of the homeland, or to those of their parents or grandparents, to demonstrate their knowledge of Morocco as a society. These respondents also often spoke about Morocco with a sense of

nostalgia. They could therefore be regarded as diasporic philanthropists driven by primarily by nostalgia (the third objective in the overview above). As explained by one respondent:

> *I know* l'bled[13] *better now, so I can do it myself. I've seen much poverty as I've travelled throughout the country, I trust what I've seen, so I want to make sure myself that the poor that I've met will have my support (philanthropy). But when I see these posts from some organizations, I sometimes think, 'The poverty captured on the photo is similar to what I've seen in real life'. If I feel that, I may be more likely to trust them. – R135*

To make the organizational objectives more specific and easier to recognize alongside the individual objectives described above, I have selected a suitable social media post to illustrate each organizational objective. The posts are accompanied by a few criteria describing the objective, such that it can be recognized in similar posts. The names of the organizations and any hashtags have been omitted in order to minimize the possibility that reviewers and future readers will be able to trace these posts.

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[13] Reference to the homeland in Moroccan 'Darija Arabic'.

Change-ism:

Visual: Rural environment. Mud houses in the environment. Recipients depicted as grateful, happy, when looking at the food supplies and beverages. Food supplies and beverages seem to be basic: milk, bags of grain, flour, sugar and sunflower oil.

Text: A clear reference to Allah (God), the prophet Mohammed, and a religious reference (Musnad Ahmad, 2396). Reference to recipients as '*them*'. Reference to the target amount as 'the world', meaning that there is no end to what one should want to give/gift. Direct link to the page through which donations could be made. The use of emojis: hands put together as a symbol of 'praying' or 'gratitude', and the small red heart, as a universal symbol of love, kindness or affection.

Conservatism:

Visual: Rural environment. Mud houses in the environment, wooden stable on the right. Covered women (wearing a hijab) as both givers and recipients. Like the first visual: food supplies and beverages seem to be basic: milk, bags of grain, flour, sugar and sunflower oil.

Text: Referring to '*Ya Razzaq*'—meaning: the one (God) who decides the destiny for all (humans). Islamic prayers for donors/philanthropists who donate through this organization. Comparing the blessings of the receiving to the blessings of giving. An indirect invitation to continue giving more (through this organization), while also phrasing such donations as a divine gift. The use of emojis: hands put together as a symbol of 'praying' or 'gratitude' and the small red heart as a universal symbol of love, kindness or affection.

Romanticism:

Visual: Covered woman (wearing a hijab) depicted as if she is reminiscing about something while having a conversation with two other people (one on the left and one leaning against the wall on the right). Captured in a hallway of what may seem like a Moroccan home (based on the tiles on the wall, a typical feature in traditional houses in Morocco).

Text: Presumably referring to the woman as 'over 90'—with no specific date of birth. It is not clear whether the text is indeed referring to the woman, or whether the text and the woman are unrelated. The woman's appearance is interpreted in one way, as if there no other interpretation could be possible. Stating that she cannot take care of herself, without explaining why. Stating she is dependent on someone, without explaining who that someone is. Is it the organization? Is it an individual? Mentioning gratitude as if she is grateful. Nothing in the text seems to imply that the term gratitude refers to specifically her gratitude. The use of emojis: hands put together as a symbol of 'praying' or 'gratitude' and the small red heart as a universal symbol of love, kindness or affection.

None of the posts explains the reality of the people in the photos. I have no information on who these people are, where they live or how the diasporic philanthropy organizations found them. The posts also do not provide information on how they were treated during their contact with diasporic organizations. This gives the impression that the organization, making the post, hopes that its readers will make the 'right' assumption (i.e., the one that corresponds to the diasporic organization's objectives). It appears as if the diasporic organizations were using certain language (e.g., , religious terms) in the hope of attracting more donors. The posts do not provide the possibility of verifying whether the people in the posts had indeed agreed to being captured on camera, whether they were in need and whether they were being helped by the diasporic philanthropy organizations.

6.5 Discussion

This study demonstrates how cross-border diasporic philanthropists are driven by objectives that cover both the individual and the organization. According to Brinkerhoff (2014), 'diaspora philanthropy is not just a characteristic or behavior of diaspora communities. Diaspora philanthropy is fundamentally about diaspora identity' (p. 971). As expressed by Werbner (2002), 'the imagination of diaspora is constituted by a compelling sense of moral co-responsibility embodied in material performance which is extended, across and beyond national boundaries' (p. 129–131). Such moral responsibility was echoed throughout the interviews for this study. This sense of responsibility, both to the homeland and the diaspora community, is a driving factor for a substantial share of diasporic philanthropy.

Diasporas have several philanthropic advantages in addition to comparative resource impacts and the understanding of specific needs, locations and context in the homeland:

'With the buffer of distance, diaspora giving may be more able and willing to address more "controversial issues" than local philanthropy"' (Brinkerhoff 2014, p. 972; Johnson 2007). As explained by Brinkerhoff (2014), 'demographic distinctions influence diasporas' giving norms and practices' (p. 973). Demographic distinctions include 'features of the diaspora as a whole, including where they settle, as well as characteristics of individual diasporas and subgroups. Settlement patterns may reflect different origins of diaspora and waves of migration' (Brinkerhoff 2014, p. 973). As reported by Bhatti (2008), Pakistani diasporas based in the United Kingdom reflect their origins and experiences of the homeland (i.e., Pakistanis in the homeland are generally less wealthy and less educated than the Pakistani diasporas based in the United Kingdom). This diasporic group tends to identify more as 'Muslim' than as 'Pakistani'. In the United States, Filipino diasporas tend to be amongst the most generous (Garchitorena, 2007). In addition, 'Indian diasporas settled in Southeast Asia practice philanthropy that is more personal, less organized, and less institutional' (Shiveshwarkar, 2008, p. 137; Viswanath et al, 2004) than those in the United States (Shiveshwarkar, 2008). Such practice is like the manner in which Moroccan diasporas in the Netherlands practice philanthropy (see Ouacha and Meijs, 2021).

One question that could be raised in this regard concerns whether motives of *proper* morality, responsibility and greater personal practice make individuals capable of acting properly within the civil society and whether diasporas can do so without conveying a sense of supremacy, thus avoiding post-colonial behaviour in their philanthropy. Based on the analysis above, we conclude that this is not the case. It may be difficult to measure this as

both an insider and an outsider, however, given that visuals and texts could both expose and conceal diasporic bias (as demonstrated in this study).

The differences revealed in this study cannot be explained by different objectives alone. Although personal stories and items in the news may be inspiring to donors, they may still reflect characteristics of post-colonial behaviour. The potential lack of objectivity in such observations points directly to the main problem encountered throughout the course of this study. More specifically, it points to a dilemma: Should researchers who identify similarities between diasporic philanthropists and former colonizers create awareness about such similarities? Alternatively, should they remain silent about connections between diasporas and their homelands, as they may still be more personal than the prior connections between the colonizer and the colonized?

In contrast to former colonial agendas that were driven by national or international politics, this study contributes to the existing body of literature by demonstrating that cross-border diasporic philanthropists can actually be regarded as having an agenda as well. As demonstrated in this study, although the messages of these philanthropists may not be phrased as post-colonial or political, cross-border diasporic philanthropists are likely to pursue a combination of objectives. It is therefore fair to state that the performance of cross-border diasporic philanthropy does not involve the recipient at all. It is entirely about the philanthropists who do the giving. It also involves their inner worlds, which they claim is centred on the condition of the homeland, although this does not play out in practice. This situation is similar to that of colonial times, in which colonizers cared only about the

implementation of their own agenda, with little or no concern for how that agenda would affect the colonized people on which it would be imposed.

6.6 Conclusion and suggestions for future research

Proceeding from a three-fold argument, this study demonstrates how objectives are described in cross-border diasporic philanthropy organizations and how they are unconsciously driven by a sense of post-colonialism and White saviourism. It demonstrates how the outcomes of diasporic philanthropy could be experienced negatively by recipients, while the givers are apparently unaware of this. This situation inspired the examination of whether diasporic philanthropists are capable of avoiding post-colonialism and White saviourism when performing cross-border philanthropy. Our results suggest that this might not be the case.

Based on interviews with 40 cross-border diasporic philanthropists, this study divides diasporic philanthropic objectives in three categories: *change-ism*, *conservatism* and *romanticism*. Participants in this study were driven by specific objectives concerning what their philanthropy was intended to achieve. These objectives seem to resemble those of European nation states during the period of colonization in the 17th century. As stated by Said (1978), the present is a mirror of the past. In other words, the present cannot be understood without addressing the role played by colonialists in shaping it. A study French colonialism in Morocco would therefore reveal that what happened then continues to happen now. The interaction between the two continents (within the context of this study, the Netherland and Morocco) appears to be in a different package: diaspora. Individuals of Moroccan descent who were raised in the Netherlands are likely to hold an image of

Morocco that could be described as either in need of change, a space in which one can serve the religious community or a romantic image filled with nostalgia. Within this context, the 'White saviour' is relatively brown, but still in a saving role.

Proceeding from a mixed-methods approach, this study demonstrates that, in essence, the quotations of participants and the social-media posts of organizations seem to differ little from the objectives that colonial NGOs have had throughout human history. At one time, European nation-states colonized half of the world, with one main goal: to advance civilization. Proceeding from a similar aim, NGOs have come into existence across the globe. Cross-border diasporic philanthropists are driven by the mission to *bring* something (i.e., civilization and development) in both material and immaterial ways, while receiving a sense of *feeling good* in return. The difference between colonial NGOs and diasporic non-profit organizations is that the latter consider recipients as '*their own people*'. It is specifically this perspective about the recipients that that diasporic philanthropists use to justify their philanthropic behaviour in their home countries. This is the case, even if they speak about the recipients is terms that are nearly identical to the ways in which colonized peoples were described: as being in need of help, incapable and dependent. The results of this study thus raise another important question, which could fit into a conceptual discussion in further research on cross-border diasporic philanthropy: *If diasporic giving is successful while also having all the characteristics of post-colonialism and White saviourism, should researchers be bothered at all?*

"All our knowledge begins with the senses, proceeds then to the understanding, and ends with reason. There is nothing higher than reason".

- Immanuel Kant

7. A conceptual study of the researcher's positionality as a methodology

Abstract

Given the growing attention to sectional disposition, this study focuses on its possible implications for empirical research within the non-profit sector. I specifically address the research I conducted within a cross-cultural and cross-sectional research context to discuss and reflect on what is understood as a 'good' researcher in academia, as well as the extent to which this understanding leaves space for the bi-cultural or bi-national identities of researchers. I also address the advantages, disadvantages, possible biases and other influences that such personal features of a researcher could have on a specific research project.

7.1 Introduction

Although not yet common in all academic fields, Holmes (2020, p. 1) states that 'Student-researchers working towards a Ph.D. or Masters's [sic] qualification within social sciences are usually required to identify and articulate their positionality'. As explained by Savin-Baden and Major (2013), positionality 'reflects the position that the researcher has chosen to adopt within a given research study' (p. 71).

In general, the positionality of a researcher is identified according to three aspects: the subject under investigation, the research participants and the research context and process (Grix, 2019). To this, Foote and Bartell (2011) add that "…the positionality that researchers bring to their work, and the personal experiences through which positionality is shaped, may influence what researchers may bring to research encounters, their choice of processes, and their interpretation of outcomes" (p. 46).

It is precisely the personal experiences shaping the researcher's positionality that led to the problems relating to the possibility of a scarce distance between researchers and their research. In the course of my research, I became aware of the multiplicity of insider-outsider positions discussed by Holmes (2020). This multiplicity involves an outsider researcher and insider respondents (as perceived by either the respondents or the researcher). I refer to this as the 'outsider-insider' position. The second involves an insider researcher and insider respondents (again, as perceived by either party). This is the 'insider-insider' position. Finally, in the 'outsider-outsider' position, both the researcher and the respondents are regarded as outsiders. In this study, I demonstrate factors that could influence a researcher's position and how academics should consider such influences in the development of future studies.

The position of a researcher influences the manner in which research is conducted and what its outcomes and results will be, and it is often clearly reflected in the researcher's choice of topic (Holmes 2020; Rowe 2014; Malterud 2001; Grix 2019). Positionality can therefore be regarded as affecting 'the totality of the research process. It acknowledges and recognizes that researchers are part of the social world they are researching, and that this

world has already been interpreted by existing social actors' (Holmes 2020, p. 3). As Holmes continues to explain, "ontologically the insider perspective is usually referred to as an emic account, while the outsider perspective as an etic one. The terms refer to different ontological positions. An emic description or the insider's view of reality […] is situated within a cultural relativist perspective, recognizing behavior and actions as being relative to the person's culture and the context in which that behavior or action is both rational and meaningful within that culture. It uses terminology that is meaningful to and from the perspective of a person from within the culture whose beliefs and behaviors are being studied" (Holmes 2020, p. 5).

At the opposite end of the spectrum, the outsider's perspective is regarded in terms of realism. Possible differences across social norms and values are described as standing alone, apart from any general external standard. This is done from an assumed pre-defined reality, however, while also respecting the relationship between researcher and subject (Nagar and Geiger, 2007). In contrast to insider's (i.e., emic) perspective, the outsider's (i.e., etic) perspective is "…situated within a realist perspective, attempting to describe differences across cultures in terms of a general external standard and from an ontological position that assumes a pre-defined reality in respect of the researcher subject relationship. […] Etic accounts aim to be culturally neutral (i.e., independent of culturally specific terminology or references), using and testing pre-existing theory and are written in terminology that is appropriate to a community of external scientific observers or scholars rather than those who are within the culture" (Holmes 2020, p. 5)

The division between etic and emic is not limited to the output of the research or to the positionality of the researcher. According to Holmes "…it is central to the process of conducting research. While the terms emic and etic refer to ontological positions, the terms "insider" and "outsider" also refer to whether a person is an actual insider or outsider to the culture under investigation. […] [O]ne can aim to adopt an etic ontological position but be an insider to the culture being studied, and vice versa. Though it is recognized that aiming to adopt a position is not the same as having that position, and it is questionable whether it is genuinely possible to do that" (Holmes 2020, p. 5).

As explained in the introduction to this dissertation, although this work appears to be a collection of papers and studies, it has been written more as a manuscript, and this is how it should be read. Chapters two to six are designed according to specific 'storylines' within the larger story. In this chapter, the storyline concerns how each study—and the research as a whole—simply could not have been conducted if I had been of a cultural and social background different from that of my research population. This is in line with Holmes' statement on the differences between adopting a position and simply having it. My bi-cultural identity means that I have a position, which provides me with a different, unique positionality as a researcher.

In general, societies, movements or groups of people that include two main ethnic cultures are referred to as 'bi-cultural' (Grbic, 2010). The two main ethnic cultures exist simultaneously, and each has an influence on the sociocultural-political context within which they are both included. In the case addressed in this dissertation, the sociocultural-political context consisted of the Netherlands and of Morocco. In addition to being aware of

how my social and cultural background affected my research, throughout my doctoral programme, I have also become aware of how certain types of research simply cannot be done by every researcher. To a large extent, my studies are defined by my own bi-cultural identity. If they had been conducted by a mono-cultural researcher, the bi-cultural background would have been absent. This calls into question whether the methodological principles of doing scientific research—which state that it must be reliable, replicable and reproducible (Reid, 2020)—are of equal importance in all types of research.

As mentioned above, the use of my own social and cultural environment, along with my bi-cultural identity, as a crucial part of my positionality within this study is discussed within a bi-cultural research context. This dissertation is based on studies in which the researcher shares the same cultural identity as the research population and, in some cases, could even be considered the same. The researcher is thus also part of the research subject, simply by virtue of living and/or doing research in the same country in which the research population resides. Throughout my research, however, my unique positionality as a researcher in my own research has generated a broader perspective that can contribute to the insider-outsider debate.

Existing literature has traditionally positioned the insider and outsider perspectives at opposite ends of a spectrum. As stated by Merton, 'insiders are the members of specified groups and collectives or occupants of specified social statuses. Outsiders are non-members' (Merton 1972, p. 15). During the process of collecting data, participants often admitted that they would not have shared certain thoughts or feelings with me if I had been a different

person (i.e., if I had been of a different cultural and social background, or if I had never participated in mutual events).

As Holmes describes, '[s]ome aspects of positionality are culturally ascribed or generally regarded as being fixed, for example, gender, race, skin-color, nationality. Others, such as political views, personal life-history, and experiences, are more fluid, subjective, and contextual' (Holmes, 2020). In this chapter, therefore, I aim to assess and reflect on whether positionality is truly fixed (as asserted by Holmes, 2020), or whether a sense of fluidity could and should be expected, given that a researcher's positionality both has and is subject to influence.

7.2 The researcher's positionality and the insider/outsider perspective

Throughout my research, my involvement in both the country of origin (Morocco) and the country of residence (the Netherlands) raised several questions with regard to researcher positionality. What does this mean for the methodology to be used? Are different methods being used in the two countries? Can some research questions be addressed only by a bi-cultural researcher? What does that say about my identity as a researcher? How much of the research is comparative? Can any conclusions be drawn about differences in the data generated by a survey and those obtained through qualitative methods (e.g., a narrative approach)?

The emergence of and reflection on these questions led to another important topic—that of what should be considered the 'right' attitude of a researcher. This is elaborated further in the sections below.

In addition to the right attitude, the importance of distance relative to the research population was also discussed throughout the course of my research. We also considered what this might say about academic culture and the expectations that academics hold with regard to other academics. This study is intended to provide an in-depth examination of the positionality of a researcher in two countries (the country of origin and the country of residence). In this chapter, I invite readers to reflect upon the responsibility that bi-cultural researchers may have and that mono-cultural researchers may lack. In other words, readers should consider whether, at least to some extent, bi-cultural researchers could be regarded as both insiders and outsiders, whereas mono-cultural researchers could be regarded as outsiders. I specifically highlight researcher positionality in empirical qualitative research. As Hammersley (1993) states that "qualitative method, it was argued, could deal better with local circumstances, and presented findings in terms that are accessible and useful […] [it] was more attuned to the distinctive character of human social life, compared with the previously dominant quantitative methods that had been adopted from the physical and biological sciences" (p. 427).

In this chapter, I demonstrate how academics can approach the ways in which researchers affect their research and how these effects can be noticed in relation to the collection and interpretation of data, along with the advantages and disadvantages that should also be acknowledged.

Awareness of such nuances in one's positionality as a researcher therefore requires a certain amount of self-reflection and a seemingly endless reflexive approach (Holmes, 2022). Referring to the 'blind' area (known to others but not to self) and 'hidden' area

(unknown to both self and others) posited by Luft and Ingham (1955), Holmes observes "there are always areas of ourselves that we are not aware of, areas that only other people are aware of, and areas that no one is aware of. One may also…not be as honest with oneself as one needs to be" (Holmes 2020, p. 4).

Holmes goes on to argue that self-reflection and reflexive approaches should not be viewed as a guarantee of either clarity with regard to one's perspective as either an insider or an outsider or of quality in research (Holmes 2020): 'No matter how critically reflective and reflexive one is, aspects of the self can be missed, not known, or deliberately hidden' (Holmes 2020, p. 4). This may therefore affect the adjustment of the combined perspective of both insider and outsider.

The process of writing this dissertation made me aware of how important it is to question the influence I—as a researcher—have on my own research, simply by virtue of who I am. As demonstrated by Sorge and colleagues (2014), olfactory exposure to male researchers in the lab causes more stress in rats than does olfactory exposure to female researchers. If human gender differences can affect the ways in which animals react, therefore, other human differences (e.g., cultural and social) are also likely to have an impact other human objects of research.

In an editorial note, Toledo-Pereyra states that 'writing about…a good researcher represents a great responsibility since it is not simple to assemble in a concise manner all the important features and qualities of a good researcher' (2012, p. 201). The editorial proceeds to identify 10 qualities that, in the author's opinion, constitutes 'a good researcher': interest, motivation, inquisitiveness, commitment, sacrifice, excelling, knowledge, recognition,

scholarly approach and integration. 'The characterization and understanding of these qualities would be extremely helpful to those who are beginning the exciting field of research' (Toledo-Pereyra 2012, p. 202). The conclusion is that a dedicated, interested researcher is automatically capable of doing the best research. There are nevertheless many examples of researchers who have failed to do good research, yet who have had a dedicated interest in their subject matter (Toledo-Pereyra, 2012). In a similar vein, Schikowitz writes that "since the institutionalization of modern science, disciplinary communities and sub-communities have been the basic structural, epistemic, and cultural units of academic knowledge production and education. Disciplinary communities have been described as providing shared understandings of what should count as relevant problems, suitable methodological and theoretical approaches…[and] the kinds of findings that should be accomplished. […] Shared understandings of what makes a 'good' researcher (comprising norms of thorough professional knowledge and skills as well as moral attitudes) have been conceptualised as 'role identities', 'social identities', or as 'subject positions' in different disciplines" (p. 226).

Schikowitz (2021) examines 'researchers who were first and foremost concerned with which methods, skills, and motivations were valued in different research fields' (p. 225), understanding identity "…as a shared conception of how researchers should position themselves within different value repertoires…which differs between disciplines. […] These disciplinary identities are passed on through socialisation, and they are internalised, adapted and negotiated, or resisted by individual researchers through 'identity work'" (p. 225–226).

In contrast, Knorr Cetina argues that the challenging developments of the notion of a relatively exclusive and lasting belonging of individual researchers has been socialized by the sharing of a single disciplinary community, such that their contributions and reproduction continues to be directed towards that specific community (Schikowitz, 2021; Knorr Cetina, 1999). This automatically raises questions concerning whether researchers could contribute to several communities, while also managing a belonging that is not exclusive to the disciplinary community, but that extends to the research population on which their research is focused. Such a researcher could be seen as holding a 'bi-identity'. In other words, the researcher is simultaneously the researcher and the research subject. To the best of my knowledge, such an approach to research and the researcher is largely absent from the literature of non-profit and civil society studies.

As the scientific field has become modernized, changes have been made at the level of research governance and the approach to research. According to Gibbons and colleagues (1994), several initiatives have emerged to help researchers to become more mobile and thus to move more easily and frequently between disciplinary communities and the worlds of science and practice. Examples mentioned by Gibbons and colleagues (1994) include networking initiatives, collaborative research programmes and possibilities for combining several fields within the context of European higher education (Gibbons et al. 1994). Such facilities could lead to a more hybrid and fluid belonging on the part of researchers (Galison, 1996; Henkel, 2005; Darbellay, 2015; Hackett et al., 2017). As observed by Schikowitz (2021), researchers are thus not "…necessarily educated, socialised and employed in one disciplinary community that is also home to [their] collaborators, [their] reviewers, [their]

publication media, and audiences. Rather, researchers maintain different and changing relations to different communities and collectives. Under these circumstances, researchers cannot draw on a singular, coherent imagination of how to be a good researcher. In turn, the very meaning of community is challenged when there is a perpetual exchange of community members" (p. 226–227).

Interestingly, such exchange has not led to a different understanding of what a good researcher looks like, or how we can recognize good research (Darbellay, 2015). This understanding seems to remain in place regardless of the combination of disciplinary communities of which a researcher becomes part. It has therefore called into question the relationship between several disciplinary communities and the collective understanding of a good researcher. If this has not led to changes in the way science is produced, one produces science, such a statement might also apply to other relationships as well. For example, it could apply to the relationship between a 'good researcher' and a research object, population or empirical sample.

In addition to the qualities a good researcher should have (see Toledo-Pereyra, 2012 and Schikowitz, 2021), Holmes (2020) argues that we should also be concerned about the positionality of a researcher in doing research, even if it remains difficult to identify, as is the case for post-graduate students and their supervisors, as well as for researchers in general. Holmes (2020) defines positionality as "…an individual's world view and the position they adopt about a research task and its social and political context. […] The individual's world view or 'where the researcher is coming from' concerns ontological assumptions […],

epistemological assumptions […], and assumptions about human nature and agency […]" (p. 1).

In addition to being concerned about whether a researcher is sufficiently interested, dedicated and in possession of all the other qualities described above, this study builds upon Holmes' (2020) assertion that awareness of one's own positionality is of equal importance. In this section, I explain my own understanding of positionality, which I applied throughout my doctoral research, along with the afore mentioned insider-outsider dynamic and any bias that may have accompanied my positionality as a researcher. Finally, I explain why I consider it important to add these arguments to my dissertation in the form of a finalizing chapter and why I am convinced that this matter deserves further investigation through qualitative research conducted by bi-cultural researchers.

Throughout the entire process, my doctoral project, my influence on the research was fed by several aspects, both fixed and subjective. If these factors had been absent, I would probably have failed in attempting this specific research. It would have been much more difficult to explain my choice of subject, my research respondents and my interpretation of data. All aspects have been crucial in the process of writing this dissertation. Nevertheless, the previously proposed methodology paper should help to verify whether my context was purely personal, or whether other researchers active within the field of non-profit and civil society studies share the experience of several aspects influencing their research.

Some scholars (e.g., Hammersley, 1993) have claimed that research findings are irrelevant and often invalid when studies have been carried out by outsiders. As added by

Hammersley (1993), however, only limited truth is contained within such statements, especially when "…it is suggested that only those actually involved in a social situation can truly understand it […] [D]irect experience of, or closeness to, a phenomenon gives one valid knowledge of it. […] In doing so, of course, [researchers] open themselves up to the criticism that because they are not as close to the situations they study as are the actual participants in those situations, their knowledge is less likely to be valid than the participants' knowledge" (p. 432).

Within contexts similar to mine, the challenge is to determine how an insider's perspective should be viewed when the researcher is also the subject of study. For example, I investigated second-generation Dutch-Moroccan diasporic philanthropists while also being part of the same ethnic, social, religious and cultural second-generation diaspora, and I have also contributed to the same form of diasporic philanthropy. Another issue concerns whether a 'valid outsider's perspective' could be expected in such a case.

7.3 Methodology

The literature cited in this study originates from various disciplines. I have combined methodological literature written from various perspectives: business and management studies, anthropological and social studies, and organizational studies. A review of important literature resulted in a reflection on and an analysis of topics, along with the identification of knowledge gaps that offer valuable suggestions for further research (Munn et al., 2018). The available literature within these four disciplines has been divided into three categories. The first concerns what is considered in academia to be a 'good' researcher. The second concerns the comparison of the insider and outsider perspectives, and the third addresses

how the first two categories apply to what is supposed to be a researcher' bi-identity. I studied the literature within these three categories according to the central research question for this chapter: *How should a researcher's bi-cultural identity be used as a methodology?*

The theoretical framework in this conceptual study was created through a process of the coding three elements: concepts (insider/outsider perspective and bi-cultural/mono-cultural identity), categories (theoretical and empirical) and propositions (advantages and disadvantages) (Pandit, 1996). Although this conceptual study is not intended as a literature review, I did study existing literature that describes and explains what a 'good' researcher looks like, what the definition of 'positionality' is and the comparison between the insider and outsider perspectives in research. This literature provided insights and statements that informed how I should approach researching colleagues in academia and how they should approach me in my research. At this point, it is important to mention that an intimate relationship with one's own research population is often regarded as having both positive and negative effects on one's research (Grix, 2019). I discuss this part of the literature in the section below. The rest of this conceptual study is framed according to the division mentioned above.

When demonstrating what previous studies have said about how to recognize a 'good' researcher, I discuss what existing literature states about the concept of researcher positionality and the insider and outsider perspectives in empirical research. Finally, I discuss how an ongoing process of acknowledging bias, self-reflection and a reflexive approach should be regarded as a necessary prerequisite to conducting similar research (Holmes, 2022).

7.4 Bi-cultural researcher positionality and insider-outsider perspectives

As mentioned above, each study in this dissertation demonstrates that researchers who are bi-cultural (i.e., who have the same ethnic and cultural background as the research subject) might experience several advantages that mono-cultural researchers do not have. As is the case in other contexts, however, a bi-cultural identity is also accompanied by disadvantages.

In the process of collecting data, I experienced and explained my insider perspective (Holmes, 2020) to the respondents at several points. They often agreed. I often added that the advantages I experienced also gave me a certain awareness of my 'blind gaps'. The advantage of the insider perspective became clear whenever participants admitted to having shared certain stories simply because of my identity. Interestingly, participants also clearly assumed that the personal motivations that had led them to perform cross-border philanthropy were automatically understandable to me as well, even though they accepted it when I asked further questions. This helped me to understand that such awareness was important to my research, and it was crucial to ask further questions on topics or considerations that seem 'normal' to someone with a bi-cultural Moroccan identity living in the Netherlands, but that would probably not be considered normal or assumable by researchers with no bi-cultural similarity to their research population.

The other side of my bi-cultural identity—the non-diasporic, White culture of which I am also a part—has provided me with an important outsider perspective (Holmes, 2020). This perspective, which I consciously experienced both in Morocco and within several diasporic philanthropy groups, offered a much-needed distance. In addition to their similarities, bi-cultural and diasporic groups share differences. Examples from the context

of my researcher positionality include the continuous loyalty towards and solidarity with the home country, as well as the importance of Islam in daily life. Both of these aspects are absent within my current personal and professional contexts. Due to my upbringing, however, in which this was not the case, I carry a deep understanding of those who are religious, loyal to and solidary with the home country.

When interviewing my participants, in both Morocco and the Netherlands, I became keenly aware of my biases and prejudices. This was often the case when respondents described certain experiences as positive, when I would consider them negative. Examples include the contribution of Islam to a happier life and a life filled with meaning. I learned how to empathize with those who held such beliefs, even though I have experienced the opposite earlier in my own life. Another moment in which I became aware of my bias was in a relatively early stage of my research, when I would often make assumptions based on the way I experienced the Dutch-Moroccan and Islamic community—as one with unnegotiable standards and assumptions concerning women. Male respondents often made me aware of having to deal with similar standards and assumptions within the community, while also feeling a sense of masculine peer pressure. This surprised me several times, as I had always lived with the idea that the Islamic Dutch-Moroccan community maintained a culture that benefitted only men, as I witnessed with my six older brothers during my childhood.

Throughout my research, I had the privilege of meeting male Dutch-Moroccan philanthropists who open-heartedly shared their struggles with me. This served as a painful reminder of my own struggles as a woman in a patriarchal society. I became aware of the

type of insider I was: one who could still carry prejudices and assumptions. This led to the awareness of other possible positions a researcher could hold and of my own positionality in addition to the insider-outsider position described in the existing literature.

Through time, I became aware of these options in the analysis of both my advantages, as well as my disadvantages and biases, which I experienced in both the Netherlands and Morocco. For example, due to its large national diversity, it is almost impossible to refer to Morocco as a homogenous nation (de Haas, 2003). In addition to differences in landscapes, the country's tribal identity is deeply rooted in the way people from the North differ from those from the South. I was accused of being different when interviewing respondents in both the Netherlands and Morocco. The arguments used by respondents in Morocco to justify the appointed differences were based on my upbringing in Europe, the way I approached life in general or how I experienced religion. On the other hand, if they felt like differentiating, respondents in the Netherlands would refer to my South-Moroccan identity to justify the differences between me and them, who were originally from the North.

These disadvantages in my researcher positionality made me aware of other positions when doing research in my country of residence and my country of origin. Further analysis of both advantages and disadvantages led to the three other positions a bi-cultural researcher can have. The ways in which these positions can relate to the country in which bi-cultural researchers conduct their research is demonstrated in Table 7.1. In the interest of consistency with the examples used in this study, the same geographic research context of

the Netherlands and Morocco is applied in the table. Examples of research topics in which each position becomes clear are also provided in the table.

	A. One country	B. Comparative (investigating one country in a comparative study)	C. Comparing two countries	D. Comparing diasporic groups
1. Country of residence — Not using the bi-cultural background	Philanthropy of students in the Netherlands		Students active in the Netherlands and Morocco	
2. Country of residence — Using the bi-cultural background	The philanthropy of Moroccans in the Netherlands	Survey on Moroccan volunteering in the Netherlands as part of an international study on migrant volunteering	Moroccan philanthropists active in the Netherlands and Morocco (interviews)	Moroccan, Turkish and Surinamese students active in the Netherlands (survey)
3. Country of origin	The philanthropy of Moroccans in Morocco	Survey on Moroccan volunteering in the Morocco as part of an international study on migrant volunteering	Moroccan philanthropists active only in Morocco	
4. Linking country of residence and country of origin	Cross-border philanthropy from the Netherlands to Morocco\n\nCross-border philanthropy from the US to India\n\nCross-border philanthropy from the US to Israel\n\nCross-border philanthropy from Belgium to Turkey	Participating in a study on the effects of colonial relations by looking at cross-border philanthropy from the Netherlands to Morocco while another researcher examines France to Morocco, Netherlands to Indonesia, Britain to Egypt, etc.	Dutch Moroccans and French Moroccans performing philanthropy in Morocco (survey)	
5. Linking country of residence with another diasporic group's country of origin			Dutch Moroccans performing philanthropy in Egypt and in Turkey	French Moroccans active in Algeria working with French Algerians\n\nTunisians in Italy performing philanthropy in Morocco

Table 7.1 Possible researcher' positionality regarding research topics and geographic research context

As demonstrated in Table 7.1, it is possible to conduct several research projects from or within one country (of residence or of origin) to another country (of residence or of origin). The table reveals the additional insider-outsider positions (e.g., 2C, 2D, 3C, 3D, 4C, 4D, 5C, 5D) mentioned in the introduction to this chapter. In the outsider-insider position, the research respondents regard the researcher as an outsider and themselves as insiders, or the researcher identifies as an outsider, while regarding the research respondent as insiders. In the insider-insider position, both the researcher and the research respondents are regarded as insiders (from the perspective of either party). Finally, in the outsider-outsider position, both

the researcher and the research respondents are regarded as outsiders (from the perspective of either party). These positions can emerge when doing research in one's country of residence based on questions about the country of origin (outsider-insider) or when doing research in the country of origin based on questions about the country of origin (insider-insider) and, finally, when doing research in the country of origin based on questions about the country of residence (outsider-outsider). My doctoral research entails the insider-insider and the outsider-outsider positions.

As indicated throughout the various chapters, the issue of whether the researcher and/or the research respondents should be regarded as insiders or outsiders is more fluid than fixed. In addition to remarks concerning the geographic influences and preferences of the research population with regard to the researcher, I have demonstrated that the search for a sense of belonging can also make it difficult to find research respondents. As demonstrated in Chapter X, Study 5 could only have been done by a researcher with whom the research population felt a sense of belonging, as was the case for me.

In contrast, the respondents discussed in chapter six describe themselves as both insiders and outsiders, as they were raised in Europe. While acknowledging that they felt a certain emotional solidarity towards the country of origin, upon critical reflection, they stated that it would be fair to consider them European instead of Moroccan or North African. This adds a layer of complexity to the issue of whether philanthropy could best be done by bi-cultural philanthropists instead of mono-cultural philanthropists.

In summary, this study demonstrates that the position of a researcher as either an insider or an outsider is not easily distinguished. It may therefore be necessary for

researchers and scholars to accept the fact that not all research can be done by all researchers, simply by virtue of who they are and how the research population reacts to this. It would nevertheless be too restrictive to assume that any Dutch-Moroccan researcher could perform the same type of research that I have done, or to assume that I would not be able to do the same type of research as that performed by my mono-cultural male colleagues.

In addition to presenting my personal reflection on my researcher positionality, this chapter is intended to invite researchers and academic colleagues to analyse their own researcher positionalities, as well as that of their colleagues. It is important to consider what the world of scientific research would look like if we were to accept that we *cannot* do all types of research because of who we are—or, instead, that we *can* do a large amount of research because of who we are?

7.5 Conclusion and suggestions for future research

As demonstrated in this chapter, having the same personal background as my participants was highly beneficial to my ability to gather data and to translate it to my supervisors and other involved parties. During the seven years of my research, participants often told me that they had felt safe during the interviews, and that they had even felt a sense of solidarity with my research, which resulted in invitations to all sorts of gatherings (e.g., charitable events, networking receptions and gatherings with fellow volunteers and philanthropists). It was in these types of moments that I felt a true connection to my field of research, while also experiencing the difficulty of remaining at a proper distance from my participants and overcoming my blind gaps. Constant reflection with my supervisors and colleagues helped me to surmount these difficulties, as did individual reflection in form of a fieldwork diary. I

have come to refer to this constant movement and challenge as my own 'distance-and-approach dance': making sure to maintain proper distance while also remaining close enough to stay focused and not miss any important details. As mentioned above, however, I acknowledge that, alongside a certain awareness and focus, I can still have a major bias, which can exert a major influence on my own positionality as a researcher.

Ethnic similarities between my participants and myself resulted in a venture in which it was not easy to decide what I should and should not consider plausible. As I was coding my data and writing the chapters of my dissertation, my supervisors often made me aware of the need to explain parts that, to me, seemed simply logical or common sense. Thinking in the same jargon as my participants often led me to return to my participants to and ask them to explain what they had said. This ensured that the data I gathered remained as authentic and transparent as possible, and with as little of my own interpretation as possible. It was important to make sure that, when participants would say X, they would also mention Y, and sometimes even Z. I am aware that it is impossible to resolve the limitations associated with ethnic similarities, just as it may be impossible for other doctoral candidates to resolve other limitations. I nevertheless trust that my professional and personal environments will continue to make me aware of my limitations, and to support me in overcoming them.

As a child of immigrants, my engagement with my academic topic is as old or young as I am (depending on what one thinks of 30). This was also the case before I was consciously aware of the performance of cross-border philanthropy by myself and the people around me. Now, seven years after I decided to combine my personal themes with my

professional academic work, I am aware that what is currently known about cross-border philanthropy leaves considerable room for further insight, as well as for counter-arguments that could open up a different reality. My personal involvement on both the giving and receiving ends of cross-border philanthropy has made me aware of the layered structure existing between these extremes. I have become aware of how this structure is created and how bi-cultural diasporic groups and non-profit organizations have managed to advance its existence.

In addition to bringing me back to my childhood, the process of studying cross-border philanthropy introduced me to what is below the surface of my ethnic peers and, again, of myself. This awareness brought me to two important realizations. First, I am just starting to truly understand my late parents, their destiny, and my position as their ninth child. Second, I now know that cross-border diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropy have little to do with philanthropy as a gift of time, money and goods. At the same time, it has everything to do with diasporic and bi-cultural citizens, the ways in which both found their existence, and how they continue to evolve in contemporary global civil society.

During my ethnographic fieldwork in 2016 and 2017 (the first two years of my research), I witnessed how diasporic and fellow bi-cultural Moroccans were viewed as a source of financial support on which people in rural areas in Morocco could rely. While interviewing people on both the receiving end in Morocco and the giving end in the Netherlands, I became aware of how little these groups had in common—even though both groups stated the opposite. It was in this regard that the intimacy offered by my empirical data became clear. I am simultaneous part of both groups and neither group. This movement

between one collective and the other did not occur without raising personal questions in myself, about myself and where I come from. At the same time, however, I always knew I was not alone in dealing with these questions. These personal insights have been confirmed throughout this journey, which has resulted in my doctoral dissertation.

The academic work of De Haas (2003) is built on the movement of migration in Morocco that appeared to be a chain reaction to remittances made by the first migrants to Western Europe. Young men left their home environments to work in Europe and to provide financial support to the family members they left behind in Morocco. It was not until the early 1980s that family reunification would become legally possible. Thereafter, women and children followed their husbands and fathers into the unknown, while still holding on to the idea that they would return one day. Although the return was never permanent, the journey to the home country took place once every year or two. This pattern has remained an annual act for diasporas and bi-cultural groups until today. The division between two countries is thus still very much present. Combined with the experience of polarization presented in Chapter two, this leaves me to question whether the process of migration remains present as well.

Reflection thus cannot yield an answer to the central research question of this chapter: *How should a researcher's bi-cultural identity be used as a methodology?* Instead, it raises more questions. Will diasporas, and thus also researchers with a bi-cultural identity, ever truly arrive in the country of residence, or will they forever continue to exist between two cultures, two countries and two civilizations? If the latter is the case, the examination of diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropy could eventually force academics to shift their focus

towards the emotional and psychological state of cross-border bi-cultural and diasporic philanthropists, and away from their philanthropy.

It was during the interviews that I experienced this shift first-hand. Few participants spoke about who they served, what they gave as resources or how long they had volunteered. Instead, they spoke about how they woke up and started their days, the feelings they had upon arriving at the destinations of their philanthropic missions and their emotional and mental states upon being reminded of their journey and that of their parents and grandparents. The experience of bi-culturalism can also be accompanied by the need to 'choose'. I confirm that this indeed may feel like an impossible choice to make, especially when it entails choosing between two cultures that like two parts of yourself (Ennaji, 2018). Another aspect is a religious identity that was not a choice made by the individual, but that was passed along by older generations. As shown throughout this dissertation, this situation gave rise to an entire generation facing the same questions: *To whom does one truly belong? What did the first generation feel, but not consciously deal with? How does this division affect one's own intergenerational socio-psychological well-being*?

The continuity of such research questions embodies the research agenda of my future aspirations. To me, the examination of cross-border diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropy and volunteering is not just academic. It is a personal, life-long journey that has the potential to break intergenerational chains that diasporas collectively feel, but have not yet spoken about. It combines both theory and practice, and it creates a deeper understanding of the pain or joy, or any other emotion, of the other—and thus also of myself.

"Kind speech and forgiveness are better than charity followed by injury. And God is free of need and forbearing".

- Quran 2:263

8.   Conclusion   and   limitations

As demonstrated in the preceding chapters, each of the studies in this dissertation leads to its own conclusion. This final chapter is dedicated to presenting general concluding remarks concerning the overall topics addressed in this dissertation.

8.1 Contributions

The research reported in this dissertation investigates the act of cross-border diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropy in both national and international geographic contexts. More specifically, it concerns the philanthropic activities of a diaspora within the local and global civic field, addressing two countries (Morocco and the Netherlands) as social, cultural and political structures within which cross-border philanthropy takes place. A diaspora is specifically recognized by the image (often nostalgic) that its members hold of the country of origin (i.e., 'homeland'). Diasporic philanthropy is performed in the homeland (in the case of this dissertation, Morocco) by diasporas maintaining residence in another country (in the case of this dissertation, the Netherlands), to which they have departed from the homeland to seek a better future for coming generations than would have been possible in the country of origin (May, 2019). In the case of the Moroccan diaspora, continuous family visits to the country of origin, along with remittances performed by the first generations, are now being reproduced in similar behaviour by the second and third generations. Unlike their forebears, however, the later generations were born and raised in the West, while performing

their philanthropy in the country of origin. In other words, membership in a diaspora, including for later generations, plays a highly interactive role within the global civil society.

The overarching research question explored in this dissertation is as follows:

How does the philanthropy of cross-border diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropists between the country of residence and the country of origin look like?

I have developed this research according to five sub-questions, each of which is addressed in one of the preceding chapters.

The growing academic interest in and performance of diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropy reflects the importance of this topic (Appe, 2021). In general, these forms of philanthropy are a result of the existence of multicultural societies. These societies emerged through the constant flow of migration, while the connection between migrants and the homeland was never lost. This is the case in several national contexts, including the Netherlands and Morocco. Similar contexts include Mexico and India (Khan and Merritt, 2021) and the United Kingdom and Pakistan (May, 2009). As stated in earlier studies on remittances (Obdeijn, 1994; de Haas, 2003), these acts have always been performed with the aim of supporting familial and social environments in the homeland. Working and living in the country of residence provides migrants with resources that enable them to send back money. Migration has therefore been viewed as an act performed for the 'collective good' or, in some cases, with the intention to create the collective good that has remained absent in the homeland, due to economic and political hardships. In this dissertation, I have examined the creation of this collective good through cross-border diasporic and bi-cultural

philanthropy. In addition to examining the personal motives that drive cross-border philanthropy, my research demonstrates the ways in which cross-border philanthropy is experienced by recipients in the country of origin, along with the personal philanthropic perspectives of diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropists.

The first study (Chapter 2) reports on a scoping literature review that demonstrates the importance of regional history. In the case of Morocco, regional history gave the impetus for migration movements, and therefore for the remittances that would later become cross-border philanthropy. Historical influences in the development of a nation-state (Scott, 1998) may help to explain why diasporas (from that nation-state) and bi-cultural groups (who are of an ethnic, cultural and national background originating in a country other than the one in which they live) perform philanthropy. Because the Netherlands and Morocco share no colonial or significant, commonly recognized historical past, the first study provides a contextual overview that is intended to help readers understand subsequent chapters.

The second study (Chapter 3) explores the movement of diasporic cross-border philanthropic organizations operating between the civil society in Western Europe and that in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region. Through a literature review based on case studies, this chapter explains the effects of the presence or absence of a shared historical and, in some cases, colonial past on existing understandings of cross-border philanthropy by diasporic and bi-cultural groups. It also provides an answer to the first sub-question: *How does cross-border diasporic philanthropy influence local and global civil society?* The study demonstrates the importance of religion, which is strongly present in the MENA region and perceived as largely absent in Western Europe. Given that diasporic organizations have been

described as a collective playground for religious and ethnic identity (Brinkerhoff, 2008; Appe, 2021), the study investigates how the religiosity of a diasporic organization is intertwined with that of the MENA region.

The third study (Chapter 4) delves more deeply into the comparison of faith-based and secular cross-border diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropists. Results of this comparison suggest that faith-based, Islamic cross-border philanthropy appears to be more effective than other forms. This qualitative ethnographic study is based on a narrative method (including participant observation). The central research question is as follows: *Is diasporic philanthropy more successful in crossing borders in global civil society and reaching its philanthropic objective when driven by faith-based motivations?* Within the rural context of Morocco, this study explores the importance of religion in the act of cross-border philanthropy. Recipients and givers both become part of a single international Islamic community: the *Ummah (*Ennaji, 2018*).* Operating out of secular, official motives, national CSOs that receive government funding tend to be perceived as less trustworthy and less similar. Based on the findings of this study, we suggest collaboration between CSOs in Morocco and diasporic philanthropy organizations, both of which claim to serve the same recipients but have never joined forces to date.

The fourth study (Chapter 5) examines the way in which the act of cross-border philanthropy contributes to the search for a sense of belonging amongst diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropists. As explained in preceding chapters, the division between the Netherlands and Morocco can lead to an internal division within the individual. Although diasporic organizations serve as a collective locus of identity, my research has shown that

the search for belonging remains even after finding a diasporic organization that fits. Like Chapter 4, this chapter reports on a qualitative ethnographic study in which I again applied the narrative approach (including participant observation). The central research question is as follows: *How do diasporic philanthropists experience the country of residence, and how does this experience influence their sense of belonging and practice of philanthropy?* The results of this study demonstrates that the search for belonging leads to two broad two profiles of diasporic philanthropists: (1) those who seek belonging and whose giving is motivated by inclusion, (2): those who seek belonging and whose giving is motivated by polarization. Both profiles are moved by the same two motives: faith-based (Islamic) giving and a search for a sense of belonging.

The fifth study (Chapter 6) demonstrates how diasporic organizations fail to contain a non-colonial ethical compass by concluding that diasporic and non-diasporic philanthropists are similar within the context of international civil society. This is done by examining the capability of diasporic philanthropy organizations to avoid post-colonial behaviour (Said, 1978). The objectives of the diasporic philanthropists involved can be divided into three categories: (1) change-ism, (2) conservativism and (3) romanticism. This qualitative study is based on a phenomenological approach. The central research question is as follows: *How do diasporic philanthropists in the country of origin differ from Western CSOs that are active in the same region?* Comparison of these three objectives demonstrates that nonprofit diasporic philanthropy organizations can be identical to colonial NGOs, which are now described as engaging in post-colonial behaviour within civil society. This raises important questions concerning whether researchers and practitioners should continue to see

diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropists as 'better actors' or as providing 'a better fit' for the homeland, and whether this narrative should be revised within the existing literature.

The sixth and final study (Chapter 7) explains how my own research positionality led to situations in which my participants admitted that they had been able to 'share more' because of my cultural identity. This conceptual study combines my personal reflection on my research with grounded theory from existing literature on researcher positionality. Against this background, the central research question is as follows: *How should the bi-cultural identity of a researcher be used as a methodology?* As demonstrated throughout this dissertation, respondents often felt comfortable sharing more during their interviews with me than they would have in an interview with a non-diasporic, non-bi-cultural colleague. This rightly raises questions concerning the replicability and comparability of my research.

The studies in this dissertation contribute to both academic knowledge and managerial practice. Its contributions to academic knowledge are addressed in Section 8.2, and its contributions to managerial practice are addressed in Section 8.3. I am convinced that my research could also be useful for both governmental and corporate environments.

8.2 Academic Implications

In this section, I describe five academic implications (see Model 8.1) that elaborate why my research on cross-border diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropy has led to important insights.
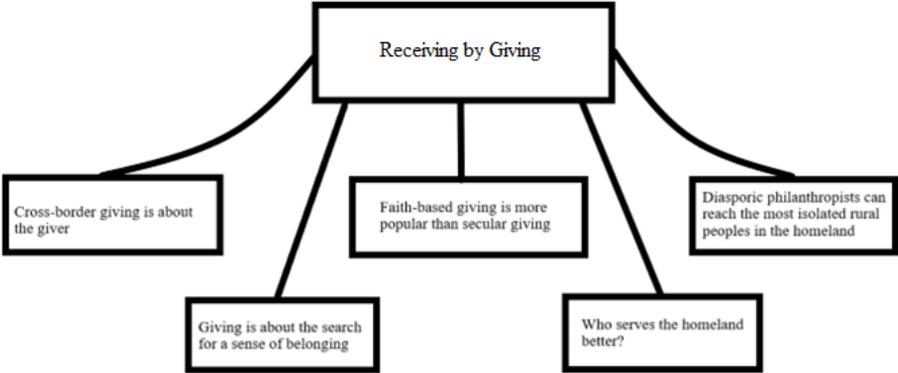
Model 8.1 Five academic implications

First, as mentioned earlier, cross-border diasporic philanthropy has been extensively examined within several contexts. As revealed in my examination of cross-border philanthropy between the Netherlands and Morocco, the study of a shared historical past (e.g., colonialism) can make it easier for researchers and other interested parties to develop a deep understanding of diasporic and bi-cultural groups. In the absence of such historical pasts (as in the case of the Netherlands and Morocco), such understandings are likely to be more difficult—a shared history of migration is apparently not enough. To understand why cross-border diasporic philanthropy organizations give more to the homeland than to the country of residence, it is crucial to first understand why the region of the homeland (in this case, Morocco) is more attractive to cross-border diasporic and bi-

cultural philanthropists as a civil society in which to be active, relative to the country of residence (in this case, the Netherlands).

Contrary to my own expectations, my research indicates that the region in which cross-border philanthropists are active is not important at all. The most important factor has to do with the philanthropists' own personal feelings about that this region. Cross-border diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropy is therefore not about the homeland. It is about the diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropist as an individual.

Second, this dissertation demonstrates the important role of religion amongst diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropists. In addition to contributing to the body of knowledge on both global and local cross-border philanthropy, my overall research could also be of interest to theological, political and societal debates. Along with the focus on contemporary Islam, a focus on faith-based philanthropy by diasporas in the West could generate important insights concerning how young Muslims engage with Islam in their Western lifestyles and how the flow of such philanthropy affects lifestyles in local Islamic contexts (e.g., Morocco). I have come to realize that the differences in diasporic generations may be only superficial, as this dissertation demonstrates the persistent importance of religion to diasporic philanthropists of all ages and generations. This theoretical contribution could help to create a deeper understanding of cross-border philanthropy, while also suggesting best practices.

Third, my research demonstrates how the outreach of diasporic cross-border philanthropy can more easily find its way into Morocco's rural areas, as compared to the country's own CSOs. My research demonstrates that diasporic cross-border philanthropy

organizations can provide both governmental and non-governmental organisations (in both Europe and North Africa) with tools for facilitating such cross-border activity. These tools are based on an intimate understanding of the personal motives according to which diasporic and bi-cultural groups perform cross-border philanthropy: a search for identity, a sense of belonging and a multi-layered perspective. This is the fourth academic implication of this dissertation.

Finally, as demonstrated in the first four implications, cross-border diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropy is more about the diasporic and bi-cultural giver than it is about the recipient in the homeland. As demonstrated by my data, all of the participants in my research were living in the Netherlands. They perform their philanthropy in the homeland (Morocco). Although they acknowledge their Moroccan cultural and ethnic identity and roots, as well as the influence these values had in their upbringing, the way they view the homeland is highly influenced by their lifestyles in the Netherlands. By analysing their philanthropic objectives for the homeland, I came to the realization that these objectives indirectly reflect the images that diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropists may have of the homeland: as underdeveloped, dependent (on them as diasporas) and incapable of realizing their own philanthropic objectives without diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropy. While my research generally leads to a deeper understanding of diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropists, it also raises ethical questions concerning the presence of diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropists in the homeland. These questions constitute the fifth implication of my dissertation. *Do diasporas really know their homeland? Are diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropists really*

the right fit for the civil society in the homeland? Should we be concerned that their philanthropy could possibly come across as Euro-centric and post-colonial?

8.3 Managerial implications

As mentioned above, this dissertation demonstrates that cross-border diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropy is more about the giver than it is about the recipient. It also demonstrates that diasporic philanthropists continue to embody an important role in providing the civil society in the homeland with tools and best practices for meeting the needs of the poor through cross-border philanthropy. As described in this dissertation, such noble encounters within the civil society demonstrate how diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropists pursue a deeper understanding of life while living between two cultures, countries and civilizations. This dissertation therefore also carries several managerial implications within the context of nonprofit organizations and governance (both social and corporate), in addition to the academic implications mentioned in the preceding section.

My dissertation could serve as a gateway for those seeking to understand bi-culturalism and diasporic identity within the context of cross-border philanthropy. As demonstrated through the various chapters, a diasporic or bi-cultural identity is likely to be accompanied by serious sentiments that continue to influence the daily life of a collective group. Examples include a lifelong feeling of nostalgia towards the homeland, constant questions concerning the countries, cultures or nations to which one belongs, and experiences of discrimination and segregation.

As more and more organizations are assigning high priority to diversity, equity and inclusion (DE&I), my dissertation embodies a major managerial implication: before taking on challenges relating to DE&I, organizations should first develop a thorough understanding of the personal and historical background of those they hope to recruit. *How can we hope to attract a group without first fully understanding them*?

8.4 Limitations and suggestions for future research

Each chapter in this dissertation concludes by acknowledging limitations to the relevant studies and formulating suggestions for future research. In this section, I would like to discuss a larger limitation that I faced throughout my entire doctoral project: my own bias and researcher positionality.

As discussed in Chapter 7, sharing the same personal background as my participants provided a major advantage in my ability to gather data and to translate it to my supervisors and other involved parties. Participants often admitted that they had felt safe during the interviews, and that they had even felt a sense of solidarity with my research, which resulted in invitations to all sorts of gatherings (e.g., charitable events, networking receptions and gatherings with fellow volunteers and philanthropists). It was in these types of moments that I felt a true connection to my field of research, while also experiencing the difficulty of remaining at a proper distant from my participants and overcoming my blind gaps. Constant reflection with my supervisors and colleagues helped me to surmount these difficulties, as did individual reflection in the form of a fieldwork diary. I have come to refer to this constant movement and challenge as my own 'distance-and-approach dance': making

sure to maintain proper distance while also remaining close enough to stay focused and not miss any important details.

Ethnic similarities between my participants and myself resulted in a venture in which it was not easy to decide what I should and should not consider plausible. As I was coding my data and writing the chapters of my dissertation, my supervisors often made me aware of the need to explain parts that, to me, seemed simply logical or common sense. Thinking in the same jargon as my participants often led me to return to my participants to ask them to explain what they had said. This ensured that the data I had gathered remained as authentic and transparent as possible, and with as little of my own interpretation as possible. It was important to make sure that, when my participants would say X, they would also mention Y, and sometimes even Z. I am aware that it is impossible to resolve the biases and limitations associated with ethnic similarities, just as it may be impossible for other doctoral candidates to resolve other limitations. This leads to my suggestions for future research.

If I were to do my research all over again, there are four major details that I would do differently. First, I would do more intercultural research comparing the same cultural context (the Netherlands–Morocco) to a similar cultural context (e.g., Germany–Turkey). These are both examples of countries that share no colonial past, but that do share a historical past based on large-scale migration. I would broaden the focus of my research to examine two diasporic groups instead of just one, as is the case with the current dissertation. I am nevertheless aware that this focus on a single diasporic group has generated a deep and, hopefully, much appreciated, understanding.

Second, I would make draw more extensively on my gender as an important variable in both my fieldwork and my writing. In my research, the choice was made to ignore gender, given the absence of clear differences in the way male and female participants spoke about their cross-border philanthropy. In retrospect, however, I wonder whether my identity as a highly educated, heterosexual woman might also have led people to feel more comfortable and at ease and whether this would have been different if I (or any other researcher doing a study similar to mine) had embodied another gender or sexual orientation.

Third, it is clear that my dataset only includes diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropists who did perform cross-border philanthropy in their homeland. However, if I would do my PhD research all over again, I would diversify this dataset by including diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropists who specifically *don't* perform cross-border philanthropy in their homeland or other countries that may be referred to as (part of) the homeland. I would also include diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropists who only perform philanthropy in the country of residence.

Finally, as demonstrated in my introduction, my participants were first, second or third generation Dutch-Moroccans. More specifically, I included participants with two parents who had migrated from Morocco, which also means that the primary identity of both parents was also Moroccan. In future research, I would change this and include diasporas whose parents do not share a similar cultural background. It would be interesting to devote further analysis of the solidarity between those who do have a diasporic background, but only through one parent, to see whether this differs from the solidarity existing between those whose diasporic background runs through both parents.

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Summary

This dissertation studies cross-border philanthropy performed by diaspora and bi-cultural groups within the context of the Netherlands. I have used Morocco as an example of a home-country of diaspora and bi-cultural groups, and as the other side of two ends in the comparison between Western and non-Western countries, cultures, religions, and civilizations. This dissertations aims to provide a deeper understanding of diasporic and bi-cultural motives in philanthropy and volunteering for both academic, governance and corporate interests. By using existing interdisciplinary knowledge, I contribute with diverse literatures to broad categories within the field of international business and management, cultural and political anthropology, socio-psychology and governance. By overall using the qualitative native approach method combined with the phenomena-driven perspective which has recently been called for in the business and management literature (Buckley et al., 2017), I shed light on diaspora and bi-cultural groups and the cross-border philanthropy they perform. While in between understanding the core of diaspora's inner and outer worlds that decide their motives to give, to cross borders while wondering and wandering towards the homeland.

Chapter one serves as the overall introduction for this dissertation. It briefly touches upon and explains the main theoretical concepts, the overall methodology and research questions, and the outline for each study.

In chapter two, I provide this dissertation with an important, literary fundament in which I explain the historical and political context of Morocco and the Netherlands, along with how cross-border diasporic philanthropy in a context similar to Moroccan diaspora in

the Netherlands founded its existence. I explain how Morocco is organized as a civil society and therefore clarify the context in which diaspora and bi-cultural philanthropists and volunteers are mostly active. Existing literature shows that Morocco' CSOs have served as a counter sound against colonial forces, during the 40s and 50s of the last century (Ennaji and Sadiqi, 2012). After Morocco's independence, existing CSOs have kept their organizational forms and continued their contribution to the country's civil society. However, more and more flows of migration happened, and hundreds of thousands of Moroccans went abroad seeking more fertile futures while also fleeing the regime under King Hassan II (De Haas, 2003). The latter being especially difficult for people in rural areas as little to no investments were made from the national government. The act of remittances done by the first migrants in the Netherlands, and other parts of Western Europe, existing literature states (e.g., Brinkerhoff, 2008; Appe and Oreg, 2021), forms the starting point of cross-border philanthropy done by generations of diaspora that found their existing in Western countries, e.g., the Netherlands. Because Moroccan diaspora in the West originates from rural areas in the country of origin, this chapters explains that its philanthropy is also performed in those same regions where Morocco' CSOs fail to serve the country as a whole.

In chapter four, I explain how diaspora forms the solution for the country' failing civil society. I study how diaspora philanthropy organizations do so according ethical organizational norms in the non-profit sector and with what motive. In this chapter I provide further insights, compared to chapter two, on the civil society in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, of which Morocco is part of. Besides the country's own national context, along with its historical, cultural, religious and social features (Obdeijn and de Mas, 2004), it is also part of a larger geographical region that on its own also forms a whole. This

chapter employs on the refutation of the popular assumption which is much alive in mainstream media and European neo-liberal politics. Which draws on the continuous statement of foreignism of Islamic relations with Western Europe (Nordbruch and Ryad, 2014). Islamic social group, such as Moroccan diaspora in the Netherlands, are a form of such Islamic relations. But because such perspective is still unpopular in both academia and the outer world, diasporic philanthropy remains less understood than it would be when the opposite was the case.

In chapter four, I dive further into cross-border philanthropy of Moroccan diaspora in the Netherlands by specifically deepening our understanding of the philanthropic motive. Through the comparison between national and international diasporic philanthropy organizations in Morocco (as done in chapter three), this chapter further examines the co-existence of national and international diasporic philanthropy organizations in the Moroccan civil society. Morocco again forms as a geographical context for such a comparison, yet because the division between these two organizations is clear, it forms the ideal framework for the operationalization for this chapter. Though the importance of the philanthropic motive (either faith-based or secular) is mentioned in the title, chapter four demonstrates that the recipients in a case such as Morocco, are the deciding party. Through ethnographic research and the narrative approach method, this chapter empirically demonstrates the importance of the giver's ethical Amazigh identity for the receiving party when dealing with cross-border philanthropy. This chapter therefore contributes to the aim of both national and international diasporic philanthropy organizations who aim to serve social, isolated groups like the Amazigh in Morocco. But who struggle to develop the strategy that fits the objective.

Diasporic organizations, this chapter explains, form the ideal partner to collaborate with in realizing such philanthropic aims. Yet, such collaboration requires a deep understanding of the diasporic organization.

In chapter five, I undertake the question of diaspora' sense of belonging and the way it effects their cross-border philanthropy. Through both the narrative approach method and ethnographic research, results demonstrate a further layer than just the sense of belonging of diasporic philanthropists. Namely, the important, decisive layer of inclusion and polarization. Performing philanthropy in one country, but living in another country, easily raises the question on to which of the two one feels most connected. In the search for answers, when doing research for this chapter, such questions appear to be less easy to answer as it may seem on the surface. The way diaspora inherited the personal crises that touch upon the mandatory question: *to where and to whom do I belong*?, is broadened out in this chapter. I introduce two profiles of diasporic philanthropists, in addition to the existing six (see Lehner et al, 2021). One: the diasporic philanthropists who gives from a place of inclusion and aims. And two: the diasporic philanthropist who gives from a place of polarization. Both profiles are moved by the same two layers: faith-based Islamic motive, and the search for a sense of belonging.

In chapter six, I continue on the internal processes of diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropists and volunteers, and the way this appears to the surface. Through the combination of a conceptual approach and narrative research method, this chapter first demonstrates the theoretical framework of Edward Said (1978), in which he refers to the contemporary perspective of the West as post-colonial. Meaning, though colonial times have

passed, the perspective of the West towards colonized nation state did not change along. Said refers to this perspective as "oriental" or "other" (Hamadi 2017, p. 8; Said, 1978). It creates a distance between the one observing and the observed. This chapter places this perspective in the context of cross-border philanthropy, through the statement that the giver observes, and the receiver is being observed. Demonstrating three examples of diasporic objectives: change-ism, conservatism and romanticism, this chapter employs on diasporic philanthropists as the observing party. Along with the comparison of diasporic philanthropy organisations and colonial NGOs.

Finally, in chapter seven, I dive into how my research positionality has led to situations in which my participants admitted that they were able to "share more" because of my personal identity. They referred to my Moroccan ethnic identity, my gender and my personality. This led me to deeply recognize, and embrace, the importance of concerning several personal aspects that influenced my research, and in addition my bias. These aspects, along with my bias, have influenced my research both positively and negatively. Respondents admitted that they felt comfortable sharing more during their interviews with me than they would have in an interview with a non-diasporic, non-bi-cultural colleague of mine. Who perhaps also has a different gender-type. This rightly raises questions concerning the replicability and comparability of my research, which I elaborate in chapter seven.

Dutch Summary | Nederlandse samenvatting

Dit proefschrift belichaamt het onderzoek naar cross-border filantropie door diaspora- en bi-culturele groepen binnen de context van Nederland. Ik heb Marokko als voorbeeld genomen van een thuisland van diaspora- en bi-culturele groepen, en als vertegenwoordiger van een kant van het spectrum van westerse en niet-westerse landen, culturen, religies en beschavingen. Dit proefschrift heeft als doel om, ten behoeve van academische, bestuurs- en bedrijfsbelangen, een dieper inzicht te verschaffen in de motivatie van diaspora- en bi-culturele groepen om aan filantropie of vrijwilligerswerk te doen. Door gebruik te maken van bestaande interdisciplinaire kennis draag ik met literatuur uit diverse disciplines bij aan brede categorieën op het gebied van internationale bedrijfskunde, culturele en politieke antropologie, sociale psychologie en bestuurskunde. Door over het algemeen gebruik te maken van de kwalitatieve beschrijvende methode in combinatie met het fenomeen gedreven perspectief waarvoor in recente business and management-literatuur is gepleit (Buckley et al., 2017), belicht ik diaspora- en bi-culturele groepen en hun cross-border filantropie, en probeer ik ondertussen de kern van de interne en externe werelden van de diaspora te begrijpen die hun motivatie om te geven beïnvloeden, om over grenzen heen te stappen bij het tegemoet treden van het thuisland.

Hoofdstuk een is de algemene inleiding van dit proefschrift. Het staat kort stil bij en geeft uitleg over de belangrijkste theoretische concepten, de overkoepelende methodiek en onderzoeksvragen, en de opzet van de verschillende deelonderzoeken.

In hoofdstuk twee, waarmee ik dit proefschrift voorzie van een belangrijke in de literatuur gewortelde basis, geef ik uitleg over de historische en politieke context van

Marokko en Nederland en over hoe cross-border diaspora-filantropie haar oorsprong vond in een context die vergelijkbaar is met die van de Marokkaanse diaspora in Nederland. Ik zet uiteen hoe Marokko is gestructureerd als burgermaatschappij, en licht op die manier de context toe waarbinnen diaspora- en bi-culturele filantropen en vrijwilligers het meest actief zijn. Uit bestaande literatuur blijkt dat Marokkaanse maatschappelijke organisaties als tegengeluid voor koloniale invloeden hebben gefungeerd tijdens de jaren 40 en 50 van de vorige eeuw (Ennaji en Sadiqi, 2012). Na de onafhankelijkheid van Marokko hebben bestaande maatschappelijke organisaties hun organisatiestructuren behouden en hebben ze hun bijdragen aan de burgermaatschappij van het land voortgezet. Migratiegolf na migratiegolf vond echter plaats, en honderdduizenden Marokkanen vertrokken naar het buitenland in een zoektocht naar meer vruchtbare toekomstperspectieven en om het regime onder koning Hassan II te ontvluchten (De Haas, 2003). Dat regime was met name problematisch voor mensen in de plattelandsgebieden, omdat daar door de nationale overheid weinig tot niet in werd geïnvesteerd. Het helpen van de achterblijvende bevolking ('remittance') door de eerste generatie migranten in Nederland en andere delen van West-Europa vormt volgens de bestaande literatuur (bijv. Brinkerhoff, 2008; Appe en Oreg, 2021) het startpunt van cross-border filantropie door verschillende diasporageneraties die een bestaan hadden opgebouwd in een westers land, zoals Nederland. Aangezien de Marokkaanse diaspora in het westen grotendeels afkomstig is van het platteland van het thuisland, verklaart dit hoofdstuk dat hun filantropie ook gericht is op diezelfde regio's, die door Marokkaanse maatschappelijke organisaties over het hoofd worden gezien.

In hoofdstuk drie leg ik uit hoe de diaspora de oplossing vormt voor de falende burgermaatschappij. Ik onderzoek hoe filantropische diaspora-organisaties dit doen op basis van ethische organisatienormen in de non-profitsector, en wat de achterliggende motivatie is. In dit hoofdstuk ga ik verder in op wat in hoofdstuk twee al aan bod kwam, namelijk de burgermaatschappij in de MENA-regio (Midden-Oosten en Noord-Afrika), waar Marokko deel van uitmaakt. Naast de eigen, nationale context van het land, met de bijbehorende historische, culturele, religieuze en sociale kenmerken (Obdeijn en de Mas, 2004), maakt het land ook onderdeel uit van een grotere geografische regio die op zichzelf ook weer een geheel vormt. Dit hoofdstuk weerlegt de populaire aanname die vaak terugkomt in de mainstream media en Europese neoliberale politiek, die berust op het voortdurend benadrukken van het 'uitheemse' karakter van islamitische betrekkingen met West-Europa (Nordbruch en Ryad, 2014). Islamitische sociale groeperingen, waaronder de Marokkaanse diaspora in Nederland, zijn een verschijningsvorm van dergelijke islamitische relaties. Maar omdat dit perspectief nog steeds niet populair is in de academische en wijdere wereld, wordt diaspora-filantropie nog steeds minder goed begrepen dan het geval zou kunnen zijn als het tegenovergestelde waar was.

In hoofdstuk vier duik ik dieper in cross-border filantropie van de Marokkaanse diaspora in Nederland door specifiek ons begrip van filantropische motivatie uit te diepen. Door middel van een vergelijking tussen nationale en internationale filantropische diaspora-organisaties in Marokko (zoals in hoofdstuk drie), gaat dit hoofdstuk verder in op het naast elkaar bestaan van nationale en internationale filantropische diaspora-organisaties in de Marokkaanse burgermaatschappij. Marokko vormt wederom de geografische context voor

een dergelijke vergelijking, maar omdat het onderscheid tussen de twee soorten organisaties zo duidelijk is, vormt het bij uitstek een kader voor de operationalisering van dit hoofdstuk. Hoewel het belang van (religieuze dan wel seculiere) filantropische motivatie in de titel wordt genoemd, laat hoofdstuk vier zien dat, in een geval als dat van Marokko, de ontvangers de bepalende factor zijn. Door middel van etnografisch onderzoek en de narratieve methode levert dit hoofdstuk empirisch bewijs voor de centrale rol die de tribale, inheemse Amazigh-identiteit van de gever speelt voor de ontvanger in cross-border filantropie. Dit hoofdstuk draagt daarom bij aan de doelstelling van nationale en internationale filantropische diaspora-organisaties om geïsoleerde sociale groepen te ondersteunen, zoals de Amazigh in Marokko, maar die moeite hebben om een strategie te ontwikkelen die aan deze doelstelling tegemoetkomt. Dit hoofdstuk legt uit dat diaspora-organisaties bij uitstek een samenwerkingspartner zijn bij het realiseren van dergelijke filantropische doelen. Zulke samenwerkingen vereisen echter een grondige kennis van de diaspora-organisatie.

In hoofdstuk vijf ga ik in op het diasporagevoel van ergens bij horen, en de manier waarop dit invloed heeft op cross-border filantropie. De resultaten van zowel de narratieve methode als van het etnografisch onderzoek laten zien dat er nog een laag van complexiteit bestaat naast enkel het gevoel van ergens bij horen van de diaspora-filantropen. Namelijk de belangrijke, allesbepalende laag van inclusie en polarisatie. Aan filantropie doen in een land, en leven in een ander land, werpt al snel de vraag op met welke van de twee iemand zich het meeste verbonden voelt. Tijdens mijn zoektocht naar antwoorden in het kader van mijn onderzoek voor dit hoofdstuk, kwam ik tot de conclusie dat zulke vragen moeilijker te beantwoorden zijn dan op het eerste gezicht gedacht. De wijze waarop de diaspora

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persoonlijke crises van de eerste generatie migranten heeft geërfd houden verband met de verplichte vraag: *Waar en bij wie hoor ik? Deze vraag* wordt in dit hoofdstuk verder uitgediept. Ik introduceer twee nieuwe profielen van diaspora-filantropen, naast de bestaande zes (zie Lehner et al, 2021). Ten eerste de diaspora-filantroop die geeft vanuit een positie van inclusie en doelgerichtheid. En ten tweede de diaspora-filantroop die geeft vanuit een positie van polarisatie. Beide profielen worden gedreven door dezelfde twee lagen: door een religieus Islamitisch motief, en door de zoektocht naar een gevoel van ergens bij horen (de sense of belonging).

In hoofdstuk zes ga ik verder in op het interne proces van diaspora- en bi-culturele filantropen en vrijwilligers, en hoe dit proces zich aan de oppervlakte manifesteert. Dit hoofdstuk demonstreert via een combinatie van conceptuele en narratieve onderzoeksmethodiek het conceptuele kader van Edward Said (1978), waarin hij het hedendaagse perspectief van het westen als postkoloniaal bestempelt: hoewel het de koloniale tijdperk tot het verleden behoort is het perspectief van het westen niet meeveranderd. Said stelt dat vanuit dit perspectief de voorheen gekoloniseerde staat nog steeds als 'oriëntaals' of 'anders' wordt gezien (Hamadi 2017, p. 8; Said, 1978). Dit schept afstand tussen degene die observeert en wie of wat wordt geobserveerd. Dit hoofdstuk plaatst dit perspectief in de context van cross-border filantropie met de stelling dat de gever observeert en de ontvanger wordt geobserveerd. Dit hoofdstuk richt zich op de diasporische filantroop als de observerende partij en bespreekt drie voorbeelden van diasporische objectieven: veranderingsgerichtheid, conservatisme en romantiek. Hiernaast is er ook een vergelijking van filantropische diaspora-organisaties en koloniale ngo's.

Tot slot ga ik in hoofdstuk zeven dieper in op hoe mijn onderzoeks positionaliteit heeft geleid tot situaties waarin mijn deelnemers toegaven dat ze in staat waren om 'meer te delen' vanwege mijn persoonlijke identiteit. Ze wezen daarbij op mijn Marokkaanse etnische identiteit, mijn genderidentiteit en mijn persoonlijkheid. Dit bracht mij ertoe om het belang te erkennen, en te omarmen, van verschillende van mijn persoonlijke eigenschappen die mijn onderzoek – en mijn bias – hebben beïnvloed. Deze aspecten hebben, samen met mijn bias, mijn onderzoek zowel positief als negatief beïnvloed. Respondenten gaven toe dat ze zich meer op hun gemak voelden om tijdens hun interviews met mij meer te delen dan dat ze misschien zouden hebben gedaan in een interview met een niet-bi-culturele collega zonder diaspora-achtergrond. Deze zou misschien ook nog een ander genderidentiteit kunnen hebben. Dit werpt terecht vragen op over de repliceerbaarheid en vergelijkbaarheid van mijn onderzoek, iets waar ik dieper op inga in hoofdstuk zeven.

Glossary

This table offers an overview of important terminology and key-concepts throughout my dissertation. Of every term I included the chapter in which this term appears. And the literature from which I have borrowed the term.

Term	Chapter	Literature
Bi-cultural philanthropy: philanthropy that is done within societies, by communities, groups of people, or movements that include two main ethnic cultures.	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8	Ouacha and Meijs, 2021; Grbic, 2010.
Civil Society: the organizations of actors who form a counterweight to government and the state.	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8	Macdonald and de Broms, 2008.
Country of origin: the country, region, where diasporas originate, are originally from.	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8	Miller, 2006; Sulek, 2010.
Country of residence: the country to where migrants migrate, in which diasporas are born, raised and reside.	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8	Miller, 2006; Sulek, 2010.
Cross-border philanthropy: philanthropic projects performed by actors in the inter-national civil field towards a culturally different context.	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8	Miller, 2006.
Diaspora: an ethnic minority group of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with its country of origin—its homelands.	1, 2, 3, 4, 5,6, 7, 8	Sheffer, 1986; Flanigan, 2017.
Diasporic non-profit organizations: non-profit organizations founded and led by diasporas.	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8	Appe and Oreg, 2021.
Diasporic philanthropy: money, goods, volunteer labor, knowledge and skills, and other assets donated for the social benefit of a community broader than ones' family members, in a country or region where there is a population with whom the donor(s) have ancestral ties.	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8	Flanigan, 2017.
Domestic philanthropy: philanthropy that takes places within national and regional borders.	1, 2, 4, 6, 8	Sulek, 2010.
Faith-based philanthropy: philanthropy performed from a religious perspective.	1, 3, 4	May, 2008.

Homeland: the country of origin for diasporas.	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8	Johnson, 2007.
Insider perspective: the perspective of the members of specified groups and collectives or occupants of specified social statuses.	1, 7, 8	Merton, 1972.
Intergenerational trauma: unresolved pain carried on by several generations.	1, 4, 8	Compion et al, 2021.
Kafarra: the form of penitential charity that is given as a contribution for breaking an oath.	1, 3	May, 2019.
MENA: A collecting term for the Middle East and North Africa.	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8	Obdeijn and de Mas, 2004.
Migration: permanent human movement from one place to another, in which people plan to settle (in the new country).	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8	Obdeijn, 1990; de Haas, 2003.
Outsider perspective: the perspective of non-members of a specified group.	1, 4, 7, 8	Merton, 1972.
Post-colonial image: an image (of a region, people, etc) led by Western norms, fabricated by western explorers, poets, novelists, philosophers, political theorists, economists, and imperial administrators. … an image of a region referring to it "as the primitive, uncivilized", along with an attempt to create it as the contrast to the advanced and civilized.	1, 2, 6, 8	Said, 1978; Fanon, 1968; Hamadi, 2014.
Remittances (social or economic): financial aid, ideas, behaviors, and social capital that transmit from the country of residence to the country of origin which make diaspora engage with locally sensitive issues in the homeland, such as gender equality, human rights, or the use of violence in conflict resolution.	1, 2, 3, 8	Flanigan, 2017.
Researchers positionality: an individual's world view and the position they adopt about a research task and its social and political context.	1, 7, 8	Holmes, 2020.
Rural: regions and/or environments in a country often with less good infrastructure, access to national facilities, on a distance from the urban.	1, 2, 4, 7, 8	Sadiqi and Ennaji, 2012; Ennaji, 2018.
Sadaqa: the charitable obligation that should be performed voluntarily.	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8	May, 2008.
Secular philanthropy: the private giving of time or valuables (money, security, property) for public purposes.		Solomon, 1999.

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Sense of belonging: a feeling of connectedness and of that one is important or matters to others.	1, 4, 6, 7, 8	Rosenberg and McCullogh, 1981.
Urban: the surroundings of large cities in (a certain) country.	1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8	Obdeijn, 1990; Obdeijn and de Haas, 2004; May, 2008; De Haas, 2003.
Volunteering: voluntary giving of time.	1, 2, 3, 4, 8	Johnson, 2007.
Waqf: an elaborate pattern of institutional religious foundations.	1, 3, 8	May, 2019.
White-saviorism: an act of a (young), white individual (philanthropist) (from the Global North) using his or her Western norms and standards as a main objective in its philanthropy.	1, 6, 8	Said, 1978; Fanon, 1968; Hamadi, 2014.
Zakat: the Islamic charitable obligation, generally calculated at 2.5% of wealth and paid at the end of the Ramadan fast.	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8	Alterman and Hunter, 2004.

About the author

Malika Ouacha (she/her) was born on May 18th, 1993 in Alkmaar, the Netherlands. Her academic career started with a BSc in Social Work from INHolland University of Applied Sciences. She combined the last year with a MA in Cultural and Social Anthropology at the Université Cadi Ayyad Marrakech in Morocco while also volunteering at École Arrête Travaux D'Enfants, where she taught English, French and social skills to orphans. When she returned to the Netherlands, Malika graduated for her BSc, and continued with her MSc in Cultural and Social Anthropology at the University of Amsterdam. She wrote her thesis on the process of home-making in a traditional Amazigh tribe in South-East Morocco. Soon after graduation she joined the Dutch Institute of Morocco (NIMAR) in Rabat, which is part of the cultural and educational attaché of the Dutch Embassy in Morocco. Together with Prof. Dr. Harry Stroomer she taught Tachelhiyt classes to Dutch students of the University of Leiden. She continued her passion for philanthropy as the program manager of Giving Back Netherlands, while starting her PhD in Cultural Anthropology at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam in 2018. Due to the change of focus in her dissertation in 2020, Malika transitioned her dissertation onto the Rotterdam School of Management, where she joined the part-time PhD program under the supervision of prof.dr. Lucas Meijs and dr. Kees

Biekart, who is positioned at the International Institute of Social Sciences, Erasmus University (ISS). For a timeframe of three years, Malika worked as a lecturer and academic coordinator at the School of Socia Work of Windesheim University of Applied Sciences. Since September 2023, Malika joined the Rotterdam School of Management as a lecturer and researcher where she supervises Mastertheses students, coordinates and teaches the course on Personal Development, and continuous her research on cross-border diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropy.

Portfolio

Education

- PhD in Management studies, 2020-2023 (*passed all courses*)

Rotterdam School of Management, Erasmus University Rotterdam

- PhD in Cultural and Social Anthropology, 2018-2020 (*passed all courses*)

Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

- MSc in Cultural and Social Anthropology, 2015-2017

University of Amsterdam

- Pre-Master in Cultural and Social Anthropology, 2014-2015

University of Amsterdam

- MA in Cultural and Social Anthropology, 2011-2012

Université Cadi Ayyad, Marrakech, Morocco

- BSc in Social Work, 2010-2014

INHolland, University of Applied Sciences

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Presentations

- ARNOVA, Orlando, Florida, USA (2023)

- Vakdag Fondsenwerving, Utrecht, The Netherlands (2023)

- European Research in Non-Profit, Zagreb, Croatia (2023)

- Mondrian Fund, Utrecht, The Netherlands (2023)

- Dutch Institute of Morocco (NIMAR), Rabat, Morocco (2023)

- University of Antwerp, Belgium (2023)

- ARNOVA, Raleigh, North-Carolina, USA (2022)

- ISTR, Montreal, Canada (2022)

- Vakdag Fondsenwerving, Amersfoort, The Netherlands (2022)

- Migration Seminar, International Institute of Social Sciences, The Hague (2022)

- ERNOP Conference, Dublin, Ireland (2021)

- ARNOVA, Atlanta, Georgia, USA (2021)

- Fezando Genero '12, Florianopolis, Brazil (2021)

- Cross-border Philanthropy in the Islamic World: from Western Europe to the Middle East (MENA) Special Issue Conference, Rotterdam School of Management, Erasmus University, The Netherlands (2021)

Professional experiences

- Researcher. Rotterdam School of Management, Erasmus University, 2023 – present

- Lecturer and Academic coordinator. Windesheim University of Applied Sciences, 2020-2023

- Guest Lecturer, Institute of Tropical Medicine, London, UK, 2022 - present

- Guest Lecturer, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, USA, 2019

- Program Manager, Giving Back Nederland, 2018-2020

Appendix

Respondent No.	Gender	Job title	Duration interview	Total
R1	F	Manager	02:00:00	
R2	M	Full professor	00:45:00	
R3	M	Full professor	00:30:00	
R4	M	Staff supporter	00:45:00	
R5	M	Student	02:00:00	
R5	M	HR-manager	01:15:00	
R6	F	Social worker	00:45:00	
R7	F	Unemployed	00:45:00	
R8	F	Staff supporter	00:20:00	
R9	F	Secretary	01:14:00	
R10	F	Manager	01:14:00	
R11	F	Lawyer	01:14:00	
R12	M	Unemployed	00:57:00	
R13	M	Unemployed	00:57:00	
R14	M	Entrepreneur	01:00:00	
R15	F	Café servant	00:15:00	
R16	F	Secretary	00:20:00	
R17	F	Manager	01:15:00	
R18	F	Unemployed	00:20:00	
R19	F	Social worker	00:32:00	
R20	F	Housekeeper	00:45:00	
R21	F	Manager	01:00:00	
R22	F	Director	01:00:00	
R23	M	Highschool teacher	01:00:00	
R24	M	Highschool teacher	01:00:00	
R25	M	Umemployed	00:30:00	
R26	F	Social worker	00:45:00	
R27	F	Student	01:00:00	

R28	F	Student	00:35:00
R29	M	Student	00:45:00
R30	M	Student	00:40:00
R31	M	IT-specialist	00:35:00
R32	M	Unemployer	01:00:13
R33	F	Social worker	01:00:15
R34	F	Medical doctor	00:20:00
R35	M	Salesemployer	00:20:00
R36	F	IT-specialist	00:21:00
R37	F	University coach	02:00:00
R38	F	Social worker	00:30:00
R39	M	Military-servant	01:13:00
R40	F	Government employee	02:00:00
R41	M	Medical doctor	00:20:00
R42	F	Social worker	01:22:00
R43	F	Artist	00:32:18
R44	M	Activist	00:34:21
R45	M	Politician	00:31:39
R46	M	IT-specialist	00:24:37
R47	M	Entrepreneur	00:32:29
R48	M	Entrepreneur	00:23:38
R49	F	Entrepreneur	00:34:48
R50	M	Librarian	00:24:48
R51	F	Middle school teacher	00:54:15
R52	M	Artist	00:54:35
R53	M	Politician	00:30:13
R54	M	IT-specialist	00:30:00
R55	F	Lawyer	00:30:00
R56	F	Lawyer	00:48:12
R57	F	Staff supporter	00:43:19
R58	F	HR employee	01:00:00
R59	M	Airline employee	00:25:00
R60	M	Policy employee	00:42:19

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R61	M	Vice-president	00:38:12
R62	F	University professor	00:21:00
R63	F	Student	00:22:14
R64	M	Unemployed	00:45:00
R65	M	Construction employer	00:32:15
R66	M	Farmer	00:35:00
R67	F	Farmer	00:20:35
R68	F	Unemployed	00:56:07
R69	F	Farmer	00:34:09
R70	F	Farmer	00:12:12
R71	F	Farmer	00:18:33
R72	F	Farmer	00:18:33
R73	F	Farmer	00:18:33
R74	F	Farmer	00:24:23
R75	F	Farmer	00:24:23
R76	F	Farmer	00:24:23
R77	F	Farmer	00:24:23
R78	F	Farmer	00:05:42
R79	F	Farmer	00:20:56
R80	F	Farmer	00:20:56
R81	F	Farmer	00:15:32
R82	F	Farmer	00:13:01
R83	F	Farmer	00:11:01
R84	F	Farmer	00:16:25
R85	F	Unemployed	00:26:42
R86	F	Unemployed	00:31:31
R87	F	Unemployed	00:37:46
R88	F	Unemployed	00:37:11
R89	F	Unemployed	00:38:46
R90	F	Farmer	00:30:00
R91	F	Farmer	00:32:07
R92	F	Farmer	00:43:14
R93	F	Farmer	00:08:15

R94	F	Farmer	00:26:42
R95	M	Construction employee	00:30:00
R96	M	Construction employee	00:20:00
R97	F	Farmer	00:41:00
R98	F	Farmer	00:45:00
R99	F	Farmer	00:35:35
R100	F	Farmer	00:44:21
R101	F	Farmer	00:32:07
R102	F	Farmer	01:00:31
R103	F	Farmer	00:16:16
R104	F	Farmer	00:43:14
R105	F	Farmer	00:36:03
R106	F	Farmer	00:38:46
R107	F	Farmer	00:33:00
R108	F	Farmer	00:24:17
R109	F	Farmer	00:24:17
R110	F	Farmer	00:24:17
R111	F	Politician	0:47:09
R112	M	Accountant	01:30:00
R113	M	Finance director	02:15:00
R114	M	Highschool teacher	00:34:00
R115	M	Entrepreneur	00:31:00
R116	M	Director	01:22:00
R117	F	University professor	00:46:35
R118	F	Staff support	00:35:59
R119	M	Entrepreneur	00:46:53
R120	M	Accountant	01:18:00
R121	F	Social worker	01:25:00
R122	M	Social worker	01:30:00
R123	F	Social worker	00:45:00
R124	M	Highschool teacher	00:54:57
R125	M	Eventmanager	01:30:00
R126	M	Full professor	01:13:00

R127	F	Social worker	01:22:00
R128	F	HR manager	00:46:20
R129	F	High school teacher	00:54:15
R130	M	IT-specialist	00:54:48
R131	F	Social worker	00:40:00
R132	M	Director	02:00:00
R133	M	Artist	01:00:03
R134	M	Policy maker	00:59:14
R135	M	Director	01:15:00
R136	M	Military-servant	01:13:00
R137	M	Eventplanner	01:15:00
R138	M	Medical doctor	00:34:47
R139	F	Student	01:02:00
R140	M	Chef	00:49:00
R141	F	Unemployed	01:22:11
R142	F	Highschool teacher	00:57:21
R143	M	Medical doctor	00:34:47
R144	F	Unemployed	00:54:57
R145	M	University professor	00:34:00
R146	M	Lawyer	02:00:00
R147	M	Unemployed	00:20:00
R148	F	Entrepreneur	00:45:00
R149	F	Unemployed	00:36:00
R150	M	Real estate manager	00:45:00

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List of models

		Donor Aggregation	
		Individual donor	Multiple donors
Donation Size	Small	Some remittances, individual donations	Hometown associations, neighborhood and regional groups, ethnic and clan associations, foreign-based ethnic NGOs, online platforms, small foundations
	Large	Direct donations from highly successful businesspersons, celebrities, sports stars, and large foundations started by such individuals	Professional associations, family foundations, venture philanthropy funds

Adapted in part from Newland et al. 2010, p. 10

Model 1 Mechanisms of diasporic philanthropy. Adapted in part from Newland et al. (2010, p. 10)

Study 1: Non-governmental organizations and diasporic volunteering and philanthropy in an Islamic faith-based tribal nation-state: A case study from Morocco

Research Question 1 | Chapter 2

Study 2: Cross-border philanthropy in the Islamic World, from Europe to the Middle East and North Africa (MENA): An introduction

Research Question 2 | Chapter 3

Study 3: Diasporic volunteering in cross-national perspective: Is faith-based philanthropy more effective than secular philanthropy? A case study from the Netherlands and Morocco

Research Question 2 | Chapter 4

Study 4: "To where and to whom do I belong?" The sense of belonging in the performance of cross-border diasporic philanthropy

Research Question 3 | Chapter 5

Study 5: Cross-border philanthropy and its failure in avoiding post-colonialism and white-saviorism.

Research Question 4 | Chapter 6

Study 6: A conceptual study on the researchers positionality as a methodology

Research Question 5 | Chapter 7

Model 1.2 Interrelation between the six chapters.

|	Study one	Study two	Study three	Study four	Study five	Study six
Methodology	Conceptual Study based on a scoping literature review	Literature review using case studies	Qualitative; ethnography using the narrative approach method (including participant observation)	Qualitative; ethnography using the narrative approach method (including participant observation)	Qualitative; phenomenological approach	Conceptual study based on grounded theory
Title	Non-governmental organizations and diasporic volunteering and philanthropy in an Islamic faith-based tribal nation-state	Cross-border philanthropy in the Islamic World, from Europe to the Middle East and North Africa (MENA)	Diasporic volunteering in cross-national perspective: Is faith-based philanthropy more effective than secular philanthropy? A case study from the Netherlands and Morocco	"To where and to whom do I belong?" The sense of belonging in the performance of cross-border diasporic philanthropy and volunteering	Cross-border diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropy and its failure in avoiding post-colonialism and white-saviorism.	A conceptual study on the researchers positionality as a methodology
Aim	To deepen understanding of the relationship between civil society and the governance of a faith based, tribal nation-state.	To unfold the interrelationships between the Islamic world and the non-Islamic world, along with the historical effects on global civil society.	To take a qualitative measurement of the effectiveness of cross-border philanthropy by international and national diasporic groups, along with the influence of having religion as the primary motivation.	To identify the true motivations of diasporic philanthropy in the country of origin, and the effects of these motivations on the way philanthropy is performed.	To explore differences and similarities between diasporic philanthropists and non-diasporic philanthropists, and to examine whether post-colonialism can be performed only by the latter.	To elaborate the importance of a researchers positionality and the explanation of how such positionality, in combination of a researchers bias, may effect research and data.
Theoretical lens	Institutions, governance	Cross-border philanthropy, religion, socio-politics	National and international migration, organizational policy	Migration, intergenerational psychology, institutions	Post-colonialism, systematic theory	Researchers positionality, insider-outsider perspective, personal bias
Contribution	Demonstrating the complexity that diasporic philanthropy may encounter when serving the faith-based, tribal homeland.	Uncovering the international relationship—both historical and contemporary—between the Islamic world and the non-Islamic world.	Revealing the importance of faith-based diasporic philanthropy and enhancing the understanding of religious importance among diasporic groups.	Introducing the influence of intergenerational pain on cross-border diasporic philanthropy and the existence of diasporic organizations.	Explaining the similarities between diasporic and non-diasporic groups, and explaining the persistent dominance of superficial differences.	Explaining the importance of awareness on a researchers positionality and a researchers bias, and its possible effects on research and data.

Model 1.3 Overview of the six chapters including methodology and academic contribution.

Model 1.4 Interpret of the output from case studies.
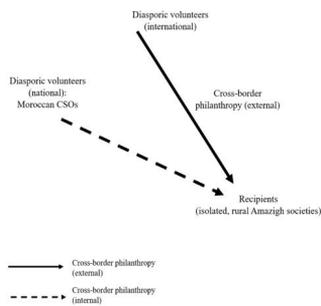
Model 4.1 The current state in Moroccan civil society
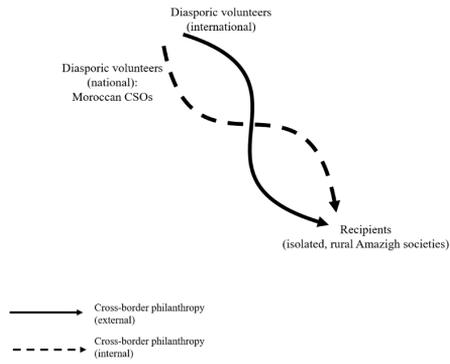
Diasporic volunteers
(international)

Diasporic volunteers
(national):
Moroccan CSOs

Recipients
(isolated, rural Amazigh societies)

Cross-border philanthropy
(external)

Cross-border philanthropy
(internal)

Model 4.2 Suggested collaboration in Moroccan civil society

Precontemplation

Contemplation

Decision

Action

Departure

Acculturation

Return Migration
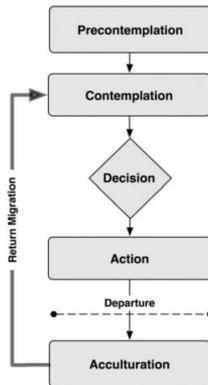
Model 5.1 Stages of the effects of migration
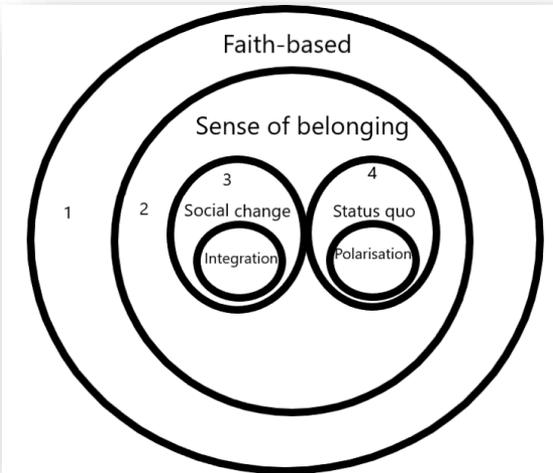
Model 5.2 Layers of diasporic motives to give to the homeland.

	A. One country	B. Comparative (investigating one country in a comparative study)	C. Comparing two countries	D. Comparing diasporic groups
1. Country of residence Not using the bi-cultural background	Philanthropy of students in the Netherlands		Students active in the Netherlands and Morocco	
2. Country of residence Using the bi-cultural background	The philanthropy of Moroccans in the Netherlands	Survey on Moroccan volunteering in the Netherlands as part of an international study on migrant volunteering	Moroccan philanthropists active in the Netherlands and Morocco (interviews)	Moroccan, Turkish and Surinamese students active in the Netherlands (survey)
3. Country of origin	The philanthropy of Moroccans in Morocco	Survey on Moroccan volunteering in the Morocco as part of an international study on migrant volunteering	Moroccan philanthropists active only in Morocco	
4. Linking country of residence and country of origin	Cross-border philanthropy from the Netherlands to Morocco Cross-border philanthropy from the US to India Cross-border philanthropy from the US to Israel Cross-border philanthropy from Belgium to Turkey	Participating in a study on the effects of colonial relations by looking at cross-border philanthropy from the Netherlands to Morocco while another researcher examines France to Morocco, Netherlands to Indonesia, Britain to Egypt, etc.	Dutch Moroccans and French Moroccans performing philanthropy in Morocco (survey)	
5. Linking country of residence with another diasporic			Dutch Moroccans performing philanthropy in	French Moroccans active in Algeria working with

group's country of origin			Egypt and in Turkey	French Algerians
				Tunisians in Italy performing philanthropy in Morocco

Model 7.1 Possible researchers' positionality regarding research topics and geographic research context

Receiving by Giving

Cross-border giving is about the giver

Giving is about the search for a sense of belonging

Faith-based giving is more popular than secular giving

Who serves the homeland better?

Diasporic philanthropists can reach the most isolated rural peoples in the homeland
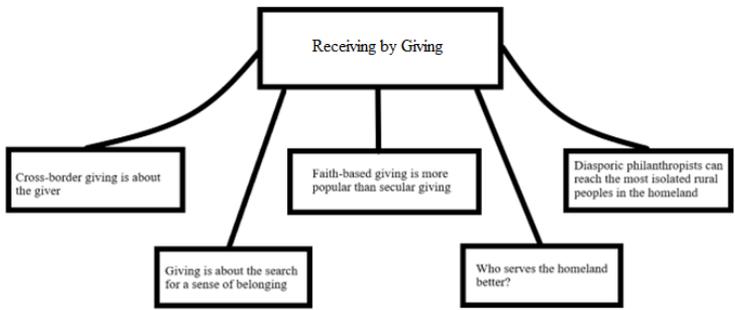
Model 8.1 Five academic implications

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ERIM is the joint research institute of the Rotterdam School of Management (RSM) and the Erasmus School of Economics (ESE) at the Erasmus University Rotterdam (EUR).

Dissertations

1. Duijm, P., *On the Cyclical Nature of Finance: The role and impact of financial Institutions*, Supervisors: Prof. D. Schoenmaker & Prof. W.B. Wagner

2. Maas, S.A., *In the Moment of Giving: Essays on contemporary forms of private and corporate philanthropy,* Supervisors: Prof. L.C.P.M. Meijs & Prof. J.P. Cornelissen

3. Langenbusch, C., *A lot to lose. Organizational identity and emotions in institutional contexts*, Supervisors: Prof. J.P. Cornelissen & Prof. G. Jacobs

4. Zanten, J.A.P. van, *Business in the Age of Sustainable Development*, Supervisor: Prof. R.J.M. van Tulder, Co-supervisor: Dr. F.H. Wijen

5. Dekker, I., *Academic Thriving: Optimising Student Development with Evidence-Based Higher Education*, Supervisor: Prof. M.C. Schippers, Co-supervisors: Dr. E. Klatter & Dr. E.J. Van Schooten

6. Heeren, J.W.J., *Management Innovation in the Military, Practice Adaptation Processes and Innovation Performance Consequences: Solving the Paradox between*

Institutional Pressure, Rational Motivation and Implementation Misfit, Promotors: Prof. H.W. Volberda & Prof. V.J.A van de Vrande, Co-supervisor: Dr. E.J. de Waard

7. Caballero Santin, J.A., *Stunted Innovation: How large incumbent Companies Fail in the Era of Supply Chain Digitization*, Supervisor: Prof. ir. J.C.M. van den Ende, Co-supervisor: Dr. M. Stevens

8. Renault, M., *All For One and One For All: How Teams Adapt to Crises*, Supervisor: Prof. J.C.M. van den Ende, Co-supervisor: Dr. M. Tarakci

9. Reinders, H.J., *Financial Stability in a Changing Environment,* Supervisors: Prof. D. Schoenmaker & Prof. M.A. van Dijk

10. Carpentier, P.D.J., *A New Frontier for the Study of the Commons: Open-Source Hardware*, Supervisor: Prof. L.C.P.M. Meijs, Co-supervisor: Prof. ir.V. van de Vrande

11. Jakobs, K., *ICT Standardisation Management*: *A multidimensional perspective on company participation in standardization committees,* Supervisors: Prof.dr.ir. H.J. de Vries & Prof. K. Blind

Receiving by Giving is an interdisciplinary, intersectional and in-depth examination of cross-border diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropy embodied in a PhD manuscript. By taking the socio-geographical case study of the Netherlands and Morocco, the author explains the multi-layered cross-border philanthropy performed by (Dutch-Moroccan) diaspora and bi-cultural philanthropists from the country of residence to the homeland.

Malika Ouacha is a cultural anthropologist appointed as a researcher at the Business-Society Management department of the Rotterdam School of Management, Erasmus University (The Netherlands). Her research focusses on cross-border diasporic and bi-cultural philanthropy.