



# Pluralism in Muslim American Philanthropy Report 2022



**IUPUI**  
MUSLIM PHILANTHROPY INITIATIVE  
Lilly Family School of Philanthropy

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# RESEARCH TEAM



**Shariq Siddiqui JD PhD**

Shariq is an Assistant Professor of Philanthropic Studies and Director of the Muslim Philanthropy Initiative at the Indiana University Lilly Family School of Philanthropy. Shariq has a PhD and MA in Philanthropic Studies from the Lilly Family School of Philanthropy. He also has a JD from the McKinney School of Law at Indiana University and holds a BA in History from the University of Indianapolis. Shariq authors research on Muslim philanthropy and the Muslim nonprofit sector. Most recently, he conducted a national survey of full-time Islamic schools in the United States. This project resulted in the book (that he co-authored) *Islamic Education in the United States and the Evolution of Muslim Nonprofit Institutions*, published in November 2017. Shariq also serves as the co-editor of the *Journal of Muslim Philanthropy and Civil Society*, *Journal on Education in Muslim Societies*, and as the Series Editor of the *Muslim Philanthropy and Civil Society Book Series*. All three of which are published by Indiana University Press. He has served as a nonprofit practitioner for over 20 years for international, national, regional, and local nonprofit organizations. Previously, Shariq served as the Executive Director of the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action (ARNOVA).



**Micah A. Hughes PhD**

Micah A. Hughes received his PhD in Islamic Studies from the Department of Religious Studies at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He specializes in the study of religion, secularism, education, and civil society in modern Turkey and the United States. He is currently a Postdoctoral Research Associate at the Muslim Philanthropy Initiative at the Lilly Family School of Philanthropy at IUPUI working on two projects related to zakat and pluralism.

Additionally, he serves as Associate Editor of *The Journal of Muslim Philanthropy and Civil Society* (Indiana University Press) as well as Associate Editor at *The Maydan*, an online publication of the Ali Vural Ak Center for Global Islamic Studies at George Mason University. He is also project manager for *The Maydan Podcast*, sponsored by the Henry Luce Foundation.



**Rafeel Wasif PhD**

Rafeel Wasif is an Assistant Professor at Portland State University. Rafeel's research interests include Public and Nonprofit Management, Philanthropy, International Nonprofits (NGOs), and Data Science. His research focuses on nonprofits belonging to racial and religious minorities in the US by focusing on the Muslim-American nonprofit sector and international NGOs operating in South Asia.

Before joining Portland State, Rafeel finished his PhD at the University of Washington Seattle and worked as a Postdoctoral Researcher at the Lilly Family School of Philanthropy at Indiana University-Purdue University (IUPUI). His work has either been accepted or published in *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* (NVSQ), *Voluntas*, *Nonprofit Management and Leadership* (NML), *Nonprofit Policy Forum* (NPF), and *Voluntary Sector Review* (VSR).

Rafeel has previously been a recipient of the prestigious Fulbright Fellowship. His work has appeared in leading media outlets, including *The Conversation*, *Washington Post*, and several international media outlets.



**Afshan Paarlberg JD**

Afshan Paarlberg is an Assistant Research Scholar with the Indiana University Lilly Family School of Philanthropy. She is the Project Director for The Ihsan Standard—community-engaged research and legal project of the Muslim Philanthropy Initiative. She is also pursuing her PhD in philanthropic studies. Afshan's mixed-methods research, publications, and practice focus on diverse philanthropy, immigrants and refugees, and nonprofit governance.

Afshan holds a JD from The University of Houston Law Center. She also has a BA with Honors in Middle Eastern Studies and a BBA in Finance, both from The University of Texas at Austin. In 2020, she was an inaugural Fellow with the Zakat Foundation Institute, obtaining a graduate certificate in Muslim philanthropic and humanitarian studies. Before joining the school, her legal career focused on immigration law, nonprofit governance-risk-compliance, and access to justice initiatives—practices that are crucial to informing her scholarship.

Afshan serves as the President of the board of Exodus Refugee Immigration—a state-wide refugee resettlement agency. She also serves on the Institute for Social Policy and Understanding board, a nonpartisan research institute.



**Jehanzeb R. Cheema PhD**

Jehanzeb R. Cheema is currently an Assistant Professor at George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia where he teaches courses in Data Mining and Business Analytics. Jehanzeb's research focuses on examination of demographic differences in student literacy in areas such as reading, science, and mathematics. He has previously taught applied statistics courses as an instructor at the University of Baltimore and as a Clinical Assistant Professor at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Jehanzeb holds a doctoral degree in Education from George Mason University (GMU) with a specialization in Research Methodology, and a doctoral degree in Economics from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (UWM) with specializations in Labor Economics and Development Economics. He also holds a Master of Science degree in Health Informatics with a concentration in Health Data Analytics from GMU, and a Master of Arts degree in Economics from UWM. His undergraduate background includes majors in Finance and Economics from Slippery Rock University of Pennsylvania, and in History and Economics (with a minor in statistics) from the University of Punjab.



**Abdul Samad MPA**

Abdul Samad works as a researcher for the Community Collaborative Initiative (CCI) project under the supervision of Dr. Shariq Siddiqui at IUPUI. Abdul is pursuing his PhD in Public Affairs from Florida International University (FIU). He received a bachelor's degree in Business Administration and a master's degree in Public Administration from Western Kentucky University.

Abdul Samad is a qualitative researcher, and his research focuses on the stigmatization of marginalized groups and its impact on their civic engagement. He served as the Student Representative for the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA) and is the recipient of the ASPA Founders' Fellows Award (2015), and the ASPA International Young Scholar award (2018). Abdul was an APPAM Equity and Inclusion Fellow (2019), ARNOVA Graduate Diversity Fellow (2021), and Dewey philanthropy.iupui.edu 4 W. Knight JR. Memorial Scholarship recipient (2018), Muslim Public Affairs Council Young Leaders Policy Summit award recipient (2018), and Muslim Public Service Network Fellow (2019). He is fascinated by language. Being fluent in English, Urdu, Punjabi, and Hindi, and can speak intermediate Arabic, and is an enthusiastic beginner in Chinese and Farsi.



## Zeeshan Noor PhD

Zeeshan Noor is a Postdoctoral Research Associate with the Indiana University Lilly Family School of Philanthropy. He holds a PhD in Public Affairs from the Public and Nonprofit Management program at the University of Texas, Dallas. His research is primarily focused on faith-based philanthropy, donor behavior, and the use of digital media in the public and nonprofit sectors. Other topics of interest include leadership, diversity, and inclusion management.

Dr. Noor is a Managing/Associate Editor for the Journal of Muslim Philanthropy and Civil Society (JMPCS). He is currently Chair for the ARNOVA's Muslim Philanthropy and Civil Society Common Interest Group (MPCSCIG), Chair-Elect for the ASPA's Section on Professional and Organizational Development (SPOD), and Co-Chair for the Annual ASPA Capstone Panel Committee. Dr. Noor is a recipient of 2019 ARNOVA Diversity Fellowship, a 2020 ARNOVA Doctoral Fellowship, 2021 ARNOVA Emerging Scholar Award, and the 2021 ASPA SICA David Gould Scholar Award.

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# ABOUT THE LILLY FAMILY SCHOOL OF PHILANTHROPY

The Indiana University Lilly Family School of Philanthropy at IUPUI is dedicated to improving the world by training and empowering innovators and leaders to create positive and lasting change. The school offers undergraduate, graduate, certificate, and professional development programs, its research and international programs are offered through The Fund Raising School, Lake Institute on Faith & Giving, the Mays Family Institute on Diverse Philanthropy and the Women's Philanthropy Institute.

## ABOUT THE MUSLIM PHILANTHROPY INITIATIVE (MPI)

The Muslim Philanthropy Initiative is a project of the Dean and Lake Institute on Faith and Giving, and is a part of the Lilly Family School of Philanthropy at IUPUI. It focuses on understanding and helping further enhance contemporary and traditional aspects of Muslim philanthropy in all its facets. It convenes scholars and philanthropy professionals to explore issues and research in the field, hosts symposiums and seminars, and provides education and training. By seeking to further research in this under-studied area, helping to develop thought leadership and inform conversations, and training philanthropic and nonprofit leaders within Muslim philanthropy, the initiative helps build capacity in the Muslim philanthropic sector while adding to the body of knowledge about the rich tradition and practice of philanthropy in Islam.

# MPI TEAM

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# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Americans ongoingly reflect upon the roles, parameters, and impacts of tolerance in an increasingly diverse society. Byrne (2011) argues that religious tolerance involves a form of pluralism—the welcoming and fostering of religious diversity. Religious believers should be pluralists in this sense. Overall, prior research has noted higher degrees of political and social tolerance with voluntary association engagement. This report focuses on religious tolerance as manifested in giving behavior. Religious tolerance includes supportive actions and behaviors between persons and groups of faith or no faith.

Based on newly collected data, this research provides significant insights into U.S. Muslim tolerance and diversity among U.S. Muslims concerning philanthropic behaviors. U.S. Muslims are a racialized religious minority and often face negative perceptions and stereotypes (Mohamed, 2021). Despite stigmatization and discrimination, these findings indicate that U.S. Muslims are similar to or above average in their self-perceptions of tolerance compared to the general U.S. population.<sup>1</sup> The main questions addressed in this report are as follows:

1. How is tolerance reflected in Muslim American philanthropic behaviors and decisions?
2. How is diversity reflected in Muslim American philanthropic behaviors and decisions?

The key findings of this report are as follows:

1. Regarding diversity in religious beliefs, Americans perceived their faith traditions and local faith communities as the most likely to value diversity in belief and practice, followed by their family and local communities at large. Compared to their faith, family, and local faith community, Americans perceived the United States as the least likely to value diversity in religious beliefs or practices.
2. U.S. Muslims and non-Muslims indicate higher levels of tolerance with higher inclusivity, diversity, and donation motivation. The correlation patterns are overall stronger for U.S. Muslims.
3. Muslims, on average, perceive themselves to have higher levels of tolerance, donation motivation,<sup>2</sup> diversity perception, inclusivity, and religiosity, than their non-Muslim counterparts.
4. When asked about political ideology, U.S. Muslims with high and low levels of political conservatism perceive themselves as the most tolerant. Across demographic factors, Muslim status had a statistically significant effect on tolerance.

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<sup>1</sup> These findings are limited by two elements: First, statistical significance vis-a-vis sample size, and second, the p values showing significance correspond to unadjusted mean values (i.e. control variables were absent from the analysis). With these two caveats in mind, the pattern of p values in our findings indicates that most of these factors have a significant relationship with tolerance ( $p < .05$ ).

<sup>2</sup> Donation motivation in this context refers to donating to causes of marginalized identities, especially outside of one's in-group.

# INTRODUCTION

As the United States becomes increasingly diverse, religious, political, and social differences are recognized as everyday norms. Yet, stigmatization, discrimination, and animosity between groups persist. Negative stereotypes about U.S. Muslims are also widespread. Scholars, nonprofit professionals, activists, and faith leaders often respond by emphasizing pluralism as a social good. In a joint report issued by the Aspen Institute's Inclusive America Project, the Indiana University Lake Institute on Faith and Giving, and the Public Religion Research Institute, pluralism is defined as "a vision of the world in which diverse religious communities and non-believers engage each other in beneficial ways, maintain their distinct identities, and thrive and defend each other's right to thrive" (2020).

Religious pluralism extends beyond the recognition of religious diversity. It emphasizes a "state of being where every individual in a religiously diverse society has the rights, freedoms, and safety to worship, or not, according to their conscience" (Aspen Institute, 2019). Thus, religious pluralism is more than an attitude or disposition towards other faiths or those with no faith tradition. It is also a practice that can be studied in donations of money and time to charitable organizations or causes.

To better understand practices of religious pluralism, this report focuses on the subpopulation of U.S. Muslims and compares them with the general population. U.S. Muslims are a highly diverse racial, ethnic, and religious demographic, and this diversity is reflected in their theological beliefs, religious and civic practices, cultural traditions, and opinions. Overall, U.S. Muslims embrace philanthropy as "an important part of living" (Siddiqui, 2013, p. 204). This report evaluates the core Islamic value of charitable giving with tolerance.

In this report, the Muslim Philanthropy Initiative (MPI) collected data in a web-based survey of 1,024 Muslim and 960 general population respondents to understand their patterns of giving and how and to whom they choose to give. This report finds that U.S. Muslims give to a wide variety of faith-based and non-faith-based organizations and causes that reflect the diversity of the Muslim community in the United States. As a scrutinized, racialized community often the victim of intolerance, U.S. Muslims provide a unique opportunity to learn about tolerance, pluralism, and philanthropy in the United States by minority groups.

## ■ DEMOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW OF MUSLIMS IN THE UNITED STATES

Muslims make up around 3.45 million Americans and are projected to be the second largest faith-based group by about 2040 (Mohamed, 2018). 28% are Asian, 22% are Black, 8% are Hispanic, and the remaining 48% are White (Anglo/Caucasian, Persians, Arabs, and Kurds), with no single ethnic group forming a majority (Cooperman, 2017; Lipka, 2017). Data on U.S. Muslim racial demographics is further complicated because the identifier "White" is not limited to Anglo-Americans. The United States Census Bureau classifies individuals with origins in Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa as "White," which applies to racial and ethnic groups who might identify as non-White. Additionally, it includes individuals who self-report as "White", which

includes groups such as German, Italian, Lebanese, Arab, Moroccan, or Caucasian (Humes, Jones & Ramirez, 2011). With approximately one-quarter between 18 to 24, U.S. Muslims are also the country's youngest faith community (Mohamed, 2018). Additionally, 58% are foreign-born, 18% are first-generation Americans, 28% are second-generation Americans, and 24% are third-generation or more (Cooperman, 2017; Lipka, 2017). Furthermore, despite having the same level of education as the general population, U.S. Muslims are disproportionately poor (Mogahed & Chouhoud, 2017).

U.S. Muslims are also highly diverse in their religious practices. 29% self-identify as "just Muslims," meaning they do not classify themselves as belonging to a particular theological or denominational tradition within Islam (e.g., Sunni, Shi'a, Ahmadi, Ismaili, Nation of Islam, etc.). 16% identify as Shiites or Shia Muslims, and 55% identify as Sunnis or Sunni Muslims (Moore, 2015).

U.S. Muslims report giving as much to causes within and outside their faith (Siddiqui et al., 2021). Furthermore, Muslims give less to houses of worship than any other faith community (Khader & Siddiqui, 2018). They prioritize domestic and international poverty relief and education over civil rights despite facing challenges from stigmatization, surveillance, and discrimination (Siddiqui & Wasif, 2021). Finally, even though more than half of U.S. Muslims are foreign-born, they spend approximately 85% of their charity within the United States (Siddiqui & Wasif, 2021). In many ways, U.S. Muslim giving patterns resemble Jewish Americans (Mahmood, 2019).

## TOLERANCE & PHILANTHROPY

Philanthropy is frequently defined as "voluntary action for the public good" (Payton & Moody, 2008). Yet, philanthropy can promote or impede social, political, and religious tolerance of pluralistic practices.

Voluntary associations are philanthropic entities where individuals develop, maintain, and negotiate social identities, as well as socially valued sentiments and attitudes (e.g., generalized trust and tolerance) (Rosenblum, 2018). Voluntary associations vary in scope and service. They provide aid and relief, educational services, or advocate for gender and racial equity.

Several studies show a strong relationship between voluntary engagement and social and political tolerance. For example, a strong relationship exists between group membership in voluntary associations and political tolerance (Cigler & Joslyn, 2002; Verba et al., 1995). Similarly, Hooghe (2003) has demonstrated that members of associations are more tolerant toward individuals belonging to other nationalities and amongst the youth (Kim et al., 2016). Thus, tolerance is often positively associated with civic engagement.

Voluntary associations in pluralistic societies also face particular challenges. First, there are competing notions of the public good. Among these divergent philanthropic tendencies, some groups may seek to elevate certain groups' political, social, and economic status at the expense of others. The political philosopher David Sidorsky summarizes these conflicts as expressed in a morally heterogeneous society, "the theory and practice of contemporary philanthropy are necessarily pluralistic, however, and it reflects the range of decisions by individuals with different interests and values in a pluralist, democratic society. The legitimized and recognized

range of philanthropies in modern societies demonstrates divergent and even conflicting perceptions of the common good or the public interest” (1987, p.93). Voluntary associations can work to mediate these differences or exacerbate existing tensions. Second, voluntary associations can reify group identity. For example, one primary driver for charitable giving is the shared ethnic, religious, or cultural identity and emotional connection between a donor and a voluntary association (Hutcheson & Dominguez, 2016; Small & Simonsohn, 2008). Group members of the same race or ethnicity may be impacted by implicit color bias; they may feel more obligated to support in-group members than to out-group members (Baron et al., 2013; Erlandsson et al., 2017; Bhati, 2020; Fong & Luttmer, 2009; Tremblay-Boire & Prakash, 2019).

In some cases, voluntary associations that do not cut across social or racial divides can sometimes work to reinforce negative attitudes towards other groups. These groups can magnify negative attitudes transmitted through these social networks (Kaufman, 2003). For example, before World War II, Nazi Germany had one of the highest levels of voluntary associations, which were used to recruit and propagandize on behalf of Nazism (Berman, 1997). In contemporary society, donor-advised funds (DAFS) have been found as vehicles for sponsoring Islamophobic hate groups (CAIR, 2019).

Among increasing racial and political diversity, tolerance is a focal point. According to census estimates, the United States is becoming increasingly diverse, with no one major ethnic group predicted in the country by 2060 (Vespa et al., 2020). Moreover, the country is becoming increasingly politically divided as well. Greater diversity leads to lower levels of trust, tolerance, and civic engagement as citizens compete politically over resources while “hunkering down” to avoid unwanted interactions (Putnam, 2007). However, research suggests that voluntary associations play a crucial role in these interactions; they promote and help different groups find unified goals that bridge demographic divides (Oliver, 2001; Putnam, 1995).

# METHODS

This report details the findings from a self-administered web survey conducted by SSRS for the Indiana University Lilly Family School of Philanthropy. The more extensive study, of which these findings are a part, surveys the opinions of Muslims and the general population regarding faith customs, donation practices and attitudes, volunteer work, remittances, tolerance, and diversity.

The data was collected by SSRS, a market and survey research firm on behalf of the Lilly Family School of Philanthropy in 2022 between January 25 and February 15, with 2,010 adult respondents (age 18 and over), including 1,024 Muslim and 960 general population respondents.<sup>3</sup> The survey response timeline is presented in Figure 1. SSRS used a non-probability design but employed post-data collection statistical adjustments and survey weights to ensure that the selected sample was representative of the target population. For the Muslim sample, the design effect was 1.46, while for the non-Muslim component, this value was 1.07. Slightly different demographic variables were used for weighting in Muslim and non-Muslim samples. Details of questionnaire design, sample collection, data collection, and weighting procedures can be found in a previously published SSRS report (Pipes & Peugh, 2022).

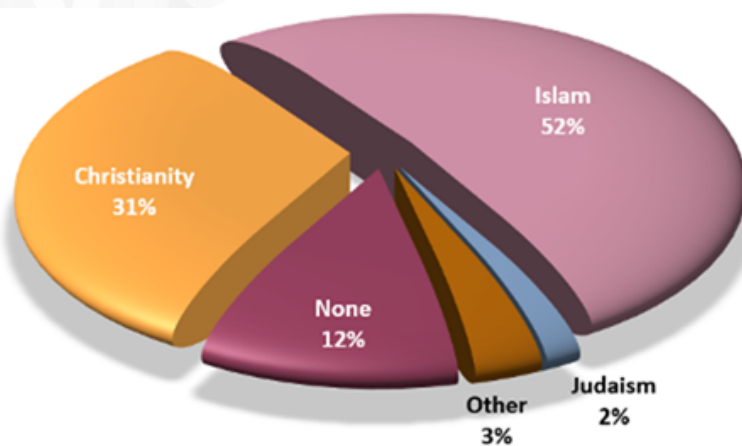
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<sup>3</sup>In order to produce comparable results throughout the study we listwise eliminated cases with missing values and those belonging to categories not included in this table (this includes 'prefer not to answer' responses). Thus, all statistics presented from this point onwards are based on a single uniform sample. Note: this left us with a useable sample size of 866 Muslims representing a 15% attrition in the original sample (original n = 1024). The attrition rate was slightly lower for the non-Muslim sample (10%) with a final sample size of 867 (original n = 960). However, since most this attrition (about two-thirds) was due to missing values on demographic variables, we did not impute missing data. Finally, for some demographic factors categories were combined in order to avoid the issue of small or empty cell sizes. Also note that 26 respondents who did not respond to the Religion question were also dropped from the analysis.

# PARTICIPANTS

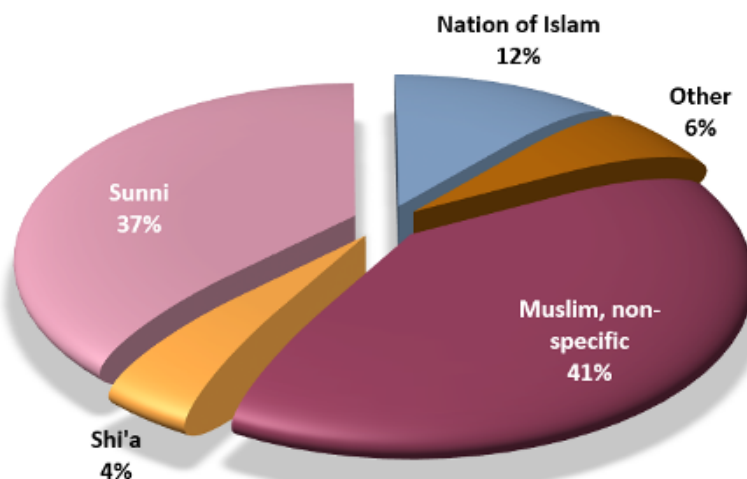
**Religion.** The total sample size was 2,010 consisting of 1,024 Muslims of various denominations and 960 respondents who self-identified as non-Muslims. Twenty-six respondents preferred not to disclose their religion. Since many survey questions were focused on Muslims, this religious group was oversampled in the survey. The distribution of sample respondents by religion is presented in Figure 1.<sup>4</sup> The *Other* category represents Hinduism, Buddhism, and other non-monotheistic beliefs, while the *None* category represents atheistic and agnostic beliefs.

Figure 1. Distribution of religion in the full sample, n = 1,984.



**Religious denomination.** The distribution of religious denominations for the 1,024 Muslims in the sample is presented in Figure 2. The *Other* category in this figure includes other denominations, 'don't know,' and 'prefer not to answer' categories.

Figure 2. Distribution of religious denomination in the Muslim sub-sample, n = 1,024.

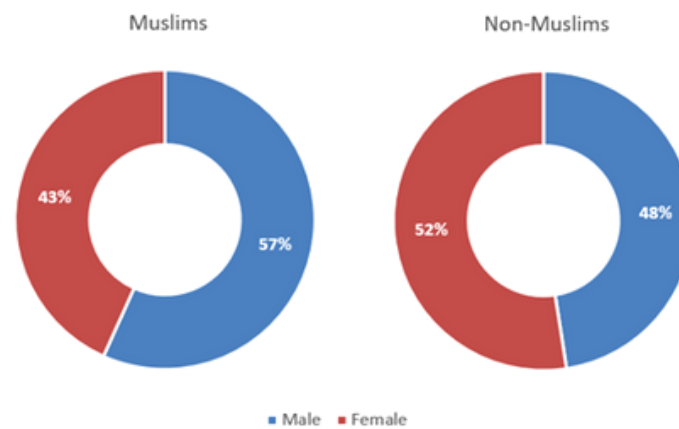


<sup>4</sup>The sampling weights were ignored for the calculation of descriptive statistics. There are several reasons for this choice: (1) The removal of extreme values from the sample means that the sampling weights provided with the data file are no longer applicable, (2) the composition of demographic sub-groups in the weighted and unweighted samples was very similar, and (3) the sampling weights were created by using different sets of demographic variables for Muslim and non-Muslim populations which means that such weights cannot be directly used to compare the two groups.



**Gender.** The distribution of gender for Muslims and non-Muslims is compared in Figure 3. In the overall sample, there were more male respondents (n = 1,033) compared to females (n = 943).

**Figure 3. Distribution of respondents by gender (Muslims, n = 1,019; non-Muslims, n = 957).**

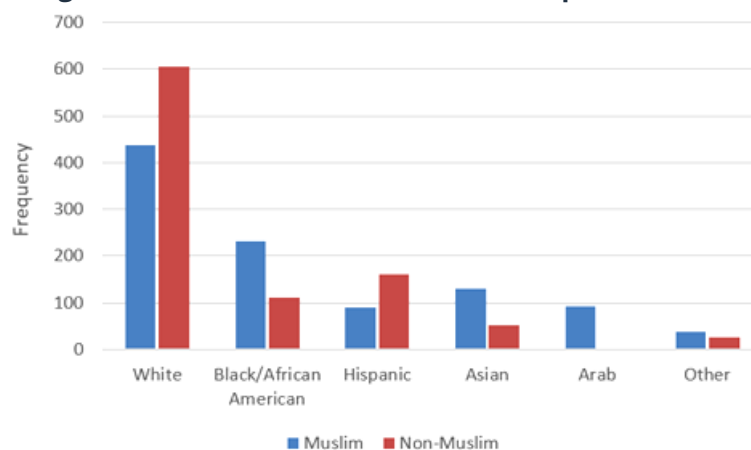


**Age.** Muslim respondents tended to be younger, with the age distribution for this group being positively skewed. About two-thirds of the Muslim sample was under 40 years (65.1%), while the comparable fraction for the non-Muslim sample was about two-fifths (38.7%).

**Education.** There were relatively fewer Muslims in the less than high school category, and there were relatively fewer non-Muslims in the bachelor’s degree category.

**Race.** The number of Muslims exceeded that of non-Muslims in the Black/African American, Asian, and Arab categories, whereas the opposite trend was observed in White and Hispanic groups (Figure 4).<sup>5</sup>

**Figure 4. Distribution of race in the sample, n = 1,972.**



Additional demographic factors included student status, geographic location, country of birth, marital status, sexual orientation, income, political leaning, civic participation, political conservatism, non-profit service, and responsibility for charitable decisions. The categories of these factors are listed in the descriptive statistics table in Appendix 1.

<sup>5</sup>There was significant contamination in the race variables. For example, several respondents who first identified themselves as Hispanic/Latino background or origin later identified themselves as Asian, Arab, White, Black etc. indicating potentially mixed racial/ethnic backgrounds. A simplified version of race was constructed by treating all individuals of Hispanic/Latino background or origin as 'Hispanic.' This resulted in a slight reduction in sample sizes for other races.

# FINDINGS<sup>6</sup>

In addition to the demographic items, survey respondents answered several questions representing distinct scales. These scales include tolerance self-perception, diversity perception, donation motivation, inclusivity, and religiosity.

On average, Muslims perceived themselves to have higher levels of tolerance, donation motivation, diversity perception, inclusivity, and religiosity, than their non-Muslim counterparts. This pattern was found across all five scales, where the mean value (unadjusted for any control variables) was consistently higher for the Muslim sub-group. The same pattern was observed when the non-Muslim category was expanded to allow for sub-groups (Christianity, Judaism, other, and none),  $p < .001$ . The only exception was tolerance, for which adherents of the Jewish faith had a slightly higher (but not statistically significantly different,  $p = .911$ ) mean than Muslims. More specifically, Muslims reported on average (1) significantly higher tolerance and inclusivity as compared to both Christians and the None group; and (2) significantly higher *donation motivation*, *diversity perception*, and *religiosity* as compared to all remaining groups.

*In what follows, we discuss these scales as measures of tolerance and pluralism.*

**Tolerance self-perception.** This scale includes six questions about a respondent's self-perception of tolerance. Respondents share how willing they are to donate to an organization run by a minority of individuals of a different religion or ethnicity.

One survey question is, "Would you donate to an organization that is led by someone of a different ethnicity from your own?" Response categories were (1) Strongly disagree, (2) Moderately disagree, (3) Neither agree nor disagree, (4) Moderately Agree, and (5) Strongly agree. The full scale is summarized in Table 1.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Descriptive statistics for tolerance are presented by levels of categorical demographic factors in Appendix I. The pattern of p values indicates that most of these factors have a significant relationship with tolerance,  $p < .05$ . However, this result should be interpreted with caution for two reasons. First, observed values of test statistics tend to increase with sample size, and second, the p values correspond to unadjusted mean values (i.e. control variables were absent from the analysis).

<sup>7</sup>Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .87 which indicates good reliability. Item means ranged between 3.27 and 3.86 (scale:  $M = 3.66$ ,  $SD = 0.89$ ). Inter-item correlation ranged between .40 and .78 ( $M = .54$ ,  $SD = .11$ ).

**Table 1**

Means and Standard Deviations for Items Comprising the *Tolerance Self-Perception Scale*

Scale and items	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
<i>Tolerance self-perception</i> Using the scale below, please indicate how much you (agree) or (disagree) with the following. Would you donate to an organization that:	3.66	0.89
1. Works on behalf of women’s rights?	3.86	1.07
2. Has women in leadership roles?	3.86	1.05
3. Is led by someone of different ethnicity from your own?	3.86	1.04
4. Primarily works with individuals who are a part of a different ethnic group from your own?	3.79	1.03
5. Supports and/or identifies as LGBTQIA+?	3.30	1.32
6. Is led by individuals belonging to LGBTQIA+?	3.27	1.33

Note:  $n = 1,733$ . Response choices for these items ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Two items in the original scale were negatively worded. These were “Is led by individuals belonging to a different sect of your own faith” and “Works primarily with individuals belonging to a different sect of your own faith.” Preliminary factor analysis results indicated that these two items formed a separate sub-scale. For this reason, both items were dropped from the *tolerance self-perception* scale.

**Diversity perception.** This scale includes five questions about a respondent's beliefs about religious diversity and inclusion. One survey question is, "My religious tradition values diversity in religious belief and/or practice." Response categories were (1) Strongly disagree, (2) Moderately disagree, (3) Neither agree nor disagree, (4) Moderately Agree, and (5) Strongly agree. The full scale is summarized in Table 2.<sup>8</sup>

**Table 2**

Means and Standard Deviations for Items Comprising the Diversity Perception Scale

Scale and items	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
<i>Diversity perception</i> Using the scale below, please indicate how much you (agree) or (disagree) with the following:	3.91	0.94
1. America values diversity in religious belief and/or practice.	3.62	1.16
2. My local community values diversity in religious belief and/or practice.	3.71	1.07
3. My religious tradition values diversity in religious belief and/or practice.	4.19	1.67
4. My local faith community values diversity in religious belief and/or practice.	4.20	1.70
5. My family values diversity in religious belief and/or practice.	3.81	1.11

Note:  $n = 1,733$ . Response choices for these items ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

**Inclusivity.** This scale includes three questions about the importance of racial, religious, and gender inclusivity. One survey question is, "How important are each of the following in your decision to give to an organization? The organization's commitment to racial inclusivity." Response categories were (1) Not at all important, (2) Not very important, (3) Somewhat important, (4) Very important, and (5) Extremely important. The full scale is summarized in Table 3.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .72 which indicates acceptable reliability. Item means ranged between 3.62 and 4.20 (scale:  $M = 3.91$ ,  $SD = 0.94$ ). Inter-item correlation ranged between .19 and .60 ( $M = .37$ ,  $SD = .16$ ).

<sup>9</sup> Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .85 which indicates good reliability. Item means ranged between 3.58 and 3.74 (scale:  $M = 3.63$ ,  $SD = 1.07$ ). Inter-item correlation ranged between .59 and .72 ( $M = .65$ ,  $SD = .06$ ).

**Table 3**

Means and Standard Deviations for Items Comprising the Inclusivity Scale

Scale and items	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
<i>Inclusivity</i> How important are each of the following in your decision to give to an organization?	3.63	1.07
1. The organization's commitment to racial inclusivity.	3.71	1.19
2. The organization's commitment to religious inclusivity.	3.59	1.22
3. The organization's commitment to gender inclusivity.	3.58	1.24

Note:  $n = 1,733$ . Response choices for these items ranged from 1 (not at all important) to 5 (extremely important).

The positive correlation coefficients for Muslim status versus other variables confirm a higher mean value for Muslims on all five scales.

U.S. Muslims and non-Muslims indicate higher tolerance levels with higher religiosity, inclusivity, diversity, and donation motivation. The correlation patterns are overall stronger for U.S. Muslims. These high correlations suggest that Muslims on average are more likely to report higher on all these questions of tolerance than non-Muslims.

Correlations among *Zakat Giving*, *Donation Motivation*, *Tolerance Self-Perception*, *Diversity Perception*, *Inclusivity*, and *Muslim Status*.

Variable	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Full sample, <math>n = 1,733</math></b>					
1. Tolerance of self-perception	-				
2. Donation motivation	.35	-			
3. Diversity perception	.47	.48	-		
4. Inclusivity	.60	.44	.43	-	
5. Religiosity	.18	.53	.33	.32	-
6. Muslim status	.15	.38	.19	.29	.39

Variable	1	2	3	4
<b>Muslim sub-sample, n = 866</b>				
1. Tolerance of self-perception	-			
2. Donation motivation	.38	-		
3. Diversity perception	.52	.50	-	
4. Inclusivity	.56	.40	.48	-
5. Religiosity	.23	.42	.35	.33
<b>Non-Muslim sub-sample, n = 867</b>				
1. Tolerance of self-perception	-			
2. Donation motivation	.26	-		
3. Diversity perception	.40	.39	-	
4. Inclusivity	.61	.35	.35	-
5. Religiosity	.09	.47	.25	.19

Note: All correlations significant,  $p < .001$ . Correlations involving Muslim status are point biserial. All other estimates are Pearson correlations.

Key results from the regression model included the following:<sup>10, 11</sup>

- The effect of political conservatism on tolerance differed significantly between U.S. Muslims and non-Muslims. When asked about political ideology, U.S. Muslims with high and low levels of political conservatism self-report as being the most tolerant. For U.S. Muslims, the relationship between political conservatism and tolerance was somewhat U-shaped, with the most conservative and least conservative groups being the most tolerant, whereas, in the non-Muslim sample, tolerance on average increased with the fall in political conservatism. In this group, the highest mean tolerance was reported by the group that identified itself as *very liberal*. This finding suggests that the least or most politically conservative U.S. Muslims are the most tolerant. For the non-Muslim sample, less conservative individuals are more tolerant.
- Among the scale variables, *donation motivation*, *diversity perception*, and *inclusivity* (but not *religiosity*) were all positively related to *tolerance*. In other words, tolerance tended to increase with increased motivation to donate, perception of diversity, and inclusivity. The largest effects were for *inclusivity* and *diversity perception*.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup>In order to get robust predictions, we estimated a univariate general linear model (GLM) with tolerance as the dependent variable and all demographic and scale variables as independent variables. Given the importance of this survey to the Muslim sub-group, we also included the Muslim status dummy and its two-way interactions with all other predictors. The results (not presented here for brevity but available upon request) suggested that although there were several main effects with small p values ( $p < .05$ ), only one two-way interaction (Muslim status x Political conservatism) was statistically significant ( $p < .001$ ). This model had an R square value of 49.7% (Adjusted R square: 47.1%) indicating that the independent variables jointly explained about one-half of the variation in tolerance. In order to reduce clutter, we estimated a simpler version of this regression model by eliminating all insignificant interaction terms. The R square value for this relatively parsimonious model was 48.3% (Adjusted R square: 47.0%) indicating a negligible loss of fit.

<sup>11</sup>The predictors included in this model explained almost one-half of the variation in tolerance (R square = .48, Adjusted R square = .47). using Cohen's (1992) criteria, this supports that our findings are not only statistically significant but are also practically important (i.e., the effect size is large).

<sup>12</sup>The predictors included in this model explained almost one-half of the variation in tolerance (R square = .48, Adjusted R square = .47). A 1 SD increase in these variables raised tolerance by 0.45 SD and 0.25 SD respectively.

- Several main effects were significant: Among demographic variables, gender, age, race, marital status, sexual orientation, responsibility for charitable decisions, and Muslim status all had a statistically significant effect on tolerance in the GLM model. The following group differences were observed after holding all else constant:<sup>13, 14</sup>

**Race:** Average tolerance reported by White respondents was significantly higher than their Black/African American and Hispanic counterparts.

**Gender:** Male respondents, on average, reported a significantly higher level of tolerance compared to females.

**Marital status:** The only significant difference was observed between Married and Other (this includes separated/divorced/widowed), with the latter group reporting significantly higher mean tolerance.

**Sexual orientation:** On average, significantly higher tolerance was reported by LGBT/Other groups compared to the straight group.

**Responsibility for charitable decisions:** Those who did not give to charity generally reported significantly lower tolerance compared to several other groups. Individuals who said that the responsibility for making charitable decisions varied across individuals in the household tended to report higher tolerance.

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<sup>13</sup>These group comparisons are also summarized in the forest plots reported at the end of this section.

<sup>14</sup>For age and Muslim status, the GLM p values were significant ( $p < .05$ ) but pairwise group comparisons were not. This contradiction can be explained for two reasons. First, post hoc group comparisons were conducted at a lower alpha level using Tukey adjustment, thus making pairwise tests more conservative. Second, the main effect of Muslim status can be misleading because this variable was involved in a statistically significant two-way interaction. Although groups comparisons for both age and Muslim status were statistically not significant, they have still been reported in the forest charts in the spirit of full disclosure.

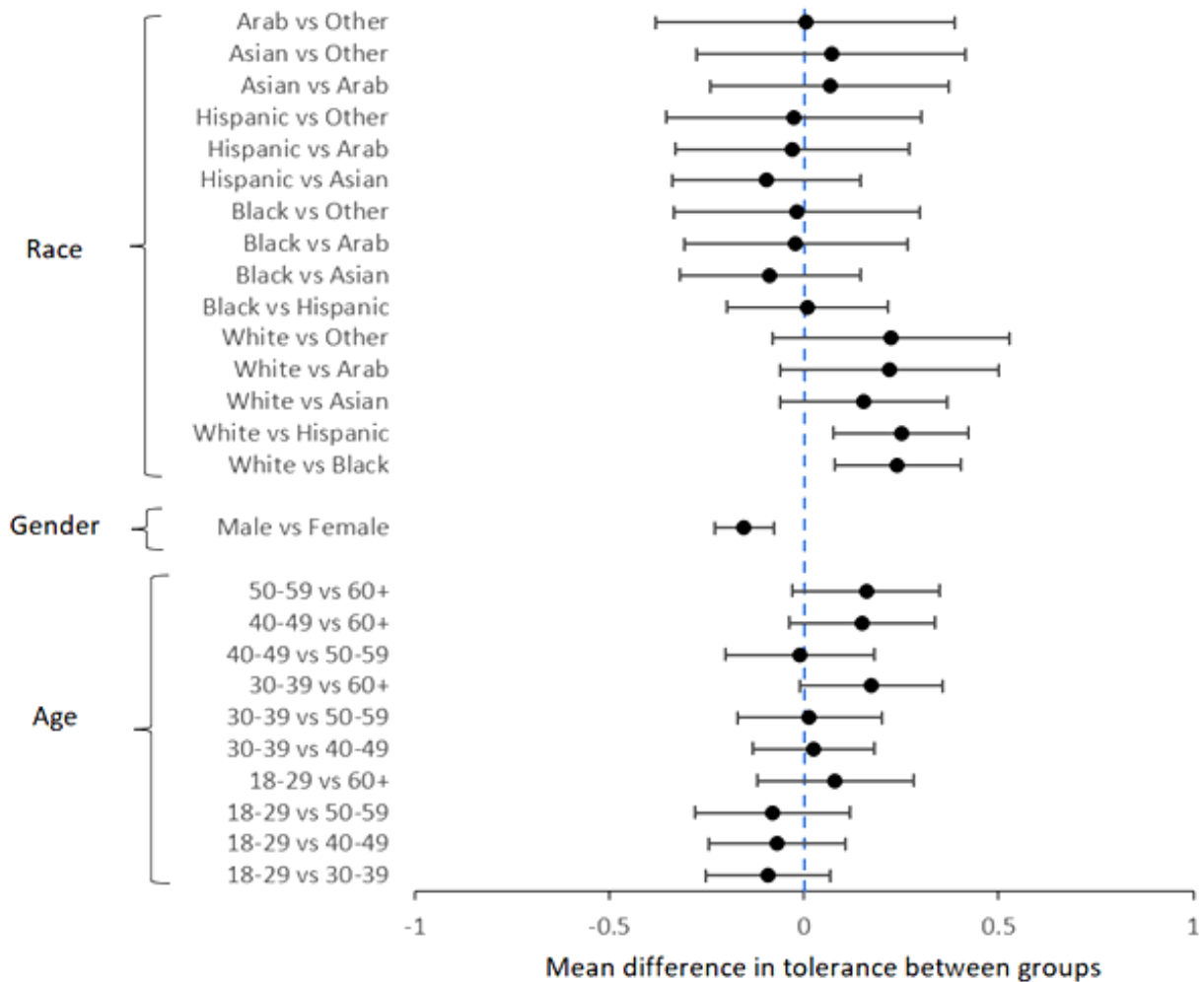


Figure 5. Adjusted marginal means of tolerance from pairwise comparisons for the *race*, *gender*, and *age*. Note: some category labels have been abbreviated. Mean difference between the two compared groups is plotted on the X-axis. Confidence intervals that include 0 imply an insignificant mean difference,  $p > .05$ . Confidence intervals that do not include 0 suggest the mean difference between groups is statistically significant,  $p < .05$ . Mean difference values between 0 and 1 indicate that the first comparison group has a higher mean, while values between 0 and -1 indicate that the second comparison group has a higher mean.



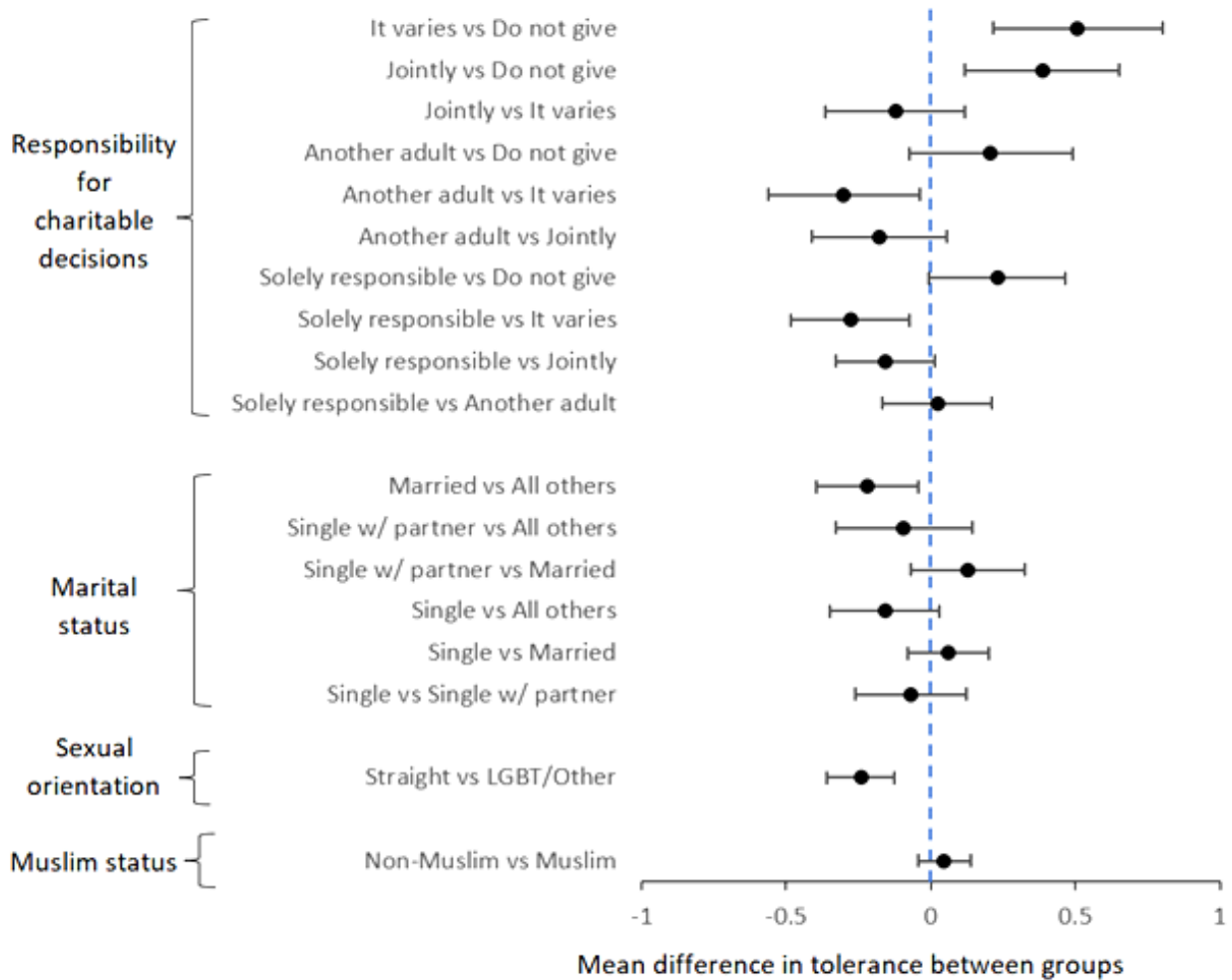


Figure 6. Adjusted marginal means of tolerance from pairwise comparisons for *responsibility for charitable decisions*, *marital status*, *sexual orientation*, and *Muslim status*. Note: some category labels have been abbreviated. Mean difference between the two compared groups is plotted on the X-axis. Confidence intervals that include 0 imply an insignificant mean difference,  $p > .05$ . Confidence intervals that do not include 0 suggest the mean difference between groups is statistically significant,  $p < .05$ . Mean difference values between 0 and 1 indicate that the first comparison group has a higher mean, while values between 0 and -1 indicate that the second comparison group has a higher mean.

# THE MEANING OF PLURALISM

The results of the qualitative analysis of the question “What does pluralism mean to you?” is shown in the following word cloud. Word clouds summarize and analyze text data and provide meaningful interpretations through text size and color. Word clouds provide a graphic and visual representation of text-data relationships. Content analysis was done using NVIVO 10 by text query analysis to produce a word frequency table, cluster analysis, and word cloud. The most used words included: people, pluralism, multiple, different, groups, coexistence, political, and diversity. The more a specific word appears in textual data obtained from open-ended responses, the bigger and bolder it appears in the word cloud. Figure 7 presents the word cloud related to the open-ended question on pluralism.

Figure 7. Frequency Distribution of Top 100 Words Used by Muslim and Non-Muslim Respondents to Describe their Understanding of the term Pluralism.



# CONCLUSION

Although U.S. Muslims are about 1% of the general population, U.S. Muslims are a highly diverse group—African Americans, Asians, Arabs, Latino, and Whites; no one racial group forms a majority. U.S. Muslims are considered a racialized minority and often scrutinized, surveilled, and stigmatized. Understanding these group demographics alongside experiences of external scrutiny helps contextualize the report findings.

Overall, U.S. Muslims report higher levels of tolerance and pluralistic values regarding why, how, and where they give. This finding might be read by understanding various forms of scrutiny. For example, the Institute of Social Policy and Understanding reports that U.S. Muslims have higher levels of Islamophobia than Jewish Americans in their Islamophobia Index (Mogahed and Ikramullah, 2020). Our report suggests that politically conservative U.S. Muslims are more likely to have tolerant views about their philanthropy than the general population. Future research might explore the reasons why these demographics report increased tolerance. Do more conservative or religious Muslims face greater levels of intolerance from the community at large or greater levels of intra-faith Islamophobia? How do these experiences affect their self-perceptions of tolerance?

This report opens critical new directions for future research around pluralism, tolerance, diversity, and philanthropy, especially in minority religious and racial communities in the United States. These findings suggest that nonprofit organizations which demonstrate greater diversity, tolerance, and pluralism via their hiring practices, board appointments, and programming are more likely to gain the support of U.S. Muslims. These findings build upon a recent BBB Wise Giving Alliance study in which Muslims are more likely to believe that diverse, equitable, and inclusive boards and staff positively affect organizations (Castro et al., 2022). However, philanthropists, public institutions, and nonprofit institutions struggle with enduring challenges of religious, racial, and gender discrimination and intolerance. Although some emerging research has indicated that Muslims generally are less likely to stop donating to organizations with certain intolerant practices (Castro et al., 2022), this report suggests that other scenarios might be considered in a more nuanced way and by religiosity, gender, and political affiliation. These findings may find practical application in fundraising amongst new and current donors. Donors in this survey are self-reporting that they are more inclined to give to organizations that embrace diversity, equity, and inclusion in their boards, staff, and programming. Finally, the overall sample—U.S. Muslims and the general population—indicates that the United States values religious diversity less than one's faith tradition, local faith community, and family. These important findings require further exploration by scholars, practitioners, and national policymakers.

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# APPENDIX 1

Descriptive Statistics for Tolerance Self-Perception by Key Demographic Factors<sup>15</sup>

Variable	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Med</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>n</i>
<b>Religious denomination</b>					<.001	0.35
Muslim, non-specific	358	607.7	100.0	1,264.2		
Shi'a	40	418.5	51.5	843.7		
Sunni	323	795.2	200.0	1,262.8		
Nation of Islam	103	545.6	100.0	1,076.6		
Other	42	546.1	95.0	1,074.3		
<b>Gender</b>					<.001	.03
Male	494	850.9	200.0	1,408.0		
Female	372	403.0	100.0	850.7		
<b>Age</b>					<.001	.06
18-29	299	307.1	60.0	731.9		
30-39	264	981.3	250.0	1,507.8		
40-49	192	855.3	200.0	1,384.6		
50-59	69	436.6	100.0	910.0		
60 or more	42	596.5	67.5	896.2		
<b>Student status</b>					.381	~0
No	643	711.9	160.0	1,279.3		
Yes	223	504.7	100.0	1,019.3		
<b>Education</b>					<.001	.06
Less than HS/HS/Technical/Other	264	354.5	100.0	763.1		
Some college (incl. Associate's degree)	226	426.4	80.0	925.8		
Graduated college (4 year/Bachelor's)	253	1,006.0	209.0	1,519.3		
Graduate school or more	123	1,023.1	300.0	1,507.5		
<b>Race</b>					<.001	.08
White	366	968.8	200.0	1,538.5		
Black/African American	204	341.4	78.0	688.2		
Hispanic	79	776.3	200.0	1,271.4		
Asian	106	516.5	125.0	917.0		
Arab	78	256.2	50.0	592.7		
Other	33	303.4	50.0	591.2		
<b>Geographic location</b>					.170	.01
Northeast	223	501.7	100.0	1,049.1		
North Central	196	794.0	200.0	1,390.0		
South	315	638.6	100.0	1,186.5		
West	132	769.8	200.0	1,279.4		

<sup>15</sup> This includes all survey respondents, *n* = 1,733. The *p* values reported in this table are based on unadjusted group mean comparisons (independent samples *t* test/ANOVA). The last column reports eta squared which can be interpreted as follows: Low, .01; Medium, .06; High, .14 (Cohen, 1988). Religious denomination applies to Muslim sub-group only, *n* = 866. ~0 indicates an approximately 0 value.

<b>Variable</b>	<b><i>n</i></b>	<b><i>M</i></b>	<b><i>Med</i></b>	<b><i>SD</i></b>	<b><i>p</i></b>	<b><i>n</i></b>
<b>Country of birth</b> No Yes	177 689	627.1 666.6	100.0 100.0	1,149.8 1,238.6	.624	-0
<b>Marital Status</b> Single, that is never married Single, living with a partner Married Separated/Divorced/Widowed	270 52 488 56	270.5 292.6 956.3 273.8	50.0 88.0 250.0 50.0	648.0 483.3 1,472.0 407.8	<.001	.011
<b>Sexual Orientation</b> Straight LGBT/Other	772 94	671.7 550.0	146.5 100.0	1,235.7 1,087.0	.185	-0
<b>Income, \$</b> Less than 15,000 15,000-24,999 25,000-29,999 30,000-39,999 40,000-49,999 50,000-74,999 75,000-99,999 100,000 or more	74 90 76 78 68 124 106 250	230.3 228.0 220.4 227.9 297.9 708.7 896.4 1,180.1	29.5 50.0 100.0 50.0 100.0 200.0 250.0 400.0	650.8 581.5 325.5 433.5 584.6 1,182.3 1,429.7 1,619.5	<.001	.14
<b>Political Leaning</b> Republican Democrat Independent	157 637 72	549.4 725.9 300.5	100.0 200.0 50.0	1,135.7 1,282.2 623.9	<.001	.02
<b>Civic participation</b> No Yes	115 751	423.5 694.5	100.0 123.0	939.3 1,254.6	.007	.01
<b>Political conservatism</b> Very conservative Somewhat conservative Moderate Somewhat liberal Very liberal	165 70 329 133 169	732.4 658.1 517.2 587.1 917.9	160.0 160.0 100.0 100.0 200.0	1,240.2 1,127.8 1,018.5 1,225.4 1,524.5	.005	.02
<b>Non-profit service</b> No Yes	368 498	419.9 834.9	62.5 200.0	927.0 1,372.8	<.001	.08



Variable	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Med</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>n</i>
<b>Responsibility for charitable decisions</b>					.001	.04
I am solely responsible	638	754.5	200.0	1,309.0		
Another household member responsible	78	418.8	90.0	959.1		
Jointly with other household members	82	528.9	100.0	1,039.2		
Varies	46	240.4	27.5	499.3		
I do not give to charity	22	81.2	50.0	127.4		

This includes all survey respondents,  $n = 1,733$ . The  $p$  values reported in this table are based on unadjusted group mean comparisons (independent samples  $t$  test/ANOVA). The last column reports eta squared which can be interpreted as follows: Low, .01; Medium, .06; High, .14 (Cohen, 1988). Religious denomination applies to the Muslim sub-group only,  $n = 866$ . ~0 indicates an approximately 0 value.



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## Report 2022



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