Philanthropy in Communities of Color

Traditions and Challenges

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Contributors

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Introduction

Pier C. Rogers

A theme highlighting the 1999 ARNOVA annual research conference was "philanthropy in communities of color." A luncheon speaker and a plenary panel were selected to present papers on this theme. The theme was intended to attract increased participation by members of those diverse communities to participate in the ARNOVA conference, as well as to attract attention to this under-researched aspect of nonprofit sector studies. Those papers from the plenary and from the luncheon speech are presented together here in the inaugural issue of the *ARNOVA Occasional Papers* series.

These essays are intended to intrigue, raise questions, catalyze new behaviors, and inspire further research. As Dr. Bettye Collier-Thomas comments in her paper, research in the area of black philanthropy is limited. That also holds true for research on philanthropy in the Latino, Asian American, and Native American communities. Despite slight increases in research in this area in recent years (Smith, Bradford et al., 1999) (Cortes, 1991, 1995) (Miranda, 1999) (Rodriguez, 1999) (Scanlon, Joanne et al., 1999), it is still an area of study requiring a great deal more examination if the field of philanthropy is to benefit from an improved understanding of philanthropy in communities of color. The material presented here, and the perspectives shared, may raise questions that touch on long-held conceptions with regard to race, class, and stereotypical behaviors associated with particular groups. In addition, these essays represent a variety of approaches—from traditional academic research of the literature and data analysis to reflections on interviews and development of explanatory models.

Michael Cortés' paper builds upon his previous work on Latino nonprofits and philanthropy by raising the question of how to foster more giving and volunteering by Latinos in the United States. He offers data on the U.S. Latino population, educational levels, and the giving and serving levels of Latinos. This is a background for his argument that the way in which philanthropy is defined, and the way in which the data is collected, have served to bias the results so that Latino giving appears to be particularly low. To address this view, it is important to conduct additional research with tools that are more sensitive to class and ethnic group differences. In addition, when he examines the traditional philanthropic organizations' giving to Latinos and Latino organizations, the data reveals a low level of interest. If traditional philanthropic groups show little interest in Latino communities, then a challenge is presented as to how to engage Latinos' interest in giving to and participating in the larger nonprofit community. Cortés then discusses the emerging Latino nonprofit community and the ways in which it serves unmet needs for Latinos. The larger question is whether or not the growing Latino nonprofit

community will further stimulate the philanthropic involvement of Latinos.

Bettye Collier-Thomas' luncheon speech revealed a wealth of historic data on the giving and serving traditions of African American women, primarily in the 19th and early 20th centuries. This paper was her first foray into utilizing a philanthropic paradigm to examine the historic contributions of many African American women and organizations. Her excitement about the power of using this philanthropic "lens" was evident in the passion with which she enthralled the ARNOVA luncheon crowd as she related the stories of these virtually unknown African American women. The stories of the many "unsung heroines" who saved and sometimes amassed veritable fortunes that were contributed to philanthropic efforts, particularly directed towards individuals and groups in black communities around the U.S., were a powerful testimony to the need to look more deeply into the histories of various groups and to consider different paradigms when we do engage in those examinations. Much of the philanthropy cited by Dr. Collier-Thomas was ignored or discounted simply because it was directed to individuals and groups *within black communities* and was therefore classified (when it was noted at all) as "self-help" or "mutual aid" efforts. The thousands of dollars that supported education, institution building, health initiatives, and other efforts traditionally considered "philanthropic" were discounted often because the donor was black and the recipient was black also. This work by Dr. Collier-Thomas is of a nature that is critical to disproving the long-held notions that people of color, in this instance, African Americans, were only recipients of philanthropic largess and were never philanthropists themselves. This research gives further evidence of the centuries-old contributions by African Americans to the building of communities across the United States.

The essay by Sherry Salway Black is one that also helps to disprove long-held notions of uninvolvement of particular racial and ethnic groups in the field of philanthropy. Her paper addresses philanthropy within the Native American community. A key contribution of this essay is the explanation of the primacy of giving and sharing within Native American traditions.

Giving and sharing are critical for the survival of the entire group. The individual does not give significance to the group; the group gives significance to the individual. Giving is expected; gifts are given with the expectation that they are given away—in order to continue a giving relationship. It is giving, not amassing objects or wealth, that is honored. This understanding is diametrically opposed to Western ideas of private property where a gift is given and then becomes the property of the recipient. The philanthropic community may disregard the giving and sharing behaviors within Native American communities because they do not conform to traditional definitions of philanthropy. These differing values and traditions require examination and understanding within their own context. It is only then that the traditional philanthropic community will learn of the charitable traditions that exist in the Native American community. Sherry Salway Black begins to foster a new level of understanding of those Native American traditions. Once such traditions are better understood, they can more easily be strengthened.

Jessica Chao offers a model for understanding a continuum of philanthropic involvement in Asian American communities. The significance of immigrant status and the extent of acculturation into the American culture are highlighted. Her paper is a reflective one that was stimulated by interviews with a number of wealthy Asian Americans, which she conducted for a Council on Foundations project. In this paper, she reflects upon a pattern that seems to emerge where new Asian immigrants are focused on giving to enhance/ensure survival. The recipients of their giving are social

peers and are often family members. Once these immigrants are more firmly rooted, and have become acculturated to some degree, they begin to focus on giving to help those who are less fortunate. Finally, after becoming even more acculturated, and ending ties with homeland groups and institutions, Asian Americans can begin to focus on giving for the purposes of institution and community building. Ms. Chao does not argue that this pattern is necessarily distinctive for Asian Americans, as this paper does not include any comparative study against other immigrant groups. Her argument is simply that the model she proffers is one that can facilitate greater understanding of the giving traditions within the Asian American community. This understanding is beneficial to practitioners who seek to approach Asian Americans for the purpose of philanthropic solicitation.

The essays concerning Latino, African American, and Native American philanthropic traditions have tended to point out the lesser involvement of these groups in traditional philanthropy, albeit for reasons including that the formal definition of philanthropy in practice excluded giving for individuals and causes within one's own racial or ethnic group. It is important to explore another perspective to understand the isolation of these groups from traditional philanthropic considerations.

The final essay, by Dalton Conley, helps us understand the significance of net worth as opposed to income in assessing differences in wealth between blacks and whites. It is this conception of net worth that is important in considering the capacity for philanthropic giving. This paper expands on an earlier book by Melvin Oliver and Thomas Shapiro, *Black Wealth, White Wealth*, and another work by Conley, *Being Black and Living in the Red*. There the issues of public policy barriers, wealth formation, and differential impacts on African Americans were explored.

This paper reiterates that black and white wealth differentials arise from critical differences in net worth. Net worth is determined by many factors, including many that are historic in origin and tend to be cumulative over time. Conley's data, for the first time, reveals that in only a short time frame—five years according to the data— African Americans' circumstances can change to substantially alter their net worth situation. The significance of parental net worth is highlighted as a major predictor of the level of net worth of the offspring.

Conley, whose work on African Americans and wealth had not previously included any discussion of the capacity for philanthropic involvement, moved to consider that issue. The possession of wealth is not the only factor involved in whether an individual gives financially to philanthropic causes. It is, however, a significant factor when considering the capacity of an individual or group to give financially. Generally, the data that examines economic disparity between the races has considered only income. In recent years, the income differentials for certain categories between blacks and whites have decreased. With that income data in the public eye, there are many who assume that blacks have greater funds to give. However, if people give largely not from their disposable income but from the wealth they have accumulated, and African Americans have faced policy barriers that precluded that accumulation, then their capacity to give is theoretically limited. Conley's paper examines some barriers to wealth development within the African American community. An understanding that these barriers existed historically, and still exist in various forms for the African American community, is instructive. Further, Conley hints at the existence of other factors that influence giving, since the net worth differentials of African Americans are still high, yet the giving is beyond that which would be expected. The existence of policy barriers against wealth development for African Americans also suggests that there may be some policies that threaten wealth

creation in other racial or ethnic groups. There may also be unknown factors that influence giving in those other racial and ethnic groups. Those questions require further research.

The Papers

1. Michael Cortes—"Fostering Philanthropy and Service in U.S. Latino Communities."

2. Bettye Collier-Thomas—"'The Relief Corps of Heaven': Black Women as Philanthropists."

3. Sherry Salway Black—"Native American Philanthropy."

4. Jessica Chao—"Asian American Philanthropy: Acculturation and Charitable Vehicles."

5. Dalton Conley—"The Racial Wealth Gap: Origins and Implications for Philanthropy in the African American Community."

Special Thanks

Fostering Philanthropy and Service in U.S. Latino Communities

Michael Cortés

How might we foster more giving and volunteering by Latinos? A growing number and proportion of U.S. citizens and residents are of Latin American, Spanish-speaking ancestry. Latinos' distinct cultures and philanthropic traditions will help shape the future of giving and serving in the U.S. That future will depend in part on the degree to which Latinos are assimilated into the nation's philanthropic mainstream and the extent to which the nation recognizes and supports Latinos' own philanthropic traditions.

In this paper, I offer an admittedly argumentative commentary on the future of Latino philanthropy in the U.S. I also review selected research on Latino giving and community service and suggest some new topics for future research. I conclude by suggesting a strategy for preserving and strengthening Latinos' distinctive philanthropic traditions and cultures and integrating them into our nation's dominant philanthropic institutions.

The Latino Challenge

The problem of how to promote Latino giving and serving is not trivial. The nation's Latino population is growing dramatically. The Latino percentage of the U.S. population will continue to grow well into the twenty-first century. At last count, the U.S. had an estimated 31,572,000 Latinos, comprising 11.5 percent of all U.S. residents (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1999). The Census Bureau states, "The numeric increase of this population from 1995 to 2050, at 70 million, will greatly exceed that of any other race or ethnic group" (U.S. Census Bureau, 1997, p. 14). By the end of the year 2004, Latinos will be the nation's largest minority group. By the year 2050, Latinos will comprise one out of four U.S. residents (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1996).

The principal cause of that growth is high Latino birth rates in the U.S. (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1995, p. 6). Immigration is also an important contributing factor. The Latino population includes a large number of recent immigrants and their U.S.-born children. Most Latinos in this country are either U.S. citizens or legally admitted U.S. residents. The proportion of Latinos who are U.S. citizens approaches 68 percent (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1997a). But not all Latino families are headed by recent immigrants. A large number of Spanish American and mestizo families have been rooted in the southwestern United States for more than 400 years (C.E. Cortés, 1980).

Latinos' life opportunities are relatively limited when compared with the rest of the U.S. population. Despite their above-average labor force participation rates, the

poverty rate for Hispanics is 25.6 percent, more than triple the rate for non-Hispanic whites (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1998). Poverty rates are even higher among Latino children, especially in female-headed households. The principal reason for high poverty rates is concentration of the Latino workforce in low-skilled, low-paying, and often high-risk jobs (Borjas and Tienda, 1985; Congressional Research Service, 1985; Escutia and Prieto, 1985).

Just 54 percent of Latino adults have a high school education (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 1996, p. 18). Latino youth have the nation's largest high school dropout rates. Nearly one third of all Latinos between 16 and 24 years of age have dropped out of high school (NCES, 1997, p. 13). Of those Latino young adults who do graduate from high school, only 16.5 percent continue on to college and earn a bachelor's degree (NCES, 1999, p. 276). The failures of public education today will preserve Latinos' relative disadvantage in U.S. labor markets, and in U.S. society in general, well into the 21st century.

Latino population size, growth rates, and limited life opportunities pose a challenge for the rest of U.S. society, including the private, for-profit, and nonprofit sectors as well as for government. Perhaps the nonprofit sector will lead the way in offering and advocating solutions, as it often has with other social, political, and economic challenges to U.S. society. But (as I argue below) the nation's nonprofit sector has been slow to integrate Latinos into its mainstream institutions and strategies. Organized philanthropy seems slow to respond to Latino community needs and aspirations. Effective solutions may require increased involvement of Latinos themselves in individual and organized philanthropy, advocacy, voluntary action, and nonprofit sector leadership.

Fostering greater Latino involvement and leadership in philanthropy, community service, and the nonprofit sector in general, is a challenging proposition. Research suggests a number of special difficulties and complications that such a strategy would have to confront. Let us begin by reviewing available research on giving and volunteering by Latinos.

Mixed Survey Results

Qualitative and quantitative research findings on Latino giving and serving are somewhat inconsistent. Quantitative survey research has yielded mixed and somewhat discouraging findings. Qualitative exploratory studies, on the other hand, suggest that all is not lost. We will begin by comparing two quantitative sample surveys.

The biennial *Survey of Giving and Volunteering* conducted by the Gallup Organization for INDEPENDENT SECTOR suggested that Latinos are relatively uncharitable. Results published in 1992, for example, found that while 72 percent of U.S. households contributed money to charity, only 53 percent of Latino homes did. Latinos who did contribute reportedly gave, on average, smaller percentages of their household income (Hodgkinson and Weitzman, 1992, Table 2.1).

The survey also found that on average, affluent Latinos gave only half as much as affluent African Americans and whites gave. For example, among contributing households with more than $40,000 in annual income, African Americans contributed an average of $1,162 per year, whites about $1,251, and Latinos only $594 (Hodgkinson and Weitzman, 1992, Tables 2.4, 2.5, and 2.6).

The INDEPENDENT SECTOR *Survey of Giving and Volunteering* also found differences between racial and ethnic groups in rates of volunteering. Both Latinos

and African-Americans were found to volunteer substantially less than other respon-
dents. Reported rates of giving and volunteering for all groups have fluctuated in
statistically significant amounts over the 11 years that the biennial survey has been
administered. Rates of volunteering among Latinos appear to be increasing. In 1998,
46 percent of Latinos reported volunteering, compared to 35 percent in 1995 (INDE-
PENDENT SECTOR, 1999).

The *Survey of Giving and Volunteering* has its limitations. It relies on self-
reporting. Its analysis of racial/ethnic group differences does not control for differ-
ences in wealth (as opposed to income) (Schervish and Havens, 1995). Multivariate
analysis controlling for other factors, such as religion, age, education, and recency of
family immigration, as well as wealth and income, might have reduced or reversed
the reported relationship of race and ethnicity to giving and volunteering (e.g., see
Hoge, 1995; Rodríguez, 1999). And finally, operational definition of giving and
serving for purposes of survey research is at least potentially controversial, because
different people and traditions define philanthropy differently.

Another survey produced different results. De la Garza and Lu addressed giving
and volunteering by ethnic subgroups of Latinos in their analysis of data from the
Latino National Political Survey. At first glance, their results seemed comparable to
the INDEPENDENT SECTOR survey. De la Garza and Lu report:

> While 58 percent of Anglos make some kind of contribution to at least one
> organization, only 31 percent of Mexicans, 29 percent of Puerto Ricans, and
> 27 percent of Cubans do so" (De la Garza and Lu, 1999, 60).

But multivariate analysis of the same data found that "there are no statistically
significant differences between Mexican-Americans and Anglos." (The sample had
too few members of other ethnic groups to allow comparisons with Puerto Ricans,
Cubans, etc.) When analysis controlled for immigration, income, education, and
trust in organizations, the difference between Anglos and Latinos of Mexican descent
disappeared. Mexican-Americans born in the U.S. gave and volunteered at the same
rates as Anglos (De la Garza and Lu, p. 64).

De la Garza and Lu used multiple regression analysis to control for country of
birth, income, education, and the amount of trust respondents place in organiza-
tions, such as political parties and nonprofit agencies. Critics might argue that trust
in organizations is a proxy for ethnic culture, and that Latinos' traditional distrust of
formal institutions leads them to give and volunteer less. But De la Garza and Lu
dispose of that argument by finding that "Mexican Americans report higher trust [in
organizations] than do Anglos" (p. 63). De la Garza and Lu conclude, "'ethnic culture'
appears to have no significant impact on rates of giving and volunteering." They
attribute Latinos' low rates of giving to recency of immigration, not Latino ethnicity.
The authors conclude that the presence of a large number of immigrants in the
nation's Latino population is responsible for Latinos' lower aggregate rates of giving
and volunteering (p. 64).

Qualitative Differences Among Latino Subgroups

To date, *quantitative* surveys of giving and serving have failed to over-sample
Latinos in sufficient numbers, thereby precluding statistically significant compari-
sons between the three largest subgroups of Latinos in the U.S., i.e., people of Mexi-
can, Puerto Rican, and Cuban descent. *Qualitative* exploratory research, on the other
hand, suggests that important differences exist between Latino subgroups. Qualita-
tive research has yielded rich inter-group comparisons of philanthropic traditions

and practices. Nevertheless, qualitative differences in giving and serving by Latino subgroups have yet to be measured and compared with statistical confidence.

Smith et al. (1999) offer compelling qualitative evidence of the pitfalls of trying to generalize about Latino philanthropy. Guatemalans, Mexicans, and Salvadorans were among the groups compared by Smith et al. in a cross-cultural ethnographic study of philanthropy in the San Francisco Bay Area. Results suggested several important differences between Latino subgroups.

For example, Smith et al. found the Mexican tradition of god-parenthood to be an important vehicle for involving nonrelatives in patterns of giving within extended kinship networks. They also found that giving through extended kinship networks often involved large transfers of money and goods from the U.S. to Mexico. Mexicans in the San Francisco Bay Area were also found to share their homes with relatives and friends in need. But giving and volunteering by Mexicans to nonchurch and non-Mexican organizations beyond extended kinship networks was relatively rare.

Guatemalans were found to have a tradition of providing food and lodging to new immigrants from Guatemala, including nonrelatives. Guatemalans interviewed faulted mainstream U.S. philanthropic and nonprofit organizations for being impersonal, greedy, and ignorant of Guatemalan traditions of community responsibility.

Salvadorans, on the other hand, were more likely to give to well-established mainstream nonprofits in the San Francisco Bay Area. At the same time, Salvadorans expressed distrust of large charitable organizations. Salvadorans also practiced a tradition of sheltering other Salvadorans in need.

Despite those variations, Smith et al. found that all three Latino subgroups have distinctive philanthropic traditions in common. All three Latino subgroups contributed relatively little time and money to mainstream charities, except for churches. They typically sent money to family, kin, and communities outside the U.S. Latinos provided caretaking services to the young and old, instead of leaving their care to government, nonprofit, or commercial agencies more commonly used by other U.S. residents. Relatively affluent Latinos tended to help newcomers to the U.S. Charity among Latinos included an element of traditional Latin-American *personalismo*, in which personal, intimate, one-to-one relationships shaped the nature and extent of giving. And finally, Smith et al. reported that all three groups evidenced a strong distrust of institutions, including philanthropic and nonprofit organizations, as well as government and large firms.

Findings and conclusions by Smith et al. about Latino philanthropy are generally consistent with other qualitative studies and personal accounts of Latino philanthropy in the U.S. (See M. Cortés, 1995; Rivas-Vázquez, 1999; Villa Parra, 1999). Royce and Rodríguez, for example, interviewed Latino clergy, fundraisers, foundation program officers, educators, community leaders, philanthropists, scholars, and business people, all from various Latino subgroups. Although Royce and Rodríguez were searching for Latinos' formal philanthropic institutions, they found very few outside of organized religion. The bulk of their findings focused instead on cultural values that shape Latinos' highly personalized, informal, noninstitutional patterns of philanthropy:

> Throughout our interviews, certain terms and phrases appeared again and again: *personalismo* (personalism), *familia* (family), *confianza* (trust), *la importancia de la palabra* (the importance of one's word), *el valor de la persona* (the intrinsic worth of each person), *servicio* (service), *obligación* (obligation), and giving back (Royce and Rodríguez, 1999, p. 14).

Thus far, qualitative research has not resolved the doubts raised by De la Garza and Lu about the importance of ethnicity when explaining Latinos' low rates of giving and serving. De la Garza and Lu conclude that immigration and class (education, wealth, and income)—not ethnicity—account for the low rates of giving and serving by Latinos reported by the INDEPENDENT SECTOR *Survey of Giving and Volunteering*. De la Garza and Lu also contradict qualitative research findings about the negative influence of Latinos' distrust of formal institutions of giving and volunteering. Resolution of those conflicting findings and conclusions would require more quantitative survey research, with more extensive over-sampling of Latino sub-groups. Researchers would also have to resolve another question that researchers have answered in conflicting ways in research to date: What is philanthropy? How should researchers define philanthropy—theoretically and operationally?

Culture-Bound versus Inclusive Definitions of Philanthropy

Qualitative exploratory research on Latino giving and volunteering suggests an important limitation of quantitative survey research to date. Measured rates of giving among racial/ethnic groups depend on the way researchers define philanthropy. Mainstream U.S. conceptions of philanthropy as operationalized, for example, by the INDEPENDENT SECTOR *Survey of Giving and Volunteering*, are arguably too narrow when attempting to measure and understand Latino philanthropic behavior. Narrow definitions shaped by the dominant culture risk missing important behaviors that also express the love of humanity and promotion of human welfare implied by the Greek roots of the very word *philanthropy*.

Smith et al. used a more inclusive definition than did INDEPENDENT SECTOR. Smith et al. viewed philanthropy as a form of social exchange, in which donor and recipient trade both tangible and intangible resources. Examples of intangible resources received by donors might include personal satisfaction, discharge of moral, social, or familial obligations, and social standing and approbation as a benefactor.

An advantage of defining philanthropy as social exchange is that it facilitates consideration of giving and serving within the context of extended kinship and informal interpersonal networks favored by Latinos. Focusing on the social exchange dyad as a unit of analysis comports with Latinos' highly personal approach to giving and serving. Assuming that donors benefit by giving also comports with the experiences of successful solicitors of major gifts from affluent *non*-Latinos. Well-publicized grants by for-profit (non-Latino) corporations to popular charities (with the blessings of marketing departments) are a more obvious example of philanthropy as mutually beneficial exchange.

A disadvantage of defining philanthropy as social exchange is having to assume that all philanthropy involves mutual benefit. Social exchange theorists would have us equate philanthropy with economic market transactions (see Blau, 1964, and 1974, chapter 12; Cartwright, 1965; Chadwick-Jones, 1976; Cook, 1987; Ekeh, 1974; Gergen, 1977; Homans, 1958; Johnson, 1977; Leik and Leik, 1977; Levine and White, 1961; Stolte and Emerson, 1977). Thus defined, philanthropy lacks the elements of altruism and personal sacrifice inherent in popular conceptions of philanthropy. In addition, explaining philanthropic behavior by assuming that donors receive unobserved, intangible resources can border on tautology (see Emerson, 1962, 1976, and 1977).

In the U.S., researchers often assume that philanthropy is an altruistic human expression of good will without expectation of tangible personal benefit in return. Latino views of philanthropy are more likely to emphasize interpersonal social

exchange involving either tangible or intangible benefits to both donor and recipient. Although that latter, more inclusive view downplays the importance of altruism, it provides a useful conceptual framework for recognizing, understanding, and investigating Latino philanthropy.

Do Most U.S. Nonprofits Neglect Latinos?

Another explanation for disappointing findings reported by INDEPENDENT SECTOR's *Survey of Giving and Volunteering* is that Latinos have fewer reasons to give and volunteer for mainstream U.S. charities. Organized philanthropy and formal nonprofit organizations have less to do with Latinos than one might expect.

Available data, although incomplete, suggest that most grantmaking foundations ignore Latinos. Of all the funds granted each year by major U.S. foundations, the amount earmarked for Latinos fluctuates between 0.75 and 2 percent (M. Cortés, 1991). It is easy to imagine Latinos asking themselves, if non-Latino funders avoid supporting Latinos, why Latinos would want to give to non-Latino charities.

The rest of the nonprofit sector appears to share funders' disproportionately limited interest in Latinos. INDEPENDENT SECTOR finds that nonprofits lag behind government and business in hiring Latinos. Among nonprofits, 5.3 percent of employees are Latino, compared with 6.4 percent in government and 8.6 percent in the private sector (Hispanics in Philanthropy, 1994). Latinos constitute only 0.5 percent of foundation and other boards of directors and trustees, despite Latinos' large and rapidly growing presence in the U.S. (Sánchez and Zamora, 1999).

Miranda suggests that even churches help create "disincentives for the philanthropic participation of the Hispanic community in North America" (1999, p. 59). Miranda argues that Protestant and Catholic leaders' long history of indifference toward Latinos has promoted passivity among Latino parishioners (p. 62).

The consequences seem predictable. If Hispanics were to give more to charity, to whom would they give? Perhaps qualitative researchers are correct when they conclude that Latinos distrust formal organizations in general and most nonprofit corporations in particular. If mainstream nonprofit institutions neglect Latinos, Latinos in return are less likely to view the formal nonprofit sector as a vehicle for addressing their problems, aspirations, and values. Perhaps the emerging Latino nonprofit sector in the U.S. will someday be a more attractive alternative for potential Latino donors and volunteers.

Emergence of the Latino Nonprofit Sector

Smith et al. observed culturally specific forms of mutual assistance among recent immigrants to the San Francisco Bay Area. De la Garza and Lu suggest that second and third generation descendants of those immigrants will be assimilated into mainstream U.S. philanthropic traditions. We might therefore conclude that rates of giving and volunteering among descendants of those Latino immigrants will be indistinguishable from that of other native-born people with other ethnic backgrounds within the same socioeconomic class.

But what if the assimilation of immigrants' descendants, as proposed by De la Garza and Lu, remains incomplete? Given high dropout rates among today's Latino high school students, economic and educational integration of the children of Latino immigrants will remain incomplete well into the next century. Demographics cited at the beginning of this paper support this idea. Historians further suggest that a separate and distinct population of Latino nonprofits will emerge as a result of this potentially incomplete assimilation.

Rodríguez-Fraticelli, Sanabria, and Tirado (1991) describe the formation of voluntary associations of Puerto Ricans in New York in the early twentieth century. Puerto Ricans formed those associations to help cope with lack of integration, racial and ethnic discrimination, persecution, and lack of equal opportunity. Similarly, Camarillo (1991) describes the emergence of mutual assistance associations of Mexican Americans in response to persecution in the southwestern United States in the mid-nineteenth century.

Camarillo reports that the nation's first Latino nonprofits were formed after the end of the Mexican War. Under the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848, Mexico ceded half its territory to the United States, including much of what is now Arizona, California, Colorado, Oklahoma, Nevada, New Mexico, Texas, and Utah. Many of our Mexican ancestors did not cross the border to become U.S. citizens—the border crossed them. The treaty guaranteed protections for former Mexicans who were native to the newly acquired southwestern territories. It promised *Mejicanos* their full U.S. citizenship with attendant civil and property rights. Nevertheless, *Mejicanos* were gradually robbed of their land during ensuing westward migration of English-speaking residents from the nation's eastern states. Anglos who took control of the region forcibly prevented U.S. citizens of Mexican descent from exercising their rights of citizenship, including voting and running for office. As a result, *Mejicanos* formed nonprofit mutual assistance associations as they struggled to survive an increasingly hostile social, political, and economic environment. Several of those associations were formally incorporated during the late nineteenth or early twentieth century.

The tradition of forming new organizations for mutual assistance and defense against persecution has continued among Mexican Americans throughout the twentieth century. The League of United Latin American Citizens was formed in 1929 to "promote good citizenship among Mexican Americans and thereby change the image of Mexicans in U.S. society" (Camarillo, p. 23). The League is now the largest individual membership organization of Latinos in the U.S. The second largest is a Mexican American veterans group—the American GI Forum—founded in 1948. The impetus for its creation was the refusal by Anglos in a south Texas town to allow the burial of a Mexican American hero of World War II in the town's main cemetery. Later, in 1968, the nonprofit Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund was created to carry on the work of volunteer attorneys who were challenging segregation laws, exclusion from juries, and other violations of Mexican American civil rights (Martínez, 1991).

I recently began analyzing data from the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) to measure formation of new nonprofits meeting the following criteria: (a) they exist primarily to serve Latino communities in the U.S., (b) they are controlled or led by members of Latino communities, and (c) they are not churches (M. Cortés, 1998).

I found 4,068 nonprofits—0.4 percent of all tax-exempt organizations in IRS files—that appeared to meet the above criteria (Cortés, 1999). Half are located in the states of California, Texas, and New Mexico. Other jurisdictions with small but significant concentrations of Latino nonprofits are (in declining order) New York state, Florida, Puerto Rico, Illinois, the District of Columbia, and Colorado.

The number and percentage of Latino nonprofits in IRS files seems small when compared to the nation's rapidly growing Latino population. On the other hand, the rate of growth of Latino nonprofits is impressive. Analysis of IRS recognition dates for those 4,068 nonprofits produced the following results.

During and after World War II, new Latino nonprofits applying to the IRS for recognition of their tax-exempt status numbered between one and fourteen per year. The rate picked up in the 1960s, ranging between 4 and 71 per year (except for 1966, as explained below). In the 1970s, an average of 67 new organizations formed per year. The average for the first half of the 1980s was 84 per year. From 1985 through 1989, the average rate surged to 151 per year. The rate continues to increase. By 1995, the rate of formation of new Latino nonprofits exceeded 300 per year.

A deviation from that trend occurred in 1966. That year, the IRS recognized 277 new Latino nonprofits. The increase seems likely to have been caused by implementation of the "War on Poverty" authorized by the Economic Opportunity Act, which was signed into law by President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1965. Reasons for the surge that followed during the late 1980s and into the 1990s are less obvious.

Why has the number of Latino nonprofits in the U.S. continued to grow? Competing hypotheses in need of testing include (a) availability of earmarked government or foundation funding, (b) spin-offs organized by current and former staff of maturing Latino nonprofits established during the 1960s, and (c) increased demand arising from Latino population growth that non-Latino nonprofits have not adequately addressed.

If future research findings support the third hypothesis—that new Latino nonprofits are being incorporated as a result of growing unmet needs and demands in Latino communities—the nature of those unmet needs and demands would merit further exploration. Do non-Latino nonprofits tend to ignore Latinos? Or do they try to serve Latinos with only limited success? Is starting a new nonprofit specializing in Latino communities more cost-effective than redesigning and redirecting well-established non-Latino nonprofits? Are new Latino nonprofits formed for the same reasons as their nineteenth and twentieth century predecessors, in response to persecution and denial of equal opportunity? Do Latino nonprofits tend to specialize in serving first-generation immigrants, or do they also serve incompletely assimilated second-, third-, and fourth-generation descendants?

Will Latino Nonprofits Stimulate More Latino Philanthropy?

The proportion of Latino nonprofits classified by the IRS under subsection 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code (as opposed to other nonprofit subsections) is relatively high—two thirds, compared to forty-eight percent of all U.S. nonprofits. Ninety percent of Latino nonprofits receive significant financial support from government, fees charged for services, or various private sources, such as foundations or individual donors (Cortés, 1999, pp. 23-25).

The most popular activities among Latino nonprofits, according to IRS records, are programs for veterans, scholarship and educational programs, and promotion of business and commerce. Other widespread activities include cultural and educational activities, discussion groups and public forums, and community service. Activities undertaken least often by Latino nonprofits are youth services, legislative and political activities, litigation, and legal aid (Cortés, 1999, pp. 30-34).

Only 123 Latino nonprofits (4 percent of those classified under section 501(c)(3)) are classified as private foundations. Eight are private operating foundations (Cortés, 1999, pp. 23-25). However, these numbers may be too low. My procedures for finding Latino organizations in IRS files are probably biased against family foundations (Cortés, 1998, p. 451). In any event, we have much to learn about Latino private foundations. The number of affluent Latinos in the U.S. is growing. Rivas-Vázquez

(1999) and Ramos and Kasper (1999) explore that phenomenon and suggest ways that Latino donors' use of private and community foundations could be increased.

Anecdotal information suggests that throughout most of their history, the Latino nonprofits with the largest budgets have depended primarily on non-Latino sources of income (see Nicolau and Santiestevan, 1991). Government and a small number of large foundations (notably the Ford Foundation) have contributed the bulk of that support (Cortés, 1991). Contributions by large U.S. corporations have also played an important role.

Will their increasing numbers lead Latino nonprofits to rely more on Latino donors? Most Latino nonprofits are small and have small budgets. My analysis found that 62 percent of Latino nonprofits in IRS files have revenues of less than $25,000 and are therefore not required to submit annual returns (Cortés, 1999, pp. 27-28). The IRS does not even have files on many nonprofits with less than $5,000, so the proportion of small Latino nonprofits is probably even higher.

Nevertheless, a small but influential group of Latino nonprofits have large incomes and have acquired significant fundraising experience and expertise. Qualitative exploratory interviews (in progress) indicate that large Latino organizations target most of their fundraising efforts on non-Latino donors, as do many—perhaps most—small Latino nonprofits.

It remains to be seen whether the nation's growing number of Latino nonprofits, both large and small, will eventually target the Latino community for a larger share of organizational income. Appropriate fundraising strategies and techniques, developed by Latinos themselves, in collaboration with other professional fundraisers and scholars, could help Latino nonprofits develop larger donor pools within the communities they serve. Wealthy Latinos are a small but significant part of those communities.

It is tempting to argue on ideological grounds that large Latino nonprofits are too dependent on non-Latino funders and are therefore not sufficiently accountable to the communities they hope to serve. But such criticism is unlikely to persuade large Latino nonprofits to voluntarily reduce their income. If Latino nonprofits forego easier-to-raise funds from non-Latino sources in favor of meager and harder-to-raise donations from Latinos, those organizations' members, self-defined mission, and current programs will probably all suffer.

Are there more practical strategies for fostering mainstream forms of philanthropy within Latino communities? When it comes to mobilizing Latino nonprofits to that end, we seem to be at a stalemate. Latino nonprofits should be able to offer useful knowledge and insights about Latino philanthropic traditions. But those same nonprofits would be understandably reluctant to put their own limited fundraising resources to less productive use by targeting potential Latino donors instead of proven non-Latino funders.

The solution to motivating Latino nonprofits to stimulate more Latino philanthropy lies with those nonprofits' current, predominantly non-Latino funders. Major donors of general financial support to Latino nonprofits are best positioned to create the necessary incentives. Current funders could offer combinations of fundraising training, collaborative strategizing, technical assistance, and matching funds for the first few years spent cultivating new Latino donors, both big and small. Critics who want Latino nonprofits to be more accountable to the communities they serve ought to support that effort.

Latino community representation and voting memberships on nonprofit governing boards offer only partial accountability. True accountability requires financial dependence. Effective nonprofits are sensitive to the views of their current and future donors and will keep those donors informed about their activities. The same should be true of Latino nonprofits and of donors within Latino communities. Latino nonprofits, if offered the right incentives and technical assistance by sympathetic major donors (regardless of ethnicity), can become a leading force for promoting conventional, mainstream forms of philanthropy and volunteering by our nation's growing Latino population.

Note: Portions of this paper first appeared in M. Cortés (1999), "Do Hispanic Nonprofits Foster Hispanic Philanthropy?" *New Directions for Philanthropic Fundraising*, No. 24, " Hispanic Philanthropy: Exploring the Factors That Influence Giving and Asking," ed. L. Wagner and A. Figueroa Deck. (Summer): 31-40. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

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The "Relief Corps of Heaven"
Black Women As Philanthropists

Bettye Collier-Thomas[1]

In 1899 Mamie Donohoo, a black church woman published an article entitled "Woman as a Philanthropist" in which she described the multidimensional philanthropic work of women. Donohoo stated that "To be a philanthropist one need not necessarily be a millionaire as we use the term, yet the heart must be an unceasing fountain sending forth streams of love, charity and benevolence. It is her philanthropic heart that prompts her to acts of kindness and deeds of mercy." Utilizing historical and biblical figures, Donohoo described an inclusive context that encompassed women's service to the church and to society, a melange of benevolent acts and gifts, including monetary donations—all of which constituted an extensive base of overlooked community philanthropy. Emphasizing that women who engaged in reform work were philanthropists, Donohoo cited the work of Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and Ida Wells Barnett, the noted anti-lynching crusader. Stowe was described as "a fearless heroine" and one of the greatest philanthropists of the time, a woman whose writing impacted the nation and helped to bring an end to the institution of slavery. And Ida Wells Barnett was depicted by Donohoo as the foremost figure in leading a campaign "against mob violence," which "kindled so great a flame in the rational world that the ruthless hands of prejudice and seething floods of superstition cannot quench it."[2]

Portraying women as "sister laborers," Donohoo contended that African American women engaged in Sunday School and church work, temperance, and rescue work; raised funds to build schools, orphanages, homes for working girls and the aged; formed auxiliaries to male organizations to raise funds for hospitals and a variety of causes; and filled the coffers of denominational missionary organizations as they embraced their "special mission" to evangelize Africa and redeem the virtue of women of color, both at home in North America and abroad in Africa, South America and the Caribbean. For examples of church women who participated in this type of philanthropy, Donohoo cited women leaders in her denomination, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. Katie Hood, the president of the Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society, was the first lay member of the church to contribute $50 to the work of that organization. Katie Walters "exhibited her philanthropic nature in assisting the spread of the gospel" by engaging in mis-

sionary work. In 1898 Walters raised the largest amount of money in the New Jersey AME Zion Annual Conference.

Hood and Walters built upon the foundation that was laid by the AME Zion's first women's organization, the Female Benevolent Society, commonly known as "The Mother Society," which was established a few years after the beginning of the nineteenth century for the purpose of serving the needs of the New York City members of the church. The society administered to the sick, buried the dead, and assisted in the support of the orphaned children of deceased members. In 1821 the AME Zion United Daughters of Conference, a national organization, was founded to assist the needs of unsalaried ministers, to raise funds for erecting churches and assisting in paying their expenses, and to support a variety of charitable causes aimed at the poor. Following Emancipation, Eliza Ann Gardner and several other women in the New England Daughters of Conference raised funds to send and support several ministers in the South as missionaries. Subsequently they organized branches of the Daughters of Conference throughout the South to aid in paying preachers' salaries and to fund a host of benevolent causes.[2]

Concluding her essay, Donohoo posed several questions:

Who are the agitators of the humane movement? Who is it that advocates the Reform movement for our unfortunate girls? Who makes religious attacks upon dives of sin and vice and with tear stained faces implore the inmates to abandon their mode of living and turn to Him who said "He that is without a fault let him cast the first stone." It is our women—The Relief Corps of Heaven—last at the cross—first at the tomb, and faithful to every charge.[3]

Mamie Donohoo provided an all-encompassing definition of how African American women defined philanthropy and their roles as philanthropists. Donohoo suggested that philanthropy, with its multiple meanings and dimensions, was a central element in the lives of black women and that their philanthropic activities were in part defined by their social location as women of African descent. In 1899 African Americans were only thirty-four years removed from slavery. As part of an oppressed and despised group of people struggling to earn a livelihood and establish homes and community institutions, Donohoo and her "sister laborers" were fighting to reclaim their womanhood—their sense of dignity and self-respect. To do this, in 1896 African American women organized the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), the first such national secular organization. The NACW established "Departments of Work" and defined strategies for addressing the innumerable problems of race, class and gender they confronted.[4]

Why did African American women in secular and nonsecular organizations raise funds and undertake national campaigns aimed at eradicating illiteracy, poverty, lynching, sharecropping, the chain gang, and addressing a broad base of race and gender specific issues?[5] They organized philanthropic activities to benefit the African American community in general, and black women in particular.

Black Women's philanthropic efforts can be described and understood by the use of the concept "cultural capital." V. P. Franklin, James Stewart, and other African American scholars use the term to refer to the sense of group consciousness and collective identity that serves as an economic resource to support collective economic or philanthropic efforts. Economist James Stewart argues that in explaining economic activities among African Americans, we must begin with the assumption that "the production of collective identity has value to members of a group and is a normal activity undertaken jointly by individuals and groups." These groups of

conscious or culturally "aware" individuals engage in economic activities not merely for "self-interest," but to enhance their cultural identity and to advance the "social development" of the group. Thus the sense of group consciousness becomes a resource, "cultural capital," that is used for social and economic development.[6]

Black women's social organizations, and other networks of social organizations, cultural institutions, voluntary civic associations, and family and kinship groups in African American communities raised the funds, or donated other resources or services, which served as the "cultural capital," necessary to build schools and other community and charitable institutions and to support a variety of causes important to African Americans as a group.[7] Linda Gordon in an article, "Black and White Visions of Welfare: Women's Activism, 1890-1945," provides a clear example of how black women used their human capital to create much-needed cultural capital, and how the fundraising activities of black women reformers may be distinguished from those of white women: Gordon stated that:

> Black women welfare reformers created schools, old people's homes, medical services, [and] community centers. Attempting to provide for their people what the white state would not, they even raised private money for public institutions. . . .Thus a large proportion of their political energy went to raising money, and under the most difficult circumstances— trying to collect from the poor and limited middle class to help the poor. White women raised money, of course, but they also lobbied aldermen and congressmen, attended White House conferences, and corresponded with Supreme Court justices; black women had less access to such powerful men and spent proportionally more of their time organizing bake sales, rummage sales, and church dinners.[8]

The scholarship on black philanthropy is extremely limited. Many scholars have written about the nature and extent of self-help in the black community, but have not defined it as an aspect of black philanthropy.[9] Extant scholarship consists of a handful of books, curriculum guides and articles that either focus on contemporary issues in black philanthropy or, in many cases, simply employ the existing African American history topical framework, i.e., slavery, Reconstruction, the Progressive Era, the Depression, the Civil Rights Movement and afterwards, to explain black philanthropy.[10]

To counter the commonly held assumptions and to explode the myth of black apathy to community needs frequently articulated by white, as well as black Americans, in 1986 the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, Inc. undertook the first comprehensive national study of black philanthropy. In 1989, the statistical findings were published in *The Charitable Appeals Fact Book: How Black and White Americans Respond to Different Types of Fund-Raising Efforts*, written by Emmett D. Carson, the director of the Joint Center's project on Black Philanthropy. The study found that African Americans from every socioeconomic background engaged in charitable activities.[11]

In 1993, the Joint Center published a companion study, or what Eddie N. Williams, the President, called an "extended essay." *A Hand Up: Black Philanthropy and Self-Help in America*, also authored by Emmett D. Carson, was the first study to trace the history of African American giving patterns and to do so in the name of philanthropy. In the foreword to this book, Williams explained that one of the reasons for the low visibility of black philanthropy was that African Americans donate their money and volunteer services to black organizations and frequently through their churches, the NAACP, the United Negro College Fund, and the Black United Fund.[12]

Most scholars of American philanthropy have preferred to emphasize white philanthropic efforts on behalf of African Americans and have tended to ignore African American contributions to black organizations.[13] Thus, writers wax eloquent about the contributions of white philanthropists, such as Andrew Carnegie, Julius Rosenwald, William H. Baldwin, Jr., Anna T. Jeanes, and others, and practically ignore the support of African American religious organizations and individual donors whose contributions provided the bulk of the support for black colleges and universities and were a significant factor in the sponsorship of public schools as well as other community institutions and causes.[14]

The history of African American women and philanthropy has not been written. In the emerging scholarship that discusses the importance of black philanthropy in the development of black institutions, and for providing charitable services to the community, women are not visible. Similar to the earlier histories of African Americans, most of the published works on black philanthropy speak about the importance of the church, benevolent and fraternal associations, and national race-specific organizations, such as the NAACP, but rarely point out that women's missionary associations and conventions were the chief source of church philanthropy, and that for fundraising and charitable giving purposes they frequently were formed as auxiliaries to benevolent and fraternal associations.

Moreover, missing in these accounts are well-known black women philanthropists, such as Annie Malone, and Madame C. J. Walker, as well as the extensive philanthropic work of the gender-specific national secular organizations, such as the National Association of Colored Women, National Council of Negro Women, the sororities—namely Alpha Kappa Alpha, Delta Sigma Theta, Sigma Gamma Rho, and Zeta Phi Beta—and other female organizations such as the Links. And, of course, there are many more female organizations at the local and regional levels that have been significant in creating cultural capital in the black community.[15]

To address the historical oversight and to explore the ways in which African American women were involved in philanthropy, this essay examines the philanthropic work of black women during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, identifying (where possible) women who were philanthropists and discussing the philanthropic role assumed by black women's organizations as independent gender-specific associations and as auxiliaries to male-dominated organizations.

Utilizing Donohoo's definition, what can be said about black women as philanthropists and the philanthropic work of African American women's organizations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries? Where do their philanthropic activities fit in the larger context of African American life and history?

First and foremost, black women possessed a strong group consciousness, which was informed by race, gender, and class considerations. It is because of that triple consciousness that they bonded together and assumed the responsibility of using their human resources to support collective economic or philanthropic efforts that produced the funds or cultural capital which became the financial backbone for social and economic development in the black community. The bonding process began in slavery and was deeply rooted in their religious beliefs and their quest for freedom and justice. It was in the crucible of slavery that they developed a deep race consciousness and clear understanding of what it meant to be black. And, as enslaved African women, it was their vulnerability to rape and forced seduction that seared into their consciousness the meaning of gender, and specifically the difference between them and white women. Following Emancipation, black women determined to reclaim their pride, dignity, and self-esteem and to construct psychological barri-

ers against the larger society's efforts to define them as delinquent, dependent, immoral and inferior beings undeserving of respect or human consideration. It is that dual racial and gender consciousness that has continued to fuel the philanthropic efforts of generations of black women. Thus, black women raised funds to support orphanages, homes for the aged, and, most importantly, facilities for young black women, not merely to allow them to survive, but to demonstrate that 'now that we are free, we can protect and take care of our own.' Moreover, since African American orphans, the aged, and young women were frequently excluded from facilities available to whites, African American women took responsibility for campaigns to raise funds to provide much-needed social welfare services. Poor as well as middle-class African Americans contributed funds to these enterprises because they would improve the conditions for African Americans as a group.

Though we do not know many of these women's names and it is only in the last two decades that scholars of black women's history have begun the arduous task of unearthing their stories, we can say that they number in the thousands. In 1995 Osceola McCarty, an elderly washerwoman from Hattiesburg, Mississippi, donated her entire life savings of $150,000 to the University of Southern Mississippi to provide scholarships for poor students. This event was covered extensively by the national and foreign broadcast and print media, who were fascinated with the fact that a poor black woman who had managed to accumulate such wealth was willing to give it away. When asked why she made the contribution, McCarty said, "I'm giving it away so that the children won't have to work so hard."[16]

Few persons knew that Osceola McCarty was part of a long tradition of giving in the black community, and especially among poor, working class African American women, who frequently left their savings of a lifetime to support primarily religious institutions and schools. For example, in 1845, a black woman named Catharine Freebody who died at Hartford, Connecticut, bequeathed $1,000 to the African Society of Hartford for the support of the ministry, and $600 to five religious societies. In 1872 Mary A. Goodman, a washerwoman and domestic servant bequeathed her life savings of $5,000 to the Yale University Theological Department's scholarship fund for "colored young men" studying for the ministry. In 1884 a black woman employed as a cook in Augusta, Georgia willed her life savings of $600 to the Paine Institute, a Colored Methodist Episcopal Church school. In 1898 Mrs. Sarah Gordon, a poor but frugal woman in Philadelphia, willed $5,000 to Bethel A.M.E. Church, $2,000 to Allen Chapel A.M.E. Church, and the rest of her fortune to relatives and charitable institutions. In 1902, Julia Hanson, better known as "Aunt Julia," a former slave who managed to accumulate property of considerable value in the center of Washington, D.C., gave $10,000 to the Church of the Sacred Heart at Mount Pleasant. In 1910 Nannie A. Foulks, a domestic servant, gave her life savings of $1,000 toward the establishment of a reformatory for incorrigible Negro youths in North Carolina. In 1911 Anna Maria Fisher, a former slave from Lexington, Kentucky, who lived in New York, died and left an estate estimated at $65,000. Fisher left $10,000 each to Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes, $5,000 to the Presbyterian Church, $1,000 to the Amanda Smith Orphan Home and the Y.M.C.A., and many donations to other individuals and causes. In 1916 Mary Strater, a former slave who worked as a domestic servant for seventy-seven years, willed $1,000 to Talladega Institute, $300 to Tougaloo College, $500 to Tuskegee, and $500 to Hampton Institute. In Little Rock, Arkansas, Ellen Bransford, a woman who worked as a domestic for fifty years, in 1915 willed $6,000 to the black Lutheran church in that city. In 1919, an unnamed African American woman contributed $10,000 to the Freedmen's Work of the Presbyterian Church. A graduate of Scotia Seminary in North Carolina, she said that

she sent the check "that more girls might have the chance that I had," noting that the money was two-thirds of all she had accumulated by keeping a boarding house. Similar to working-class black women, educated black middle-class women also gave extensively. For example, in 1933 Lucy Moten, distinguished educator, willed $10,000 to Howard University to support educational travel for students in furthering their research. In 1963 Dollie J. Alexander, a noted A.M.E. church worker in Atlanta, made of gift of $5,000 to Morris Brown College, her alma mater. [17]

At the beginning of the twentieth century the average black man or woman was employed in agriculture or in domestic service. Black women worked primarily as domestic servants, laundresses, and cooks. There was a small and growing black professional class of preachers, teachers, lawyers, doctors, dentists, and entrepreneurs; however, few earned incomes beyond several thousand dollars a year. The phenomenal success of the first black millionaires—Robert Church of Memphis, Tennessee; Annie Turnbo Pope Malone of St. Louis, Missouri and Chicago, Illinois; and Madame C. J. Walker of Indianapolis, Indiana, and New York City—was widely reported. Robert Church, a real estate investor, was hailed as the nation's first black millionaire. Annie Malone, the first celebrated black pioneer in beauty culture, was acclaimed the nation's first black millionairess and was the nation's first major black philanthropist. Madame C. J. Walker, a former washerwoman, and was one of the first students to enroll in Annie Malone's beauty culture courses at Poro College, founded in 1900 as the first institution in the United States to train black women, future Poro agents, in the Poro method of beauty culture and to manufacture toiletries for persons of African descent. By 1904 Madame Walker was employed as an agent for Poro products. Following her departure from Poro in 1905, Walker became one of the most successful black businesswomen in American history and by 1915 a millionaire. Competing for a piece of the black beauty culture market, which had been cornered by Malone, Walker countered the large donations of Malone to black schools and social welfare institutions with contributions to similar causes. Walker, an astute and aggressive businesswoman, learned from her second husband, a newspaperman, the techniques and value of mail-order marketing and advertising. She knew the value of well-placed newspaper articles that reported her philanthropic activities and thus courted powerful journalists, such as George Knox, publisher of the *Indianapolis Freeman*.[18]

Robert Church, unlike Malone and Walker, did not make large donations to black community enterprises, preferring instead to provide services. Perhaps his greatest contribution to the black community was the development of a park on his Beale Street property, which included a large auditorium that provided much-needed facilities for black community programs. He also sponsored an annual Thanksgiving dinner for the poor. Described as a man "who took great wealth from the Negro community and cooperated with white power," in 1901 Church was severely criticized by black leaders for donating $1,000 to help finance the official Confederate Reunion held in Memphis. To atone for this misguided act, he allowed the AME Zion denomination to hold their 1901 General Conference in his Memphis auditorium at no charge.[19]

Annie Malone is considered America's first major black philanthropist. Because of her extensive philanthropy, which had no specific focus, she was dubbed by certain members of the black press as a "freak giver." Malone supported nearly every known black charity, donating what were considered, at the time, phenomenal amounts of money. At one time she reportedly was supporting two full-time students in every black land-grant college in the United States. Numerous black orphanages received donations of $5,000 or more annually. During the 1920s Howard

University's medical school endowment received $10,000 from Malone. No other African American in history had made that kind of gift to any black college at that date. Between 1910 and 1918 Tuskegee Institute received numerous contributions, ranging between one and two thousand dollars. In 1916, she and her husband Aaron were said to have established "a world record among Colored people," by giving $5,000 to the St. Louis, Missouri, Colored YWCA. In 1924 the Malones' gift of $25,000 to the building campaign was used by the St. Louis YWCA to secure large gifts from wealthy whites. At the opening of Poro College's new facility in 1918, it was reported that the Malones had made more cash donations to charity and Christian associations than any hundred "colored Americans" in the United States. Throughout her life, Malone was intensely concerned about the material and cultural uplift of her race. She not only made direct cash donations to diverse organizations and causes, she also served as the chair for fundraising campaigns sponsored by black organizations such as the YMCA.[20]

Madame C. J. Walker, a woman who rose up from the most abject poverty, determined that she would never be poor again, singularly focused upon developing and promoting the Walker products. A part of her success lay in her astute understanding of the needs of black women and the importance of pitching her message directly to them. Walker never missed an opportunity to reinforce to the masses of poor black women that she was one of them. A dark-complected woman, with broad features and coarse hair, she posited herself as the model of how an ordinary looking, poor woman could achieve financial power. For the many black women who dreamed of being "beautiful," which at the time meant smooth light skin and straightened hair, the Malone and Walker beauty products were a panacea.

While Annie Malone's philanthropic activities were aimed at the social and economic development of African Americans as a group, or "the uplift of the race," Madame C. J. Walker's charitable efforts were targeted toward African American women and in her speeches she referred to "Women's Duty to Women." With the exception of a donation to Booker Washington's Tuskegee Institute, she targeted her philanthropy primarily to black women's educational institutions, which included annual contributions to Mary McLeod Bethune's Daytona Normal and Industrial Institute (Bethune Cookman College), Lucy Laney's Haines Institute, and Charlotte Hawkins Brown's Palmer Memorial Institute. She endorsed and supported the most powerful organization of black women, the National Association of Colored Women. She befriended W. E. B. DuBois, Ida Wells Barnett, A. Phillip Randolph, and Marcus Garvey. In 1919 she donated $1,000 to the Indianapolis Colored YMCA. She contributed money to the National Baptist Convention's foreign missionary program, to aid in the establishment of a school and church in Pondoland, South Africa.

Although Walker's largest reported gift, prior to her death in 1919, was a donation of $5,000 to the NAACP's anti-lynching campaign, she gained much more mileage for her cash donations and charitable acts than Malone. Walker understood that from a political and business standpoint it was important to regularly give small sums to numerous organizations and causes, which she made sure were publicized in the black press and in *Woman's Voice*, a magazine she underwrote. A shrewd marketer of herself and her beauty culture business, in her speeches she never missed an opportunity to inform the public of her philanthropic activities. The combination of her giving and public relations strategies, with her articulation of her relationship and fealty to the cause of black women and the race, assured her the support of the African American community and the purchase of her products by black women.[21]

Turning our attention to the philanthropic endeavors of black women's organizations, we find that these activities began in the church. For more than two centuries the African American church has been the most cohesive institution in the black community. Its ability to reach major segments of the black population and to raise large sums of money was a recognized asset. In the nineteenth and twentieth century, women, constituting the majority of the black church population, were often the most dynamic force in philanthropic efforts within the churches. [22]

Female religious organizations, mutual-aid associations, and secret societies were the forerunners of the independent black women's club movement, which began in 1896 with the founding of the National Association of Colored Women. From 1800 to 1880 the social service work of black women in voluntary associations was largely concentrated in the church and in the benevolent and secret societies. Assuming a key role in fundraising, for most of the nineteenth century black church women became essential for the funding of church construction and restoration, raising the salaries of ministers, and providing for sick and indigent members. After 1880, the development of denominational missionary societies and women's conventions centralized church women's philanthropic activities and targeted them to national projects defined by the denomination. By 1918 the black Methodist and Baptist denominations had developed powerful networks of women at the local, state, regional and national levels. Dividing their work between domestic and foreign missions, these organizations annually raised thousands of dollars. [23]

Numerous local and state church-affiliated charitable organizations started by African American women were connected with all the religious denominations. In the African Methodist Episcopal (AME), African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ), Colored Methodist Episcopal (CME), and Methodist Episcopal (ME) churches, the work of the various circles of the King's Daughters, the Epworth League, and the numerous women's home and foreign missionary societies was well known and widely respected. The ME Willing Workers were recognized for their work among the poor and elderly. The members of the Mercy and Help Department of the Epworth League by 1914 were engaged in social service work among families and young children. In the twentieth century Baptist women's domestic and foreign charitable activities were centralized in the women's conventions affiliated with the National Baptist Convention of America, Incorporated (NBC), the National Baptist Convention of America, Unincorporated (NBCA), and the Progressive National Baptist Convention (PNBC). In the Church of God in Christ (COGIC) and in other Pentecostal and Holiness churches, the women's conventions engaged in similar activities, establishing missionary schools and raising funds for charitable social welfare programs in the United States, Africa, and the Caribbean that reflected their cultural identification. [24]

After 1880 black church women also became more active in the development of secular organizations. They began to focus their efforts on addressing needs beyond their individual denominations and members and to bond with other women interested in the creation of cultural capital for the economic, political, and social development of their communities. Between 1880 and 1895 local black organizations focused upon specific goals, ranging from self-improvement to the establishment and support of a variety of homes—orphanages, nurseries, and facilities for detentions, and homes for unwed mothers, working girls, and the aged; settlement houses were set up to meet the needs of rural and urban African Americans; and an extensive network of associations evolved for the purpose of performing rescue and relief work among destitute African Americans. Women in secular and nonsecular organizations raised funds for primary and secondary schools, colleges, and universities.

The founding of the NACW, an organization comprised of many local and state-based black women's clubs, provided a more unified character to this diverse work. It also, for the first time in history, provided black women with a powerful political base. The NACW became a training ground for black women leaders, many of whom would develop other national organizations.[25]

Between 1905 and 1920 at least twenty national organizations of black women were founded. The continuing discrimination in the white women's club movement, the general exclusion from positions of leadership in male-controlled organizations, and disaffection in the NACW ranks, as well as the need for professional organizations encouraged black women to develop organizations with more explicitly defined purposes. In the twentieth century black women established a network of YWCAs and YMCAs and conducted campaigns for the financial support of protest movements aimed at the elevation of the race; for providing social welfare services specifically for African American Women; and for summer camps, playgrounds, and recreational centers for black children and adults. In urban areas they operated employment bureaus. [26]

In the 1920s, as more white church women expressed an interest in interracial cooperation, black women joined with them to protest lynchings, to improve race relations, and to eliminate segregation and discrimination. During this period women's race-relations committees formed under the aegis of the Federal Council of Churches to work on a variety of interracial and interdenominational projects, and black women worked with the state-based Commissions on Interracial Cooperation. After 1950 this work was continued under the National Council of Churches. In the 1920s and 1930s African American church women were a potent force in raising funds to aid the growing number of poor blacks caught in the throes of the Great Depression. From the early 1940s through the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, black church women lent their leadership and support to the emerging Civil Rights Movement. [27]

In recent years as scholars have begun to research and write biographies of black men and women leaders and recover the history of national organizations, such as the National Association of Colored Women and the religious associations of women in the major black denominations, as well as other well-known mixed-gender organizations, evidence of extensive black philanthropic activities has begun to emerge. However, frequently it is labeled or discussed not as philanthropy but referenced as self-help and uplift efforts. Large donations to institutions and causes, representing thousands of dollars, are often celebrated; however individual donors who give anywhere from one to a couple of hundred dollars are overlooked. Little effort has been made to document the collective donations of women's religious organizations connected to the historically black denominations.

There are numerous examples of African American women's organizations' generating substantial cultural capital to support black charitable, social welfare, and educational institutions. Let us look at three different types of black women's organizations, the Order of Eastern Star, a fraternal organization; the Woman's Convention Auxiliary to the National Baptist Convention, a religious organization; and the Questers, a contemporary organization operating in one city.

The Eastern Star was first organized as an auxiliary to the Prince Hall Masons in 1874. Initially, chapters were established in Washington, D.C.; Alexandria, Virginia; Baltimore, Maryland; and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. By 1915 the Eastern Star had chapters in cities throughout the United States, Ontario, Canada, and Liberia, Africa, and by 1925 they had organized a Grand chapter and become an independent body comprised of 3,434 chapters with 120,101 members and a national treasury of a half

million dollars. Each chapter paid one cent per member in membership dues to the national office. Figures for the local chapter treasuries remain uncollected.[28]

The purpose of the Order of Eastern Star was to cooperate with and support the goals of Masonry by "assisting in and in some respects directing the charities and other work in the cause of human progress." The O.E.S. operated burial funds and endowment departments, printing establishments, and juvenile departments in which they provided valuable leadership training to members' children. By 1925 the Eastern Star had accumulated a substantial amount of property consisting of temples, which served as headquarters for local O.E.S., and a network of widows' and orphans' homes. Also, a number of the O.E.S chapters assisted the Masons in the purchase and maintenance of the Masonic Halls owned by the men. The value of this contribution was estimated to be around six hundred thousand dollars. Although we do not know the total value of the homes established by the O.E.S., in 1925 the organization reported that a home for widows and orphans in Nashville, Tennessee, was valued at $100,000. This was exclusive of the money spent on food and clothing for the inmates of the home. In Fort Worth, Texas, the O.E.S supported the building of a Masonic Temple that housed the Masonic lodges and O.E.S. chapters and a Temple Fraternal Bank and Trust Company with a capitalization of $100,000. The O.E.S. worked closely with the religious denominations, the NAACP, and NACW. In 1922 the Iowa chapter of O.E.S. raised two hundred dollars for the NAACP's anti-lynching fund.[39]

The Woman's Convention (WC) Auxiliary to the National Baptist Convention (NBC) was formed in 1900. Although "Auxiliary" is included in its name, it functioned as an autonomous organization that set its own agenda and managed its own budget. At its founding the organization listed twenty-six state vice presidents. In 1900 the NBC with a membership of over three million persons represented the largest African American religious organization. As the majority of church members, black Baptist women through the WC and its vast local, state, and regional network had the ability to access thousands of members and exert major influence upon non-members. Baptist women represented the mainstay of financial support for the denomination's churches throughout the nation. Their networking power was demonstrated in terms of the number of WC women who held high offices in other black organizations. Throughout most of the twentieth century they dominated the leadership of the National Association of Colored Women. Between 1909 and 1925, the WC raised the basic funds to establish and operate the National Training School for Girls in Washington, D.C. Through their domestic missionary work they contributed to the establishment of schools, settlement homes, leadership training institutes, and public health programs.

The WC's extensive philanthropic efforts in Africa demonstrated the strong cultural connections that underpinned their fundraising activities. In Africa they built nursing schools and hospitals and sent food, clothing, household needs, appliances, medical and surgical supplies to Baptist missions. Missionary boxes sent by local and state women's conventions were usually valued at anywhere from $300 to $800. In 1932 WC President S. Willie Layten requested that 5,000 of the 18,000 missionary circles in churches allied with the NBC donate twenty-five cents per month for foreign missions. This would provide $1,250 a month for Africa. Between 1900 and 1920 the WC underwrote the educational expenses of a number of African students in the United States. The WC also sponsored individual missionaries, paying their annual salaries. In 1953, at a cost of $83,500, the WC purchased a building to be used as a "Missionary Retreat Home" for retired missionaries.[30]

Each year the WC state conventions raised large sums of money, which were sent to the national office. For example, for the year July 1, 1928, to June 30, 1929, the WC raised $80,396.74 for foreign missionary work.[31] In 1942 when the NBC Foreign Mission Board launched a drive for $100,000, the Woman's Convention agreed to cooperate and share in this effort by providing the men with 5,000 new monthly regular contributors whom they called "Minute Women." At the 1944 annual meeting of WC held in Dallas, Texas, the WC raised $35,035.35. Similar to the Order of Eastern Star, district and state conventions also raised money for their local projects. For example, in 1927 the Woman's Baptist District Convention of the Mt. Olivet district meeting in Cranford, Mississippi, reported that $900 was donated to the West Point Ministerial Institute and College.[32]

The Questers, an organization founded in Washington, D.C., in 1962, was a small membership organization that relied on donations, fundraising, and volunteerism to finance and carry out programs that reflected their collective cultural identity. Each year the organization sponsored a luncheon fashion show that raised a substantial amount of money. Between 1964 and 1984 the Questers dispersed over $81,000 for a variety of projects, including the Howard University Center for Sickle Cell Disease; the Department of Pediatrics at Howard University Hospital; Pilgrim Baptist Mission Hospital in Africa; the NAACP; and the National Council of Negro Women. In addition they gave scholarships totaling $25,000. In 1985, Mabs Kemp, a columnist for the Washington *Afro-American*, stated, "Such a track record is phenomenal considering the fact that the Questers are only 26 members strong. But because their efforts in the community stand out like a beaming star, supporters back them to the hilt."[33]

This survey of black women's philanthropic activities over the past two hundred years documents their significant role in the generation of cultural capital in the African American community. Again, the reason African American women engaged in these activities was to benefit African Americans as a group and African American women in particular. Charitable philanthropic efforts, along with self-help organizations and activities, have been the foundation for the provision of social welfare services within African and African American communities.

A full examination of black women's philanthropic activities, as well as those of African American religious institutions, mutual benefit societies, fraternal organizations, economic cooperatives, and community development corporations, will provide a better understanding of the role of cultural capital in the social and economic development of black America and help provide a much-needed comprehensive history of African American philanthropy.

Notes

1. "Woman as a Philanthropist," Mamie Donohoo, AME Zion *Quarterly Review*, October 1899 - January 1900, pp. 45-48; For a discussion and comparison of the reform activities of black and white women see: Linda Gordon, "Black and White Visions of Welfare: Women's Welfare Activism, 1890-1945," *Journal of American History*, Vol. 78 No. 2, September 1991, pp.559-590.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-48; Bishop William Jacob Walls, *The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church: Reality of the Black Church* (Charlotte, N.C.: A.M.E. Zion Publishing House, 1974), pp. 134-137.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

4. Stephanie J. Shaw, "Black Club Women and the Creation of the National Association of Colored Women," in *"We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible": A Reader in Black*

Women's History, eds. Darlene Clark Hine, Wilma King, and Linda Reed (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1995); for histories of the National Association of Colored Women see: Elizabeth Lindsay Davis, *Lifting As They Climb* (Chicago, Ill: National Association of Colored Women, 1933); Charles Harris Wesley, *The History of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs: A Legacy of Service* (Washington, D.C.: National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc., 1984); for examples of the types of philanthropic activities supported by NACW women, see: Kathleen C. Berkeley, "Colored Ladies Also Contributed: Black Women's Activities from Benevolence to Social Welfare, 1866-1896," in *Black Women in United States History*, eds. Darlene Clark Hine, Elsa Barkley Brown, Tiffany Patterson, and Lillian S. Williams (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1990); and Cynthia Neverdon-Morton, "Advancement of the Race through African American Women's Organizations in the South, 1895-1925," in *African American Women and the Vote, 1837-1965*, edited by Ann D. Gordon with Bettye Collier-Thomas, John H. Bracey, Arlene Voski Avakian, and Joyce Avrech Berkman (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 120-133.

5. For an example of how African American women organized at the local and state level, particularly in the NACW state federations, see: V. P. Franklin and Bettye Collier-Thomas, "For the Good of the Race in General and Black Women in Particular: the Civil Rights Activities of Black Women's Organizations, 1915-1954," in *Sisters in the Struggle: African American Women in the Civil Rights-Black Power Movement*, eds. Bettye Collier-Thomas and V. P. Franklin (New York, N.Y.: New York University Press, forthcoming 2001).

6. V. P. Franklin, "Cultural Capital and Black Higher Education: The AME Colleges and Universities as Collective Economic Enterprises, 1856-1910," in *Mind on Freedom: Celebrating the Heritage of the Historical Black College and University*, edited by Spencer Crew and Alonzo Smith (Smithsonian Institution, forthcoming); V. P. Franklin, "Social Capital, Cultural Capital and Empowerment Zones: A Strategy for Economic and Community Development," in *The State of Black Philadelphia - Economic Power: Leveling the Playing Field* (Philadelphia, PA.: Urban League of Philadelphia, 1998), pp. 19-23; James B. Stewart, "Toward Broader Involvement of Black Economists in Discussions of Race and Public Policy: A Plea for a Reconceptualization of Race and Power in Economic Theory," *Review of Black Political Economy* 23 (Winter 1995): 13-35; See also: James Earl Davis, "Cultural Capital and the Role of Historically Black Colleges and Universities in Educational Reproduction," in Kassie Freeman, ed. *African American Culture and Heritage in Higher Education Research and Practice* (Westport: Praeger, 1998), pp. 142-152.

7. For information on the various types of "capital" needed for economic enterprises, see Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in John G. Richardson, ed., *Handbook of Theory and Research in the Sociology of Education* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), pp. 241- 58. See also, James S. Coleman, "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital," *American Journal of Sociology* 94 (Supplement): S95-S120; Robert D. Putnam, "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital," *Current* 356 (October 1993): 4-9, and "The Prosperous Community: Social Capital and Economic Growth," *Current* 356 (October 1993): 4-9; Francis Fukuyama, *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity* (New York: The Free Press, 1995), and "Social Capital, and the Global Economy," *Foreign Affairs* 74 (Sept. - Oct., 1995): 89-103.

8. Gordon, "Black and White Visions of Welfare," pp. 560-561; On the question of black women "raising private money for public institutions," Gordon cites the Atlanta University study of 1901 conducted by W. E. B. DuBois, which found that in Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia the private contribution to the black public schools was greater than that from tax moneys. Also, the tax money spent on African American schools was proportionately and quantitatively far less than that spent on white schools. See: W. E. B. DuBois, ed., *Efforts for Social Betterment among Negro Americans* (Atlanta, 1909), p. 29.

9. Many general African American history books, as well as institutional studies of the black community include examples of black philanthropic activities. See: John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans* Fifth Edition, (New

York: Knopf, 1980); Benjamin Quarles, *Black Abolitionist*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969); James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); Robert A. Hill, ed., *Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983); Aldon D. Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*, (New York: Free Press, 1984); V. P. Franklin, *Black Self-Determination: A History of African American Resistance* (Brooklyn: Lawrence Hill Books, 1992).

10. For a brief historical overview of black philanthropy see: Emmett D. Carson, *A Hand Up: Black Philanthropy and Self-Help in America* (Washington, D.C.: The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies Press, 1993); For discussions of contemporary black philanthropy see: Emmett D. Carson, *The Charitable Appeals Fact Book: How Black and White Americans Respond to Different Types of Fund-Raising Efforts*, (Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies, 1986); Alicia D. Byrd, ed., *Philanthropy and the Black Church*, (Washington, D.C.: Council on Foundations, 1990); James A. Joseph, "Black Philanthropy: The Potential and Limits of Private Generosity in a Civil Society." First Annual Lecture delivered to the Association of Black Foundation Executives, June 3, 1991, Washington, D.C. Emmett D. Carson, "Black Volunteers as Givers and Fundraisers," Working Paper, (New York: Center for the Study of Philanthropy, Graduate School, City University of New York, 1991); Emmett D. Carson, "Contemporary Trends in Black Philanthropy: Challenging the Myths," in *Taking Fund Raising Seriously*, ed. Dwight F. Burlingame and Lamont J. Hulse (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1991); Emmett D. Carson "Patterns of Giving in Black Churches," in *Faith and Philanthropy in America: Exploring the Role of Religion in America's Voluntary Sector*, ed. Robert Wuthnow, Virginia A. Hodgkinson and Associates (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1990); For curriculum guides which utilize the African American history topical framework see: Colin Palmer, *Topics in Black American Philanthropy Since 1785* Curriculum Guide # 3 (New York: Center for the Study of Philanthropy, Graduate School and University Center, City University of New York, Spring 1998; Colin Palmer, *A Graduate Curriculum Guide to Topics in Black American Philanthropy Since 1785* (New York: Center for the Study of Philanthropy, Graduate School and University Center, City University of New York, 1999).

11.."Helping Our Own," by Emmett D. Carson, *Essence*, May 1988, p. 160.

12. Carson, *A Hand Up*, see: Foreword, n.p.

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Native American Philanthropy

Sherry Salway Black

Formalized philanthropy is a part of most cultures, but each culture understands and practices it within its own cultural context, based on its own history and values. This article discusses Native American philanthropy and how it differs from that of Western philanthropy—in much the same way that the two cultures differ. Native communities are comprised of a network of individuals, families, and kinship relationships that is also interconnected with nature and the environment. This connection is made through spiritual values, leadership and cultural roots. Western culture, on the other hand, tends to fit life into compartments—family, volunteerism, spirituality, and community are often separate, for example. Individualism tends to take priority over community. Because of the differences in culture, a wide gulf exists between methods of Native giving and that of Western philanthropy. Goodwill efforts in the Native tradition are holistic in nature, encompassing all parts of the interconnection, whereas Western philanthropy tends to divide giving into categories. Sharing and reciprocity, rather than charity, are a hallmark of Native philanthropy.

Native American Philanthropy—the Traditions of Giving

Although much has been written about Western philanthropy, there is little discussion on Native American philanthropy. A former president of the Council of Foundations notes, "Little attention has been paid to the [Native American] tradition of sharing and reciprocity that predated the practices of charity and philanthropy of the European Settlers" (Joseph 1995:27). Robert Bremner, in his classic history of American philanthropy, describes Native Americans as the first philanthropists of the continent, then barely mentions them again, or he discusses Native Americans solely as objects rather than sources of philanthropy (Wells 1998). Bremner's brief discussion of Native giving is, nonetheless, important. He introduces his history by citing Columbus's observations about the indigenous people that he first encountered on the islands of the Bahamas:

> The earliest American philanthropists, as far as European records go, were those gentle Indians of the Bahama Islands who greeted Columbus at his first landfall in the New World. In view of the cruelty and exploitation these natives were to suffer at the hands of white men there is something ominous in Columbus's report that they were 'ingenuous and free' with all they had, gave away anything that was asked of them, and bestowed each gift 'with as much love as if their hearts went with it' (Bremner 1988:5).

These observations, perhaps happenstance as they might have been, convey the essential generosity that has characterized Native American societies. As James

Joseph indicates, "By nature, the early Indian tribe was a benevolent community where sharing was a primary virtue and selfishness a primary vice" (Joseph 1996:6). Indeed, Native American help was critical to early European immigrants in North America. James Joseph stresses that "The Europeans would not have survived their initial winter without gifts of corn, squash, and beans as well as herbal medicine and planting and fertilizing techniques from the Indians" (Joseph 1995:27). Bremner also lists the various types of help that mainland Indians provided to early European settlers to enable them to survive. In particular, he refers to one well-known Pawtuxet Indian, named Squanto, who helped the Pilgrims of Massachusetts in the winter of 1620-21 avoid starvation. Squanto showed the Pilgrims how to plant corn, where to fish, and where to find other foods. In this light, it is historically ironic that indigenous people, who were critical to the survival of the early settlers, have since been treated as objects of Euro-American philanthropy (Wells 1998:1).

Indian Giving As a Form of Philanthropic Sharing

The distinction between sharing and charity is critically important to understanding Indian giving, just as it is important to understanding Indian culture. For Native Americans kinship and shared responsibilities are time-honored values. Thus, the Native American tradition of giving is unique precisely because it is "a form of sharing rather than charity" (Joseph 1995:28). Just as it is necessary to distinguish formalized philanthropy and individual charity, Indian giving and charity should also be distinguished. As James Joseph states, sharing is the paramount value in Native giving, and such "Giving is not charity but honoring the community, not even a matter of altruism but of mutual responsibility. . .[in which] the good of the community takes precedence" over that of the individual (Joseph 1995:29). Philanthropy in the Native sense means the tradition of sharing and honoring, which is a question of mutual responsibility. To share wealth is a responsibility of every caring member of a community. Like formalized philanthropy, giving within a tribe is not ad hoc, but a systematic process carried out according to carefully prescribed norms that are the key to social relationships (Joseph 1995:27). One Native American thus notes:

> By accepting the gift, the recipient validates and honors the giver's responsibility to give. It's not a shameful thing or a social stigma to receive a gift. What you're actually doing is helping the giver by receiving—because they may be rebalancing their poor luck, or their hardships. Since they are receiving blessings in giving, and doing a good thing in terms of their own feelings, the recipient is doing them a service by receiving in an honorable way (Jeannette Armstrong, cited in Wells 1998:29).

Another value in Indian Country is that of making the community a priority rather than the individual. The objective of giving is the survival of the tribe as a whole—not the well-being of particular individuals (Thorpe 1998:60). This is what distinguishes tribal philanthropy from individual or charitable giving. In fact, the more than 200 Native American languages have no word that explicitly means the same thing as the Greek-based word "philanthropy." Rather, Native languages express the concept through many words, such as sharing, exchange, reciprocity, helping, being noble, mutual respect, community, sponsoring, partnering, collaborating, or terms that relate to ritual and ceremony, such as potlatch, giveaway, offerings or feasts.

Marjane Ambler, editor of the *Tribal College Journal* describes this further. "In English, there is just one word for 'generosity,' perhaps two if 'sharing' is considered. Native language speakers have several words. . .Dale Old Horn at Little Big Horn College says the Crow word *baawaailuuo* refers to generosity with material things, but another word would be used for emotional generosity. In Cheyenne,

hotoehaestse refers to the connection to the earth and the connection to the people, as well as to giving, according to Jenny Parker of the Northern Cheyenne Tribe" (Ambler, 1995-96).

James Joseph also discusses the importance of benefiting community that is the foundation of Native American philanthropy. "The early Indian tribe was by its very nature a benevolent community in which sharing was a primary virtue. . .In the Native American tradition, wealth is generated for its distribution, not its accumulation. *The good of the community takes precedence over the good of the individual* [emphasis added]. Even the tribal chief accumulated wealth in order to meet his responsibility to widows, orphans, and others. This practice often made him the poorest member of the community" (Joseph 1995:27). Arthur McDonald (Ojibwe) indicates that "The traditional Indian culture by contrast [to mainstream society] has as the ultimate good the survival of the tribe. The individual is expendable in the sense that one does what is good for other people at the sacrifice of individual goals and objectives. This is seen in a variety of behaviors, such as the 'giveaway' ceremony. . .In Indian culture, people give away their material possessions in an act of sharing [not charity]. The more you share, the more honor, prestige, and status you enjoy" (McDonald cited in Wells 1998:68). This concept is often in direct contrast to Western traditions of affording prestige to those who accumulate a lot of material possessions.

Adamson tells us that Native children are taught from the earliest age to "think for themselves and act for others," learning self-reliance, but also commitment to community. Competitiveness, individual aggrandizement, gathering of goods for oneself at the expense of others are behaviors that are uncommon in Native communities.

Darrel Kipp (Blackfoot) states that continual giving within a tribe bonds members to and within the tribe so that the strength of the group, "which is of paramount importance for survival," is buttressed by the sharing of each member in turn (Kipp cited in Wells 1998:13). He emphasizes that one does not function effectively as an individual in a tribe, but only as a member relying on other members. It is the group that gives significance to the individual, not the individual to the group. Other Native commentators also refer to the primacy of sharing within tribal communities, relating it, in part, to the requirements of living in extended families and within rural villages:

> In the way I was taught, Comanche Way, the highest standard of behavior that I could aspire to was to share—whether it is sharing facilities, or money, or knowledge . . .In the Comanche society you never perceive that you are better than anyone else in the community; everyone in the community is important to you—for protection, for nurturing, for feeding you, for giving you a strong sense of self. So giving should come as part of your nature—it's not something that you have to think about consciously (LaDonna Harris cited in Wells 1998:26).

> For us [Sac and Fox], giving means sharing. . .[Before European contact] my people all participated in a community—they reaped their gardens together, they hunted together—it was for everyone in the village. You grow up with it, so I do these things almost automatically" (Henrietta Massey cited in Wells 1998:12-13).

Circularity of the Gift

One of the main misunderstandings between indigenous and mainstream societies has been the way in which the latter has labeled Native ways of giving pejoratively

as an "Indian gift" (in Thomas Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts,* 1765) or "Indian giver" (first used in Bartlett's 1860 *Dictionary American*) (Wells 1998:84). Wells relates a hypothetical incident (from a book by Lewis Hyde, *The Gift*) to describe the origins of this term in a cultural misunderstanding between immigrant Englishmen and indigenous Americans. In Hyde's words:

> Imagine a scene. An Englishman comes into an Indian lodge, and his hosts, wishing to make their guest feel welcome, ask him to share a pipe of tobacco. Carved from soft red stone, the pipe itself is a peace offering that has tradition- ally circulated among the local tribes, staying in each lodge for a time but always given away again sooner or later. And so the Indians, as is only polite among their people, give the pipe to their guest when he leaves. The English- man is tickled pink. What a nice thing to send back to the British Museum! He takes it home and sets it on the mantelpiece. A time passes and the leaders of a neighboring tribe come to visit the colonist's home. To his surprise he finds his guests have some expectation in regard to his pipe [that it will be given to them], and his translator finally explains to him that if he wishes to show his goodwill he should offer them a smoke and give them the pipe. In consterna- tion the Englishman invents a phrase [Indian giver] to describe these people with such a limited sense of private property (Hyde cited in Wells 1998:78-79).

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines an "Indian gift" as "signifying a present for which an equivalent return is expected." Bartlett's 1860 *Dictionary American* defines an Indian giver as someone who expects to receive an equivalent gift or to have the original gift returned (Well 1998:84). As Hyde notes regarding the above hypothetical exchange, the Englishman regards the pipe as a piece of private prop- erty or as a commodity; but for the Native person, the pipe has a sacred worth and "bespeaks relationship" (Hyde cited in Wells 1998:78). In Hyde's words, Native Americans have a deep understanding of the "cardinal property of the gift: whatever we have been given is supposed to be given away again, not kept. . . As it is passed along, the gift may be given back to the original donor, but this is not essential. In fact, it is better if the gift is not returned but is given instead to some new, third party. The only essential is this: the gift must move" (Hyde 1983:4).

It is the circularity of the gift-giving process that leads Adamson (Cherokee) to remark that "Indian giving was and is the future wealth of society" because it "signi- fies a willingness to care, an expectation of sharing; a cultural commitment to reci- procity that was not to be questioned" (Adamson, 1993: 3). The worth of a gift is multiplied by continued reciprocal giving, as more people benefit from the original gift, which will circulate more widely:

> In Native giving, there is always an understanding of broad reciprocity. . . that requires that the gift must continue to be given, to be passed on. This is probably *the pan-Native American value that underpins all the differ- ent forms of tribal giving* [emphasis added]. Every tribe has different forms, different rituals, different ceremonies, different understandings of what a gift is, how a gift is given. But what you see in all those different kind of ceremonies is the understanding that gift-giving is really recipro- cally based—that you give to someone, and that person is expected to give—but not merely as a quid pro quo back to you. It can be giving a gift back to you—or on beyond you. That is the reciprocity of it—the gift is given, *the beneficiary is expected also to give—not necessarily back, but on, so the gift is always alive* [emphasis added] (Adamson cited in Wells 1998:36).

> It goes further than the idea of 'serial reciprocity.' You don't necessarily repay the person who gave the original gift—but the gift obligates you to

share with someone else—because of the generosity shown to you and the fact that they are honoring you (Harris cited in Wells 1998:27).

The process of serial or multilateral gift giving could be regarded as an analogue of the notion of the benefits of exchange in microeconomic theory (or of multilateral exchange in international trade theory), whereby a group of people who willingly exchange/trade their existing goods are better off after the exchange than before the exchange. This is because participants have traded away their "less" valued goods (in their eyes) for more valued goods held by others, thus increasing their individual wealth. The obligation, though, in Indian giving is not to maximize the individual benefits of exchange.

> As far as giving and receiving goes, the test of the law is 'Are you willing to give away that which is most valuable to you?' It might be your eagle feather, or something someone has given to you. Sometimes there's a fight inside the self: should I keep it, or should I give it away? And even though you know that you're going to give it away, the fight still takes place within the self. So the more valuable it is to you to give away, the greater is the return from the law. Many people know that the law is true; if you give away, you know that it will come back to you, and it always does—maybe even in a better form. But the intent is not for the return; the intent is to do it because you want to really give to that other person. So there's not a selfish motive—it is just the opposite (Adamson cited in Wells 1998:29).

> Everyone [is] a 'warrior' because you fight constantly not against anyone else but against your own ego. To accomplish this a person had to be humble and this is why 'giveaways' have been so important to the culture. Being generous defeats the ego. Even at the time of death, a person could be evaluated by the amount of personal belongings that were put under their scaffold. A large pile indicated a big ego. A small one demonstrated a sharing of wealth and self (Archambault cited in Wells 1998:67).

As Adamson indicates in regard to tribal economic systems, ". . .far more emphasis was placed on vehicles for the redistribution of wealth because there was a profound understanding that the greater the circulation, the more prosperity was generated" (Adamson cited in Wells 1998:36). Even today, the Tlingits of Alaska, for example, view potlatches as investments because, in the long run, such wealth would return and the original gift would ensure one's honorable reputation (Joseph 1996:7). Thus, according to Kidwell, "Giving was not a matter of pure altruism but a vital mechanism for the circulation of resources within a group" (Kidwell 1989:2).

Indian Giving As a Form of Social Validation and Social Capital

Indian giving is also a deliberate process of recognizing or validating tribal members as part of one body or people. The intent of the potlatch of Northwest coast tribes was to validate the social status of members of the tribe and the reciprocal relationships that existed among family groups (Kidwell 1989:5). In the widespread custom today of the "giveaway"[1] tribal members share their possessions in ceremonies designed to assure the giver social recognition and acknowledge the worth of the receiver while honoring the community as a whole. As James Joseph remarks, "The person who accomplishes something significant will accumulate things to give away with the intent to honor the community that fostered the individual and the achievement . . . *I honor you* by giving; it is not done to make you feel beholden or small. *You honor me* by receiving the small token of my esteem for all you have contributed. Giveaways, therefore, are not so much person to person as they are person to com-

munity in recognition of membership" (Joseph 1995:28-29). Sam Suina (Cochiti) remarks that what really matters is "giving to the community, whether there is a specific occasion or reason to give to them or not. It's more a gesture on the part of the family: [e. g.,] 'We are honored to have our son or daughter participate in this dance for the first time, and this is what we want to give to the people. So in this case it is not selective at all '" (Suina cited in Wells 1998:27).

In fact, the gift-giving process builds up the "social capital" or social assets—the meeting of social obligations and reciprocity—that permits cooperation within the community. Gift giving, and its associated social capital, facilitates community bonding and trust. These can be drawn upon to hold the community together in stressful times. As Fukuyama notes in discussing the benefits of social capital or shared norms, "If members of the group come to expect that others will behave reliably and honestly, then they will come to *trust* one another. Trust is like a lubricant that makes the running of any group or organization more efficient" (Fukuyama 1999:16). As various Native American commentators note,

> Giving bonds you to the group, and it bonds you within the group, because you have provided a series of gifts that allow the group to prosper. This exchange of gifts is continual. . .the strength of the group, which is of paramount importance for survival, is then strengthened by the fact that the group contributes in total to its survival. A person cannot participate individually, without reliance on fellow members of the tribe" (Darrell Kip cited in Wells 1998:13).

> The effect [of giving] in the community is the good feeling that comes from it. The individuals can go around and call each other brothers—even though they may come from different tribes. 'These are my relatives.' There is a good feeling and good fellowship as a result of the gift giving (Henrietta Massey cited in Wells 1998:34).

In short, giving reinforces the social networks and relationships within tribal communities.

Indian Giving As a Reflection of Native Cosmology

The multilateral reciprocity of Indian giving is derived, ultimately, from Native views of creation and cosmology (Grim in Ilchman 1998). In fact, Indian giving reflects what Ronald Wells describes as the cardinal principle of indigenous cultures, namely that everything is inherently interconnected and spiritual (Wells 1998:63, and see Jostad et al. 1996:570-571). It also reflects the "concept of reciprocity and balance that extends to relationships among humans, including future generations, and between humans and the natural world" (Rebecca Tsosie cited in Suagee 1999:5). As John Grim explains, "Native American individuals and institutions appear not to separate philanthropic altruism as a humanitarian act from philanthropy as motivated by cosmological concern reaching into all realms of life. The munificence of the hunter who ritually thanks the slain animal and often shares the meat with those in need, the concern of a Native American tribal government to provide scholarships for promising students, along with the family which seeks to honor an individual by a giveaway are philanthropic acts flowing from a traditional awareness of deeper values about giving within the cosmos itself" (Grim in Ilchman 1998). The fundamental appreciation of interdependence between all elements in creation, that all reality participates or shares in one form of life, lies at the root of the Native sense of responsibility for other people and tribal willingness to share.

We believe that we as people. . .we're the hands of the spirit and the Creator. And being the hands of the spirit and the Creator, we are responsible for all other things

that we have influence [over] or effect on in some way; and as communities we have responsibilities for every single person who is living and born into our communities and into our families, and for each other—and if it were possible, for every other human being in the world (Jeanette Armstrong cited in Wells 1998:58).

> Giving and receiving are ways that we honor the interconnectedness of life. . . Our giving become[s] the pathway. . .for future life—the connection with grandfathers and grandmothers, those who have gone on before. Without the rain, clouds, sun, all life would stop. In the same way, if we lose spiritual relationships between people, life will stop (Sam Suina cited in Wells 1998:28).

Moreover, the indigenous "perception of the earth as an animate being. . .[and of] humans [participating] in a kinship system with other living things" helps to explain why Native Americans see tribal giving as a form of sharing rather than charity (Tsosie cited in Suagee 1999:5). Indeed, the two component parts of sharing— namely, giving and receiving—are regarded as equal, reflecting the principle of balance and harmony in natural systems.

> If you look at the principle of functioning in harmony with Creation, there is what I would call an ecology of giving: the tree gives the seeds to the birds; the birds spread the seeds and the pollen of the trees and plants and give life back to the earth. All the natural world is a system of giving and receiving—which of course is an interconnected system. Nothing works in isolation, in that it doesn't receive something from someone [only] and give something to someone [else only]. . .If we function in harmony with the principal laws and values, we would be able, like a tree, to give and to receive in the understanding that we participate in a spiritually interconnected system. But if you allow the ego in, that's where it breaks down. That's why some people who fall out of harmony with the principal laws and values can't receive, except on the ego level [of bilateral reciprocity]: 'You give me something, I give you [particularly] something back.' But a natural system is one of interconnectedness, interdependency, balance and harmony, which operates through a cycle of giving and receiving. One isn't better than the other, giving or receiving: they're equal. Since one of the universal principles is balance, you must have balance in giving and balance in receiving. You can't do one and not the other, without throwing the system out of order (Don Coyhis cited in Wells 1998:59-60).

Likewise, Native spiritual beliefs also define the relationships between hunter and prey. In the Native manner, fish and wildlife are co-equal partners in an interconnected ecosystem. One does not catch the fish – the fish offers itself to the fisherman.

It is from these traditions that Native Americans are now actively creating their own formal philanthropic institutions to support Native communities, despite centuries of colonization in which reciprocity was severely undermined and exchange moved away from intra-tribal support and giveaways to dependence on governmental support. As Adamson states, "it is scarcely new for Native Americans to share and exchange, but it is new to institutionalize and standardize such activities (Adamson 1998:2). We explore contemporary Native American philanthropy in the latter half of this paper. First, however, we briefly review the role the formal philanthropic sector has played in supporting Native American tribes and organizations.

The Role of the Formal Philanthropic Sector in Native American Communities

Adamson identifies six periods in the history of the relationship between the philanthropic community and Native Americans (Adamson 1993). During the

"missionary" period, a persistent aim of both the federal government and private philanthropists was to assimilate and "civilize" Native Americans. In 1819, Congress established a "Civilization Fund" to support the efforts of churches to convert Indians to Christianity. Early benefactors of such colleges as Dartmouth, Harvard, and Yale contributed to the colleges on condition that some of the funding would provide for higher education for Indians (Carson 1999:251).

By the late 1800s, wealthy philanthropists subsidized individual Indians to leave their reservations to be educated in the East. Adamson characterizes this period as the "chief-making" era and notes that no matter how well-intentioned such efforts might have been, "the underlying philosophy and goal of this philanthropic effort was assimilation" (Adamson, 1993). The founding of the National Congress of American Indians and the Association of American Indian Affairs in the mid-1940s ushered in the "political leadership" era, whereby philanthropic resources were invested in organizations that advocated nationally for the political and economic rights of Native Americans.

Philanthropy played a catalytic and strategic role in supporting indigenous legal and educational rights and development of organizations during the "issues and rights" era of the 1960s. In 1961, the Fund for the Republic sponsored a meeting in Chicago of over 500 Native Americans who drafted a "Declaration of Indian Purpose." Out of this meeting, the National Indian Youth Council emerged, which became one of the more radical voices in the Native rights movement. In 1968, the American Indian Movement (AIM) was created to serve as a civil rights movement and to deal with police brutality against Native Americans. From these groups came a rallying call for Indian rights, which later evolved into calls for recognition of tribal rights and sovereignty (Adamson 1993:3).

Significantly, the Ford Foundation, which played a major role in trying to change the national policy agenda and to achieve change from the 1950s onwards, began to support education demonstration projects on reservations. By 1965, foundations were funding six Indian-controlled demonstration schools. As Adamson remarks, "For the first time ever, foundations were teaming with Native communities" (Adamson 1993:4). Not only that, they were teaming with tribal organizations on projects that stressed community involvement, tribal responsibility, and respect for Native American languages and cultures. For example, the original purposes of the Rough Rock Navajo Demonstration School Board were: (i) that educational development must involve the people as a community, not just outside experts, (ii) that tribal involvement must mean the responsibility for success and failure, (iii) that tribal schools and institutions must contribute to the overall development of the community, (iv) that development, including via the educational system, was a process for transmitting the people's way of life, not for imposing outside culture, and (v) that Native language and culture must be recognized in all aspects of tribal community development (Adamson 1993:4). Projects such as these were a radical departure from past philanthropic efforts aimed at assimilation and the elimination of traditional Native culture.

The 1970s were a watershed for mainstream philanthropy's attitude toward Native Americans. Foundations increasingly realized the need for Native-controlled institutions beyond simply schools and school boards. Thus, for example, the Ford Foundation funded the creation of the Native American Rights Fund, and the Atlantic-Richfield Company (ARCO) supported the Council for Energy Resource Tribes. During this "institutional" period, the funding for Native nonprofits and projects came mainly from non-Native sources in the 1970s (Berry 1999:38).[2]

By the early 1980s, the "institutional" era gave way to that of "self-sufficiency," whereby foundations reduced their funding of Native-controlled institutions. No longer interested in providing operational funding, foundations focused their funding on specific projects that could become self-sustaining after several years (Adamson, 1993). By the 1990s, few foundations prioritized Native Americans in their grantmaking, reflecting a national decline in the percentage of grant dollars allocated by foundations to "special population groups" (Renz et al. 1998:96 and Thorpe 1998:58).

A 1994 study by Native Americans in Philanthropy found that less than one percent of the total grants awarded between 1991 and 1993 were directed toward Native American causes (Native Americans in Philanthropy 1994:6). In that year, about 100 foundations made donations to Native causes, contributing $36 million compared with $41 million in 1992 (Ewen and Wollock 1996:1, and Renz et al. 1998:96). From 1992 to 1996, the percentage of total foundation funding allocated to Native Americans varied from between 0.5 and 0.9 percent (Renz et al. 1998:96). These sums are comparable to those spent by foundations on victims of crime and abuse, immigrants and refugees, the homeless, and people with AIDS (each of whose funding has varied from 0.5-0.9 percent of total foundation funding from 1992-1996).[3] In many cases, funding by mainstream foundations to Native issues "does not even go to Native people or organizations, but rather to non-Indian museums or universities that study Indians" (Ewen and Wollock 1996:1). Corporate giving also fell below the national average, with about one-third of one percent going to Native American communities (*Philanthropy News Digest*, 1998). In addition, few [philanthropic] resources contribute to projects that reflect, strengthen and support the revitalization of Native ways of life, language and traditionally appropriate uses of Native lands and resources" (Thorpe 1998:58).

These figures lead the director of higher education programming at the Kellogg Foundation to conclude that Native Americans "have fared much worse than other ethnic groups. It's a Catch-22 because they are smaller in terms of the population. But the need ought to have a lot to do with funding" (*Philanthropy News Digest* 1998).

Native American Philanthropic Institutions

Consistent with our earlier distinction between charity and philanthropy, in this section we focus on formal Native American philanthropic institutions, rather than on individual charitable giving. Just as in the mainstream giving world, individual charitable giving is more substantial in Indian Country than formalized philanthropic giving.[4] Native donors tend to give in response to perceived needs, are driven by cultural influences, and are concerned about broad issues that affect local activities. Reservation-based Indians tend to give to the family and to the community, whereas urban Indians tend to give to intertribal networks or pan-Indian activities (Berry, 1999).

As noted previously, the formalization (the institutionalization of a "Westernized" version) of Native American philanthropy has only just begun. Most Native philanthropic institutions, which M. Berry describes broadly as "regranting funds," focus primarily on scholarships; technical assistance; capacity building; development of human, economic, and environmental assets; and cultural preservation (Berry 1999:60). Most derive their funding from a mix of private foundations, corporations, individuals, and tribal entities. A growing number are building their own reserves and in some cases establishing endowments to become foundations. Though

few in number, Native regranting institutions appear to be growing. In 1973, there were only three Native foundations and funds making grants to Native people. By 1996 the number of Native grantmaking organizations had grown to 32, of which 22 were foundations and 10 were funds (Ewen and Wollock 1996:2). These Native grantmakers directed 58 percent of their funding to education, 17 percent to economic development, 10 percent to cultural preservation, nearly 4 percent to human services, 2 percent to the media, 1 percent to the environment, and 8 percent to other areas (Joseph 1996:7-8). As in the mainstream foundation world, giving by Native foundations and funds is highly concentrated among a relatively few organizations. In 1996, "The two largest Native funders [granting more than $1 million each] provided more than half of all the money given by all the Native philanthropic organizations, while the fifteen smallest foundations and funds provided less than 3 percent of the total Native grantmaking" (Ewen and Wollock 1996:18).

Good examples of Native American philanthropic institutions include the Seventh Generation Fund, First Nations Development Institute, and the Hopi Foundation, among others. The Seventh Generation Fund (originally the Tribal Sovereignty Project) was "the first Native American organization created to advocate for foundation support of projects initiated by and for Native Americans" (Thorpe 1998:58). First Nations Development Institute, founded in 1980, actively seeks to bring Native American issues and projects to the attention of the philanthropic community. The Eagle Staff Fund, the grantmaking arm of the First Nations Development Institute, and the Seventh Generation Fund combine entrepreneurship with philanthropy. Based on ancient traditions of sharing and caring, the organizations help stimulate Native business activity. These institutions are oriented toward community-driven development aimed at the continuation of the whole way of life of tribal people. They define their goals broadly and tend to determine specific objectives, activities, and methods over time through an evolving process (Thorpe 1998:60). They are grassroots oriented, with many of their board members and advisors representing Native communities. They are also multidimensional, integrating many aspects of community life into their development projects. Other Native organizations active in the field of philanthropy include Native Americans in Philanthropy, established as a Native American affinity group to the Council of Foundations in 1990. Funders Who Fund in Indian Country, an affiliate of the National Network of Grantmakers, was organized in 1992. An emphasis of all these organizations is to raise the awareness of Native American communities and issues in the mainstream philanthropic sector.

Tribal foundations are relatively new but are growing in number and variety. They are often established by a tribe or its members for the benefit of their particular tribe (Ewen and Wollock 1996:6). A growing number are being established under tribal rather than state law to allow Native Americans to protect their sovereignty and independence while contributing to tribal infrastructure and service needs (Adamson 1998, October 27:11). Most have been developed with tribal and community support, but many of their initial efforts are focused on leveraging external support, despite the fact that they have limited experience in fundraising. Increasingly, they rely more on tribal and private funding than on state and federal government funding; but their capacity to build endowments is limited if they lack adequate staff and financial expertise, organizational maturity, and broad donor support. As Berry has noted, "most tribes have not had a history of institutional philanthropy and have a hard time supporting the concept of long-term endowments when confronted with the current needs of their friends and neighbors" (Berry 1999:65).

Another type of formalized philanthropy in Indian Country are Native-controlled and oriented partnerships with mainstream organizations involving the creation of a

fund within a community foundation to finance Native causes (Berry, 1999). They are established when mainstream philanthropic organizations, such as community foundations, identify Native Americans within their communities and contact them to create a Native-advised or -focused fund. In North Carolina, for example, a tribe established eight funds within a local community foundation. The collective endowment of $280,000 has financed a bridge crossing to a restored green space and established a traditional garden and picnic area. Scholarship and cemetery funds were also established because of the tribe's interest in education and elders (Berry 1999:65). In 1998, at least 16 community foundations held Native-advised or -focused funds (Berry 1999:64). Most of these funds were founded in the last decade. Most of them rely on small contributions of $1,000-5,000, tribal support or family involvement, and a mix of Native and non-Native donations for their endowments.

Tribal enterprise giving is another type of formalized philanthropy in Indian Country. Such giving is typically directed by a charitable giving committee or by an enterprise's board or marketing office. Tribal enterprises give to enhance their commercial image, including to nonprofits working to combat legal or legislative inequities. They also contribute to political campaigns. The Indian Gaming Regulatory Act of 1988 required tribal governments to use gaming revenues to fund tribal government operations, provide for the general welfare of the tribe, and support tribal economic development. It also allowed tribes to use gaming revenues for charitable purposes (e. g., scholarships, rehabilitation centers, housing, and health clinics). For example, the Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux of Minnesota have used their gaming revenues to support tribal members and to make donations to other tribes and surrounding non-Indian communities and schools (Joseph 1995:35). The Mashantucket Pequot of Massachusetts have contributed more than $150 million in funding for projects outside the tribe, including $10 million to the National Museum of the American Indian (Berry 1999:40 and Carson 1999: 254). Nevertheless, substantial gaming revenues tend to be confined to a narrow group of tribes[5] and are only one among a number of increasing sources of funds for Native American philanthropy. The growing business sector in Indian Country has helped to support Native American philanthropy. Indeed, the number of Indian-owned businesses nearly doubled from 1987 to 1992, increasing to 102,000. At the same time, Native business receipts increased from $3.7 billion to $8.1 billion (cited in Adamson October 27, 1998:4). In some states, such as Arizona and New Mexico, Native Americans generate about up to 16 percent of the state's income (Berry 1999:33).

Tribal governments, including councils, elders, and economic development and public relations offices, are also involved in formalized philanthropy. Sometimes the business council of the tribe oversees donations, or the elders approve gifts or the tribal council. Much of this giving is familial, aimed at supporting particular families, or it is aimed at building up the tribe's infrastructure, including schools, housing, and health care (Berry 1999:73). Such gift giving can become embroiled in intratribal conflicts between families, government, and enterprises over who should benefit. Indeed, tribal governments have to respond or react to a multitude of interests and cannot necessarily focus their funding decisions on strategic or disinterested grantmaking.

Giving through intertribal consortia is also new and growing, especially in areas where there are many tribes and where wealth has been accumulated through gaming or other commercial enterprises (Berry 1999). The giving activities of these consortia tend to be service oriented, focusing on youth, the elderly, or human services generally. Their boards are composed of tribal leaders, each having their own interests and constituencies. They often begin with Native support and expand

to include non-Native support. A good example is the Intertribal Foundation of Arizona, still in the development phase.

An increasing number of Native American service organizations are also providing grants to their members. Native organizations and professional associations, such as the American Indian College Fund, American Indian Science and Engineering Society, Council of Energy Resource Tribes, and Native American Journalists Association, are increasingly making grants for scholarships and projects. Some are also seeking to establish endowments, including from non-Native sources, to perpetuate themselves.

Tribal college foundations are growing and are at the forefront of the effort to build endowments in Indian Country. Currently, nine tribal colleges have endowed foundations, but many are young and lack a large number of alumni. They generally raise money and provide grants only to meet their own or their students' needs and struggle to balance the need to pay daily bills and raise funds for permanent facilities via endowments (Berry 1999:64).

Native payroll deduction programs and other giving programs are emerging as viable alternatives to mainstream federated funders, such as United Way, which have existed for many years in Indian Country. One example of a tribal United Way, established in the mid 1980s, is Navajo Way. It supports nonprofit organizations that are active on the Navajo Reservation and responds to community needs. It is governed by Native people and operated through committees and consensus (Berry 1999).

Conclusion

This paper has discussed certain characteristics of Native giving traditions. Indian giving is a form of philanthropic sharing in which the tribal community as a whole is honored, not particular individuals. The well-being of the tribe as the goal of giving distinguishes tribal philanthropy from individual or charitable giving. Indian giving is circular, with gifts circulating throughout a community by being passed from one person to another. The obligation to pass along a gift to other tribal members underpins all forms of tribal giving. Indian giving is also a form of social validation and social capital. Reciprocal giving reinforces social networks and relationships within tribal communities by enhancing trust. Finally, Indian giving reflects Native cosmology, or the sense of reciprocity and balance between all aspects of reality, between humans and the natural world. The two components of sharing—giving and receiving—are regarded as equal, reflecting the principle of balance and harmony in nature.

A persistent aim of early mainstream philanthropy for Native Americans was assimilation, including through mainstream schooling. By the twentieth century, however, Native Americans began to create their own formal institutions to advocate nationally for tribal rights and sovereignty. Foundations such as the Ford Foundation, which played a major role in changing the national policy agenda from the 1950s onwards, began to support tribal institutions, including education demonstration projects on reservations. For the first time, foundations were teaming with Native communities, including on projects that stressed community involvement, tribal responsibility, and respect for Native languages and cultures. By the early 1980s, however, foundations began to reduce their funding for Indian Country and looked for projects that could become self-sustaining. By the 1990s, the percentage of total foundation funding allocated to Native Americans varied from 0.5 to 0.9 percent, equivalent to foundation funding for programs against crime and abuse and

for immigrants and refugees, the homeless, and people with AIDS. Furthermore, the image of funding to Native Americans has been skewed by the impact of a few exceptionally large grants to individual projects.

Native Americans have increasingly sought to create their own philanthropy institutions in recent years. As Adamson notes, "it is scarcely new for Native Americans to share and exchange, but it is new to institutionalize and standardize such activities" (Adamson 1998:2). Native regranting institutions expanded from only three in 1973 to 32 in 1996, of which 22 were foundations and 10 were funds. The majority of their funding is directed towards education and economic development. While formalized Native philanthropy is highly concentrated among a few organizations, as in the mainstream philanthropy world, much of it is community driven. For example, the Seventh Generation Fund, First Nations Development Institute, and the Hopi Foundation are all oriented toward community well-being and development, with a grassroots and multidimensional focus. There is an increasingly wide range of formal philanthropic institutions in Indian Country, including tribal foundations, college foundations, community foundation funds, tribal enterprise giving programs, tribal government giving, and giving by intertribal consortia, Native service organizations, and payroll deduction programs. The Native philanthropic sector is vibrant, reflecting the growth of Native businesses and gaming revenues nationwide. Native Americans are no longer the objects of mainstream philanthropy but active participants in creating a Native philanthropic world to nurture and sustain future generations of tribal peoples.

Notes

1. In his book *Indian Givers* Jack Weatherford describes one such gathering at Fargo, North Dakota:

> Between one set of dances, a family comes to the fore to distribute presents in honor of their teenage daughter, who has taken her grandmother's Indian name. The young girl present gifts of blankets, embroidered pieces of Indian bead, jewelry, cartons of cigarettes, and money to people who have helped her mature to this stage of life. She then leads off a dance in their honor. Between dances, someone occasionally rises to honor another person, commemorate an event, announce an upcoming powwow, or welcome a group that has traveled particularly far to participate in that night's festivities. . .Today the powwow blends the traits of a dozen different Indian groups together with items borrowed from white culture. . .Despite all the blending however, some very basic Indian values dominate (Weatherford, cited in Joseph 1995:29).

2. Furthermore, following the settlement of Native land claims in Alaska in the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971, some of the 13 regional corporations that were created as a result formed private foundations or public charities (e. g., educational scholarships) with annual contributions or lump-sum endowments.

3. The figures on giving to Native American causes can also be distorted by the dominant role played by a few large foundations. As the Foundation Center notes, "Patterns of giving for minorities have historically been skewed by the dominant role played by a few foundations and by the impact of exceptionally large grants. For example, of the 239 foundations who provided support in the 1994 NAP study, 50 percent of the total grant dollars were contributed by only five foundations. In 1996, two grants in excess of $5 million were awarded for projects primarily benefiting Native Americans, compared with none of that size the previous year. The largest of these was $10 million in continuing support from the Educational Foundation of America to the Native American Preparatory School in Rowe, New Mexico" (Renz et

al. 1998:98). The increase in grantmaking to Native Americans for 1996 (from $33 million in 1995 to $65 million in 1996) was primarily a result of these two grants, as opposed to a substantial across-the-board doubling of foundation support (Renz et al. 1998:96).

4. For a recent study on charitable giving among Native Americans, see Berry 1999.

5. Less than a third of tribes have gaming facilities. Of these, only one in ten generates substantial gaming profits (Berry 1999:40).

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Asian American Philanthropy
Acculturation and Charitable Vehicles
Jessica Chao

This paper summarizes in a coherent descriptive model my observations of how, when and why Asian Americans give and volunteer to and through various nonprofit charitable vehicles. My observations are based on myriad donor stories, most of which were obtained as primary sources for my own research or consulting work and were formally solicited and documented. Several were unsolicited stories from numerous casual acquaintances who shared their stories with me at conferences or seminars on philanthropy, or upon hearing about my work. My observations resulted in a descriptive model of philanthropic behavior that starts with strategies for survival, moves through helping the less fortunate and then develops into community investments as Asian Americans achieve financial stability, wealth, and a sense of permanence and identity with their communities in the United States. Because this descriptive model is not based on new research but existing data culled for a variety of purposes, it would be helpful to test it under a controlled study of donor behavior across several ethnicities, age ranges, acculturation levels, and income levels. It would also be helpful to test it among nonprofit practitioners who have significant experiences with fundraising among Asian Americans.

Given my purpose of outlining an interpretive model of philanthropic motivations and the related charitable vehicles associated with various stages of Asian American philanthropy, I have not included exhaustive background literature or detailed descriptions of the myriad practices found within various ethnic groups. These are included in previous publications written by other authors and me as listed in the notes to this paper.

Background and Methodology

During the past few years, various philanthropic service organizations, nonprofits, and research centers hired me to conduct "applied research" or to report on existing research on Asian American philanthropy. These resulted in a few publications,[1] a few proprietary papers outlining strategies for engaging specific types of Asian American donors, several panel discussions, and numerous informal meetings with independent and community foundation staff and with nonprofit practitioners. This work contributed to various annotated bibliographies available through the Center for the Study of Philanthropy at the Graduate and University Center of the City University of New York and the Council on Foundations.[2] But because the Asian American community is so diverse, spanning numerous ethnic groups and various waves of immigration, the range of voluntary associations, nonprofits and charitable causes supported by any one subgroup or another is vast,

overlapping, and confusing. This clearly was not helpful to nonprofit practitioners who approached me looking for an easy tool to predict which types of Asian Americans are more likely to support specific types of nonprofits and causes.

Curious about whether I could find trends and patterns, but limited to existing data, I returned to my notes on the interviews conducted for the Council on Foundations and other clients as well as combing through my recollections of the more informally shared stories. I traced common words used by the donors in describing their charitable and voluntary activity, tracked the types of causes and philanthropic vehicles used in the context of those words, and looked at life circumstances of the respective informants. I then compared the stories I collected with those recounted by others, such as James Joseph, Warren Ilchman, Sylvia Shue, Stella Shao, Roslyn Tonai, etc.[3] and found similarities of patterns. I listened carefully to how other researchers and observers described their conversations and interviews with Asian American donors. From this pool of information, I was able to look at a much broader range and larger sample of Asian American donors than the original 39 high-end major donors interviewed for the Council on Foundations *Cultures of Caring* report.[4] So while this descriptive model may be unduly influenced by the weight of so many Asian Americans on the higher end of the income spectrum, it is somewhat balanced by the stories of many donors from a broader range of ethnicities and donor levels, including the more grassroots participant. It should be noted, however, that for the nonprofit practitioner, the high-end donor is an important priority, as all seasoned fundraisers understand that lead gifts lead special campaigns and sustainable annual funds, which are essential building blocks for nonprofit capitalization.

Furthermore, I am only emboldened to write about this model of evolving philanthropic activity because of the supportive responses and comments to my initial presentations of it at conferences on philanthropy or nonprofits. These responses came from a variety of researchers and nonprofit practitioners who expressed resonance with their own experiences working with Asian Americans, and they requested copies of written summaries of my presentation, which unfortunately did not exist. Moreover, several practitioners and a few researchers commented that the descriptive model also had relevance to other ethnic groups with which they had more familiarity, such as Jewish donors. Therefore, it would be important to compare this descriptive model with the literature of the history of philanthropy among other immigrant populations to see whether it also accurately describes their experiences, or whether this is unique to the Asian American population.

What Is Asian America?

For those who are not so familiar with Asian America,[5] a brief description may be in order, since this community's—or more accurately—these communities' experiences in the United States influenced the way various sub-ethnic groups created and used voluntary associations and pooled their funds to create community stability. However, describing the state of Asian America is challenging because the many communities comprising it defy generalization even among Asian Americans themselves, let alone by outsiders. It is dynamic, changing even as we try to define it. In addition to a variety of cultural, language and religious backgrounds, Asian Americans are increasingly diverse relative to economic class and immigrant/citizenship status. This is due to the rapid increase in immigration that began when the Immigration Act of 1965 lifted restrictive Asian quotas, and other subsequent immigration regulations increasingly favored specific highly skilled professions and occupations. It is also due to increasing political and economic instability in many Asian countries.

Compounding this complexity for mainstream America has been the economic growth of several Asian nations with the resulting small, but significant presence of transnational Asians of wealth.

The reasons for coming to America range from seeking political asylum or religious freedom to career advancement in the sciences, technology, and healthcare; from escaping war or poverty to building businesses or expanding family fortunes. Each immigrant wave and group also had different experiences with discrimination and acceptance by the majority U.S. population. Some groups, such as Japanese, Chinese and Filipinos, some of whom immigrated as early as the mid-1800s as contract workers, migrant farmers and laborers, as well as more recent Southeast Asians and South Asians experienced abject discrimination and even repeated racist violence. Some elite groups have almost entirely escaped racial or cultural bias (until the campaign financing scandals of the 1990s broke) and often have difficulty identifying with those groups that have legitimate complaints. Others are perplexed by subtle "glass ceiling" experiences. No group or individual seems to fully avoid the "perpetual foreigner" syndrome.

Furthermore, the diversity of Asian America is growing with its size. Through each decade since the 1970s, the Asian American population almost doubled. By 1990 it reached 7 million, or three percent of the total U.S. population, and some expect Census 2000 figures to total 11 million, and that Asian Americans will comprise as much as ten percent of the total United States population by the year 2050. It has surpassed the size of the Jewish population and is "catching up" to African Americans. The rate of population growth is faster than that of Latinos. While Americans of Asian descent are truly a minority in this country, by comparison it is often said that half the world's population can trace its lineage to the continent of Asia. The growth of the Asian American population in this country, however, is primarily due to immigration.

Because of its diversity even as the Asian American category has become commonly used, there are many Americans of Asian descent reluctant to use the all-encompassing multiethnic category, preferring cultural identification by their national origin or sub-ethnic group rather than by racial categorization. They trace growing usage of this term to the convenience needs of "outsiders" (particularly government agencies, funders, academics and the media) and to the political needs of "insiders" (primarily community activists and the politically oriented) to show greater solidarity with increased numbers. However, as Espiratu, Omi and Tamayo Lott observe, Asian Americans have multiple identities.[6] Depending on the social, cultural, political or economic situation or circumstance, even those who most often identify themselves as Chinese, Korean or Vietnamese American may also self-identify as Asian American or simply American when appropriate. This is critical in understanding the patterns of voluntary associations and nonprofit groups Asian Americans join, because they can identify with multiple groups at various times for various reasons.

For all their differences, for my purpose it is especially important to articulate those shared experiences that influence voluntary participatory activity, specifically charitable giving. For the most part, while there are growing numbers of American-born generations of Asian Americans (particularly among ethnic groups that began immigrating as early as the mid-1800s), Asian America is immigrant. In 1990, approximately 68.2 percent of Asian America were foreign-born with a high of 93.9 percent among Laotians and a low of 28.4 percent among the Japanese.[7] While many expect that Census 2000 will reveal a growing percentage of American-born, it is still

a rare Asian American who does not have or who cannot point to family members or friends with vivid stories of the loneliness, humiliations and triumphs of the immigrant experience.

While early immigrants often regarded their American sojourn as temporary and planned to return home after fortune was made (often due to exclusionary American laws and regulations), since 1965 more often than not Asian immigrants regard their move to America as very likely permanent. Their individual and community struggles to survive and build homes financially, emotionally and socially are experiences common to all regardless of ethnicity, class or time of entry. While the reasons for isolation from the majority culture range from outright discrimination to more commonplace issues of language, lack of familiarity with local customs, or the inability to obtain business financing, their perseverance to maintain dignity within a new majority culture is a shared experience. It manifests itself in the evolving conflict between the traditional values and cultural practices that survive transplantation and those American customs and values that are absorbed and adapted. Each individual finds a precarious balance that ultimately predicts the likelihood of success and acceptance in this country. Each family strives to create home. Each social group creates community within and across geographic lines based on common needs, values and interests.

How these families and groups create home and community by creating, supporting, and utilizing nonprofit voluntary structures, both formal and informal, is illuminating. Need, identification, social access, and the options available to them at various stages of stability and acculturation influence the organizational structures that will aid them in creating community, regardless of how they define community.

The Descriptive Model: Strategies for Building Home and Community

The descriptive model posed in this paper is one that follows a primarily immigrant population along a continuum of philanthropic motivations that is illustrated in Figure 1. This progression suggests a framework of motivations that moves from survival of family and community and the need to share resources, to the impulse to help by giving to the less fortunate, and finally to a stage of building or strengthening community infrastructure by investing. Donors throughout their interviews, and nonprofit executives and fundraisers making observations about Asian American donors, used terms such as "surviving," "helping," and "investing" voluntarily in
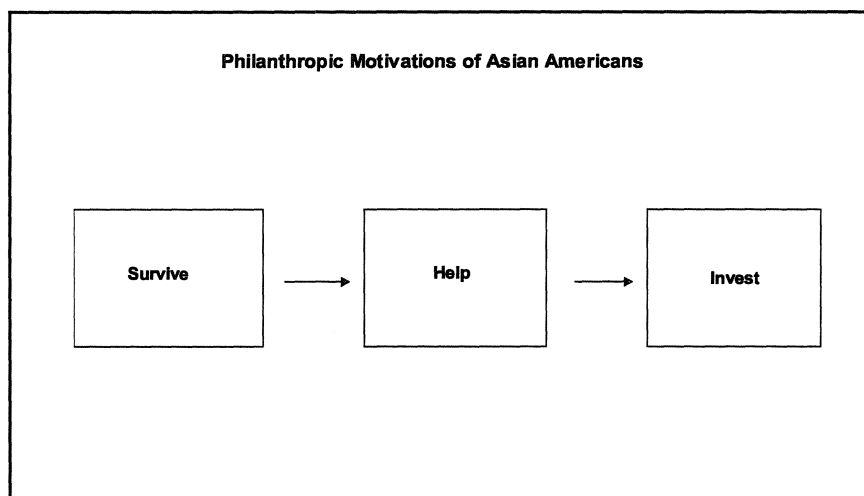

Figure 1

fairly similar contexts across ethnicity, economic background, and level of acculturation.

While the suggested continuum of philanthropic motivations seems to be developmental, it should not be construed as a proposal of mutually exclusive, strictly sequenced stages. Several Asian Americans appeared to be in two different frames of mind regarding their philanthropy. However, they were consistent with the motivational terms used and the vehicles they employed under those circumstances. It was quite common to hear a donor speaking about relying on the social network and services of an ethnic voluntary association as well as "giving back" or "helping" the community through an ethnic-specific or Asian American nonprofit.[8] It was also common to hear donors speaking about an obligation to "help" as well as an obligation to invest in the future of a given community. By contrast, I never heard or read about a donor speaking about surviving and investing during the same period of their lives. They almost never described investing in major museums or universities during their descriptions of "sharing" resources with fellow voluntary association members. It also seems that Asian Americans do not refer to the financial and in-kind contributions shared during their "survival" stages as philanthropy. It also seems they refer to "helping" the community and other disadvantaged communities as "charity" or as "giving back," while the somewhat lofty term of "philanthropy" is reserved for those major investments in the future of institutions—most often, but not exclusively mainstream institutions and noncommunity causes. The term "obligation" was used throughout descriptions about mutual sharing, helping those less advantaged or investing in permanent nonprofit structures.

As illustrated in Figure 2, this framework suggests that to progress along this continuum of motivations, an Asian American's perception of stability and the stability of his/her family must reach certain levels of confidence. Therefore, it appears from their stories that those donors who came here with some family wealth, education, and social stability moved through this continuum much more rapidly, sometimes skipping the "giving back" stage entirely.

Similar to mainstream donors, growing stability is often related to increasing age, with its related increases in disposable income and accumulation of assets (although because of the high presence of technology and communications entrepre-
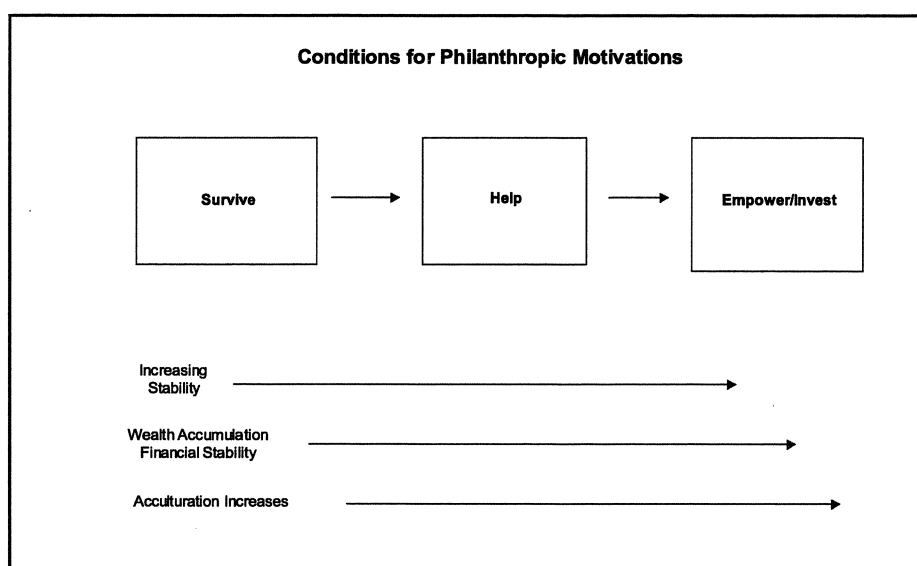

Figure 2

neurs of Asian descent, many accumulate wealth at younger ages). For Asian Americans, a growing sense of stability is also related to increasing acculturation, which has several indicators. These indicators include: birthplace, ethnicity/culture of business and social circles, community in which the Asian American grew up (i.e., Asia, American ethnic enclave, or American majority culture), where the Asian American attended undergraduate college (U.S. or Asia), language facility and the more intangibles of personal ethnic/cultural identity. To test this framework, it would be important to track these indicators in a more controlled study and correlate them with the variety of giving and voluntary activities. My reflections are only based on what I could glean from interviews about the respondents' respective life circumstances, or from my familiarity with their situations.

Unlike other European immigrant groups that have been absorbed into the American character, sometimes seamlessly within a generation or two, Asian Americans are separated from the majority culture by additional stresses. The differences of race and the distance of "Far Eastern" cultures from Western sensibilities create greater obstacles to full assimilation, even when acculturation through education and profession have been successful. Therefore, many Asian Americans continue to have a strong need to find opportunities to socialize with co-ethnics and other Asian Americans even when they live and work with a high degree of cultural fluency in the mainstream community and economy.

The following three sections of this paper briefly outline how the motivations of survival, helping, and investing manifest themselves in activity with voluntary and nonprofit organizations and institutions as Asian Americans attempt to create permanent homes and stable communities. In sharing with peers, helping the less fortunate, and investing in ideals, Asian Americans use and participate in a variety of nonprofits to create their social niches and community dreams. A Filipino banker, when asked about the differences between immigrants and the American-born, observed that the "need for community" is appealing to both new and old comers, and is a strong internal drive.

Survival: Sharing Resources To Create a New Home

Whether the immigrant arrives with an empty pocket or with a family legacy of wealth back in Asia, or whether they come with no English at all or from an English-speaking nation or colony, the early immigrant years are a "struggle." In Figure 3, the first stage of the continuum is characterized by struggling through the immigrant years by sharing resources—financial, emotional, informational and skills-based. From interviews and casual "storytelling" it appears that most Asian immigrants consider life in the U.S. a "struggle" (even if better than the alternative of returning to the country of origin). For many, if not most, the struggle is for survival and some foothold on the economic ladder of opportunity. For some it is a struggle to enter the elite of various professions. For a very few entrepreneurial individuals it is a struggle for investment from elite business and banking circles. A millionaire of Chinese descent described "struggling" with setting up businesses in a "foreign" system. A prominent Filipino doctor describes "struggling" to get into and through school. A Pakistani taxi driver speaks of struggling to get through the day. An Indian doctor working in a public urban hospital talks about struggling with bureaucracies and the incomprehensibility of the diversity of America itself. A second-generation Japanese American recounts the story of his parents "struggling" day and night to make their farm successful, just to see it lost due to the internment years. Myriad Chinese, Filipinos, Southeast Asians and others tell woeful tales of countless hours in sweat-shops, fishing boats, restaurants, farms, and grocery stores. Many Vietnamese,

**Motivations Underlying
Asian American Philanthropy**

| Survive
sharing among
social/economic
peers | → | Help
giving to less
fortunate,
identifying with
need | → | Invest
empowering vision,
building ideal
community |

Social Activity Circles
via philanthropic
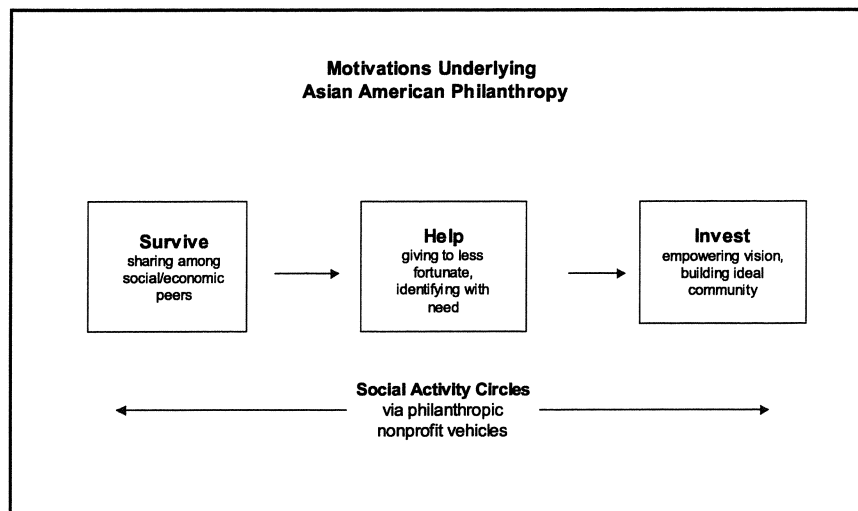nonprofit vehicles

← _____ _____ →

Figure 3

Koreans and Chinese who were formerly middle-class engineers or other types of professionals complain of underemployment as household help, waiters, factory workers, etc. They all tell stories about work and missing home.

An Asian American with a more elite background remembered, "I even had trouble in the beginning. . .Many high-position Chinese lost jobs in coming here and they (say), 'I took demeaning jobs in the beginning. . .'" A Filipino woman described the first generation as the pioneers who are really focused on meeting basic needs. A Filipino lawyer observed that most Filipinos came to the U.S. for economic reasons and most are still "struggling."

In their isolation and struggle, Asian Americans create communities of shared need by sharing resources. For the working class, working poor or most culturally isolated (by lack of facility with English, American customs, and occupational training), the mutual aid societies help remedy the loneliness and isolation. The myriad associations whose membership is defined not only by ethnicity, but also most often by finer distinctions of village or province of origin, language dialect, surname or clan, or religion offer a way for social and economic peers to share information and financial, job-related, or in-kind resources. The giving and sharing is very personal and can be quite substantial, relative to means. For some ethnic groups, particularly Koreans, Cambodians, some South Asians and early Japanese immigrants, their respective churches and temples serve(d) the same dual purposes of socializing and sharing resources to improve their immediate conditions.[9]

Several interviewees who had modest family backgrounds reminisced about their families' participation in these voluntary groups, which are uniquely American (as compared to the social structures commonly used in Asia). A high-tech millionaire, third-generation Japanese American noted that, "Lots of immigrants predictably participate in these associations out of need." A successful second-generation Chinese American investment banker recalled his family's giving to their village and family associations substantially. He attributed their level of commitment to a strong feeling of identity and closeness. Even if his own immediate family did not necessarily benefit from the financial aid of the associations, his parents always knew the beneficiaries well. A Filipino woman summed up her memory of her family's giving with, "You never gave to anyone you didn't know." A Chinese American

doctor who was unsuccessfully trying to fundraise from another Chinese American who gives regularly to her "family" association was stymied when the prospect replied rhetorically, "Why should I give to someone who is not a Liu?"[10]

The associations provide immigrant-related services ranging from the most informal to the highly formal, depending on the size and age of the association and the economic means of the members. Services can include simply information clearinghouses on jobs, housing, schools and immigration paperwork. Many offer financial support or services to members in the forms of rotating credit circles; credit unions; aid to the elderly, infirm, or members in crisis; support for medical or funeral expenses; and modest scholarship and grants programs.

For those from professional and more affluent business classes, the associations used for these purposes include the indigenous alumni, business, and professional associations. While these appear to be used more frequently when members are satisfying impulses to "help" (described further in the next section), they also support members' efforts to "survive" and overcome career and business challenges. They can serve as resources for sharing information about career development and informal training on setting up businesses, finding financing, and navigating the maze of western business practices, government regulations, and "old boy" networks. While these voluntary associations tend to have less narrowly defined ethnic/cultural requirements than their mutual aid counterparts, they do have similarities. Giving is among a tight social and community network that "shares" the experiences of those only one or two steps ahead in the stability/success spectrum.

For Asian Americans who are in this "survival" frame of mind the American notion of philanthropic generosity, which is to give to those you do not know, may seem somewhat odd, cold, and motivated by ego. One casual acquaintance said to me, "Why is giving to those you don't know considered more generous than giving to those you know? How can I give to those I never met, when there are so many I know in need?" Indeed, what type of generosity places people you never met on a higher priority than your family, community, or neighbor? Some speculate (both inside and outside Asian American circles) that Asian American informal philanthropy through numerous voluntary associations and faith-based organizations helps account for the low levels of Asian American representation in American orphanages, jails, and public assistance. It may also help account for the number of small businesses (i.e, groceries, shops, restaurants, manicure shops, etc.) and even larger high-tech companies that are started with relatively little access to mainstream forms of financing.

The Impulse To Help: Reaching Financial Stability

It is simplistic and grossly misleading to say that Asian Americans only share their good fortune among their families, friends and association members. Once they reach some personal critical level of financial stability, they frequently help others who are in greater need. The impulse to help or "give back" is the second motivation on my proposed continuum. This stability, however, appears to be more a state of mind, not an actual dollar amount. For Asians this is not just measured in terms of one's own income but also with the stability of the entire immediate and often extended family. One cannot feel stable unless one's children, siblings, parents, cousins, aunts, uncles, nieces, and nephews are all stable. One does not have the luxury to fulfill one's own impulse to help when those within your own circle of family and friends still need help.

This "helping" motivation correlates with charitable giving from one with greater means and access to those in less fortunate circumstances (see Figure 3). Because

there is no realistic sense of return, it is more accurate to describe this philanthropy as "giving" rather than "sharing." Most of the donors and professionals interviewed during my earlier research fell into this category of philanthropic giving for the majority of their charitable activity (although they are seldom exclusively in the "helping" frame of mind).

The urge to help is motivated by highly emotional, deeply personal levels of compassion. One interviewee responded when asked why she gives to charity, "I give from the heart, not my brain. I even give to street people. It really slows me down on the way to work." This emotional trigger has its seeds in personal identification with either the type of person benefiting or the type of need. Why the hardship experiences of those transitioning from a survival state of mind to a more stable sense of well-being transforms into compassion in some and into bitterness in others is puzzling. But it appears that this transformation of hardship into compassion is a necessary antecedent for the "helping" impulse. Because the earlier research was only on those who give, it is difficult for me to project the reasons for those who do not give. I was struck, however, not only by the interviewees' levels of affluence, but also by the interviewees' sense of stability, confidence, and self-possession. They truly no longer "need," which may allow them psychic space to identify with the plight of others.

Especially for those more isolated in their ethnic social groups, there is identification with those most similar to oneself who are going through hardships one had experienced earlier or one's family had experienced. One interviewee said, "Only because I lost my family business during the internment period do I have a tendency to help Japanese Americans. I think they are at a handicap. They have experienced what I've experienced, but after the war many of the nisei and sansei are having more difficulty building up again due to their financial losses." This may be one reason why so many Asian Americans continue giving to services for the Asian elderly and to nursing homes. "Everyone can see their own mothers and fathers (in these situations)." Another said, "I wasn't so good to my parents. I feel like I give back now and make up for that. So I focus on the elderly and those less fortunate than me—even though I am even older than some of these people I'm trying to help." In fact, at least half of the donor respondents used the term "giving back" as well as "to help" in describing these charitable contributions.

For those who have more exposure and interaction with wider social and business circles, or those who do not come into direct contact with the less fortunate, the identification is more with the need and not necessarily the needy. The types of organizational structures used to facilitate this giving can again include family as conduits for more distant family members and indigenous voluntary associations. But the giving does not expect return, and the giving can be more structured because it is going to more distant circles of beneficiaries not always within the same immediate social network. For instance, a special need to build or rebuild roads in one's war-torn country of origin or for disaster relief back home after an earthquake, flood, or political crisis often requires more formality than writing a check to a distant relative for college tuition. One donor recalls his father giving money to the village association to build schools in the village, while another recalls a grandfather using the associations to funnel money to China to build hospitals.

The larger the cause, the larger the need for money, and therefore, within this "helping" state many Asian Americans become involved in more formally organized fundraising campaigns. Many of the indigenous alumni or professional associations are particularly active with organizing fundraising efforts not only on behalf of their

alma maters in the country of origin, but also for public works and other improvements. Members of voluntary associations defined by profession, business or alma mater tend to be middle class and affluent compared to the membership of the mutual aid voluntary associations defined by village, province, surname, etc. A Filipino doctor described how his colleagues raised one million dollars through their medical association to build a nutrition center in a rural Filipino village.

Somewhere within the vast range of "helping" motivations, many Asian Americans begin utilizing more structured nonprofit vehicles. For these Asian Americans the identification with the need is stronger than with the specific person and therefore they intuitively understand that the strategies for ameliorating these sufferings require tools beyond the voluntary associations. The solutions do not just lie within the community, but require effective interaction with government agencies, school systems, legal systems and, most importantly, other communities beyond ethnic or racial boundaries. While "banding" together works to get oneself or one's family out of a "temporary" situation, it is not sufficient to go to friends to help all of the elderly or all the troubled youth. While the help offered by voluntary associations is generally sufficient for those with family support, marketable skills, and good health, they are not so effective in improving the lot of the most indigent. For those who are educated or work outside enclave economies, there is a recognition that these solutions require trained, paid staff devoting attention to the issues and, most importantly, access to the governing and funding structures beyond Asian American communities.

Furthermore, for many American-born Asians, the mutual assistance associations are no longer an option because they have grown away from them and no longer socialize with association members. Many second-generation Asian Americans, and most third-generation and beyond have little connection with the "old" country and no longer identify with the needs or with the people of concern to the mutual assistance groups. A donor in describing the transition his family's foundation went through as leadership went from his father to his offspring relayed a story about the results of his trip to his father's village, "Unlike our father, we don't have an obligation to support causes in the home village. We don't feel we owe them. This (America) is our home. We should support our new community." Since that time, the focus of the foundation has switched from sending money to build up the village's infrastructure to focusing on programs that help the Asian American community here.

For these donors who would still like to "give back" to the "community," the Asian American and ethnic-specific nonprofits that are structured more similarly to mainstream nonprofits with financial systems of accountability, formal governing boards, and trained staff are viable vehicles. They target the "needy" group with the highest level of personal identification, but they also work with the outside community to bring in additional financial and professional resources. For these donors, community centers, health clinics, and social service agencies, such as Los Angeles' Little Tokyo Service Center, Oakland's Korean Community Center, New York's Chinatown Health Clinic, San Francisco's Self Help for the Elderly, serve their charitable impulses. One donor who "identifies with the struggles of immigrant youth" describes his tenure on the board of the Chinatown Youth Center as a deeply personal commitment. Another devotes myriad hours volunteering for Japanese American Social Services, Inc.

For those who are no longer as concerned with human welfare issues of the community, but now view themselves as viable American communities, their interest

in political empowerment and advocacy leads them to civic organizations and civil rights organizations. These include the Japanese American Citizens League, Japanese American Associations, Organization of Chinese Americans, and the many similar civic associations within the Filipino, Indian, Korean, Vietnamese and other communities. Since the mid-1970s, growing out of the campus civil rights and identity movements, several social justice and legal aid organizations, such as the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund, Asian Law Caucus, Asians for Equality, Asian Pacific Legal Center of Southern California, and many others were created. While services most often target social justice and legal rights issues of immigrant and indigent populations, the advocacy against racial and cultural stereotyping, "glass ceiling" issues, and anti-Asian violence cover all classes. The organizations' offices are not necessarily located within an ethnic enclave. Many of the civic and social justice organizations focus nationally. Moreover, due to increasing political sophistication as well as broadening identity issues, the advocacy work is often on behalf of all Asian ethnic groups, regardless of the majority of the membership or name of the organization.

With Asian Americans who have begun to identify with needs and issues, rather than focusing on the injured, wronged or troubled themselves, the focus on the cause can lead to supporting beneficiaries beyond Asian Americans. Therefore, interest in relieving poverty and persecution leads to the support of the poverty, social justice, education or human service programs of other communities. An affluent Filipino woman remarked that at first she tried to focus her contributions on troubled Filipino youth, but this proved to be too difficult and extremely awkward. Some of the most effective organizations addressing the problems of at-risk youth served a much broader population, and so her giving is to many different youth programs. Others had similar sentiments and in their search for ways to alleviate the problems of poverty have turned to YM/YWCA programs and others that serve the disadvantaged elderly or young. Still others focused on civil rights and human justice rattled off organizations such as the NAACP, the Anti-Defamation League, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Southern Poverty Center, Amnesty International, etc. as recipients of their donations.

Because these contributions seemed most often to be in response to specific incidents or special campaigns, I still categorize them within the realm of taking action from an impulse to help—an almost spontaneous personal reaction to a deeply felt need. As one doctor who spends his volunteer time on numerous charitable and political activities within and beyond Asian Americans described his "conversion" after a family tragedy, "I had blinders on. I was so focused on medicine and my career and my own family. My own suffering made me sensitive to the suffering of others."

Desire To Invest: Confidence, Permanence and Philanthropy

The third motivation of the proposed descriptive model—to "invest" in charitable work—stems from a desire to build the ideal community (see Figure 3). Instead of reacting to a need, the donor is creating his vision of the community within which he can imagine himself, his family, and friends flourishing. Although several donors expressed this view in describing at least some of their voluntary and charitable giving activities, very few seemed to fall within this category of motivating factors exclusively. It appears that the desire to invest requires a level of confidence in their permanence here in the U.S. as well as financial stability for their families. Those interviewed who exhibited these sentiments the most seemed to identify not so much with the sufferer or with the cause as with the facilitator of the remedy or solution.

They look for leadership and results in the charitable organizations they support, and although they did not explicitly articulate it, they seem to regard the nonprofit as a potential partner to their dream, not as a recipient of charity. They are looking for strong organizations to help them realize their visions for a better world. Two donors described their giving strategies in these contexts as "empowering."

It is no wonder, therefore, that the vehicles chosen within this realm of the continuum include not only the largest and most stable Asian American and ethnic nonprofits, but also major mainstream institutions such as museums, universities, and research hospitals. The donors are not responding to crises and tragedies. They are not acting on personal sympathies with the downtrodden. They are either looking to obliterate the root causes of the problems or seeking ways to sustain the cultural and social values they wish to promote. They rarely choose indigenous religious organizations, voluntary associations, or grassroots nonprofits as vehicles for these philanthropic goals. They sometimes seek to promote their personal standing and social status within the ethnic, mainstream, or business communities. The community-based nonprofits and mutual aid associations have audiences that are too insular for their visions and are too limited in their implementation tools to build their dreams.

A donor commented that he supported the Holocaust Museum and the NAACP, not in response to particular immediate incidents, such as church burnings or synagogue vandalism, but "because they educate the public about the past that should not be repeated in the future." The gentleman who described his family foundation's transition from his father's interests in helping China to the younger generation's interests in the U.S. reported that the foundation now awards the largest portion of its annual grants to Asian American studies departments of major universities and colleges. He explains, "We need to create a stronger sense of identity among Asian Americans. To have a civic presence, we need a civic identity." Another who also shares this value and hope for future generations actually makes larger contributions to UCLA and USC than to his alma mater, Stanford. When he reasons that UCLA and USC have stronger Asian American studies departments, he seems to be looking for a partner for the future rather than expressing the sentiments of "giving back," as demonstrated in his donations to his alma mater.

Asian American donors who are at this stage also tend to support cultural heritage, not to commemorate the past as much as to educate younger Asian Americans and the broader American public. Therefore, major gifts to cultural centers such as the Japanese American National Museum, Japanese American Cultural Center and many smaller ones within the Chinese, Korean and Indian communities are growing in frequency and size. To promote the contributions of Asian culture to world civilization in a sustained manner, several donors have supported the Asian collections of mainstream cultural institutions, such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, the Asia Society and others. Asian Americans at this stage of life have also given to "quality of life" projects and programs to invest in overall improved community conditions. On a smaller scale than those of the art museums and universities, there have been successful campaigns among middle class and affluent Asian Americans for Chinese scholar and tea gardens, Japanese tea and bonsai gardens, and pan-Asian inspired parks or playgrounds.

In the course of the earlier research, however, "investing" and "dreaming" donors were generally the most affluent and acculturated of those interviewed. More often than not they tended to be extremely successful entrepreneurs and self-made men and women. This means that they are not only American by naturalization or birth,

but they actually have investments and significant assets they grew here, which they are protecting for themselves and their families. These businesses generally deal not only with Asian and Asian American communities, but also interact with the wider community and, more importantly, depend on it for their continued success. Regardless of whether they feel comfortable within the elite settings of mainstream business and mega-philanthropies, they obviously have sufficient cultural fluency to work with these networks and systems to achieve their goals and personal satisfactions.

One reflected, "My business interests make me more community minded. It's tough to run a business in a fragmented society. . . I said I would get involved with the Model Cities program that was happening. . .and that's how it all started. . .it was part of the Great Society and Seattle was interested in fixing up the Central District and the International District. I then got involved in community and economic development."

These donors also tended to be the oldest of those interviewed (i.e., 60s to early 80s). They lived through a lot and survived even though their backgrounds were so different. A few were second-generation Japanese Americans who fought for American democracy during World War II. They lost family savings and homes because of internment, but over 30 grueling years of toil, like a phoenix out of the ashes, they slowly regained fortune and status. Another came from an elite Chinese family taking refuge from war and political upheaval within the walls of top prep schools and universities and eventually built an investment firm. One escaped the poverty of the Philippines from a family of 16 children and built a successful medical practice in Chicago, always including his family and others in his success.

If time of life, confidence with the outside community, and higher levels of wealth are predicting factors for reaching the "investment" period of philanthropy, it is no wonder that there were so few interviewees who exclusively fell into this part of the continuum of motivations. Asian America is still very young, in addition to being very "immigrant." Although Asian Americans on the whole have climbed several steps on the economic achievement scale, the major donor level of wealth is still relatively rare. In fact, from my experience with Asian American donors, only a small handful had inherited their wealth. It will be fascinating to watch whether many more Asian Americans enter this stage of their giving and volunteering as their confidence and sense of permanence increase. Increasing rates of naturalization, voter registration, educational attainment, residency in mainstream neighborhoods, entrance into the professions, and the establishment of businesses suggest that more Asian Americans will be entering the investment stages of their lives in the United States.

Summary Observations of the Descriptive Model

It would be simplistic to suggest that all Asian Americans begin at the survival stage and then progress smoothly to the helping and finally investing stages of philanthropic motivations. The community is much too complicated and diverse. Although most Asian Americans arrive here in modest circumstances regardless of the family situation "back home," there are the many American-born and educated immigrants who do not necessarily start their philanthropic activity from a strong motivation for survival and mutual assistance. Supported by an education, professional skills, and language/cultural fluency, they have exposure and access to many more American systems. They may only use voluntary and religious organizations for social purposes and seek other opportunities to fulfill their charitable impulses. Whether one finds them in the "helping" mode or the "investing" mode is most

probably related to individual and family experience. For those whose families or close social networks experienced hardship (i.e., financial, social, discrimination, etc.), it is likely that they developed strong feelings of identification with the disadvantaged and/or with the need. For the few who inherited wealth and whose family experience is more removed and distanced from the "hardship" stage, the "investment" motivation was more likely to be at work.

Figure 3 illustrates the philanthropic activity that is most often associated with the three motivations: survive, help, and invest. Social activity and relationships are important structural supports for all of the philanthropic activity. From interviews and various anecdotal stories of acquaintances and peers, "sharing" and "struggling" seemed linked with the survival stage, along with the structural supports of extended family circles and voluntary associations. Peers share with peers and band together to struggle over adversities. While one donates to a surname, village association, or religious organization, one also may have received from it, or at least knows a family member or friend who has. One helps extended family members and may expect the favor returned either in this country or "back home." Beneficiaries are social and often economic peers.

Upon reaching a level of financial, emotional and social stability, many Asian Americans then have the capacity to reach out to "help" those still in need without any realistic expectation of commensurate return for themselves or their families. The individuals and groups they most often help and the level of help they give are probably related to the degree of identification with the social sphere and the particular need. The degree of identification is probably related to social access and exposure. Those with more access and exposure to outside communities are more likely to identify with the needs outside the family and community, particularly when they are similar, i.e. immigrant rights, social justice, at-risk youth, etc.

Again, this type of financial "help" is extended to and through less fortunate family members. However, Asian Americans stable enough to try to satisfy their "helping" impulses also utilize additional nonprofit vehicles, such as Asian American or ethnic-specific nonprofits created with specific social welfare, legal aid, educational or cultural services or programs. These organizations do not require shared village of origin, surname, or church affiliation as a condition for participating, which makes them viable charitable vehicles for more acculturated Asian Americans (immigrant and American-born). Also, for those seeking remedies to community ills that necessitate interaction with the outside community and government (i.e., human services, health care, education, legal aid, social justice, etc.), these organizations are generally more effective. These nonprofits, however, do not offer nearly the same level of social opportunities for co-ethnics or peer groups to meet for informal networking as do the indigenous voluntary associations and faith-based organizations.

Finally, at the highest level of stability and confidence, when the individual perceives not only the self, but the family as stable and flourishing, the Asian American has the luxury of attempting to realize his or her own vision of the ideal community. While most of the Asian Americans interviewed who exhibited confidence in their American future were also quite affluent, it is most likely that perception of wealth, not actual wealth, is key. They also tended to be older and more "Americanized." Those reacting from the motivation to invest philanthropically are at a stage in life where they feel comfortable placing their own individual beliefs and dreams ahead of family and community. They not only can afford to, but it also seems that they feel it is socially and emotionally acceptable.

One donor who has given and pledged several seven-figure gifts and is now in his 70s contemplated setting up a foundation, but then remarked, ". . .but my wife wants to take care of the children first. . ." A few considered it self-aggrandizing and self-promotional to set up a family or personal foundation, while most either knew very little about community foundations or did not consider them as viable vehicles for supporting their philanthropy. As a few put it, they did not consider community foundations, because they "didn't know anybody there" and were cautious about losing control and opening their privacy to strangers.

Somewhere between the "helping" stage and "investing" stages, donors begin to look for nonprofits that can most effectively guide or implement their philanthropic goals. Without articulating it as such, they begin to look for strategies and outcomes rather than victims and needs. A Filipino donor interested in sending at-risk youth to college no longer simply gives to scholarship programs, but begins to look for root causes and now supports youth programs for younger children, rather than waiting for college entry. Another, troubled by the lack of understanding and recognition of Asian Americans by the majority culture, very consciously described his strategy of promoting Asian culture through the support of museum programs. He went so far as to compare the strategy with the "civil rights strategy of demanding attention," which he regarded as valid, but not within his value system.

The underlying social activity that supports all of the philanthropic interests is different throughout the continuum. It is most active and important at the survival stage and most distant at the investment stage, although as vitally important—just not as frequent or as informal. The relationships within the social activity of "surviving" are more "obligatory" in the sense of being highly personal, close relationships among people one feels responsible for and accountable to. The sense of obligation that underlies the impulse to help is still at work, but the relationships with the recipients are not necessarily direct. Finally, the sense of "partnership" seems to be operative as Asian American donors move into investing strategies.

Figure 4 illustrates the types of nonprofit vehicles that seem to correlate with the different types of social interaction. As social interaction moves from the more social to the less social and from the more highly personal giving to the more highly structured giving, the social circles move from the more narrowly defined ethnic-specific circles to broader and broader circles of social and business networks. While much of this is by individual choice, some of it is also due to access.

The most culturally isolated spend much of their "philanthropic" time with family and close friends, compatriots, and co-ethnic peers in indigenous social settings. They often give to these religious and voluntary associations substantially relative to means, but as one interviewee described it, "they get to party or socialize with family and friends at all the meetings and events." When they have increased access and comfort within broader circles of peers, they extend their participation and charitable contributions to pan-Asian groups and even some non-community related causes. Finally, for those who are most acculturated and have been invited to participate on mainstream establishment boards and committees, it is also necessary to have the self-confidence to work within social settings that may not be comfortable. A Chinese American woman who sits on several boards and committees described the atmosphere set by mainstream high-end donors as "not so welcoming," and she has difficulty cultivating additional Asian American donors and committee members. "If you do not have the self-confidence and feel strongly about the ballet, it can be challenging." She has to remind herself of her concern for the cause and the benefi-
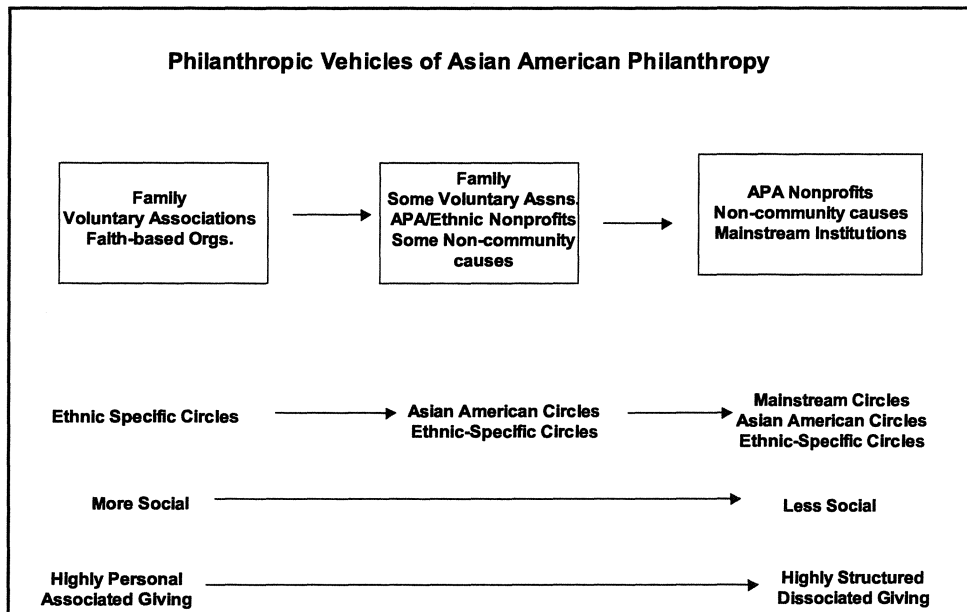
Philanthropic Vehicles of Asian American Philanthropy

| Family
Voluntary Associations
Faith-based Orgs. | → | Family
Some Voluntary Assns.
APA/Ethnic Nonprofits
Some Non-community
causes | → | APA Nonprofits
Non-community causes
Mainstream Institutions |

Ethnic Specific Circles → Asian American Circles / Ethnic-Specific Circles → Mainstream Circles / Asian American Circles / Ethnic-Specific Circles

More Social → Less Social

Highly Personal Associated Giving → Highly Structured Dissociated Giving

Figure 4

ciaries—"the kids, schools and community." Otherwise, she sometimes wonders why she participates in these uncomfortable situations herself.

Social Implications of Asian American Philanthropic Behavior

Because the social aspect of philanthropy is so important, Asian Americans do not necessarily progress from one end of the continuum to the other, or from one stage to another. In fact, many fundraisers—Asian American and white—seem to be under the impression that many middle-class and affluent Asians do not contribute or participate in philanthropy. Asian American fundraisers and other observers are particularly critical of the American-born they believe are financially comfortable and "should care." Without a controlled quantitative study, it is impossible to say whether these observations have any validity. There is very little quantitative data on contributing behavior of any of these groups, let alone data controlled for age, income, and assets. Except for relatively small segments of the Japanese, Chinese and Filipino ethnic groups, most American-born Asians are quite young. In a few ethnic groups it is estimated that the average age of the American-born generation is 19! Hardly the average age of donors, which tends to be middle-aged and older.

Because of the social aspect of Asian American giving, however, it may be likely that the growing middle-class and affluent American-born Asians do not have robust social systems available to them to encourage the vibrant philanthropic activities they experienced through their parents. While indigenous voluntary and religious organizations may be inviting, welcoming, and comforting to immigrants of similar background, they are not necessarily comfortable to those with slightly different backgrounds (i.e., different village, dialect, class, ethnicity, etc.). They are also not that comfortable or inviting for American-born Asians who lack language facility and connection with ethnic customs. Immigrant-related services do not respond to the needs of nonimmigrants, and since they are set up to "share" resources, it would be difficult and perhaps even damaging for the voluntary and faith-based organizations to reinvent themselves to attract the American-born generations. Historically, these associations are responsive to immigrant populations and derive their strength and

size from the level of need. When the needs decrease, the size and level of activity also decrease. There are several older Cantonese-based surname associations that were once vibrant and thriving with large robust active memberships. As their members aged and their offspring moved away from the ethnic enclaves, they lost members and decreased activities. At the same time, in response to other immigrant groups, new associations developed and grew in strength.

On the other hand, major mainstream causes and institutions also have their narrowly defined cultural customs and practices. Although this may be transparent to the majority culture, elite white customs can appear extremely ethnic and "foreign" to other ethnic groups and classes. And, just as the "unwelcoming" behavior of indigenous associations to outsiders may be totally unintended, this may also be true of the elite systems. The only difference is that elite mainstream institutions are surrounded by the majority culture, which offers less incentive to acknowledge "ethnic-specific" behavior and perhaps adjust it in certain social settings.

This leaves the social opportunities offered by Asian American human service, cultural, educational, or social justice nonprofits at a critical juncture. Unfortunately, most of these nonprofits are quite young and relatively unstable. Because of their size and limited staff and because they were "birthed" to target social ills rather than social pleasures, most have not fully developed their social networks. Their social networks are neither as highly structured as those within their mainstream counterparts, nor are their various committees and social activities nearly as robust or frequent as those offered by the indigenous voluntary associations and religious organizations. Some Asian American nonprofits do not even have the obligatory annual gala. Attendance and enthusiasm at the events of the larger Asian American and ethnic-specific nonprofits, however, suggest that there is a growing class of pan-ethnic Asians who welcome these opportunities to socialize with peers while promoting and supporting a personally valued cause.

Unlike many newer immigrants and working-class Asian Americans, the more acculturated and affluent do not generally live in ethnic enclaves or work within the enclave economy. Except within special work environments, such as the high-tech industries, they are often the "tokens" within a predominantly white profession or work setting. Working on boards and committees with like-minded Asian Americans could be socially rewarding as well as good for the philanthropic psyche.

Implications for Increasing Philanthropic Activity Among the Acculturated

Figure 5 lists the types of nonprofit vehicles used by Asian Americans under various motivational conditions. As described earlier, note that indigenous vehicles do not show up under the investing phase of the continuum, nor do major mainstream institutions show up on the survival end of the spectrum. This is reasonable to expect. It would be unreasonable to find a major university or museum that has the time, inclination, or ability to offer appropriate opportunities for new immigrants to socialize exclusively with co-ethnics. It is equally unreasonable to ask voluntary associations to address the major structural problems of the nonprofit sector and the social ills of the outside community. They have enough to deal with.

There are, however, several types of organizations that can help encourage more and increased participation from American-born and more acculturated Asians. These organizations and the more acculturated Asian Americans both fall under the "helping" mode of the motivational spectrum. These organizations include:

Philanthropic Vehicles for Asian American Giving

Survive	→	Help	→	Invest

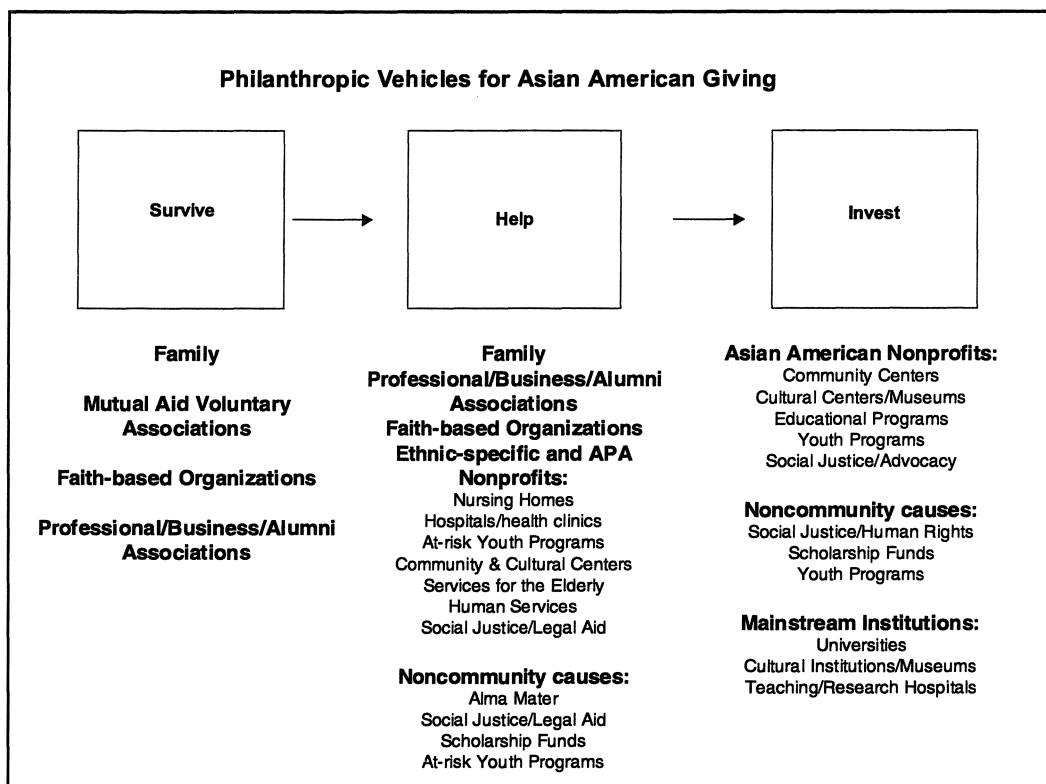| Family	Family	Asian American Nonprofits:
	Professional/Business/Alumni	Community Centers
Mutual Aid Voluntary	Associations	Cultural Centers/Museums
Associations	Faith-based Organizations	Educational Programs
	Ethnic-specific and APA	Youth Programs
Faith-based Organizations	Nonprofits:	Social Justice/Advocacy
	Nursing Homes	
Professional/Business/Alumni	Hospitals/health clinics	**Noncommunity causes:**
Associations	At-risk Youth Programs	Social Justice/Human Rights
	Community & Cultural Centers	Scholarship Funds
	Services for the Elderly	Youth Programs
	Human Services	
	Social Justice/Legal Aid	**Mainstream Institutions:**
		Universities
	Noncommunity causes:	Cultural Institutions/Museums
	Alma Mater	Teaching/Research Hospitals
	Social Justice/Legal Aid	
	Scholarship Funds	
	At-risk Youth Programs	

Figure 5

- the ethnic-specific and pan-Asian alumni, business, and professional associations

- the many nonprofit Asian American and/or ethnic-specific human service, educational, and social justice agencies

- the smaller number of noncommunity causes, such as social justice, scholarship funds, and at-risk youth programs that have attracted Asian Americans

Moreover, there is a subset of these organizations that straddle or could straddle both the "helping" mode and the "investing" mode. Perhaps these organizations could act as conduits for encouraging Asian American donors in the "helping" state of mind as they transition into the "investing" state where most major gifts, endowments, and sustainable approaches are made. These potential "transition conduits" include:

- Asian American and ethnic community centers, cultural centers, and museums

- Asian American nonprofit educational and youth-serving programs

- Asian American social justice, legal aid, and advocacy agencies

- Multiracial/ethnic social justice and legal aid organizations

- Multiracial/ethnic educational and youth serving programs

The Asian American nonprofits are strategically positioned in that their social networks overlap with the existing networks in the community. However, they often do not have the capacity to structure and support the committees and social outreach needed to attract, cultivate, and maintain large numbers of members. The multiracial/ethnic agencies (i.e., major youth serving, social justice, and human rights agencies) tend to be larger, institutionally mature organizations with the capacity to mount strategically targeted campaigns. These organizations, however, generally do not have access to the informal social networks within the Asian American community, nor do they appear to have a significant interest in creating them.

Because of the mutual interest in building the capacity of the Asian American community's collective impact, Asian American nonprofits and the indigenous professional, business, and alumni associations might consider mutually enhancing collaborative relationships. More general nonprofit causes that target at-risk youth, emergency aid, disaster relief, social justice, human and civil rights and immigrant services might also benefit from learning and collaborating with Asian American nonprofits.

Philanthropic entities interested in increasing and strengthening the Asian American donor community have a few models to explore and support. First, to target the myriad informal social networks already existing in the Asian American communities, Asian American nonprofits need to build their institutional capacity. Most lack the staff time and training to maintain long-term, sustained, robust board and committee structures that can offer meaningful social and volunteer opportunities to large numbers of Asian Americans. Many lack the fundraising sophistication to ascertain whether prospects are acting from a motivation to help or a motivation to invest so they can adjust their fundraising programs accordingly. Many of these nonprofits have access to these associations and various communities, but do not have the institutional structures for supporting ongoing activities and communications with them.

Second, collaborations among mainstream or other noncommunity institutions or causes with Asian American nonprofits on specially targeted programs and campaigns might also be effective. While mainstream and other large noncommunity organizations may have the structures and staff to maintain various "friends of" and special volunteer programs and committees, they do not necessarily know how to adapt these structures to the cultural and social interests of Asian Americans. For those mainstream and noncommunity organizations with strong mutual charitable interests (i.e., social justice, human rights, disaster relief, cultural or educational programs), collaborations with Asian American or ethnic nonprofits may be viable if they offer sufficient benefits to the Asian American nonprofit.

In any case, it is important to further develop and maintain the budding Asian American donor community for a variety of reasons important to both Asian Americans and the mainstream population. Most importantly for me is the recognition of the connection between philanthropy, voluntarism and civic participation. The voluntary nonprofit sector is a profound supporting structure of America's democracy and provides opportunities for participants to add their voice to the democratic process of community building. Therefore, Asian Americans need to tap into their philanthropic activities not just to grow greater charitable resources, but also to strengthen their civic voice. They need to vote with their money, not just literally through the electoral system, but also figuratively through the nonprofit social structures that collectively define American culture. Both Asian American and mainstream nonprofits can serve their purposes under different circumstances. But,

whom Asian Americans choose to help, what causes they target, and where they invest their philanthropic dollars and energies, will be of great importance as Asian America grows and matures.

Notes

1. See Chao, Jessica, "Asian American Philanthropy: Expanding Circles of Participation" in *Cultures of Caring: Philanthropy in America's Diverse Communities*, Council on Foundations: Washington, DC, 1999, pp. 189 – 253 and also available at www.cof.org/culturescaring/index.htm; Chao, Jessica, *Topics in Asian American Philanthropy and Voluntarism: An Extension Course Guide*, Curriculum Guide #10, Barbara Luria Leopold, series editor, Center for the Study of Philanthropy at the Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York: New York, 1999; and Miller, Eugene D. and Alba Ochoa *Volunteer!!! A Guide to Nonprofit Organizations Serving New York City's Asian Pacific American Community*, Center for the Study of Philanthropy at the Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York: New York, 1999.

2. See "Cultures of Caring Bibliography: Asian American Bibliography," Council on Foundations, 1999: www. cof.org/culturescaring/bibasam.pdf and "Selected Bibliography" in *Topics in Asian American Philanthropy and Voluntarism: An Extension Course Guide*, Center for the Study of Philanthropy, The Graduate School and University Center of The City University of New York, 2000, pp. 47-74 and also available in "The Multicultural Bibliography" of the Center's Web site: www.philanthropy.org.

3. See generally Joseph, James A., *Remaking America: How the Benevolent Traditions of Many Cultures are Transforming our National Life*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., Publishers, 1995. Ilchman, Warren F., Stanley N. Katz and Edward L. Queen II, Eds. *Philanthropy in the World's Traditions*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998. Shao, Stella, "Asian American Giving: Issues and Challenges," in *Cultures of Giving, II: How Heritage, Gender, Wealth and Values Influence Philanthropy*, Ilchman, Warren, and Charles Hamilton, eds., San Francisco, CA : Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1995. Smith, Bradford, Sylvia Shue, Jennifer Lisa Vest and Joseph Villarreal, *Philanthropy in Communities of Color*, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1999. Tonai, Roslyn, "Asian American Charitable Giving: Working Paper No. 4," Institute for Nonprofit Organization Management, University of San Francisco, 1988.

4. The 39 Asian American donors selected for interviews for the Council on Foundations Cultures of Caring report comprised a narrowly defined pool of informants. As requested by the Council on Foundations and the project funders (the W.K. Kellogg Foundation, Ford Foundation and David and Lucile Packard Foundation), the focus of the study was on the viability of creating endowed funds within the Asian American community, specifically for ethnic community funds. Therefore, the sample consisted of donors who annually give $10,000 or more to charitable causes and nonprofits, probably placing these donors in an income category above the average income of most Asian Americans. This pool of interview subjects was created from referrals within my own professional and personal networks as well as through "snowballing" during the initial year of interviews. Due to the limitations of the study, only the three largest ethnic groups (at the time of the study) were included. Moreover, Japanese, Chinese and Filipino Americans also have the longest history in the United States and, therefore, there is a body of literature on their evolution in this country from which to glean any documentation of philanthropic activity within voluntary associations, nonprofits and informal family or "clan" structures. For the purpose of this paper, this pool of 39 interviews was augmented by numerous interviews with additional donors of more varied levels and other ethnicities, including Koreans, South Asians and Southeast Asians. These interviews and even less formal conversations with donors were conducted through various consulting projects for nonprofits interested in tapping into the Asian American donor pool, through my participation at conferences on philanthropy, and general social access.

5 . The terminology used to describe Asian Americans and the subethnic groups within this racial category can be confusing. Although since 1990 the Census Bureau categorizes the entire racial group as Asian American/Pacific Islanders, including those of Hawaiian,

Samoan and other Pacific Island descent, I generally refer to Asian Americans in this paper, because I did not interview or speak with Pacific Islanders. This subethnic group, however, comprises a very small portion of this racial population category and, therefore, inclusion of the numbers in any discussion of demographics does not significantly impact the observations. Throughout this paper, when referring to Asian Americans or pan-Asian issues, I am referring to populations and issues that cross a variety of ethnic backgrounds. When referring to ethnic-specific or ethnic issues or organizations, I am referring to those issues and organizations of interest to people of one Asian nationality, i.e., Chinese, Indian, Japanese, Filipino, Vietnamese, etc. Rather than listing numerous nationalities, I refer to people of the same ethnic group, but of no particular ethnicity, as "co-ethnics" as has been used in the Asian American studies field. When referring to first-generation Asian Americans, I am referring to foreign-born immigrants. Second-generation Asian Americans, on the other hand, refer to the first generation born in America, and so forth.

6. See generally Espiratu, Yen Le, *Asian American Panethnicity: Bridging Institutions and Identities*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992; Omi, Michael, "Out of the Melting Pot and into the Fire: Race Relations Policy," in *The State of Asian Pacific America: Policy Issues to the Year 2020*, Los Angeles: LEAP Public Policy Institute and UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1993, pp. 191-214; and Tamayo Lott, Juanita, *Asian Americans: From Racial Category to Multiple Identities*, Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 1998.

7. Shinagawa, Larry Hajime, "The Impact of Immigration on the Demography of Asian Pacific Americans," in *The State of Asian Pacific America: Reframing the Immigration Debate*, Bill Ong Hing & Ronald Lee, eds., Los Angeles: LEAP Public Policy Institute and UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1996, pp. 59-126.

8. Throughout this paper various terms are used to describe subcategories of the philanthropic or charitable vehicles used by Asian Americans. All fall under the broadest definition of the nonprofit or voluntary sectors, but the various philanthropic vehicles have varying degrees of formal structure, staffing support and diversity of financial resources. They are described in more detail throughout the paper, and in depth in my earlier work. When using the term "voluntary associations" or " associations," I am referring to the myriad mutual assistance associations and fraternal, cultural, business, trade, professional, and alumni associations that are prevalent in primarily immigrant Asian American communities. These associations are not nearly as common (or as highly developed) in Asia, nor are they as frequently used by American-born Asians. To my knowledge, non-Asians do not participate in these ethnic-specific voluntary associations, and unlike their counterparts in other non-Asian communities, many professional associations have philanthropic functions in addition to myriad social, mutual aid, and professional networking purposes. These voluntary associations are founded, governed and run not only by Asian Americans, but are most often further defined by other characteristics: nationality, village or province of origin, dialect, surname, profession, trade, economic class, religion, cultural interests, or Asian alma mater. They are solely financed by the community through membership dues and contributions and special donations from community businesses (except for several Southeast Asian mutual aid organizations that received federal refugee aid or mainstream church support). Although the largest associations have small staffs, most are entirely run by community volunteers. Therefore, they are often referred to as the "voluntary" groups or associations. My references to Asian American and ethnic-specific nonprofits, however, comprise a different category of philanthropic vehicle. While they are generally founded by, governed, and staffed predominantly by people of Asian descent, they are financed by a diversity of sources, including government and private grants from outside the community. These organizations developed from the ethnic-awareness, civil rights, and anti-poverty movements of the late 1960s and 1970s. The most mature were founded in the 1970s and early 1980s by American-born or American-educated Asians. Many were modeled after nonprofits serving the outside community, including mainstream and African American. They interact with government agencies, adhere to regulations and mandates, and occasionally hire professionals with specialized expertise from outside the community to augment

staff. My use of the term "mainstream institutions" refers to hospitals, museums, universities and cultural institutions run and governed primarily by Euro-Americans. One confusion for mainstream readers is that a few museums, such as the Asian Art Museum in San Francisco, or the Asia Society in New York City, may appear by name to be an Asian American nonprofit. These, however, for the purpose of this paper are mainstream institutions because they were founded by, governed by, and primarily staffed by predominantly non-Asians, and most of their financing comes from mainstream sources. Outside community causes refer to those human rights, civil rights and social justice causes and nonprofit organizations that may target many different races, ethnic groups or nationalities as well as those that may specifically target one group such as African Americans or Jews.

9. For further general information on ethnic associations, and faith-based organizations see:

Chan, Sucheng, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History*, Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991, particularly Chapter 4: "The Social Organization of Asian Immigrant Communities" pp. 63-78. Karnow, Stanley and Nancy Yoshihara, "Asian Americans in Transition," New York: The Asia Society, 1992. Kibria, Nazli, *Family Tightrope: The Changing Lives of Vietnamese Americans*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Kim, Ai Ra, *Women Struggling for a New Life: The Role of Religion in the Cultural Passage from Korea to America*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996.

Kwong, Peter, *The New Chinatown*, New York: Hill & Wang, 1987, particularly Chapter 5: Chinatown's Informal Political Structure pp. 81-106 and Chapter 6: Tongs, Gangs and the Godfather pp. 107-123.

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Light, Ivan, Im Jung Kwuon, and Deng Zhong, "Korean Rotating Credit Associations in Los Angeles," *Amerasia* 16:1, 1990, pp. 35-54.

Smith, Bradford, Sylvia Shue, Jennifer Lisa Vest and Joseph Villareal, *Philanthropy in Communities of Color*, San Francisco: University of San Francisco Institute for Nonprofit Organization Management, 1999, pp. 88 – 145.

Teodoro, Luis V., ed., *Out of this Struggle: The Filipinos in Hawaii*, Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii, 1981.

Williams, Raymond Brady, *Religions of Immigrants from India and Pakistan: New Threads in the American Tapestry*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Yu, Elena S.H., "Filipino Migration and Community Organizations in the United States," *California Sociologist*, Vol. 3, No. 2, Summer 1980, pp. 76-102.

10. For context, it should be noted that "family" or surname associations may include anyone with the same last name who is generally from the same village or province in the country of origin. Therefore, the many who are members, while called "family" would not be considered to have familial relationships in even the most extended sense of the Western term for family.

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The Racial Wealth Gap
Origins and Implications for Philanthropy in the African American Community

Dalton Conley

The black-white difference in average net worth is wider than the racial gap in any other socioeconomic measure. In 1994, the typical white American family had a "nest egg" of assets totaling a median of $72,000.[1] By comparison, with a median net worth of $9,800, the typical black family had no significant nest egg to speak of. Unlike income or education levels, wealth has the particular attribute that it tends to reproduce itself in a multiplicative fashion from generation to generation. As a result, the black-white gap in assets has continued to grow since the 1960s when civil rights victories were won (Oliver and Shapiro, 1995). The aims of the current paper are two-fold: first, to examine the importance of this asset gap for philanthropy in the African American community; and second, to evaluate complementary hypotheses about why this asset gap exists and persists across generations. A conclusion ties these two issues together, bringing the historical origins of the wealth gap to bear on the consideration of philanthropy in the black community.

Net worth, which will be used in this paper interchangeably with asset level or wealth level, is calculated simply by adding up the value of everything one owns (or one's household/family unit owns) and then subtracting from this figure the total amount of outstanding debt. Since most property—such as a house or an IRA—may be held jointly, both legally and informally, it is probably best to figure net worth levels for family units. Research on net worth has been slow in coming when contrasted to that on income and income distributions since reliable data on net worth has only been consistently available since the 1980s. In 1984, both the Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP) and the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) first asked about the asset levels of responding families. Each study has its own advantages. SIPP provides a larger baseline sample; however, its relationship with respondents lasts for only a couple of years. The PSID began in 1968 and is repeated annually, following the same family for three decades now. This longer relationship means that collecting sensitive data may be easier for these surveyors. In the end, however, both data sets have been found to be comparable. In this study, I use data from the PSID since I want to exploit the intergenerational nature of the panel study.

Assets, Race and Philanthropy: Theoretical Considerations

At first blush it would appear that the relationship between asset levels and philanthropic activity is a straightforward one. If it takes money to make money, as the old adage goes, it certainly takes money to give it away. In fact, it might be argued that net worth is the key (or only) variable worth measuring when trying to predict the level of giving among a group. This assertion stems from the notion that income and wealth are used differently. Income is a flow of money—such as from

jobs, gifts or investments—while wealth is a stock or pool of economic resources. To the extent that giving is not built into the standard structure and routine of daily or monthly life, then it is more likely that monetary donations (this paper will not directly consider the important issues of in-kind giving or volunteering) will come from wealth and not income sources. That is, unless every month, when paying the utility, housing, and other bills, one also makes one or more charitable contributions, it is not likely that donations are figured into household budgets and calibrated to regular income flows. Rather, it is more likely that gifts will be made from some reserve stock of resources, most likely liquid assets, such as bank accounts, certificate of deposits, stocks and mutual funds or bonds.[2] It is within this category of liquid wealth that the racial asset gap is the greatest. In fact, when one considers the fact that 30 percent of all African American families enjoy no liquid assets, it becomes surprising and all the more admirable that there are significant levels of monetary donations within the black community (see Table 1).

Table 1

Median Family Net Worth, by Race and 1992 Yearly Family Income (in 1994 Dollars) in the 1994 Panel Study of Income Dynamics; weighted by 1992 family weight (n=7,324).

Yearly Income	*All Races*	*White*	*Black*
Total	$ 58,000	$ 72,000	$ 9,771
Less than $15,00	6,000	10,000	0
$15,001 - $35,000	36,600	45,700	11,000
$35,001 - $50,000	76,925	81,000	40.000
$50,001 - $75,000	135,000	140,200	54,000
Greater than $75,000	300,000	308,000	114,600

There are other, less directly economic reasons why wealth levels should be considered when addressing the issue of rates of philanthropic activity. These have to do with the reasons why people give money away. Ostrower 1995 argues that some of the main reasons the wealthy often give are (1) in order to legitimate their wealth by giving some of it back to society, (2) out of feelings of guilt over their privileged economic position, or (3) due to a culture of inheritance and philanthropy within families. Though she is probably using the terms "wealthy" and "wealth" to refer to the overall economic and class situation of her respondents—not income or wealth in particular—tangible assets probably play a particularly important role in the social-psychological dynamics of giving.

It is illiquid or tangible wealth—homes, cars, real estate, business ownership—that provides the fodder for "conspicuous consumption" to borrow the words of Thorstein Veblen from almost a century ago. However, class or status identity markers need not be consumptive. Ownership of a home is both an investment and a living expense. Ownership of businesses, real estate, and other manifestations of wealth serve a dual role, one of securing an economic future as well as making a display of class or status group hierarchy. This is all to say that if—as Ostrower claims—the wealthy give to assuage feelings of guilt or to legitimate their wealth to the world,

they are probably doing this in response to the most outwardly visible manifestations of such wealth: illiquid assets. Second, she mentions a culture of inheritance and philanthropy within some families. Inheritance is the result of accumulated wealth, not income.

These considerations about the sources of gifts within households and the social dynamics behind giving suggest that researchers may be missing the most important variation when they inquire about respondents' levels of giving by economic rung. For example, in 1986, the Joint Center-Gallup Survey of philanthropic activity asked whites and blacks (with an over-sample of the latter) about their involvement with charitable giving. Carson (1989) reports the results by race, finding that among individuals who earned less than $12,000 per year, 28.6 percent of African Americans did not make a charitable contribution, while 17.2 percent of whites did not. Likewise, among upper-income respondents (greater than $25,000 annual income) 16.4 percent of African Americans had not made a monetary donation, compared to only 7.5 percent of whites (Carson 1989: 98, Table 5.3). When one looks at the groups who did make a donation, the data show more evenness.

Given the distribution of wealth by race, the comparison between blacks and whites at similar income levels is an invalid one. Among the poor category (less than $12,000), the median black family had zero or a negative net worth in contrast to a net worth of approximately $10,000 for whites in that income group. This difference, I hypothesize, accounts for the higher rate of nongiving among African American respondents. In fact, given these wealth data, it is surprising how many low-income black respondents did give. At the upper end of the income distribution the story is no different. The typical white family who earns $40,000 per year enjoys an asset level around $80,000. Its African American counterpart has less than half that amount. This is all to say that if this study were redone and a new table constructed that broke down the rates of giving and the amount of donation by race, income and net worth, then it would likely be the case that the rate of overall giving as well as the amounts donated by blacks would far exceed the white totals at similar income and wealth levels. In sum, racial comparisons should always be made considering net worth levels in order to be accurate.

Another consideration is the degree of inequality within the black and white populations, respectively. Research has demonstrated the level of income inequality is greater among blacks than it is among whites (see Wilson, 1979). This is even truer for wealth distribution in the United States. For example, if we take the ratio of the families at the 10th and 90th percentiles in the white distribution (a proportion that is often used as a measure of income inequality), we find that in 1994, this figure was 41.5. This is a large 90/10 ratio, reflecting the fact that assets are more unevenly distributed than income. However, as unequal as the distribution was for whites in 1994, it was worse for African Americans. We cannot even calculate a meaningful ratio for the black families since the denominator is negative (the family at the tenth percentile among the African-American sample has a net worth of minus $200). This greater inequality in wealth among African Americans may have an impact on rates of giving, though it is not clear in which direction. If the wealth that is held by blacks is more concentrated in the hands of a small elite, then it might be more likely to be given away, given its declining marginal utility. However, to the extent that the inequality within the African American community results in a greater need for informal gifts and aid to kith and kin as some researchers have suggested (see Stack 1971; Eggebeen, Clogg, Elder 1993; Patillo-McCoy 1999), then the greater needs of the worse-off may serve to siphon off resources that might have otherwise been used in formal philanthropic activities.

The Wealth Gap: Historical and Contemporary Origins

If this wealth gap is central to understanding patterns of formal, philanthropic activity, then it is critical to understand its origins and the reasons why it persists today.[3] The reasons for the black-white disparity may rest in the historical nature of race relations in the United States and/or they may lie in contemporary dynamics. Below I outline the various forces that may be at work, both historically and currently.

There is ample evidence to suspect that historical forces and their legacy of asset bequeathal play a role in explaining the current black-white wealth gap. While there has always been a paucity of data on individual African American wealth holdings until very recently, there exists ample evidence that as a group blacks have endured a long history of asset deprivation, from the first days when Africans were wrested from their families, homes and possessions in West Africa and brought to these shores in bondage—not even "owning" their bodies or labor, let alone any tangible wealth. In fact, for the most part slaves were legally prohibited from ownership of any form of wealth (Oliver and Shapiro, 1995: 37).

During the antebellum period, some free blacks did own property that totaled an estimated $50 million in 1860 (Frazier 1932: 35). Even as early as the period between 1664 and 1677 (before the peak of slavery) in Northhampton County, Virginia, Kolchin has documented that "at least 13 (out of 101) blacks became free landowners, most through self-purchase. . ." (1993: 16). After the Emancipation Proclamation, rhetoric floated around regarding the potential of a massive land redistribution. The Freedmen's Bureau, set up by President Johnson and administered by "good Christian" General Oliver Otis Howard, had the mission of promoting economic self-sufficiency among the former slaves. However, the agency never delivered on its promise of dividing up plantations and giving each freed slave "forty acres and a mule" as reparation for the slavery experience (Oubre, 1978).

In many Southern states, land redistribution did happen but turned out to be only a temporary occurrence. In Georgia, for example, Cimbala writes that land given to freedmen by General Sherman "was restored [by General Howard] to its white claimants before the ex-slaves had even one full season to test their new status" (1989: 597-98). In fact, of the confiscated plantations "the greater number went to northerners, who hired Negroes to cultivate them" (Pierce, 1904: 22). In this manner, the Bureau may have unwittingly become a catalyst for northern carpetbaggers more than for Southern black entrepreneurship.

While many Southern blacks were trapped in a cycle of debt and no assets through sharecropping—denied the right to make deposits and get loans by banks across the region—whites were given low-interest loans to set up farms in the middle and far Western United States. Those few blacks who managed to escape sharecropping and join the migration West with the promise of land grants found that their ownership status was "not legally enforceable" in the state of California, for example (Oliver and Shapiro 1995: 38). In fact, the only major nineteenth-century institution that was somewhat successful in fostering black wealth accumulation was the Freedman's Bank of the Freedman's Bureau, which did help some blacks acquire land and businesses. However, this bank failed in 1874 (after the Panic of 1873), largely as a result of "highly questionable no-interest loans from the bank to white companies" doled out by the white-controlled board of directors (Sherradan 1991: 133). After its collapse, the rate of black land ownership did not rise as rapidly, and furthermore, many blacks did not trust banks since many African-American small

investors lost all their savings when the institution failed.

Capital constraints were not the only nineteenth-century barrier to black asset accumulation. Many Southern states passed "Black Code" laws that required blacks to have an employer or face arrest as a "vagrant." The result was that, working independently for themselves, some black artisans were fined, jailed, and even sentenced to work as convict laborers. South Carolina's legislature declared in December 1865, that "no person of color shall pursue or practice the art, trade, or business of an artisan, mechanic, or shopkeeper, or another trade employment or business. . .on his own account and for his own benefit until he shall have obtained a license which shall be good for one year only." Black peddlers and merchants had to produce $100 annually to pay for the license, while whites paid nothing (Marable 1983: 142-3).

While black ownership of wealth grew slowly during the latter half of the nineteenth century, it continued to face obstacles in the twentieth century. For instance, Old Age Insurance (Social Security) established in 1935 "virtually excluded African Americans and Latinos," write Oliver and Shapiro, "for it exempted agricultural and domestic workers from coverage and marginalized low-wage workers. . . In 1935, for example, 42 percent of black workers in occupations covered by social insurance did not earn enough to qualify for benefits compared to 22 percent for whites" (Oliver and Shapiro 1995: 38). Not receiving Social Security benefits means that any savings retired or disabled blacks had accumulated most likely needed to be spent during old age, rather than being handed down to the next generation. Further, the lack of social insurance meant that many households had to care for and support indigent, elderly family members, directly diverting the next generation's resources away from savings and capital accumulation.

Perhaps the most dramatic barrier to black-white wealth equity in the twentieth century, however, is the role that residential issues and institutions have played. For example, founded in 1933, the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) helped many homeowners avoid default during the Great Depression. However, the HOLC institutionalized the "redlining" technique of estimating risks of loan default associated with neighborhoods. The HOLC invariably assigned black neighborhoods the lowest (fourth) rating so that no HOLC sponsored loans went to black residents. Thus, African Americans could not as readily refinance their mortgages during the Depression, and a greater proportion of black owners lost their homes when contrasted to their white counterparts.

The story did not change after the Great Depression. The Federal Housing Authority (FHA), established in 1937, in combination with the Veteran's Administration (VA) home lending program that was part of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, made home ownership possible for millions of Americans after World War II by guaranteeing low-interest, long-term loans for first-home buying. However, African-Americans were systematically shut out of participation in these programs because loans were channeled to suburbs and away from the central cities where blacks predominantly resided. In fact, according to Massey and Denton, with FHA financing, it became "cheaper to buy new suburban homes than to rent comparable older dwellings in the central city" (Massey and Denton 1993: 52). All these institutionalized practices set the stage for the conditions of racial segregation observable today and may contribute, in large part, to the black-white wealth disparity since African American families would be less likely to have a family home to pass on, a business to bequeath, or substantial liquid assets to give to heirs.

Over and above the historical forces that may be at work to depress black wealth levels relative to white ones, there appears to be evidence that race-based dynamics in the contemporary United States play a major role in perpetuating this type of inequality. Owning one's home is the prime method of equity accumulation for most families in the United States (Levy and Michel 1991; Spilerman, Semyonov and Lewin-Epstein 1992). In 1997, the overall rate of home ownership was 65.7 percent, a record high (Joint Center for Housing Studies 1998). However, the overall U.S. figure obscures differences by race and place. Patterns of residential segregation that lead to a disproportionate concentration of minority households in central cities means that blacks are less likely than whites to own the homes in which they reside. In 1994, 25.7 percent of whites lived in central cities compared to 50.9 percent in suburbs. During that same year, the corresponding figures for blacks were almost a mirror image: 56.1 percent for urban residence and 30.2 for suburban residence (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1997).[4] This spatial distribution is important since, in 1997, 71.5 percent of suburban residents owned their homes compared to only 49 percent of their urban counterparts. The result of this combination of race and place is that in 1997 only 43.6 percent of blacks owned their homes in contrast to 71.3 percent of whites (Joint Center for Housing Studies 1998).

Much literature has documented the existence of such a dual housing market— that is, a market segregated by race, where African Americans suffer limited housing selections because of institutional and overt discrimination (Massey and Mullan 1984; Stearns and Logan 1986; Alba and Logan 1989; Massey and Denton 1993; Farley, Steeh, Krysan, Jackson and Reeves 1994; Rosenbaum 1994). Furthermore, some research has used U.S. Census data to demonstrate that levels of residential segregation have increased in the period since the 1960s when civil rights gains were made (McKinney and Schnare 1989). (However, at least one recent study claims that levels of residential segregation seemed to have peaked in the 1970s and declined slightly since then—with the largest percentage decreases of segregation indices in newer, Southern and Western cities [Farley and Frey 1994]).

Individual-level research on race and housing often takes residential segregation as a given and looks at how black and white families attain housing equity. For example, Rosenbaum (1997) finds that net of other socioeconomic and demographic characteristics, blacks in the greater New York metropolitan area are less likely to own their homes than whites (presumably as a result of spatial assimilation patterns). Oliver and Shapiro analyze housing appreciation and find that net of inflation, year of purchase, mortgage rate, and an indicator of hypersegregation (Massey and Denton 1988, 1993), black housing appreciates at a significantly lower rate than that of whites. These authors also address credit issues, developing a statistical model that holds constant a number of factors (including household income and whether the loan was financed through the FHA or VA), and find that blacks pay significantly higher mortgage interest rates than whites (Oliver and Shapiro 1995: 205).

While these measures of credit access have centered around housing, they may imply that African Americans suffer from similar disadvantages when applying for business loans as well (for example, by not having had previous business with the bank). Also important is the fact that home ownership not only affects the quality of one's abode and neighborhood but also directly affects the amount of money left for other investing or spending. Put simply, owning is cheaper than renting. Data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics show that in 1996, the median rent for lessors was $400. At the same time the median monthly mortgage payment for home-owners was only $279 (Conley 1999). While there are other costs associated with
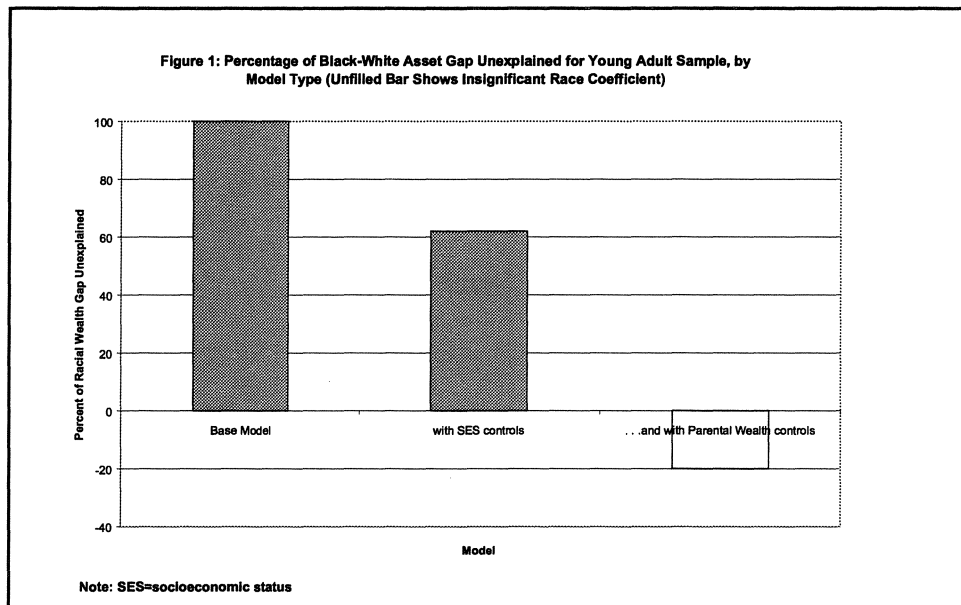
owning, such as property taxes, insurance and repair expenses, these are not generally enough to raise the typical owner's monthly cost over that of the median renter. The Joint Center for Housing Studies (1997) showed that in the period between 1982 and 1993, the proportion of income that went to mortgage payments in the average household declined from 34 to 20.2 percent before rising modestly to 22 percent in 1996. This increasing affordability of home ownership stands in contrast to rents that have remained consistently high over the 1980s and 1990s. Thus, owning may actually free up more money for other expenses or investments. This may be part of the reason owners accumulate net worth much faster than renters and, by extension, why African American families suffer from lower net worths than their white counterparts.

Intergenerational Approaches

All of this said, however, how much of these housing, credit and business differences are a result of racial dynamics in the current generation and how much are the residue of family wealth differences from the previous generation has not been examined. This is the issue that I will now address. Despite this vast literature documenting the history of and possible reasons for black-white wealth inequality, few researchers have enjoyed the benefit of longitudinal data that link generations. Thus, they have not been able to establish the relative importance of the historical legacy of low assets to pass on to descendants versus the salience of the contemporary conditions that each black and white family faces in trying to build a nest egg.[5] With a snapshot approach, these researchers have not been able to determine whether it is lower rates of savings, a lack of parental assets, less inheritance or poor investment performance that has led to the black-white gap in wealth in a given year. With data that follow families over time and link generations one can assess whether dynamics such as these explain race inequalities in wealth or, rather, whether there remains a significant difference between the net worths of African-Americans and whites even after factoring out these explanations. It is important to model the black-white wealth discrepancy in a multigenerational framework, because it is not clear how much home ownership rate differences, for instance, are a result of a lack of parental aid. Even different interest rates paid by blacks and whites may be the result of the lower parental resources of black families since they may be able to afford less of a down payment and thus may not qualify for the best loans.[6]

Two studies by the same author have used intergenerational data to try to tackle this issue and have come to different conclusions. Conley (1999a) uses data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics to estimate the wealth levels of individuals ages 18-30 in 1994, holding constant a range of individual variables, including, age, gender, education level, income as well as a host of parental variables, such as age, family structure, welfare status, occupational position, five-year income average, and net worth to find that when *parental* variables are controlled, the racial gap in net worth disappears. In this model, the strongest predictor of respondents' net worth is parental net worth.

This changing significance of race in this model is depicted graphically in Figure 1. Since wealth is modeled in units of natural logarithm, it is not readily interpretable as a dollar amount. However, Figure 1 sets the base, black-white difference to a value of 100 percent for the first column of the chart. This is a way of depicting the entire black-white asset gap when no other controls are introduced. Column two shows that when the socioeconomic status of respondents is held constant, the wealth gap is reduced to 62 percent of its original level, though it is still significant. However, when the wealth levels of these individuals' parents are factored out, the

Figure 1: Percentage of Black-White Asset Gap Unexplained for Young Adult Sample, by Model Type (Unfilled Bar Shows Insignificant Race Coefficient)
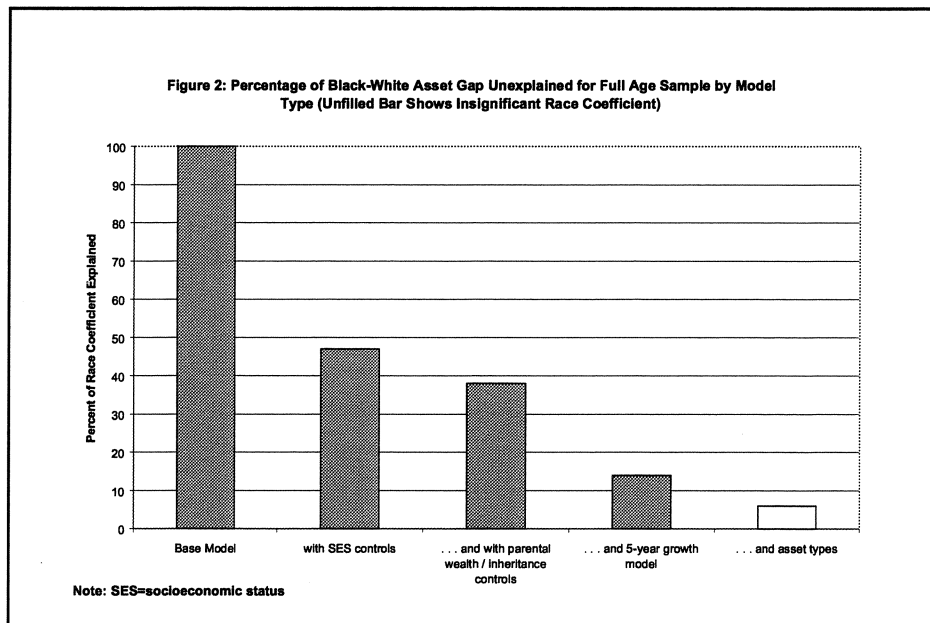
Note: SES=socioeconomic status

race gap is eliminated (it even changes direction, although that is not significant). This analysis seems to support the claim that the primary engine of the racial equity inequity is an intergenerational legacy of asset deprivation.

However, a second study (Conley 1999b) uses the same dataset, but a different wave to show that among a wider range of respondents in 1989, the wealth gap persists after holding constant a similar battery of variables (but is eventually eliminated). This study is graphically illustrated in Figure 2. The first column is again the baseline model with no controls. The second column shows that when we control for the respondent's socioeconomic status, more than half of the wealth gap between African Americans and whites is eliminated. When we then factor out the differences between parental levels of wealth, differential parental mortality, and inheritance levels, this gap is further reduced to about 38 percent of its original level. When we—in addition to all these other controls—also factor out the initial wealth level five years prior (in 1984) and savings behavior during the interim, we find that the wealth gap is down to 14 percent of its original level.

What is startling in this model is that there is any gap at all, given that we are controlling for so many factors, even the level of wealth just five years prior. In other words, what this model is saying is that significant wealth differences between blacks and whites in America can emerge in just five years time. Finally, however, when we take this initial wealth endowment and break it into its constituent asset types, we find that the race gap is reduced to six percent of its original level and is rendered insignificant. A cautionary note regarding this latter study is that in order to have a wide age range, it used estimates of parental wealth levels given by the respondents while the earlier study used self-reported data and then followed the children of these individuals ten years later. So the net worth data for the former study is probably more reliable.

That said, the differences between the two studies do not necessarily contradict each other, but rather can be seen as complementary. First, it appears entirely plausible that among the youngest cohort of adults—who have barely entered the labor market—parental variables, particularly their net worth, are most salient. The issues of differential access to credit and differential rates of wealth growth probably

Figure 2: Percentage of Black-White Asset Gap Unexplained for Full Age Sample by Model Type (Unfilled Bar Shows Insignificant Race Coefficient)

Note: SES=socioeconomic status

have not yet taken their major toll. It is among older respondents, who have weathered a lifetime of differential access and returns, that race has a strong net effect. Second, even though the latter study does not eliminate the race gap by holding parental wealth and inheritance constant, it does show in separate analysis that, controlling for a number of socioeconomic variables, African Americans are less likely than whites to receive inheritance and when they do, it is of lesser amounts on average. Such a finding—to be expected—shows the salience of intergenerational dynamics, even if the race gap in wealth is not eliminated.

Conclusion: Implications for Philanthropy

There appear to be both historical and contemporary forces at work in generating persistent "equity inequity" between blacks and whites. This has important implications for philanthropy. Given the salience of assets to donor activity, philanthropy as traditionally defined faces the formidable obstacle of low wealth levels in the black community, yet it appears as though controlling for income and net worth, donation rates and amounts are probably higher than the corresponding figures for whites. Future researchers should include net worth in any questionnaire regarding philanthropic activity. This important control variable will allow researchers to properly estimate the "true" effects of other demographic variables—notably race—on giving behavior.

That said, it remains an open question as to whether high rates of philanthropy in the black community (when controlling for income and wealth) have been a positive influence on the overall net worths of African Americans. Namely, if African Americans are giving their money away to charitable causes, then they are not keeping it for themselves. In other words, high rates of giving may themselves contribute to lower net worths, if the money given does not have an even greater positive effect on the net worths of other African Americans. This, of course, depends on how much the recipient charities focus on this as a goal and how effective they are.

This issue of the focus of donor activities raises a third important issue: How can donors best facilitate racial equity in wealth levels—a goal that will have, of course,

an indirect impact on the future levels of white and black donations. One innovative mechanism to achieve these ends is by "indirect support." Indirect support entails donors' using their resources to leverage or underwrite loans and insurance, as opposed to the traditional model of direct giving. This approach often involves partnerships between traditional business interests and the foundation and volunteer sector. By thinking of assistance more broadly than direct grant making, the resources of foundations or individual donors can be spread a lot farther.

Perhaps the best example of this is the partnership between the Ford Foundation, Self Help, a North Carolina-based nonprofit community development organization, and Fannie Mae, the nation's largest source of home mortgage funds. Ford provided $50 million to Self Help in order to underwrite mortgages to low-wealth individuals who would normally not have qualified for a home loan. By spending its money in this indirect fashion, Ford is able to provide $2 billion in loans to 35,000 families. Of course, programs for home loans could be expanded, but there are also a number of other innovative ways in which philanthropic donations can be used to have maximum impact in both social and economic realms, particularly with respect to wealth accumulation.

Notes

1. This figure includes housing and vehicle equity.

2. This notion of different sources for different activities is most eloquently argued by Viviana Zelizer in *The Social Meaning of Money* (1992, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).

3. First, it is important to note that even after controlling for more than just income this gap remains. For instance, Henretta (1979) demonstrated that even after accounting for a range of socio-economic and demographic factors, blacks' net worths were substantially lower than those of whites (also see Jackman and Jackman, 1980). Further, he showed that during the 1970s, blacks at similar incomes and ages were much less likely to own their homes than whites. Parcel (1982) has documented that even among homeowners, African-Americans face difficulty in converting their income into housing equity – i.e., net worth. These data are quite dated by now, however, having been collected only half a generation after the passage of landmark Civil Rights legislation during the 1960s.

4. The figures do not add up to one hundred percent by race since they exclude rural residents.

5. Keister and Caldwell (1995) attempt to *simulate* the change in distribution of wealth by race since the 1960s under various assumptions of discrimination.

6. Spilerman (1996) finds that in Israel inter-generational (parental) assistance is one of the most powerful predictors of whether young adults become homeowners.

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Conclusion

Pier C. Rogers

These papers focus on different dimensions of giving and serving traditions and challenges for the four racial and ethnic groups of Latinos, African Americans, Native Americans, and Asian Americans. Although differences are highlighted, there are many parallels that emerge or that can be drawn out of the various examples. It is critical to the furtherance of both the field of philanthropic studies and the practice of philanthropy that we seek to better understand the differences and the similarities in these traditions. The practice of philanthropy will only be enhanced by such knowledge, which can then be incorporated into a variety of approaches that are suitably altered to address the values of the different individuals and communities. It is such an agenda that this first occasional paper intends to stimulate.

It is also important to note that this paper represents an unusual constellation of the work of academicians and practitioners. Academic research traditionally involves empirical data analysis and conclusions and/or heavy reliance on data drawn from other academic research to support or offer critique of a particular topic or perspective. The Cortes, Collier-Thomas, and Conley papers reflect that traditional bent of academic research. On the other hand, the Salway Black paper draws upon limited literature on Native American values and philanthropy and infuses it with her own anecdotal observations. That approach offers an educational perspective on Native American philanthropy for the larger philanthropic sector—both academics and practitioners. The Chao paper is based on the author's reflections of interview data gathered in a previous study. From that data, she developed an explanatory model that is also intended to serve as an educational tool for academics, and practitioners.

The combination of these multiple approaches to this topic of the traditions and challenges involving philanthropy in communities of color is unique. It is hoped that these multiple approaches will appeal to a variety of constituencies and encourage further research and action to increase philanthropy within communities of color.

We have now crossed the threshold to a new century and a new millennium. As we alert ourselves to the impending tremendous wealth transfer projected to begin in a few decades, it is imperative that a serious effort be institutionalized to focus attention on building the capacity for increased giving and serving in these communities of color that will also be ripe for that wealth transfer. As incomes increase, and barriers to wealth creation are exposed, and hopefully eliminated, the factors that contribute to philanthropic giving will, as well, hopefully be examined and strengthened. In addition, as increasing amounts of wealth are generated in those communities, a concomitant effort must be made to ensure that historic traditions of philan-

thropy are maintained and strengthened. As each of these racial and ethnic groups participates more fully in the larger society, the ways in which indigenous traditions of giving and serving are carried out have been impacted. Many individuals in these communities participate in the philanthropic activities of the larger society, in lieu of involvement in groups that are restricted to their respective ethnic and racial communities. Many other individuals who are entrenched in their racial and ethnic communities, groups, and organizations are totally uninvolved with and have no understanding of the broader field of philanthropy, although many of their activities are philanthropic. Both of these groups within communities of color must be acknowledged for their roles in contributing to traditions of giving and serving. This inaugural issue of the ARNOVA *Occasional Papers* seeks to impact this level of understanding both within and outside these communities of color. The ultimate goal is to strengthen giving and serving traditions and thereby benefit the whole of society.

Contributors

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Dr. Dalton Conley recently became Director, Center for Advanced Social Science Research, and Associate Professor of Sociology at New York University. He was formerly assistant professor of sociology and African American studies at Yale University. He is author of *Being Black, Living in the Red: Race, Wealth, and Social Policy in America* (University of California Press, 1999).

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