# MASTER THESIS

## Diaspora Philanthropy, Why Would You?

1 APRIL 2023
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# Preface

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# Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor and co-reader for their guidance and support throughout this thesis process.

Secondly, I would like to thank all the interviewees for their time and enlightening answers.

# Executive summary

Philanthropy has been acknowledged as an important contributor to a society's development. In recent years, diaspora philanthropy has become a more popular topic of research among academics since diaspora communities and their philanthropy advance the economic and cultural life of one's country of residence and origin. Understanding diaspora communities' behavior regarding philanthropy is important to understand their potentials within the philanthropy sector, migration policies, society in general and their own communities.

One diaspora community that is prominent and engaging in diaspora philanthropy is the Chinese diaspora. However, little research has been done on this diaspora group. Moreover, diaspora communities are greatly affected by their host country which in turn can influence their philanthropic behavior. The Chinese diaspora has been moving around for some time, and literature points out to generational differences. Therefore, the following research question tries fill this academic gap and indirectly benefit policy makers:

*"Why do first and second generation Dutch Chinese immigrants\* engage themselves in (cross-border) diasporic philanthropy work in their country of origin and country of residence?"*

The research question is addressed by in-depth and semi-structured interviews and follows the Grounded Theory to code and analyze the data. Eventually, the findings found differences and similarities among first-and second-generation Dutch Chinese immigrants, where first-generation immigrants were more involved in the country of origin. While both generations engaged in philanthropy towards the country of residence, the first-generation appeared to do this in larger scales and higher frequencies. Moreover, second-generation immigrants stayed close to philanthropy towards the parents. Furthermore, identified reasons were culture of origin, social resources, personal resources, sense of belonging, lack of trust and lack of information. However, these differed among the generations.

All in all, this thesis contributes to current literature to understand Chinese diaspora philanthropy and forms the initial comprehension for both the country of origin and residence, and the diaspora community itself in creating policies regarding diaspora philanthropy.

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# 1    Introduction

One indicator for the vitality of a society is its number of volunteers and the amount of time volunteers spent on volunteering (Sundeen et al., 2007). For instance, it was estimated that in 2005 the total dollar value of volunteer time in America amounted to $280 billion. This suggests that volunteers are important assets that contribute great social and economic values to nonprofit organizations (NGOs) and communities in general (Sundeen et al., 2007). However, this research paper looks further than just the concept of volunteering and will focus on the broader concept of philanthropy, which encompasses volunteering as well.

> *"Philanthropy is super important in terms of fueling innovation and ensuring that local organizations have the resources they need to be a voice on behalf of the causes we all care about"* – Kathleen Kelly Janus (McCarthy, 2020).

Philanthropy can range from grandiose acts, like the billions of donations that Bill and Melinda Gates made to fund research into a COVID-19 vaccine, to humble acts such as donating to a local charity (McCarthy, 2020). Just focusing on the economy of the United States, philanthropy accounted each year for about 2% of the total income for the past 40 years (Andreoni, 2015). In 2015, donations from individuals, corporations and foundations summed up to a total of $373.25 billion. 67% of the American citizens were reported to make a charitable gift in 2015 and 25% of the American citizens volunteered in 2014, which amounted to around 8.7 billion hours of their time. Further, in 2015 corporations gave away more than $18.45 billion, while foundations keep expanding with more than 86,000 foundations donating $58.46 billion and holding almost $900 billion in assets. The donations made by these actors are directed to a broad range of causes including education, health and health services, religion, arts and culture, and international assistance, among others (Barman, 2017).

Following the given examples, philanthropy seems to be about the giving of money. However, as McCarthy (2020) argues philanthropy means more than that. It also involves the giving of time, skills, and knowledge in any capacity such as helping at a food bank or tutoring students (McCarthy, 2020).

One form of philanthropy that has gained more attention in recent years is diaspora philanthropy (Ouacha & Meijs, 2021; Daniel et al., 2021). Understanding diaspora philanthropy is crucial to comprehend the potential of international migration in bringing development to the countries of origin, the countries of residence and the migrants themselves, also known as the triple win scenario. Besides, diasporas are an important part of migrant economic and cultural life. To illustrate the essential role that diaspora communities play, some believe that remittances from overseas Filipin communities saved the Philippines from total collapse during the Asian economic crisis in 1997 (Espinosa, 2015). This implies that diaspora involvement in (cross-border) philanthropy cannot be overlooked. Nonetheless, research on diaspora philanthropy is still novel (Espinosa, 2015; Brinkerhoff, 2014). In this context, understanding who are more likely to undertake these kinds of activities, what factors motivate

them, and for what kind of organizations or causes people choose to give, is crucial to the development of the nonprofit sector and society in general (Sundeen et al., 2007).

Congruently, scholars have increasingly realized the importance of differences in the language, history, cultural values, religious beliefs, acculturation, and reasons for migration among immigrant groups and the influence of it on their decisions to participate and contribute to communities (Sundeen et al., 2007). Just focusing on volunteerism, prior research has shown that voluntary activities differ among Americans, Africans, Hispanics, and Whites in the United States. For instance, whites volunteer more at formal organizations than other racial or ethnic groups (Sundeen et al., 2007). Thus, the diversity in background and different experiences impacts diaspora communities' decisions to do philanthropy work (Sundeen et al., 2007; Brinkhoff, 2014).

Therefore, linking the importance of diaspora philanthropy, the current gap in academia, and the importance of understanding the characteristics of doing philanthropy work, this research aims to understand the philanthropic behavior of diaspora communities and their involvement in (cross-border) philanthropy in their country of origin and residence.

However, to avoid over-generalization and gain a deep understanding of the phenomenon in question this study will focus on one diaspora community in one specific host country. In this case the Chinese diaspora is chosen as a target group as they are one of the biggest diaspora communities worldwide (The Economic Times, 2020) and only looking at remittances, Chinese communities are the second largest in sending transnational earnings. Meanwhile, research on this migration group and their involvement in philanthropy work is relatively little (Young & Shih, 2003; Sundeen et al., 2007).

Further, the study seeks to examine the research topic by conducting qualitative research with a focus on semi-structured interviews, and results will be analyzed through coding methods based on grounded theory. However, to perform the semi-structured interviews it is also important to understand the phenomenon prior to the interviews (Kallio et al., 2016). Therefore, a theoretical framework will be formed by examining present research on the current topic of diaspora philanthropy and the Chinese diaspora.

In the following chapters this thesis outlines the study. First, by focusing on current findings a theoretical framework is presented to understand the research topic in more depth. Second, the research question and its sub questions are formulated. Following, the methodology is described, and afterwards the results, conclusion and discussion follow. Lastly, this thesis outlines potential limitations.

# 2    Literature review

The literature review provides a general understanding of the research topic - examining the involvement of Chinese diaspora in philanthropy - by first looking into the migration history of Chinese diaspora, in specific in the context of the Netherlands and its relationship with the country of origin. Following, several important concepts such as philanthropy, diaspora philanthropy and cross-border philanthropy will be explained. For this study objective, the literature review also outlines the importance of generational status and the influence of sense of belonging. The literature review will eventually serve as a theoretical framework and be connected to the interview results in the findings and conclusions.

## 2.1    Chinese diaspora

To research the Chinese diaspora in more depth, it is first important to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the settlement of Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands and its (current) relationship with the country of origin of the concept of diaspora communities.

### 2.1.1    Historical overview: Chinese Immigrants' settlement in the Netherlands

From a historical view, records show that the earliest period when the Chinese came as immigrants, not as travelers or visiting officials, to the Netherlands was around the end of the 19$^{th}$ century. However, it should also be noted that only starting from the 20$^{th}$ century did the Chinese gain recognition as an immigrant group (Li, 1999).

#### 2.1.1.1    First Chinese immigrants (before 1949)

The earliest ethnic Chinese immigrant who came to the Netherlands can be categorized into two groups, one being a re-emigrant group who primary came from Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) and the other being immigrants who came directly from China. Even though both groups shared the same ethnicity, there were large differences between their general motivations to migrate, original background, and their social standing in the Dutch society (Li, 1999).

Most of the re-emigrant group, also known as Peranakan Chinese, were Chinese descendants born in Dutch East Indies, and followed education in Dutch speaking school with a percentage of them immigrating to the Netherlands to follow secondary and tertiary education (1911 till mid-1930s) (Li, 1999). These students usually did not speak Chinese but rather Malay or a regional Indonesian language as mother tongue (Pieke, 2021). After the world economic crisis of the 1930s and around 1935, sensing that a Second World War might break out in Europe, the number of Peranakan Chinese students rapidly decreased, with around 900 students left in the Netherlands between 1911-1940 (Li, 1999).

The first immigrants, coming directly from the country of origin, are believed to be originated from the area around the Wenzhou and Qingtian districts of Zhejiang Province, and Bao'an district of Guangdong province around the end of the 19$^{th}$ century (Li, 1999; Pieke, 2021). Important to understand is that at that time Bao'an, which was a county established by the

central government of the Jin Dynasty in 331 AD and Hong Kong and later fell in the hand of Great Britain in the Nanking Treaty of 1842, still fell under the administrative jurisdiction of Bao'an. With the development of Hong Kong as an international port and flourishing maritime trade, labor opportunities started to rise for both the Dutch and the people from the areas surrounding Bao'an (Li, 1999).

The number of registered Chinese seamen in Amsterdam remained relatively low during the 1898s and 1910s, but things started to change in 1911 when a Dutch seamen strike started, and several hundred Chinese were employed instead. Eventually, many Chinese started to find jobs offshore and settled down in clusters in the Netherlands, first in Rotterdam then Amsterdam. These clusters soon started the first two Chinatowns (Li, 1999).

The other distinct group among early Chinese immigrants originated from the Wenzhou and Qingtian districts located in southern Zhejiang province (Li, 1999). Qingtian people were stimulated by the economic possibilities in Europe and hence most of the initial immigrants were itinerant traders (Li, 1999; Pieke, 2021). The emigration out of Qingitan stimulated neighboring villagers and townsmen, which fell under the jurisdiction of Wencheng or Rui'an county, to emigrate as well, particularly in the early years of the 20th century a spur of emigration happened in these areas. According to an investigation in Yuhu – a little village in Wencheng  - first villager went to Europe in 1905 as he was brought over by an uncle from Qingtian. These kind of immigration stories were common and looking at the years between 1900-1949 most Qingtian people emigrated between 1915 and 1939, with a peak around 1928. The wave of Wencheng immigrants happened between 1918 and 1939, with a striking rise in around 1935 (Li, 1999). The low emigration rate during the end of the 1930s can be explained by the fact that Japan started their war against China and The Second World War broke out in Europe, hence Europe lost their attraction as a place to pursue their dreams. Most migrants from this first period were sojourners, while several thousand remained in Europe with some of them going to the Netherlands (Li, 1999; Pieke, 2021).

Life for Chinese migrants in the Netherlands was not easy during the first half of the 20th century. Most immigrants from Zhejiang were peddlers selling cheap goods, and the seamen from Guangdong had to become peddlers as well due to a declining demand for stokers and the fact that they lacked special skills. Being a peddler was difficult, many-faced discrimination from the host country, the market was restricted, and the relationship between the Zhejiang and Guangdong immigrants was tense due to competition among themselves. The situation became even worse due to the Great depression (Li, 1999). According to Li (1999), shown through interviews, many faced hardships that they did not want to remember anymore, some of them stating that they were treated like "beggars" and "dirty people".

Hence, during the Great depression and The Second World War these small and floating Chinese communities drastically declined in numbers (Pieke, 2021). Some returned home with broken dreams, hundred "economic useless" immigrants were deported by the Rotterdam Police, and the once lively and biggest Chinatown in Europe (Rotterdam) totally disappeared in the 1940s (Li, 1999).

### 2.1.1.2  Emigration from outside mainland China (1950-1975)

Nonetheless, these communities became growth centers for the Chinese in the Netherlands after the war (Pieke, 2021). The end of the Second World War came along with a rebirth of the economy in the Netherlands. Along this the Chinese immigrants found a new way of earning a living: the Chinese catering business. The 1960s and the 1970s were the golden years for Chinese catering business and labor shortage stared to become a problem. Generally, Chinese established migrants would bring over their family and friends 亲朋好友(*Qin Peng Hao You*) from their hometown whenever they needed help, creating a well-known aspect of Chinese chain-migration. However, this was not possible during the golden age of Chinese catering business (Li, 1999). This was mainly due to the 1949 revolution and the Cultural Revolution in the 1966-1969, where mainland China strictly controlled emigration, making it impossible to obtain workers from their hometown in China (Li, 1999; Pieke, 2021). Therefore, they turned to other promising areas outside mainland China. Consequently, Hong Kong Chinese immigrants became the largest immigration group in the Dutch Chinese immigrant community. These immigrants were mainly characterized as migrant workers in pursuit to work in Chinese restaurants (Li, 1999). They also contributed to the rapid growth and spread of the Chinese Indonesian restaurants in the Netherlands (Pieke, 2021). However, it should be noted that some of these immigrants emigrated due to political reasons. Consequently, since the Hong Kong people settled down, their culture started to become the dominant one in the Chinese community. This forced Zhejiang restaurateurs to learn Cantonese as well (Li, 1999).

Moreover, due to the opportunities that the restaurant sector provided a new chain-migration started of Chinese immigrants from Southeast Asia started. These Chinese were primary from Singapore or Malaysia, and most of them were originally from areas near Wenzhou (Li, 1999; Pieke, 2021). Another group that re-emigrated during this time were the Peranakan Chinese. Several Vietnamese political refugees, of which 25 percent were ethnic Chinese and many of them speaking Cantonese, emigrated to the Netherlands as well. Furthermore, during the mid-1970s many Hakka-speaking Suriname-Chinese came the Netherlands (Li, 1999; Pieke, 2021). All these groups remained relatively separated from the already present Chinese, then Hong-Kong dominated Chinese, community (Pieke, 2021).

### 2.1.1.3  Rise in immigration rate from mainland China (after 1976)

Unofficial records show that the biggest spur of Chinese immigration in European history happened between 1984 and 1995. These people, again, came mostly from Wenzhou and Qingtian districts. There are three important factors that moved this latest emigration wave from mainland China (Li, 1999):

1. The social position of overseas Chinese 华侨 (*Huaqiao*) changed from one being "betraying the motherland" to a term that encompassed actual admiration. Between the founding of the PRC (1949) and the end of the Cultural Revolution (1976), the central government praised the patriotic overseas Chinese, but at the same time the socialist revolution associated overseas Chinese with a strong negative connotation. Most of the

overseas Chinese were suspected of betraying one's motherland and were under political scrutiny. Even those with relatives abroad 海外关系(*haiwai guanxi*) or those who openly expressed the desire to go aboard could face great negative consequences. After the Cultural Revolution, with Deng Xiaoping's influence, the social status of Huaqiao and their relatives rose. The government even set up special departments to implement policies taking care of these overseas Chinese. Their social position rose even higher with the opening of China to Western countries and vice versa, and the increasing presence of overseas in foreign investment. Moreover, the fame and wealth associated with *Huaqiao* stimulated other younger Chinese to search for opportunities in developed Western countries after 1976 (Li, 1999).

2. After 1976 the Chinese government alleviated their emigration policies. It became very easy to obtain a passport and these new policies were especially notable in Wenzhou city since family reunion was one way to get a passport (Li, 1999).

3. It became socially accepted to pursuit material well-being in mainland China, together with the desire to become wealthier (relatively), the high expectations and opportunities in Europe, and the already more economic advancement in Wenzhou, led to a rise of Chinese immigrants from these areas (Li, 1999).

The above discussed immigration trend also applied to the Netherlands in the second half of the 1970s, where many Chinese people from the Qingtian and Wenzhou areas came to work in the Chinese Indian restaurants. It is noticeable that even though Qingtian and Wenzhou people share similar dialects and is only 100 kilometers apart, they still formed their own communities. In the 1980s, a substantially new migrant group from around the city of Fuzhou of Fujian province came to the Netherlands. They mostly ended in the Chinese restaurant sector as well. (Pieke, 2021).

### 2.1.1.4   *Immigration from China to the Netherlands around and after 2000s*

After 1994 China changed from a state-socialist country, where people had to work and live in a certain place, to a society of autonomous families and individuals. State-owned enterprises reformed, the household registration system eased, the housing market transitioned from a social housing one to a private housing one, higher education opened for more people and grew. All of these led to the population taking more responsibility for their livelihood and the future of their children. The consequence of these new freedoms and responsibilities were new groups of Chinese immigrants from very different background and regions in China in Europe, including the Netherlands. Regardless, most of them ended in the restaurant sector (Pieke, 2021). Moreover, starting from the 1990s, more Chinese people came to pursue a higher education. This was possible since Chinese people were now allowed to study abroad at their own expense.  The number of Chinese students grew quickly in the Netherlands and more found work in higher education or business. Around this the end of 1990s more Uyghurs emigrated from China as well, with The Netherlands being one of their destinations (Pieke, 2021).

The migration trends after the 1976s led to fundamental cultural, economic, linguistic, and political consequences such as Mandarin becoming the main language in the Chinese diaspora community rather than Cantonese (Pieke, 2021).

### 2.1.1.5   Relationship with the (ancestral) country of origin

Some members of the Chinese diaspora, especially the first generation, still retain a relationship with the country of origin by having relatives, friends, and acquaintances in the country of origin. In the Netherlands there are also multiple Chinese organizations that target different interests and brings together different groups of the Chinese community (Pieke, 2021), hence cultivating the ties to the country of origin as well. To illustrate this, some associations have as primary goals the planning or coordination of events such as lectures, symposia, concerts, birthday celebrations, outings, events, and parties, and to inform or assist their various target audiences. Other organizations focus on faith, doing social work within Chinese community, or Chinese language education (Pieke, 2021). To add on this, language, as mentioned in *2.1.1 Diaspora Communities*, is another way the Chinese diaspora in the Netherlands stays in connection with the country of origin. While most speak the Chinese mother tongue of their parents – Cantonese, Hakka, Wenzhounese, Fuzhounese – some learned or learn Mandarin Chinese in Chinese schools or at a Chinese or Dutch University (Pieke, 2021). Further, the role of Chinese media and social media has increased among the Chinese in the Netherlands, partially leading to Mandarin Chinese becoming the main language among the Chinese community. Such media has a wide range of coverage with some being produced by the Chinese community here and some being Chinese media from China focused on a foreign (Chinese-speaking) audience (Pieke, 2021). The Chinese diaspora also has ties to the country of origin through some starting a business in China, related to China or Chinese people. Moreover, the second and third generations have spent or are spending some time in China or other Asian countries (Pieke, 2021).

Furthermore, some within the Chinese diaspora have political ties with the country of origin, where the Chinese government also plays a significant role. For example, the Chinese government and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) increasingly regard all overseas Chinese basically as one group due to the growing emphasis of the bond with and unity of the global "Chinese nation". The People's Republic of China (PRC) and the CCP are the heart and embodiment of the "Chinese nations," which is thought to include all Chinese people. This anticipated solidarity is used to pursue more material goals, such as to fostering commerce and investment, "talent" and more advanced Western knowledge recruitment. The Chinese diaspora is also important for fortifying ties with one's region of origin and family members. For example, in some regions of origins there is a dependence on family or relatives abroad, others in those regions hope or expect to go overseas themselves. Besides, overseas Chinese are also stimulated to be more committed to China in general. For instance, the National Federation of Chinese Women's Associations in the Netherlands works together with several charity projects and donations with local departments of the Chinese Women's Federation under the responsibility of the United Front. It is also relevant to mention the intangible goals of this anticipated solidarity. Along with presenting the strength and unity of Chinese people,

the Chinese government and CCP also hope to win support for their foreign and sovereignty policies (Pieke, 2021).

Lastly, it is important to note that the way how the Chinese overseas community is treated in the country of residence also impacts their sense of belonging to the (ancestral) country or origin. For example, during the coronavirus crisis, starting in 2020, the Chinese population in the Netherlands faced apparent anti-Chinese expressions and actions. These can be attributed because of a mixture of fear and anger about the spread of COVID-19 from China as well as the growing distrust of the PRC noticeable in the Netherlands. Following, especially second-generation Chinese, rose against this. To some extent because they and their children were mainly affected with it as result of their integration in the Dutch society. For many Chinese immigrants this experience of alienation, the discrimination and mistreatment, strengthened the feeling of being Chinese and the reliance on the Chinese community (Pieke, 2021).

### 2.1.2 Diaspora community

People have been migrating from one country to another and one part of the world to another for a long time (Stuart & Russell, 2011), and migration has especially been a trend in the twenty-first century (Espinosa, 2015). The ongoing migration of people has resulted in the formation of many diaspora communities around the globe (Stuart & Russell, 2011). In 2013 alone, there were 1 billion migrants estimated to be living outside their countries of origin (Espinosa, 2015).

Despite the scale and growth of diaspora communities, there are no clear definitions of what diaspora entails or who belongs to a diaspora community (Espinosa, 2015). However, it is often argued that diaspora is never about one individual, rather it describes the group of immigrants scattered around the world, away from their home country for many years. This includes subsequent generations of immigrants, as well as the descendants of immigrants (Werbner, 2002; Constant & Zimmerman, 2016; Espinosa, 2015). Additionally, literature does not only define immigrant populations as diaspora but rather all kinds of communities that exist across borders (Werbner, 2002). Moreover, the diaspora members should have a shared sense of belonging to an identity which is (partially) formed by existing ties with their ancestral country, ethnicity, or other forms of overlapping identities, and congruently continue to form this identity either actively or dormant (Constant & Zimmerman, 2016). In other words, several manners in which these diaspora communities are for example still tied with their country of origin, and or fellow communities, is through a shared past, present, future, or psychological, material, family, historical, cultural, religious, or language connections (Stuart & Russell, 2011; Constant & Zimmerman, 2016; Werbner, 2002).

### 2.2 Philanthropy: a contested concept

As a concept, there is no specific definition of philanthropy agreed upon by academia (Ouacha & Meijs, 2021). Many scholars from multiple disciplines, such as anthropology, history, law, economics, sociology, psychology, and evolutionary biology, have greatly reflected upon the concept and recognize it as multiple, debatable, and undefined (Barman, 2017). However, to

understand this Master Thesis regarding diaspora philanthropy it is important to understand what philanthropy entails. Hence, to create an understanding a brief overview on the discourse of philanthropy will be presented.

Philanthropy can refer to the actions of those with very large resources available or to the actions of humble individuals who, if united with many others, can achieve many things. In other words, anyone can be a great philanthropist whether they are a rich man, a teacher or health worker. Looking at "scale", this is also a relative term and "good" work can have many dimensions. For instance, must an act help the poor and those who have less to be called philanthropic? Must it progress a certain value, such as a commitment to region or to justice, to be called philanthropic? Must it be popular? Some definitions argue that it is philanthropic to contribute to a particular community, may they be members of a family or an ethnic group. Others, however, contend that it is only philanthropic when it benefits all members of a political entity. There have also been ongoing debates about the motivation and intention of the giver; and if a receiver must accept the "gift" for the philanthropy to be complete; and whether a receiver owes the giver (Hammack, 2010)

Thus, philanthropy is a difficult term that involves voluntarily doing good in a broad sense (Hammack, 2010). The term finds its origins in ancient Greece and for a long time encompassed "the love of mankind" (Cheek et al., 2015; Barman, 2017). It was used to express a great spectrum of human activities that facilitated human advancement (Cheek et al., 2015). However, this broad definition of philanthropy has in recent years changed to the love of humans (giver) for humanity in general, others, and the environment (receiver) (Espinosa, 2015; Cheek et al., 2015). Furthermore, mainly from a Western perspective, scholars have recently been referring to philanthropy as the "private giving of time and valuable resources, such as skills, money and knowledge, to public purposes" (Cheek et al., 2015; Barman, 2017; McCarthy, 2020). Private giving distinguishes philanthropy from others forms of exchange by omitting the coerced nature of participation in the public sector and the contractual exchange in expectation of immediate economic return. So, highlighting the voluntary intent. By emphasizing the public good, this definition focusses on the direction of the gifts towards collective entities like NGOs and voluntary associations instead to family and friends - people to whom one is formally responsible - to improve the quality of life (Barman, 2017; Cheek et al., 2015). Despite this expanded definition, there remains disagreement within scholarship about the meaning of philanthropy (Barman, 2017). Likewise, this thesis does not fully agree with the set definition and stretches the focus on the public good to the general goodwill where immediate family and friends are also included. The reason is that the presence of multiple communities of diverse religious and cultural tradition have given different meanings to philanthropy through history (Hammack, 2010; Cheek et al., 2015), which likely impacts the meaning of the receiver. Consequently, this thesis wants to do justice to these differences, especially since it is focusing on the concepts of diaspora philanthropy and cross-border diaspora philanthropy.

## 2.3    Diaspora philanthropy

As discussed above anyone can participate in philanthropy and diaspora communities are one of those entities.

### 2.3.1  Sense of belonging

Literature has presented that diaspora communities are unique due to their shared sense of belonging. This shared sense of belonging formed by imaginary (ancestral) ties through a shared perception of language, culture, and home – connects them to each other and their country-of-origin (Stuart & Russell, 2011; Constant & Zimmerman, 2016; Werbner, 2002).

As scholars have found – such as Espinosa (2015), Johnson (2007) Flanigan (2018) – diaspora communities involve themselves with philanthropy towards their "home" regions or fellow diaspora community and members due to this shared sense of belonging. Another reason may be due to a greater social pressure or possible feeling of obligation since they are often relatively "better off" than those who were "left behind" (Werbner, 2002). However, Werbner (2002) arguments that these diaspora communities face a challenge to coordinate the tension between their two belongings, one to their so-called country of origin and one to so-called their country of residence. Here the questions arise: do these diaspora members feel a sense of belonging to their country of residence, country of origin, or rather somewhere in between? Does this influence their philanthropic behavior?

Furthermore, diaspora communities can give in many ways whether it may be donating or volunteering (Flanigan, 2017). In most cases, diaspora philanthropy happens through family channels, but it can also happen through intermediaries such as hometown associations, NGOs, diaspora foundations and online platforms (Flanigan, 2017; Flanigan, 2018).

Aside the many means through which diaspora philanthropy can happen, diaspora communities can also give to different entities. This paper aims to examine the engagement of philanthropy in the country of destination, which this study describes as domestic diaspora philanthropy, but only with regards to the fellow diaspora members and not the non-diaspora members. Further, this research investigates the diaspora philanthropic behavior towards the country of origin. Philanthropy activities towards the country of origin is defined as cross-border diaspora philanthropy. Even though diaspora communities can engage with other diaspora communities, with the same (imaginary) country of origin, but outside the home country, this group falls outside the study scope. Therefore, for this study's objective the following paragraphs will present an example of domestic diaspora philanthropy and explain the concept of cross-border philanthropy in particular diaspora philanthropy in the country of origin.

### 2.3.2  Domestic diaspora philanthropy

As previously mentioned, domestic diaspora philanthropy refers to philanthropic activities taken by diaspora communities in their country of residence, in this specific research, towards

their fellow diaspora community. To illustrate this form of diaspora philanthropy and the importance of it the following two examples will be given.

Magadlah and Cnaan (2021) studied the phenomenon of Israeli Muslim Palestinians engagement in cross-border volunteering. Some of the researched Israeli Muslim Palestinians assisted Palestinians living in the Occupied Territories, which is a form of cross-border diaspora philanthropy. Other Israeli Muslim Palestinians intentionally and directly helped people coming from Occupied Territories to Israel (Magadlah & Cnaan, 2021). Since the giving side resided in Israel and the receiving end were fellow Palestinians (diaspora) from another region moving to the place of residence of the givers, this can be seen as domestic diaspora philanthropy towards fellow diaspora. The receivers of the philanthropy included individuals who required legal and courtroom translations, people who needed medical assistance in Israeli hospitals, and those who were allowed to work in Israel. The researchers also found a significant difference of field of volunteering between the two studied groups. While those who were active in Occupied Territories mainly focused on areas involving child welfare and poverty, those who were active in Israel were primary focused on areas regarding medical care and human rights (Magadlah & Cnaan, 2021). This difference found between both studied groups, one that helped the diaspora in the country of origin and one that helped those in the country of residence, is one that directed this Master Thesis to see whether, and why, this will also be the case for the Chinese diaspora community in the Netherlands.

Another example of domestic diaspora philanthropy can be found by looking into the Korean diaspora in the United Kingdoms (UK). New Malden, a suburb in London, is known to supposedly be the largest North Korean community outside the Korean Peninsula in Europe. Aside North-Koreans, other Korean communities have found their residence in New Malden. By 2015, around 20,000 ethnic Koreans were reported to live in New Malden and surrounding areas (Campbell, 2022). As some respondents in the article of Campbell (2022) mentioned there are many escapees who have buried their traumas, resulting in a wide range of social problems. There are several ways the Korean community has tried to help these escapees. For example, most of the North Koreans need help with translation when speaking with health professionals, and several volunteer interpreters, though most of them are South Koreans, are there to provide these kinds of support (Campbell, 2022). Further, Connect: North Korea is an NGO that provide mental health services to the North Korean community (Campbell, 2022), and people can involve themselves by for example donating money (Campbell, 2022; Connect North Korea, n.d.).

Due to the ongoing tensions between North Koreans and South Koreans, several initiatives have also been rising to smooth the relationship between both communities. For instance, one South Korean community activist, founder of the Korean Culture and Art center in New Malden, has been bringing together all Koreans by organizing more than 20 classes and activities, such as Korean drums, calligraphy, and dancing (Campbell, 2022).

The above-mentioned illustrations all illuminate different forms of domestic diaspora philanthropy, which this Master Thesis aims to highlight as well in the research.

### 2.3.3 Cross-border diaspora philanthropy

While diaspora philanthropy can be done locally, it is not constrained by borders (Johnson, 2007), as the previous section already suggested. This form of philanthropy, that has emerged over time, is known cross-border philanthropy (Ouacha & Meijs, 2021; Daniel et al., 2021).

Cross-border philanthropy is also known as international, transnational, or transboundary philanthropy. It is philanthropy that happens across multiple informal and formal methods and occurs between individuals and organizations beyond international borders (Daniel et al, 2021).

Cross-border philanthropy, such as cross-border donations, can serve as a critical resource for entities such as NGOs, particularly when domestic resources are scarce or there is a lack of local philanthropic culture (Daniel et al., 2021). To have a bettering comprehension of cross-border philanthropy, the following figure can be consulted:
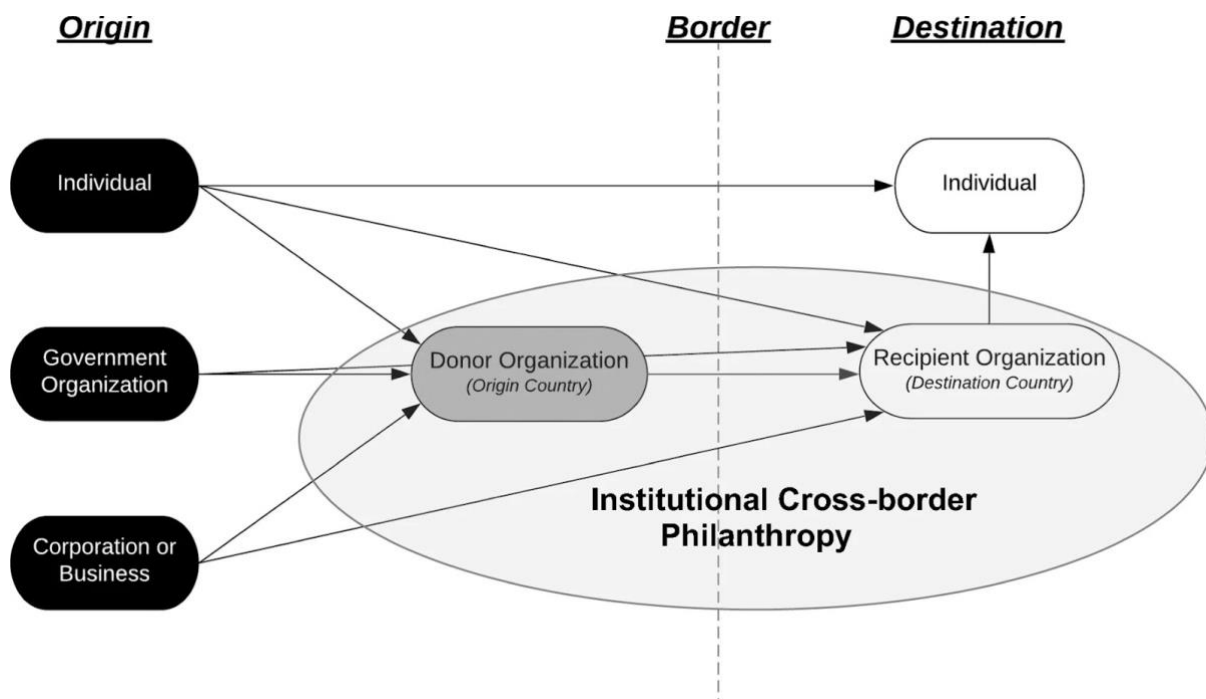


*Figure 1: Visualization cross-border philanthropy (Daniel et al., 2021)*

Cross-border philanthropy can also originate from the contribution of diaspora communities (Daniel et al., 2021). Most diaspora communities still retain connections to their country of origin and give to their countries of origin in multiple different way (Stuart & Russell, 2011). For instance, and probably the most known, is remittances where many families and individuals from various diaspora communities send to their countries of origin, mostly to their families (Flanigan, 2017; Stuart & Russel, 2011). These remittances significantly contribute to a great proportion of the GNP of some developing countries (Stuart & Russell, 2011), and hence have been receiving much attention (Espinosa, 2015). For instance, according to the IMF, the global flow of remittances reached around 330 billion US dollars in 2008, with the majority going to developing countries. These donations demonstrate the significance of the ongoing

relationships, both emotional and practical, between diaspora and their home country (Stuart & Russell, 2011).

Other ways diaspora communities give to their home country includes the offering of time and energy, to pro bono professional advice to institutions in the home country, tangible support in the form of funding for community development and informal volunteer work (Stuart & Russell, 2011). For example, according to Nick Young and June Shih, who wrote for Harvard University's Global Equity Initiative, Chinese diaspora physicians in the United States, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Southeast Asia independently traveled to China to help Chinese doctors by providing pro bono training. A report from the German Agency for Technical Cooperation likewise cited in 2010 that Afghan physicians in Germany and Italy operated clinics in Jalalabad, Mazar-e-Sharif, and the Chewa refugee camp, and that Ethiopian university professors spent summers in their country of origin to teach courses (Terrazas, 2010).

### 2.4 Chinese Diaspora Philanthropy

Based on the findings of Sundeen et al. (2007), Young and Shih (2003) and Shao (1995), who have looked at the philanthropic behavior of the Chinese (American) diaspora, the following conceptual framework regarding the possible determinants of philanthropic behavior among Chinese immigrants is presented. Naturally, this is an initial conceptual framework that this Master Thesis will expand accordingly to the findings with regards to the Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands and their philanthropic patterns.

### 2.4.1 Philanthropy by Chinese immigrants

As mentioned before, remittances are the most common form of diaspora philanthropy. Likewise, the Chinese diaspora has been sending remittances to their country of origin. From 1929 to 1940, remittances to China amounted to around $80 - $100 million a year, enough money to support economies of entire provinces. To illustrate this, by 1900 25% of the population of Taishan, a county in Guangdong province, had lived abroad with most of them in the United States. In the 1920's and 30's 12.5% of all remittances to China were sent to Taishan families. Consequently, from a county that was once not able to feed its citizens it flourished to one filled with two-story homes, new banks, doctors' offices, and clothing shops by the early 20th century. Remittances were not the only form charitable giving. Many overseas Chinese brought home the latest technologies such as electrical streetlights, telephone systems, and a movie theater, and a failed attempt to create a railroad (Young & Shih, 2003).

While most of the philanthropy started at home, overseas Chinese were also contributing to the broader community. Between 1910 and 1949, overseas Taishanese raised so much money that they helped building at least 86 new elementary school and nine middle schools. Funds were raised to build libraries, teacher colleges and to renovate existing school as well. Such counties built by Chinese abroad money – called Qiaoxiang 侨乡– which literally translates as village or town inhabited by relatives of overseas Chinese, can be found all across Guangdong and Fujian (Young & Shih, 2003).

Moreover, governmental entities have been playing a significant role in the collection of philanthropic donations. Nevertheless, active givers can explore other channels, some of the most dedicates ones even establish their own organizations, mobilizing and sending funds through personal connections and networks (Young & Shih, 2003).

The Chinese diaspora has also been acting in times of crises, both beneficial for the Chinese government and its civilians. For instance, after the 2008 earthquake in Sichuan province, abroad Chinese raised funds, and supplies for the region. Similarly, during the corona crisis overseas Chinese gathered to raise money and to send face masks and medical supplies to China (Pieke, 2021).

While it is not so substantial yet, Chinese immigrant have also been donating to NGOs and funds in the country of origin. Moreover, funds that have come from these communities have mainly been passively received than actively sought by the organizations in China. These contributions are also mostly made by the Chinese diaspora residing in Asia than North America or Europe. The situation is similar for universities in China, but in contrast these universities have been more actively seeking for funds. Nevertheless, the involvement of the Chinese diaspora in these sectors is one that is still in its initial phase (Young & Shih, 2003).

Lastly, looking at their voluntary work the Chinese diaspora has often been involved in informal volunteering activities towards their close relations such as neighbors and extended family (Sundeen et al., 2007).

### 2.4.2  Reasons of philanthropic behavior among Chinese immigrants

In general, research has found that personal resources, social resources, cultural resources, and demographics influence the decision to do philanthropy (Sundeen et al., 2007).

#### 2.4.2.1  *Culture of origin*

*"Chinese emigrants never forgot their obligations to the family members and home villages they left behind"* (Young & Shih, 2003).

The culture and norms of a society impact individual behavior. Immigrants have roots in different countries with different traditions, views, religious values, and importance of familial relations. This culture of origin will all affect their view and ways of doing philanthropy in a certain degree. Studies on Chinese philanthropy display that the tradition of sharing wealth, resources and times is deeply rooted by the values and beliefs of Confucianism strengthened by Buddhist and Taoist teachings (Sundeen et al, 2007; Young & Shih, 2003). Where Buddhism teaches the value of compassion and service to others (Sundeen et al., 2007),

Confucianism teaches the concepts of "benevolence" 仁 (*ren*) [1], "filial piety" 孝顺 (*Xiao shun*)[2] and "reciprocity" 互惠 (*hu hui*) (Sundeen et al, 2007; Young & Shih, 2003). This is in accordance with Shao (1995) who noted that all East Asian countries cultures draw upon the teachings of Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism. Consequently, in Chinese culture obligations or responsibilities to close family members, clan members, friends and communities are emphasized a lot (Sundeen et al., 2007).

Consequently, informal, and indigenous kinds of giving and voluntary activities – mainly based on kinship, family, and hometown association – are the most prominent forms of philanthropy in the Chinese (American) community (Sundeen et al., 2007). As Shao (1995) argues, most Asian Americans lean towards causes that help preserving their culture and assist in their survival in a foreign environment, congruently their practices are more focused, ethnic-specific, ritualistic, and institutionalized. Some researchers also observed that philanthropic giving by Chinese Americans may stem from their connection to their hometown areas or regions in China (Sundeen et al., 2007).

So, Chinese philanthropy is built on commonly held beliefs in the value of compassion, essence of relationships with families and communities, and in the reciprocity of gift-giving and relating. Chinese philanthropy is therefore not a separate concept, rather it is part of daily life and done because of the common understanding that benevolence, compassion, interdependence, and basic respect for humans are fundamental and needed to live, first to their families, their own communities, and then moderately extending to institutions supporting the family spirit such as schools, churches, or temples, and society in general (Shao, 1995; Young & Shih, 2003).

Lastly, Sundeen et al. (2007) noted that Christianity plays a role in the philanthropic patterns of Chinese American immigrants. Aside the traditional familial and religious obligations, the practice of norms of giving, service, or volunteering in the country of origin may exert influence on the Chinese immigrant's decision to do philanthropy (Sundeen et al., 2007).

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[1] Benevolence is the core value of Confucianism. It is about loving others, about compassion and dealing with others and the idea of treating others as you want to be treated. So, the values of benevolence are like the values in Christian Charity. It also encompasses the Confucian way of extending love and favors, which are essential to sustain the relations between humans and nature, individuals, and society, oneself, and others, and one and oneself. According to the Confucian way, one should first show benevolence to those close to them and natural extend it to the greater society (Guo & Tao, 2012).

[2] Filial piety is a fundamental foundation of the hierarchal structures in a Chinese family and in turn the Chinese society. The underlying concept is based on the following: parents gave life to children, raised them, feed them, bought clothes for them, have them education etcetera. For all the things that children received from parents, children have an everlasting obligation to them. In sense, children have a "debt" towards their parents, one that can never truly be paid back. The smallest thing that children can do in return is to take care of their parents when they at old age, to make them proud and happy, and be obedient. Therefore, in China love is not and expression in words nor simply a matter of feeling, it is shown through material care. It is not a coincidence that filial piety often concerns food or money (Teon, 2016).

### 2.4.2.2 Personal resources:

*Level of education and income*

Research has indicated that education fosters empathy, improves literacy and social skills for problem solving, heightens problem-awareness and attractiveness to third parties, which all increases the likelihood of showing philanthropic behavior (Sundeen et al., 2007). Nonetheless, Sundeen et al. (2007) did not find a direct relationship between the philanthropic behavior of the Chinese diaspora in general and their level of education.

Level of income is another personal resource that may influence the philanthropic behavior of others. Researchers are divided about the impact of income on philanthropy. To illustrate this, when viewing high income as a reflection of dominant social status and occupational prestige, income is expected to positively impact volunteering, as most research has found. From a rational choice theory stance with volunteering as a cost of opportunity of working, then people with higher income may be less willing to volunteer since their opportunity costs of giving up is higher (Sundeen et al., 2007).

Literature on Chinese American philanthropy has demonstrated that for Chinese to commit significant financial contributions, they must feel a certain degree of financial and occupational stability. In specific this means that they must perceive a high enough income, not only for themselves, but also for their extended family members. So, for them being engaged in charitable giving means giving up on potential income. This argument can be extended to doing volunteer work (Sundeen et al., 2007). Following, Sundeen et al. found that Chinese Americans with higher income were more likely to volunteer. One possible explanation would thus be that they are less constrained by the need to earn money (Sundeen et al., 2007).

### 2.4.2.3 Social resources

In general, social resources play a crucial role in the philanthropic behavior of individuals. Many people rely on others to start volunteering. <u>Their social network</u> like friends, family, neighbors, and colleagues provide information, act as role models, and build up a level of trust that can convince them to volunteer. In addition, establishing social ties through volunteering may be a reason another to volunteer (Sundeen et al., 2007). This logic regarding can be extended to the act of philanthropy.

#### 2.4.2.3.1 Connections: the concept of guanxi 关系

It is apparent that ties of friendship and respect are also all-important in Chinese culture. When discussing personal relations and connections in the Chinese context, one cannot forget to mention the concept of *guanxi* 关系. The concept of personal relations and connections (*guanxi*) has been widely discussed in scholarship regarding China. Many writings discuss that personal relationships and connections can weigh more than formal, institutional, contractual, or legal relationships for Chinese. It is known as a form of social capital that people, consciously or unconsciously, build and draw upon. To illustrate this in a business context, for references made by friends, acquaintances, or family members, particularly when these people bring opportunities – holding leadership positions and inviting one into their circle of wealthy and

influential colleagues – are preferred over formal appeal. In the context of giving to charitable causes, it may be a manner of accumulating guanxi, and one's own guanxi may be used to encourage others to giving.

Furthermore, it should be addressed that many Western critics of China confuse or conflate guanxi with corruption. However, it is crucial to realize that the complexity of guanxi lies in its embeddedness in the obligation and tradition of reciprocal giving. When *guanxis* have been established one is often tied to the obligation of reciprocal giving. Congruently, due to the emphasis and weight giving to the tradition of reciprocal giving one naturally is bound to naturally form a guanxi. Moreover, once these connections have been established then personal trust counts more than anything else. It is therefore also quite common that once a gift is given there is barely, if any, follow-up expected or required, unless the donation was large (Young & Shih, 2003).

To give examples, it is common practice among Chinese immigrants in America to donate to causes chosen by friends, who gave to one's own causes. It is also for this reason that many overseas Chinese perform pro bono work in their country of origin – doctors going back to teach counterparts in China without any supervision of a formal organization (Young & Shih, 2003). Besides, some Chinese overseas organizations that pursue philanthropy actively, create their own projects by using their own personal networks instead of passively contributing through operations managed in China. Some, while not many, more independent citizen-initiated NGOs in China have had the opportunity to make connections with Chinese immigrant donors as well. Chinese government institutions or governmental sponsored agents, who can manage to create personal connection with the Chinese diaspora or are represented by governmental officials through the Office of Overseas Chinese Affairs *Qiaoban* or Returned Overseas Chinese Federation *Qiaolian*, also play a big role in the overseas Chinese philanthropic market (Young & Shih, 2003).

Nonetheless, it should be noted that this personal and informal form of philanthropy can be problematic as well, especially when it involves third parties and money. Not only is there often a lack of reporting and follow-up, as mentioned, but transparency in general is also often not present. In addition, those that have less access to connections or representative will be in a disadvantage.

### 2.4.2.3.2  Size of the community

The size of a community influences one's social network and resource as well. As some researchers have indicated, small communities rather than large ones are more agreeable to volunteering because it is easier to share a sense of belonging which encourages participation (Sundeen et al., 2007).

### 2.4.2.3.3  Education and employment status

As mentioned previously, Chinese immigrants tend to spread their philanthropy slowly to those who embrace the family spirit with a special emphasis on educational causes (Sundeen et al., 2007; Young & Shih, 2003). As Young & Shih (2003) argument, scholarship in general has

been highly regarded in China throughout its entire history, both to the individual and collective. Besides, private giving for educational causes is a means to both support individuals and offer them otherwise unobtainable chances, and to help building the nation. So, philanthropy towards education is met with praise. Furthermore, since family and education are so important some scholars contend that Saturday schools are major causes for Chinese Americans immigrants to volunteer. Especially, those with children were more likely to join Saturday school activities and possibly volunteer. Doing so is another way to expand one's network as well (Sundeen et al., 2007). However, Sundeen et al. (2007) themselves did not find that more Chinese prefer volunteering in their children's educational organizations than social and community service.

Considering employment status, it is not only a personal resource by means of financial status and time available to do philanthropy, but also a social resource since it reflects the social integration, and to some extent one's skills. For instance, some studies have shown that those who work part-time are more likely to participate in volunteering behavior than full-timers or unemployed people (Sundeen et al., 2007).

While the some of the above-mentioned factors are mostly referring to volunteerism their logic can be extended to other forms of philanthropy.

Thus, due to the focus on relationships much of the Chinese giving is personally, private, and informal based (Young & Shih, 2003).

### 2.4.3 Differences among generations

This study further aims to research whether the philanthropic behavior among Dutch Chinese immigrants vary. This since scholars have observed different patterns of philanthropic behavior between different generational groups, including several studies done on Asian-American immigrants (Sundeen et al., 2007; Young & Shih, 2003).

#### 2.4.3.1 *Acculturation strategies*

Acculturation is the process and degree by which a person or group adopts the customs, beliefs, and ways of another culture while still retaining their own. This process is closely linked to the sense of belonging to both the country of origin and residence of different immigrants (Sundeen et al., 2007; Sundeen et al., 2009). Academia have argued that acculturation is a long and fluid process in which individuals travel along two or more cultural dimensions at the same time and where they learn and/or modify certain characteristic of both the new environment and their original environment through the convergence of a variety of individual, cultural, and societal forces (Sundeen et al.,2009).

Depending on the degree in which immigrants find value in maintaining the identity formed by the country of origin and the degree in which they find value to become engaged in the other groups in the country of residence, immigrants can adopt four possible acculturation strategies. First, integration which can be understood as the individual still retaining some level of cultural integrity, while at the same time looking to participate in the larger social networks of their

new culture. Second, assimilation which refers to the immigrant rejecting their original cultural identity and seeking for constant interaction with the other cultures. Further, separation strategy where the immigrants wish to avoid interactions with the other cultures. Lastly, marginalization which points to the rejects of one's own and other cultures (Sundeen et al., 2009).

There are multiple factors that influence the process of acculturation. Considering individual factors, which are most psychological or situational based, influencing factors are immigration experience, age, gender, education, migration motivation, cultural distance, personality, and forms of capital. Length of stay in the host country, birthplace, age of entering the country, attendance at school, and the degree in which one's family is already part of the new culture are very important as well. When looking at the group- or cultural level context plays an important role, such as the society or origin, society of residence and the changed that happened due to the interaction between the two. Social networks and opportunities also affect the acculturation process. Moreover, institutional mechanisms like the presence or absence of ethnic discrimination impact acculturation (Sundeen et al., 2009).

### 2.4.3.2    *In the context of the Chinese diaspora*
Research indicates that first generation Chinese Americans show distinct interests and patterns of volunteering from the later generations (Sundeen et al, 2007). Looking at the first generation they often prefer schools, hospitals, mutual aid associations and religious related organizations as recipients. This reflects the care towards later generations, a collective sense of responsibility, the previously mentioned high regard to education, and the obligation to the elderly in the Chinese culture. On the other hand, second generation Chinese Americans were more likely to volunteer to formal organizations (Sundeen et al., 2007). Researchers have also presented that older Chinese Americans in the San Francisco Bay area were willing to give both time and money, while the younger group were more inclined to give time than money, such as in organizing fundraising and administering youth programs. One possible explanation could be difference in wealth (Sundeen et al., 2007).

Furthermore, data shows that donations to China are mostly given by first generation immigrants. This is probably since their children, born and educated abroad, certainly have different relations to their ancestral home (Young & Shih, 2003). Young and Shih (2003) argue that this is particular the case for those who were raised in North America and Europe as these societies are becoming more heterogenous which allows for more acculturation. One influencing factor is the changing role of the family as a global institution. As discussed, Chinese philanthropy in the first place is strongly related to kinship ties and obligations. However, in most societies and in particular the wealthier ones show signs of a weakening of the extended family. Therefore, migration can make relatives both literally and figuratively more distant from each other. For instance, international migrant labors of the 19th and 20th century may have strengthened their family connections and loyalties in some ways due to hostility and discrimination encountered in the host communities. This situation may be very distinct for current American born Chinese (Young & Shih, 2003). The recent anti-Chinese expressions and actions against the Chinese population in the Netherlands during the corona crisis also illustrates how discrimination and mistreatment led to many Chinese people to feel

a reinforcement of being Chinese. Consequently, second-generation Chinese especially, came up against this, to some extent because they and their children were mostly directedly confronted by it due to their integration in the Dutch society (Pieke, 2021).

To sum up, according to the concept of acculturation different generations of immigrants have different senses of belonging to their host and home countries, they should also generally think and act differently (Sundeen et al., 2007; Sundeen et al., 2009) which in turn influences their philanthropic behavior. Consequently, this study will include generational status in the research question.

# 3 Research question

## 3.1 Research objective

The literature shows that diaspora philanthropy has been gaining more attention from academia. The relevance of diaspora philanthropy for the country of origin, country of residence, and the diaspora themselves have also become more apparent. As the literature has shown, research on Chinese (immigrant) philanthropy is still relatively novel, with most of the research also focusing on Chinese American immigrants. However, the Chinese diaspora is widespread with considerable diaspora groups in Europe. In addition, the Chinese immigrants have settled down in the Netherlands for a considerable time, they also played and still play a role in the shaping of the (migration environment in the) Netherlands. Nonetheless, not much is known about their involvement in philanthropy both in the Netherlands as well as their country of origin. What do they do? Why do they do it? Is there a difference within the diaspora community – literature implies that generational status of immigrants also plays an influencing factor due to for example differences sense of belonging and acculturation? Is there a difference in their behavior towards their own community?   To address the gap in current literature this Master Thesis aims to research and answer the following research question:

## 3.2 Research question

> *"Why do first and second generation Dutch Chinese immigrants\* engage themselves in (cross-border) diasporic philanthropy work in their country of origin and country of residence?"*

\* This study sees the Chinese diaspora community as a group of immigrants or people with ancestral roots in the People's Republic of China and share a sense of belonging to the same ethnic identity and continuously evolve and or act on that identity (active or dormant).

For the objective of this research, this study also examines the following sub questions:

*SQ1: How do first and second generation Dutch Chinese immigrants display philanthropy work?*
This question partially addresses for what kind of organizations or towards what causes and through what means Dutch Chinese immigrants do philanthropic work. For example, is it formal organizations or informal organizations, are they using their diaspora connections such as hometown associations, families, or online platforms? Further, this question tries to understand through what methods Dutch Chinese immigrants do philanthropy such as remittances or pro bono activity. It also investigates when and in what situation they will engage themselves with philanthropy. The last component is the comparison of first and second generation and differences between the behavior in the home and host country.

*SQ2:* What is the amount of involvement of philanthropy work?
To understand the diasporic philanthropic behavior of Dutch Chinese immigrants it is also important to comprehend to what extent they are willing to engage themselves in philanthropy

and why so. How much money, time or effort are they willing to give? Likewise, this sub question considers the difference between the first- and second-generation diaspora and the intended receivers of the philanthropy.

## 3.3    Research relevance

By answering the research question, this Master Thesis aims to create and provide an understanding of the philanthropic behavior of different generations of Dutch Chinese immigrants, and particularly grasping the different drivers behind their behavior. These findings will help to further the understanding of diaspora philanthropy and hence adds to existing literature and bridges a gap in the still novel academia of diaspora philanthropy.

Aside the academic relevance this study is also important from a managerial perspective. This study will help volunteer managers and organizations, NGOs, social enterprises, governments, and policy makers to understand the diaspora philanthropy engagement of the Chinese diaspora both in their host and home country. These insights in turn can help these entities to better comprehend how to involve and mobilize this migration group in their interest or the society in general. For instance, understanding the motivation behind diaspora philanthropy provides NGOs or volunteer organization with knowledge to improve their recruitment or retainment policies. Further, since diaspora communities are involved in their country of origin it may also provide a better apprehension to governments what role the country of origin means for them and vice versa.

# 4 Empirical Design

An appropriate research methodology is crucial to conduct research successfully and to answer the research question and sub-questions adequately. Following, valid and reliable research results can be produced. Therefore, this chapter will elaborate on the method approach, design, strategy, data collection, data analysis, and the research quality.

## 4.1 Research approach,

To choose the right research method, it is first crucial to look at the topic and research question of this study. This research examines the involvement (*what, why, how*) of the Chinese diaspora community in the Netherlands with philanthropy in the country of origin and the country of residence. As mentioned before, research on (cross-border) diaspora philanthropy, especially about the specific migrant group and country of residence, is relatively novel. Due to the explorative nature of the defined research a qualitative research approach is chosen instead of quantitative research.

Qualitative research has multiple advantages over quantitative research when it comes to research questions such as the one defined in this master thesis. Qualitative research is meant to research a phenomenon (Hammarberg et al. 2016) and lends perfectly for research where little is known about the research topic (de Boer & Smaling, 2011). Meanwhile, quantitative research mostly needs to build on extensive previous knowledge, hence lacking the explorative power that qualitative research has (de Boer & Smaling, 2011).

Another reason for selecting a qualitative approach is that this study wants to stay close to gathered data when forming the theoretical framework later (de Boer & Smaling, 2011). This is possible to realize with qualitative research (Soiferman, 2010; de Boer & Smaling, 2011) since qualitative research starts with specific observations and measures to eventually move to detecting themes and patterns in the collected data. This inductive reasoning allows for the observations or results to become the building stones for general conclusions and theories (Soiferman, 2010).

Qualitative research also enables the researcher to understand differences in an insightful way, since qualitative research goal is to explore in depth and find stories and nuances regarding people's behaviors, opinions, perceptions, and experiences (Mulisa, 2022; de Boer & Smaling, 2011). This means that it is also possible to gain a deep understanding of complex situations where multiple factors are likely involved. In other words, qualitative research is perfectly suitable for how and why questions (Mulisa, 2022) such as the one in this thesis.

Finally, as de Boer and Smaling (2011) mentioned qualitative research is, in comparison to quantitative research, useful when language plays an important role. Language, after all, plays a crucial role in which people create and perceive the world (de Boer & Smaling, 2011). Since this research analyzes the Chinese community, one with different and multiple languages, qualitative research offers a more suitable approach.

## 4.2 Research design

Throughout the years qualitative research has diverged itself in several different research designs and methods. Three traditional research philosophies that still hold foot in current science are positivism, (critical) realism and interpretivism (de Boer & Smaling, 2011). These philosophies are also one of the major ones in business and management (Saunders, 2009). In recent years several new research philosophies have emerged such as postmodernism and constructivism. However, these philosophies can still be categorized within interpretivism (de Boer & Smaling, 2011).

Positivism in essence relies on the notion that reliable results can only be obtained by factual and unambiguous knowledge gained by observation which can be measured and quantified. Congruently, the data and facts should not be influenced by human bias or interpretation including those of the researcher. Researchers should try to remain neutral and disassociate themselves from their data to avoid influencing their findings. Hence, the researchers' role is limited to collecting data and analyzing it through objective methods. Thereafter, results can be used to produce law-like generalizations which in turn can be used to explain, understand, and predict behavior and events in organizations. Moreover, from a positivist viewpoint researchers may use existing theory to further develop hypotheses that can be tested to confirm, expand, or refute existing research (Saunders, 2009).

According to the critical realism philosophy reality is something that is not directly accessible through observations or our knowledge from it. It is something that underlies what we experience and feel. It is the entity that gives meaning to reality. In other words what we experience is a sensation and reflects that which is real. Critical realists also emphasize on the unobservable events and sensations, suggesting that our observations are only a small part of everything that could have been seen. To understand the possible actual reality behind something reasoning back is an important step for critical realists (Saunders, 2009).

Since this research is conducting qualitative research with interviews, it means this thesis is not following a positivist research philosophy nor a critical realism philosophy. After all, interviews require the researcher to frame the questions and interpret the answers for each respondent, this also means that a researcher must make one's judgment on what question to ask to gather as rich as possible data which is not in line with a positive standpoint (Saunders, 2009). Congruently, following critical realism this research should look for the bigger picture, try to identify and look for underlying causes, constructs, and mechanisms to explain observable organizational events (Saunders, 2009). However, this study focuses on one specific group, suggesting a focus on the smaller fraction of the bigger actual reality.

This partially led to the choice of an interpretivism research philosophy for this study. Moreover, when comparing the three major research philosophies, positivism, (critical) realism, and interpretivism, the latter one is the most closely related to the research methodology qualitative research (de Boer & Smaling, 2011). This is because both are focused on the unique meanings that people create and give to the world (de Boer & Smaling, 2011; Saunders, 2009).

Interpretivism argues that humans and their social realities are different depending on multiple factors such as their cultural background, circumstances, and times of existence. Therefore, this philosophy believes that universal "laws" negate the rich differences between humans if complexities are reduced to simple generalizations. In other words, the interpretivist research aims to create new and richer understandings and interpretations of social realities and context from others by looking from different perspectives and dive into the thoughts of the research participants and understand their reasoning. However, this also implies that an interpretivist researcher should recognize their own interpretations of the gained data and acknowledge the influence of their own values and beliefs (Saunder, 2009).[3]

## 4.3    Research strategy

Having chosen the research methodology of qualitative research a research strategy needs to be chosen, and within qualitative research there are several strategies. Ranging from ethnography, phenomenology, grounded theory, and case study (Creswell & Poth, 2017). This thesis is going to follow the strategies of grounded theory and case study.

### Grounded Theory

This study will use elements of grounded theory to collect and analyze the data. This is because grounded theory (GT) is a method that concerns the generation of new theory based on data that is systematically collected and examined. It is also used to explore social relationships and behaviors of groups (Noble & Mitchell, 2016). Since this thesis will aim to thoroughly analyze the philanthropic behavior of the Chinese diaspora community and their motivators to gain new insights, aside from the knowledge known from literature, this seems to be a fitting method.

Kenny and Fourie (2015) argue that grounded theory is an innovative research methodology composed of three important traditions: Classic, Straussian, and Constructivist GT. Even though these traditions have several methodological techniques in common, they have developed themselves into distinct methodologies. To select the most appropriate research strategy this thesis will compare the three strategies as outlined by Kenny and Fourie (2015).

### Similarities between the GTs

Before looking at the differences, the similarities embedded in all the three strategies will be discussed. First, *theoretical sampling* is inherently present in the Classic, Straussian and Constructivist GT. This means that all the three strategies argue that a research sample cannot be previously settled upon. They contend that during the process of analyzing data, several gaps will be revealed, and it becomes apparent that more data is needed. Unexpected concepts may arise as well, causing a need to change in the direction of the study and further data-collection. In other words, a research sample cannot be predetermined as it will be guided by new discoveries throughout the research process. This theoretical sampling continues until the analysis has been exhausted and no new data is appearing, also known as the point of *saturation*. Furthermore, the data analysis of the GT approaches is essentially underlined by a method of

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[3] Paragraph 4.6 about insider position will discuss this further.

*constant comparison*. While data is constantly and simultaneously being collected, coded, analyzed, and categorized, three levels of constant comparison are present: codes are compared with one another, then later with unfolding categories, afterwards categories are compared with each other, and lastly the emerging theory is contrasted with existing research. This allows for the development of a theory that is convincing, consistent, and tightly linked with the data. In addition, *memo writing* is another important precept of the GT approaches. Memos of reflections, thoughts and assumptions are used to reflect the data and support the creation of ideas, codes, and concepts. Lastly, the distinction between substantive and formal theory by the three derivatives signifies a crucial feature of GT. Substantive theory refers to a theory generated for a specific field and forms a basis of a formal theory which has wider applicability being the more all-inclusive theory. GT suggests a clear distinction of both theories and that a researcher should only focus on creating one of both during a study (Kenny & Fourie, 2015).

*Differences between the GTs*

Aside from the above-mentioned converging point between the three GTs, Kenny and Fourie (2015) profess that the three differ on three aspects which are coding procedure, philosophical position, and the use of literature. These differences are on turn crucial indicators whether to select which is the most suitable for this research.

*Coding procedure*

When focusing on the coding conventions the original GT was meant to find an emergent theory. The Classic GT continues and improves this original GT through systematic analysis of data and relies a lot on the idea of the natural occurrence of a theory from the data and content. The Straussian GT was designed to generate a theory that truly understands the data instead of discovering one. To do so, the coding scheme used by Straussian GT is more rigorous and robust. The coding procedure of a Constructivist GT does not try to establish a theory apprehending the data but tries to construct a conceptual explanation of the phenomenon. Hence, compared to Straussian GT, the Constructivist GT is more interpretative, intuitive, and expressive. Therefore, having a more flexible coding guideline than the other GTs. The weight lies on in-depth, intensive interviewing to intentionally discover the meaning that participants contribute to their experiences. Following, the researcher draws a conclusion based on their own understanding as well. The Classic GT disagrees with the involvement of the researcher and sees it as a disturbance of the true reality as stated by the participants (Kenny & Fourie, 2015).

*Research philosophy*

The divergence between the three GTs coding procedures is partially caused by their respective research philosophies. There are many opinions within academia about the paradigm to which Classic GT is most compatible with. Glaser himself refuted the connection with any paradigm, while his student Charmaz argued its tightness with traditional positivism. Even Strauss, the other original co-founder of GT, acknowledged the positivist nuances of Classical GT. Glaser never agreed upon the relation with positivism, but never refuted it as well. Others, however, find the GT more related to post-positivism with a hint of critical realism. However, Glaser himself is against this association. The Straussian GT, due to its influence from symbolic

interactionism (critical realism), is also linked to post-positivism. Diverging from traditional positivism, since humans are acknowledged to react and interact with a given event due to how they perceive it and not how it is objectively shown to them. The Constructivist GT is determined by the idea of the existence of many social realities; the co-creation of knowledge and interpretation of meaning by the researcher and participant; the deviation from positivism by being more flexible, intuitive and open-endedness, all suggesting a post-modernism stance (Kenny & Fourie, 2015).

*Usage of literature*
Due to the different philosophical framework, the GTs also have different corresponding stances on the usage of literature. Following positivism, the Classic GT insists that any previous knowledge gained from literature or experience should be disregarded. Consequently, literature review should only be performed after the end of a study. According to the Classic GT only then it is guaranteed that the one's study will not be affected by existing research, since the research process will be entered with an open mind. On the contrary, the Straussian GT appeals for appropriate and continuous use of previous experience and exposure of the research topic, as well as literature knowledge, during the research, with the exception that it should not happen before the data collection to avoid being blinded by prior literature and missing important new information. They argue that a prior and on-going comparison with existing research helps with revealing gaps in the academia; using it as a secondary data and to inspire questions and supporting theoretical sampling. This aligns with the post-positivist and critical-realist philosophy underlying the Straussian GT, which accepts the unavoidable influence of the researcher but strives for the most accurate portrayal of reality. The Constructivist GT, built on the Straussian thought of literature usage, but in contrast does recommend the conduct of a (general) literature review prior to the data collection and writing a specific one after the data analysis. This is in line with the constructivist philosophy, which proclaims that the situation in which the researcher is working influences and informs the research (Kenny & Fourie, 2015).

Deliberating the three different GT approaches, the Constructivist GT is deemed as the most suitable one for this thesis. First, the flexible, intuitive, and expensive coding scheme is preferred, with a focus on both the role of the participants and researcher (Kenny & Fourie, 2015). Like this GT proposes, researchers are inherently part of the social reality we study, and the data collected. In contrast with the Classic GT, they cannot be ignored, but this study does agree that one should not intrude their own views in the data. Further, the close relation to a postmodernist viewpoint, which can be categorized under interpretivism, is in line with the previously mentioned interpretivism stance of this thesis (de Boer & Smaling, 2011; Kenny & Fourie, 2015). Moreover, like the Straussian and Constructivist GT, this study believes in the value of the usage of previous knowledge obtained by prior experience or existing literature. Going further than the Straussian GT, this thesis chose to include a comprehensive literature review. Following the belief of the Constructivist GT that including it makes it easier for the researcher to engage in the conversation of the relevant academic field, that it strengthens the researcher's authority and ensuing argument, and that it can justify and explain the researcher's justification in the following chapters (Kenny & Fourie, 2015).

*Case study*

To find an answer for the research question, this thesis will combine the GT with a multiple case study approach. In case study studies, individual cases are usually selected to illustrate the problem, and researchers compile a detailed description of the case framework (Crewell, 2018). The case study approach is especially useful when the problem, event, or phenomenon of interest needs to be understood in detail in its natural, real-world context (Crowe et al., 2011), which in this research refers to the involvement of Dutch Chinese immigrants with diaspora philanthropy. The two specific cases that are prominent are the first-generation Dutch Chinese immigrants and the second-generation Dutch Chinese immigrants.

The academic world, however, has not agreed upon one design and implementation of the case study approach (Yazan, 2015). Therefore, three foundational approaches will be analyzed by using the paper of Yazan (2015) who compared the three approaches, to determine the most appropriate one for this master research.

The first approach was formed by Robert K. Yin. However, he holds a positivist epistemology (Yazan, 2015), and as previously stated this study deviates from this research philosophy. Consequently, Yin's case study approach will be omitted for the comparative analysis. The other two approaches were founded by Robert Stake and Sharan Merriam. Both lean towards interpretivism, while Stake adapts constructivism and existentialism, and Merriam constructivism.

Looking at the definitions of a case, Stake proposes that a case is a specific integrated system or functioning thing that is complex by nature and has boundaries and working parts. He also argues that due to his definition, his method is more suitable to study programs and people and less so to research events and processes. Merriam defines a case as either a phenomenon, thing, entity, or unit, and argues that there should be boundaries as well. Within the meaning of a thing or entity people can think of a person, program, group, policy etcetera. Hence, Merriam's definition portrays one that is broader, including a wider possibility of cases (Yazan, 2015). Based on the definition of a case, both approaches still seem to be applicable.

When we zoom in on the case study design, Stake's approach seems very vague for a novice researcher, due to its flexibility and less detailed and concrete guidance. On the other hand, while there is still room for flexibility, Merriam provides a more extensive and understandable guidance for data design procedures. She discusses performing a literature review, creating a theoretical framework, designing, and fine-tuning research questions, and selecting the sample (purposive sampling). Stake in contrast, for example, does not settle on an exact point to start data collection or discusses any sampling strategies. Stake argues that this is the beauty of qualitative research (Yazan, 2015). Since this thesis prefers a more concrete guidance, plans to perform a literature that forms a framework for the analysis (and following the Constructivist GT by extending it afterwards), and wants to combine purposive sampling with theoretical sampling, this thesis leans towards the case study approach of Merriam.

Continuing with the case study approach of Merriam the following implications are true for the case study design in this thesis (Yazan, 2015):

1. Data can only be gathered through the usage of qualitative data sources.
2. Three data collection techniques are proposed: interviewing, observing, and screening documents.
3. Data analysis is about the process of making meaning. Here it entails condensing, reducing, and interpreting what the participants have said as well as what the researcher has seen and read.

## 4.4    Data Collection

The qualitative research in this thesis was conducted through semi-structured interviews with the average first and second generation [4] Dutch Chinese immigrants. In addition to the interviews this study also performed an analysis of existing literature on the Chinese diaspora, and the (cross-border) volunteer behavior of the Chinese diaspora. In this way the collected data and existing data could complement each other.

*Sampling*

Regarding the sampling technique, like most GT based research and case study approaches, this research used a non-probability sampling approach, namely purposive sampling, and theoretical sampling, to gather the respondents (Etikan et al., 2016; Heath & Cowley, 2004; Yazan, 2015; Kenny & Fourie, 2015). A purposive sampling method was chosen because this study needed participants with several characteristics such as being a first- or second-generation immigrant and having ancestral roots in the defined country of origin. A purposive sampling allows for this form of selectively choosing participants (Etikan et al., 2016). In addition, the use of theoretical sampling enabled the iterative process of finding and detecting whether different or more respondents had to be found, to refine the emerging theory (Kenny & Fourie, 2015; Sbaraini, 2011). Furthermore, a snowball technique was used to find participants for each group (first- and second-generation). This technique was used since the Chinese diaspora is still a closed community, especially the first generation, making it easier to reach participants using connections and referrals.

Following the GT that suggests 20 to 60 interviews (Creswell & Poth, 2017), this study initially aimed to find 10 respondents for both cases. The first respondents were contacted through the researcher's own network. In the first initial phase it became apparent that most respondents were from the same regional area in the country of origin. Some participants, however, stated that they perceived differences between regional areas regarding their behavior and way of thinking. Hence, this study decided to look for other participants representing other places of the country of origin. Moreover, while looking for participants this study tried to find respondents from different genders, ages, and their time of immigration. However, while looking for participants it became very clear that the first-generation Dutch Chinese immigrants

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[4] To define the different generations among immigrants this research references to the article of Nowrasteh and Wilson (2017). See Appendix 1.

(those who were asked) were less willing or more hesitant to participate in an interview, second-generation immigrants were also not keen to refer parents. However, to counter this, second-generation participants were asked about their parent philanthropic behavior, resulting in extra insights. All in all, this led to a total of 21 interviews, with 7 first generation and 14 second generation Dutch Chinese immigrants. Even though saturation (to a certain degree) was reached, it should be noted that this study and the number of participants only reflect a first attempt to understand the research phenomenon and that it cannot be generalized. Appendix 3 shows an overview of the final participants. As promised to the first-generation immigrants only a broad overview of their characteristics is displayed to ensure their full anonymity. As for the second-generation immigrant's further information can be required upon request.

*Qualitative research design*
Semi-structured interviews were chosen as the qualitative study design, because it allows for the possibility to ask the same important questions to all the participants (see Appendix 2). There is still flexibility to choose the order of the questions or ask, for example, clarifying questions or new questions if the need and opportunity arises during an interview (Kallio et al., 2016). So, the potential interview questions allow for some flexibility to diverge from the planned interview guide and give possibility to interaction between the researcher and participant.

The interviews were held on an individual basis either virtually using Microsoft Teams or in real life, depending on the preference of the participant. Since the research question required the respondents to share private or sensitive information, this study held the interviews in private and face-to-face to create trust. Before the start of the interview, participants were guaranteed a certain level of anonymity and were asked whether they approved of recording the interview[5]. Afterwards, the interview guide (Appendix 2) was flexibly used to gather data. For the first-generation Dutch Chinese immigrants three main themes were outlined: immigration journey, sense of belonging/acculturation process, and involvement with diaspora philanthropy. The second-generation interviews were also structured by three main themes, namely the relationship with the country of origin, sense of belonging/acculturation process, and involvement with diaspora philanthropy. At the end all respondents were always asked whether they had further questions or remarks. In some cases, this led to further data or interesting questions to consider for other interviews.

To encourage the participants to talk about their own experiences and opinions the questions in the semi-structured interviews were open-ended. Moreover, the interviews were conducted in the preferred language of the interviewees, leading to some of them being in Dutch, English, Mandarin Chinese, a form of the Wenzhounese (Wu) dialect, or a combination of multiple languages. This to create more comfort for the interviews to openly express themselves. Believing that this would lead to more accurate, authentic, and detailed data. Additionally, prior

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[5] Some participants preferred to not be recorded or wanted to stop the recording at some point. Naturally, as research needs to confirm to certain ethics, at those times only notes were made and only approved information to be shared were used for this thesis.

to the interviews one pilot interview was conducted to improve the interview protocol where necessary.

## 4.5 Data Analysis

As previously discussed, this study followed the Constructivist GT as outlined by Kenny and Fourie (2015) to code and analyze the data. Furthermore, this research used the program Atlas ti to make sense of the abundant data and unstructured data from the interviews. Moreover, during the coding and analyzing process all the data was translated to English for the purpose of this study. It should be mentioned that while this study tried to stay as close as possible to the participants' meanings and second opinions have been asked, subtle meanings from the native language always gets lost.

## 4.6 Researcher positionality

Positionality refers to an individual's world view and the position they take when carrying out research and its social and political context. A researcher's perception of the world is influenced by their beliefs, values, religion, gender, culture, history, geographical location, ethnicity, race, social class, status and so on. This position in turn impacts the research conduct, outcomes, and findings. Hence, it is important to be aware of one's position when conducting and analyzing research (Holmes, 2020). As someone who holds a second-generation Dutch Chinese immigrant status, investigating Dutch Chinese diasporas philanthropic behavior, I classify myself as someone who has an insider position (Holmes, 2020).

To have an insider position brings along many advantages such as access to the culture being studied. Other benefits include the ability to ask more in depth and meaningful questions since one is in possession of prior knowledge, as an insider one may be more trusted resulting in more honest replies, the capability to create more authentic and rich descriptions partially due to an understanding of the culture, nuances, and terminology, and so on (Holmes, 2020; Fleming, 2018)

However, being an insider also has its disadvantages. These disadvantages should be considered, and measures should be taken to minimize these drawbacks. For example, there is a danger of being too close and too familiar with the culture or bound to certain customs leading to the avoidance of critical questions. Another example is that the researcher may be biased or overly sympathetic. The respondents may also assume that some information is obvious while this may not be the case, which can result in incomplete answers. Further, there is potential threat of respondents being hesitant to share some information due to the close relationship with them (Holmes, 2020).

There are several ways this thesis mitigated the disadvantages of being an insider. For instance, bias during the data collection and analysis through premature conclusions or existing ideas were mitigated by restraining oneself to interrupt the respondent (Fleming, 2018; Heath & Cowley, 2004) or share personal experiences too early or too much. During the data analysis a "close friend" was asked to challenge the assumptions that were made (Fleming, 2018).

# 5 Findings

The findings of the interviews are presented in the following chapter. To answer the research question, the findings first present the receivers and means through which the Chinese diaspora community in the Netherlands show philanthropic behavior. Afterwards the motivations of the Chinese immigrants are discussed as explained in 2.4.2. based on the finding of Sundeen et al. (2007) and Young and Shih (2003). Thus, the influencing factors are grouped by cultural (of origin) reasons, social resources, personal resources, sense of belonging, lack of information and lack of trust. The results distinguish between the first- and second-generation Chinese immigrants, by looking at each case individually, resulting in two within-case analyses, namely the first-generation and second-generation Dutch Chinese immigrants. Congruently, philanthropy towards the country of residence – which refers to the Chinese community in The Netherlands – and philanthropy towards the country of origin, are integrated to discuss the potential drivers behind their philanthropic behavior.

## 5.1 Receivers and means of Chinese diaspora philanthropy

**Philanthropy towards the country of origin**

Philanthropy related to the country of origin is done in several manners. This ranges from remittances, gift giving and (monetary) donations.

All the first-generation immigrants mentioned that they engage(d) in philanthropy towards the family, and five (P1-P4, P7) said that they financially support(ed) their family, such as sending remittances to their family or family-in-law, with several of them mentioning other types of "gifts":

> "Yes, we do (remittances), to my family sometimes, but more to my in-laws." – P2

> "Yes of course, you take care of parents. ... Every time you go back, you give some to you parents and other family a bit. Yeah, you just say that it is a present ... that is not important." – P3

> "We don't often send remittances, sometimes we do it in the form of red envelops, but we like to give presents more" – P7

P6, the youngest and with both parents in the Netherlands, has never sent remittances to his parents before, but was willing to financially support his parents including in the form of remittances in the future. Furthermore, P6 suggested that while he is not sure whether his parents engage in remittances, they do send other "gifts":

> "I don't really do something for my family. My parents already bring back everything, gifts etcetera, but they don't send or bring money as they don't like it."

Additionally, nine second-generation immigrants have stated that their parents send remittances:

> *"Yes, they did send remittances, but my grandparents died."* – P13

> *"That definitely (sending remittances), my mom always send money back to her parents."* – P14

> *"Yes, I know they shave sent remittances in the past."* – P19

Several of them also mentioned other people they know that send back money to relatives in the country of origin:

> *"I don't know if my parents did that, because when I was born everyone was already here. I do know the chefs at our place do it since they still have family there."* – P11

> *"I also notice, we have a chef from China, and part of his salary, he sends it back to China. So, the same situation as my parents I think."* – P21

Or that their parents involve in gift-giving towards their family:

> *".... But I also just notice when my mother goes back then the fridge or something is suddenly broken, the TV can be replaced, the freezer doesn't work and then my parents just buy it. Also, if there is anything like oh this is watch is nice. I'm not saying it falls under it (philanthropy), but it's like you almost opened a charity."* – P14

> *"My parents are more concerned with just taking family into account and indeed ... because they are always actually thinking about it like fish oil and other vitamin pills or tablets. Then they send a lot of things."* – P14

Another way that firs-generation immigrants (P1-2, P4-6, P7) have shown diaspora philanthropy towards their country of origin is through (monetary) donations. For example, P7 has donated money to China to develop the educational system or build schools. Other examples are:

> *"Oh, we have donated before. For example, with the earthquake in China. Through the Chinese association, everyone donated money to help."* – P2

> *"This one time a Chinese exchange student died in a fire at their home. He just graduated and didn't have much time before going back. It was a very sad event. His teacher was a very kind person and started a petition to gather money to support the parents who were left alone and lived in a very rural place. We immediately donated money; many people donated then."* – P7

> *"... Following, every person donated 1000 euro to buy the medical masks. At that time the situation was very bad in China and masks were expensive. We collected a lot of money in 3 days, but sadly the masks were delayed at Schiphol for 2 months."* – P7

P6, P9 and P12 have also mentioned that their parents or friend's parents donated money or medical supplies to China during the corona crisis.

> *"My mom also donated money to China. Somewhere around our region."* – P6

> *"Yes, my Belgian friend's parents too. Hand Sanitizers, masks, etc. I think they had sent almost 1000 euros worth of stuff. I don't know how often."* – P12

> *"Oh yes, because at the time you could send masks and stuff to the Chinese government. So, we, my parents, did. So, I think they had sent 500 euros worth of products and that at least twice."* – P12

As for the second-generation not many (5/21) have shown diaspora philanthropy towards the country of origin. However, those who did engage did it in the same manner as the first-generation immigrants (gift-giving and (monetary) donations). However, it seems that their philanthropy is on a smaller scale compared to the first-generation immigrants:

> *"Oh, I have donated money. There was a Facebook add for a charity then you could participate in that Wuhan, I don't remember what it's called, but then you could support those people who were working in Wuhan. So, I sent money."* – P12

> *"We always have a full packed luggage … you can't return empty-handed either, so if that expectation wasn't there, I would have done it too.*" – P14

> *"Giving gifts to family. It is very normal because you go back to family. You will bring a luggage full of food, whatever your luggage will be packed but not with your stuff not at all. If we go back, we just buy lots of stuff and bring it. It is mainly for family."* – P15

> *"Oh, I once gave money to a homeless person in China."* – P20

One of the second-generation immigrants took part in voluntary work in China: *"Oh yes, I did. At the Chinese camp there was also a voluntary part. They all said bring things like pens and toys. We then took that to primary school children. We also spent a day with those children and taught them English as well. I really liked that, and I felt like I was doing something right."*

**Philanthropy towards the country of residence: Chinese community in the Netherlands**
Similar as philanthropy towards the country of origin, philanthropy towards the Chinese community in the Netherlands has been displayed to different types of receivers in a variety of ways. This varies from gift-giving, voluntary work and (monetary) donations.

Several first-generation participants noted that they have made monetary donations to the Chinese community in the Netherlands. Five (P1-2, P5-6, P7) of them mentioned that they donated to a Chinese association. However, in some instances those donations did not go to the association itself but to other causes either here or the country of origin:

> *"Yes, the money you give the association eventually goes to the people who really need it. You don't know, but that is what you expect."* – P2

Interviewee P3 even established a foundation to collect money for the Buddhist temple she visits and volunteers at:

> *"I have organized with 6 acquaintances, something like a foundation to collect money, and if the temple needed some money, we would donate them money. But it stopped this year due to some external circumstance, I have done that for 3.5 years."* – P3

P3 also made donations to the temple that were non-monetary: *"We also bough flowers and fruit for the temple."*

Aside two second-generation immigrants (P13 and P16), the other nineteen second-generation interviewees did not mention making (monetary) donation to the Chinese diaspora in the Netherlands.

> *"I am supporting a student association in Leiden."* – P13

> *"Yes, uhm, during those Taiwanese events, there was also the possibility to donate money. And that I did sometimes… Yes, so during those Taiwanese events there was a sub-program of that "shan[6]" group … In Chinese it is called "shan". Not really monk culture but close in that direction. So, helping others, being good. I've done that once, donating to them. Just for example when there have been natural disasters, that people need help."* – P16

While P16 donated to an organization in the Netherlands, it should be noted that the organization focusses on the country of origin.

Furthermore, both generations have stated that they engage(d) in volunteerism. Their voluntary work ranged from actively participating in an association to informally helping others in their community.

Five (P2-3, P5-7) first-generation immigrants mentioned their involvement in informal volunteerism – such as translating and interpreting, asking for advice, and accompanying one to an important appointment usually medically or financially related –, with P3 and P5 also being involved in an association or organization:

> *"When those nuns came from China, they also could not speak the language. They also didn't know what they all had to do. I could, so I helped them out with guidance and help them with language problems like interpretating for them…. Sometimes they go to the general practitioner or hospital, I usually go with them, bring them, interpret for them."* – P3

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[6] Probably referring to 善德 as he states that it is a translation of philanthropy

> *"The past years I did quite a lot, did a lot. Sometimes even after work I would go to the temple to help that I wasn't even home often. I baked for the visitors and cooked for the nun for example"* – P3

> *"I have done free tutoring for some Chinese kids when I was in high school. Not only English, all types of classes. My parents' friends also have younger children. I help them totally for free. For example, with finding schools and choosing a study. That kind of stuff."* – P6

> *"I have helped a lot of people with translating and interpreting. Many Chinese of my age can speak a bit Dutch, but those older than me not. With the municipality, notary, I can help, I may not be a translator, but I can help… It ranges from the GGD, GP to driving people to somewhere."* – P7

P5 had expressed that at some point some Chinese could not go back to their country of origin and therefore stayed in the Netherlands. Those Chinese founded an association to help each other, help those in China to come to the Netherlands and help them build a life. One of those Chinese included himself. During his time as an executive director of the General Chinese Association in the Netherlands 旅荷华侨总会, there was a great-longing among the Chinese immigrants to have a Chinese language newspaper. Hence, they established a Chinese-language newspaper for the Chinese diaspora in the Netherlands. This was also to assist the mutual understanding and cooperation of both the country of origin and residence. He volunteered to take charge of the second issue and contributed a lot to the development of the newspaper. Together with the association he also helped promoting Chinese language, building several Chinese schools in the Netherlands. Furthermore, he himself helped a lot of Chinese immigrants with settling down, finding a job, establishing their own restaurant and such.

Moreover, three (P9, P13, P15) second-generation immigrants mentioned one of their parent's involvements in voluntary work at an association and Chinese school.

> *"In between she taught Chinese to grade 1 and 2 kids, just voluntary work. She liked doing that."* – P9

> *"My father is in a Chinese association or with the people who are all from the same town. What they do is they bring those people together. So, like I said a while ago, we had a dinner organized by them just to bring Chinese people together and celebrate it altogether. I think what they really do is the people engagement."* – P13

As for the second-generation immigrants, eight (P8-11, P10, P14-17) said that they engaged in either informal or formal volunteerism. Similar as the first-generation their voluntary actives involved translating and interpreting.

> *"However, my mother, at one point, acted as if I was doing a service or something <laugh>, of course you liked to do it for your parents, but she was suddenly like: yes, she can do it for so and so and then people would come to our house or I had to go somewhere. It wasn't that I was really waiting for those tax letters or anything, but it was more like, I noticed very much that*

*it's just quite difficult when people can't read or speak the language. And that it is difficult. So, if you can, that at some point you can and want to help in a certain way."* – P14

*"Furthermore, I help immigrants in the Netherlands, like Mandarin speaking immigrants with translation and interpretations. I have been doing this for already a year."* – P15

*"I remember that I work at the hospital then there was a Chinese family who had just arrived, I think they had their own restaurant. They did not understand a word of Dutch or English to say so. Then I remember every time they came, I would go by to help them translate."* – P17

Additionally, some of them were related to recreational purposes involving cultural and societal aspects of the country of origin as well:

*"The only thing I have done now is doing voluntary work during the holidays. During those holidays some events are held among the Taiwanese community. I help with setting it up and helped people throughout the day."* – P16

P11 and P12 were active members of the Chinese Student Association EUR, P9 volunteered for Tulpenpavilijoen Community – a non-profit community for people in the Netherlands who like to learn, share, and discuss about Chinese culture and knowledge, and P14 was and is currently involved again with the study association for the BA China studies in Leiden.

One interesting answer was expressed by P10: *"I think two years ago when there, wait, back in 2019 there were a lot of demonstrations in Hong Kong and stuff, so there were also a lot of events planned in the Netherlands. I also went to one",* showing her involvement in activism. P9, P15 and P19 did not join any activist activities up until now but did state that they were interested to join demonstration regarding discrimination towards Asians in the future or take upon a function as organizer. During corona P9-10, P15 and P19 wanted to take part in the activism against Xenophobia but were not able to due to corona.

Another interesting finding to highlight is that 14 second-generation immigrants, except P10, talked about helping their family, mainly parents, when asked about their philanthropic behavior. First, nine of them (P9, P11, P14-17, P19-21) helped their parents with language related activities ranging from writing e-mails, interpreting governmental letters, making appointments and so on. Illustrating that language ability of the parents seems to play a significant role in the need to take upon the task of translator or interpreter:

*"It is mainly for my parents. In many cases my philanthropy resolves around translating/interpreting. For example, translating the letters for my parents or helping with e-mails."* – P15

*"With reading letters, writing e-mails. Before I did it, my brother always did it, but now I also do it like reading those blue letter etc."* – P9

> *"Yes, since my 9th I must do "Internet Bankieren". Paying the bills because my mom didn't know how to use a computer. I still remember my cousin explaining a 9-year-old how to pay the bill. I have done that for quite some time until she could use a computer. Translating letters from the government or checking all the mail traffic. Some administrative stuff, I am still doing that."* – P12

> *"When I lived in home, I was always, my mother worked in the restaurant and there were a lot of Chinese cooks and just my great-aunt was there, and their Dutch was not good. And if they bought a new mobile phone, I would also install or help and stuff, arrange emails, read letters, and file a tax return and stuff."* – P14

As for the first-generation immigrants, only P6, who immigrated together with his parents to the Netherlands around the age of 12, mentioned a similar activity: *"I already help my parents with calling to the town hall or interpreting the tax letter or if they encounter other problems. I really dislike those tasks, but I do it, and must do it, and it will continue like that I think."*

Moreover, eight (P11-14, P16, P19-21) expressed that they were helping in their parents' business. While some noted that they saw it as philanthropy and others disagreed, all of them expressed that even if it was something they "had" to do, it was something they did voluntary:

> *"Yeah, I feel that's an obligation. But at the same time, I know that I can say I don't want to work. It feels like an obligation but I'm also willing to do it. Because if I really didn't want to, then I would say no, I think."* – P13

*Future philanthropic ventures*
Earlier it was mentioned that almost every first-generation immigrant was at least at some point engaged in financially supporting their close family such as sending remittances to the country of origin. While the parents of second-generation immigrants live in the Netherlands, five (P8-9, P12-13, P15) of them have conveyed their desire to financially support their parents in the future, regardless of the fact if their parents need it. They also mentioned the intention to do it on a periodically basis:

> *"Yes, definitely. When I am older, I would financially support them. I would do it on a monthly base."* – P8

> *"Yes, for me it goes without saying (remittances). Yes, even if they would have a good situation I would do it."* – P9

> *"Yes, I know that usual to send to parents they retire. I think I would do that too as well. When they need the money and when they don't need the money, I think I will do it. Cause that's just I believe our way of showing affection:  giving money."* – P13

Besides, seven (P10-11, P14, P16, P19-21) second-generation immigrants communicated that they were willing to financially support their parents periodically but only when the situational required it or when they had the ability to:

> *"I wouldn't take the initiative to send money to them. If I know they need it or ask me, then yes probably. But if I know they can take care of themselves, I wouldn't."* – P11

> *"I would do it if they need it, otherwise no. Look if I have money left and I don't need it, then I would just give it to them. Yes, I think I would do that. Otherwise, I would send them money even though I have nothing."* – P19

> *"I don't think I would have an issue with it. If they stopped working and to give them part of my salary. But I don't know if they would accept it, because I never felt like they it expected me to do so."* – P21

Four others were willing to financially support their parents, but not periodically or preferred to show affection in another way:

> *"Just when they need it. But not sending money every month, that's a bit too much I think."* – P10

> *"… but there was a point where I got older and got a little fed up. And I told my mother I'm not going to give you money, I can just provide you with what you need. Because at one point she asked me how much money you are going to give me and you had just started your studies, you didn't have a job and so on, "how do you want me to answer that question?" Then I just said that I don't know and at one point she started asking so often that I thought like, but do you want me to have time to just do things with you or do you want me to just do things later?"* – P14

## 5.2    First-generation immigrants

### *The role of culture of origin and Chinese diaspora philanthropy*
All first-generation interviewees mentioned elements from their culture of origin as reasons to do philanthropy. Cultural (of origin) reasons were divided in # subcategories with some strongly intertwined with each other.

*Towards the country of origin and residence*
The first few cultural (of origin) reasons stem from Confucian values and beliefs. This varies from benevolence, filial piety, reciprocity, and the importance of kinship.

Five (P2-3, P5-7) first-generation immigrants showed that *benevolence* is an important driver of their general philanthropic behavior and mostly expressed towards the Chinese diaspora in The Netherlands. This because of their feeling of resemblance and familiarity to those who experienced the same struggles as a first-generation immigrant (*sense of belonging*).

> *"I once was very sick (in China) and there was this stranger who put me on his back and ran seven streets, and that is a lot, to take me to the hospital. I really thought that person was a very good person. I realized that people can be like that. In the Netherlands, I also met a lot of good*

*people. Back when I was studying Chinese those Chinese exchange students helped me out a lot. Afterwards I thought people can be like this as well. That is why I want to help people when I can." – P7*

*"For example, I once met Chinese people in the hospital, and they could not speak Dutch. That mother was just crying, and they had called for help to interpret, but after translating they still didn't understand it because they could only speak Wencheng dialect, when I saw that I thought it was very sad. At that time, I also just had my son so when I saw that and when I saw it, I immediately asked if there was anything I could help with, she then said her child had a heart problem, but it turned out that the child had asthma then I had checked (something like that) and then I briefly explained what she had to do next." – P7*

*"When I came here, I also couldn't do anything, those nuns were in the same situation as me in the past." – P3*

*"That was during my exam year, and I needed money, but I didn't ask them money because those Chinese kids were a mini version of me. I kind of recognized myself when I saw them. I also experienced those things; I didn't like to ask the parents for money. You know, I also would have liked it if someone could have helped me as much when I was younger." – P6*

These answers reflect the role of *reciprocity* as well, which has been expressed multiple times in their interviews.

*"I don't only help the temple for the people. They also helped me a lot, even though they may not be aware, but I can't feel it. That is why I like to help them as well." – P3*

P5 also talked about his experience when he emigrated from China. During his migration journey he had received a lot of help from others. For instance, he was a very sick child when he emigrated and before he came to the Netherlands, his parents were still trying to build a life and open their own business, hence other Chinese immigrants in Italy took him in and helped him a lot, taking care of him, bringing him to the hospital and accompanying his journey to the Netherlands. This experience led to the desire to help other Chinese coming to the Netherlands.

Lastly, P3 mentioned multiple times in her interview that the Buddhism way has influenced her perspective, where helping people is natural and shown in the smallest ways. In addition, she believes that everyone she can only help when others want to be helped.

*Towards the country of origin*
Another concept that comes back (**P1-7**) is *filial piety* which seems to impact the philanthropic behavior towards the country of origin the most – such as through sending remittances –, which seems logical since filial piety is emphasizes family relations:

*"Sometimes you help your family with money, sometimes you help with other stuff. That is Chinese culture." – P2*

*"Yes, I did send money to my parents, naturally as you must care for your parents. You couldn't do anything except giving them money, this was very difficult."* – P3

*"After 2010 I went back to my parents every year. Even though you had to work I took time off and went for 3 months. To take care of them. You cook for them etcetera."* – P3

For P6, whose parents live in the Netherlands, the context was a bit different:

"*I already help my parents with calling to the town hall or interpreting the tax letter or if they encounter other problems. I really dislike those tasks, but I do it, and must do it, and it will continue like that.*"

Some of the second-generation immigrants (P8-9, P12-13, P14, P18-21) have mentioned filial piety as well when talking about their parents' philanthropic behavior. Several (P14, P18, P21) also noted that it might be strengthened by a feeling of *obligation to those who are left behind*:

*"When I look from a distance it feels like they never give enough, that they feel they went to such a far place and feel guilty and maybe out of filial piety then can't be with them and take care of them and can and take on certain burdens and that they compensate very much, almost too much, by sending money or buying things for them. And then it's not weird or anything, but then I sometimes think maybe it's a bit out of proportion. Because they just really try to do as much as possible."* – P14

*"I myself don't think they experience it as a feeling of guilt, but I do think it is difficult because you may not necessarily come here with the idea of staying here long term, but you still build a family here and then you may not want to go back, and your parents are still at a good age."* – P14

*"I think it's a combination of they can't really express their appreciation in the form of going along to the hospital I'm taking care of you because you're older but because they can't do those things, they just try to do of which is easiest like your tv is broken I will replace it or you like watching tv I will buy you a bigger tv. It's like I try to show it this way and I can do it from a distance: I can send money and then someone else buys it for example. And then indeed try to go back as much as possible, because my parents are further away so if they can get free then they go to China."* – P14

*"I think for their generation it is something that is expected (sending remittances), because they came here for a better life, so they send back money as well. I also notice, we have a chef from China, and part of his salary, he sends it back to China. So, the same situation as my parents I think."* – P21

On the contrary P16 and P17 mentioned that their parents did not send money back to the country of origin, because there was no need for it:

*"O, our family doesn't really need that (remittances) so no we haven't done that."* – P16

*Towards the country of residence*
*Exposure to the culture of origin* has been conveyed by P5 as a driver for his (and the Chinese association) philanthropic behavior towards the Chinese diaspora in the Netherlands. For instance, the goal of building Chinese schools was to help later generations keeping in touch with their roots and culture, decrease the gap with the older generations. Moreover, he also raised up the improvement of the relationship between Chinese and Dutch several times as a reason.

Moreover, the importance of kinship has been insinuated up by several first-generation immigrants (P1-4, P7), as an explanation of their philanthropic behavior:

> *"We of course help our employees (in the kitchen) with issues regarding the Dutch language like interpreting stuff. People in the restaurant are also kind of your own, like family."* – P2

> *"I do like helping other, but only, and preferably within my own circle and abilities."* – P2

> *"The temple is an organization, but I actually do it more so because of the nun and the people there not because of the organization."* – P3

Nevertheless, P6 voiced a different opinion: "*Individual (doesn't matter if they are family, friends, or strangers) then group of people and organization.*

Similar **P13** noted that her father was part of the Chinese association because his friends were part of it. All the people in the association were from his hometown. The reason he probably joined was because of this. In addition, she mentioned *social interaction:* staying in touch with each other and bringing the people together as another reason.

### Social resources and philanthropy
Generally, social resources are a dominant influencing factor for first-generation immigrants both to engage in philanthropy towards the country of origin and residence

*Towards the country of origin and residence*
Firstly, all the interviewees mentioned that their social network functioned as a resource that provides information, possibilities, and trust to involve themselves and stimulate philanthropy (*functional role*). Their social network ranged from family members, friends, acquaintances to people with whom they had an indirect connection:

> *"A long time ago there was this Chinese woman from China, and she ran into some problem due to a misunderstanding. My cousin in France called me that this woman needed help, she was a total stranger to me, with stuff like the language. She also needed to go to the court, we always went with her. You know, her situation was so pitiful. When she got out of prison, she also stayed a week at our place, and we took her to travel through the Netherlands with her."* – P3

*"They are usually strangers ... most of the time I have helped someone and someone else heard from that person."* – P7

*Towards the country of origin*

In addition, *WeChat* – a Chinese social media online platform like Facebook and WhatsApp – was brought up several times by P7 as an extension of his social network where he came into touch with information regarding philanthropy or mobilized philanthropic behavior. This importance of *WeChat* is mostly apparent among the first-generation when showing philanthropy towards the country of origin:

*"Sometimes you also have, like it happened twice, there was a very sick child in China and then there was a kind of public welfare group (公益群) called 点点, they sent out a message on WeChat with a child is sick and they don't have money. Then we repost it on our WeChat and then we don't say how much you must donate, but we ask more of how much can you spare and then you can donate and that's how you can collect money and send it to China."* – P7

*"During corona we also had a similar case where on WeChat someone sent a message to collect money to buy masks and donate it to China."* – P7

Three second-generation immigrants (P3, P10 and P12) said that their parents donated during the corona crisis as well because they saw something on *WeChat*:

*"I don't get those messages anymore. I use WeChat, but I am not subscribed to those channels anymore. I don't follow those channels of my hometown anymore. Maybe, when I build a connection with my hometown."* – P6

*"Well, it was my parents who donated, but you know those links you get through WeChat (donating money during COVID)."* – P10

*"Yes, my parents were like, look at this. How bad, we also must help, yes you can. We have so many face masks and stuff."* – P10

*Towards the country of residence*

Furthermore, all the interviews expressed the (underlying) fundamental role of *guanxi,* and its tight connection with *mianzi* and *lian*[7]*,* as enablers of their philanthropic behavior. The role of *guanxi, mianzi* and *lian* were particularly visible when talking about the Chinese community in the country of residence:

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[7] The concepts of *mianzi* 面子 and *lian* 脸, both meaning face, while deeply rooted in the Chinese culture and Confucianism, have become so-called social resources. They are interdependent but have a different connotation from each other. To give a very broad definition *mianzi* refer to "status, prestige, social position". *Mianzi* acts as a social exchange currency which can be build, lost, and given. Therefore, it measures an individual's status, prestige, and leverage in society, where the societal context is important. *Mianzi* can be gained through an initial

*"Because we then had family in the association that…. And yes, you do it more so because of giving mianzi (给面子)[8]."* – P2

*"If I need help with something then I contact these friends, because I have always done this kind of stuff with them. If they need my help, I will also do that. Just working together."* – P7

*"Originally, I would donate 600 euro, but we were 3000 euro short. So, I was like everyone donate a bit more, then we reached our goal."* – P7

*"It is not that black and white (whether he should have asked money). First, they are my mom's friends …"* – P6

**In addition, P4** was part of the Chinese association because his cousin was in the board and mentioned that giving money to the association and the charities in which they were involved also had to do with giving his cousin *mianzi* (给面子). Similar, **P5** mentioned that many people in the community went to him for help, because many people knew him and were aware that he had helped many people. Therefore, he did not dare to say no, suggesting that it was partially because he did not want to lose *lian* (丢脸)[9].

### *Personal resources to do philanthropy*
All the first-generation immigrants have talked about perceived basic needs that need to be fulfilled before they are willing or think they are able to engage in philanthropy in general such as financial-, occupational or family stability.

For example, P1 mentioned that she was still young and that when she came to The Netherlands, she had nothing, had young children to raise and just opened her business. It is just in recent years that she feels financially stable and that her children are old enough. Hence, she has never really been involved in philanthropy. She also noted that in the future she may be more involved. Other illustrations are:

*"Yes, if you can right. You must whether it is within your reach. You must look at time and your financial situation."* – P2

*" …, and our kids are small and our environment is restricted."* – P7

*"If I have the spare money to help someone, then I will try as much as possible."* – P7

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[8] While in the West, social roles and social status exist, in China it goes deeper. Interpersonal relationships are greatly affected by what society thinks of "proper behavior". This also true when it comes to relationships such as friendships since *mianzi* can become a measure of closeness and status (Teon, 2017).

[9] To lose *lian* happens when the group rejects a person due to their unethical and socially disagreeable behavior. This can severely influence an individual, and worst, their family's reputation (Teon, 2017)

Time is another indicator for philanthropy (P1-4, P6-7). For instance, when P6 was asked why he stopped helping those Chinese children in helping them finding the right school and degree, he replied: "*Searching for school also costs too much time and I currently don't have that time.*"

> "*We do not have time for it (volunteering for an organization). Maybe 10 years later.*" – P2

> "*Only if it is within my abilities.*" – P2

> "*I think you can't help people completely. Not for the rest of their lives, it's just for a while. If I were to help people now, I would prefer to help people to get to know themselves and to be able to help themselves. Those people who want to do then seek me, but I do not seek.*" – P3

> "*I help because I have the time and ability.*" – P7

Moreover, some (P2-3, P7) mentioned that the perceived *capabilities* they possess (or do not possess) play a crucial role:

> "*We didn't reach that level yet and have the skills yet to do everything. But if we come across something, and you can do something, we will do it…. If I encounter something and it is within my abilities, I will try, but I won't search for it actively.*" – P7

### 5.3 Second generation immigrants

***The role of culture of origin and Chinese diaspora philanthropy***
Like the first-generation, cultural (of origin) reasons play a crucial role in the philanthropic behavior of second-generation immigrants. All of them mentioned their cultural background and the norms and values they got from home as an important aspect of who they are and how they act.

*Towards the country of origin*
P14-15 and P19 brought up the phenomenon of bringing gifts or presents to family in the country of origin. All three of them nuanced that idea *reciprocity* impacted their behavior to do so:

> "*So, we try to take a lot for family and friends there. A large part of your luggage is just filled with stuff that you are taking with you for those people. I don't know if this is really philanthropy. We don't expect anything in return, and they don't pressure you to bring stuff. But there is an expectation and subtle pressure to bring a whole luggage with stuff for them. There is usual a subtle hint with what they want, not explicit, and then you are just like oh here present.*" – P14

> "*If you go there, you expect something from both parties. I think that is something that is really in our system like if you go there, you bring something, but once you have arrived you also expect something in return may it be food or something. Yeah, that giving back.*" – P19

*Towards the country of residence*

This can also be seen in their philanthropic behavior, especially when talking about philanthropy towards the family and parents. Here the concept of fil*ial piety* is very apparent. Those (P9, P11, P14-17, P19-21) who engaged in helping their parents with language related activities, ranging from writing e-mails, interpreting governmental letters, making appointments, fixing technical problems and so on suggested filial piety and its embeddedness in the concept of *reciprocity* and the *importance of kinship in Chinese culture* being incentives of their philanthropic behavior:

> *"No, you are their child, help your parents. I never felt it was like a must from my parents. It was something I wanted to do."* – P9

> *"It is mainly for my parents. In many cases my philanthropy resolves around translating/interpreting. For example, translating the letters for my parents or helping with e-mails. I see it as philanthropy because I don't expect anything in return. <Why are you doing it for your parents/family?> As a thank you. Yeah... I don't know how can I describe it? It is more the idea about giving back, yes, it is mainly just the word giving back."* – P15

Furthermore, those who were helping their parents in their family business (P11-P14, P16, P19-P21) agree that filial piety is a major influencer in their philanthropic behavior towards their parents:

> *"Yes, I think so. I am an only child, and my parents give me what they can give. They also pay for my studies, and they never really make a fuss. And, because I'm their only child I expect myself to do the same."* – P14

> *"It is a family business, and you grew up, without it you couldn't grow up. So, I think you should also invest your time and energy in it, since time and energy also go to you, otherwise you couldn't eat and sleep, be where you are now and have what you have now."* – P19.

> *"Yes, I think because I find it important. Without it I wouldn't maybe be the person I am today and have the stuff I have now. I respect that it all comes from one resource and can live from it, and that resource I must help it kind of."* – P19

> *"No, it's kind of like yes how do you say that kind of like you must, you know? A little sense of responsibility sort of. Yes, I live at home, I live off them, so it's normal that I help them, you know. I don't do it for the money, getting money for it is a plus, I don't think I can freeload. I would feel bad about that. It is a feeling that it is part of it, you know to help a little. Otherwise, you should just live somewhere else, just kidding."* – P21

> *"Maybe a little bit with those norms and values. Those Asian norms and values. I think it is more self-evident that in Asian culture the children eventually take care of the parents and so on. I think in Dutch culture that this is not so self-evident and that there is therefore a difference. For example, you hear quite often that people leave home at the age of 18, and so on. Look at me I'm not 18 anymore but I still live at home. I just think that together, yes, my parents do something for me, I do something for them. In that way, that it is possible, that I do it because of that."* – P21

*"My parents have helped me for so long. For example, I have a house at 24. They have invested so much in me; they also have a right to have me invest back in them when they are older."* – P12

Furthermore, few (P11, P14, P19, P20) pointed out that there was *no other option* then to help their parents, underlying a certain feeling of *obligation*. Partially suggesting that the integration of their parents and other family members in the country of residence play a role:

*"Sometimes I am like "oh do I have to do something again, you know." Especially when I still had university work and another job. But I also know she cannot do it without me, you just must do it."* – P11

*"If you don't do it, they don't have much choice either, because it's also difficult to find people. So, in that respect I think I should do it myself."* – P14

*"I don't really know why, but I don't really expect anything in return. But it's like okay her phone broke I need to fix it otherwise she doesn't have a phone. And it is also automatic. I've been doing it since I was 12."* – P15

*"Your parents also prefer not to have you work for them, that you sometimes work voluntarily for them is okay, but if they can choose to hire an employee or you, they would always choose the employee because they know it's tough. They don't want to take you into that situation, but once there is no choice, there is no choice. You either choose to do it or not."* – P19

Besides, many (P8-16, P19-21) answers reflect the importance of their parents' migration status and awareness of their sacrifices as a catalyzer for their philanthropic behavior towards their parents. It strengthens the feeling of *guilt, being in debt, being obligated or having responsibility,* or wanting to repay as an *expression of love and thankfulness*, or a combination of one of those feelings, which are all embodied by the concept of *filial piety*. Not only does this influence their current philanthropic behavior towards their parents, but it also influences their decision to (financially) support their parents in the future:

*"The fact that I would do it is not because they necessarily need it, because of course they just saved a lot of money for retirement and stuff. So, I don't think they will have financial problems later. I just think it's a way to show that you support them. And I also just think to give back a bit, in return of what they do, because yes like they support me financially too. They have sacrificed a lot in their lives so that I can have a good education, a better life in the Netherlands. So, I think sending some form of money shows that you support them. Like you don't owe them anything, but you do feel that you owe them something."* – P8

*"Yes, they just sacrificed a lot. And it's not easy to emigrate to another country anyway, whose language you don't speak, where you have zero connections and especially back in the days it was different than I'm in Korea now. And they came to another country with zero money you know, just very difficult."* – P8

> *"Yes, for me it goes without saying (remittances). I would very much like to give them a better life than the one they had when they came this way. I am very much on that path. They invested so much in me, so yeah."* – P9

> *"Yes, I've been working there since I was 12. And if you grew up there, we just live upstairs, so you see it even more. I just see how hard she works and how many struggles she sometimes has and then it just goes without saying that I just go to work and don't necessarily ask for anything in return. It's not that she never gave me money, but it's not that she asks for something in return, doesn't expect a wage. Not even at that age."* – P11

> *"I already got everything. Without them I wouldn't have this or education. They are all so hardworking and give so much for it, basically they destroy their bodies through work to give us a better life. It is so respectful to help them and give back when they are older, and they can enjoy their last years. This is really a cultural difference with norms and values that you have also inherited."* – P12

> *"I think it is a cultural thing, I think that is really our way of showing love, not like I am buying my love. ...at the same time, I am willing to do it because it's for my parents. Like I said, they have worked their whole life very hard for money to be here because they started from nothing and they like build their empire let's say it like that. So that's why I am willing to help and to keep it that way to make their life easier by working. So that's why I am willing to do it because I want to see your parents suffer."* – P13

> *"And then there is a lot of talk about filial piety and that your parents work for you so that you have a bright future later. They are very much those "speech stories" and from an early age I actually had that pressure to perform well because, yes, you also get a kind of guilt because your parents have given up a lot to give you a chance."* – P14

However, it should be noted that while all these interviewees mentioned that they willingly and voluntary helped their parent, not everyone viewed their behavior as philanthropic due to the obligatory nuance or/and the family involvement. This will be further discussed in the discussion chapter.

The emphasis on kinship in Chinese culture is another reason that second-generation immigrants have given weight to. Everyone mentioned that they were more willing the help those close to them:

> *"If given a choice, I would do family and friends, and then people I know, should they need it. And then in a situation when they don't really need it then it doesn't matter."* – P14

> *"Friends and family. Even if here or in China, I would be willing to give them more of my time then and strangers."* – P13

> *"Yes, my motivation is more so to help my father than those people. I don't know them, and I don't feel connected with them. With some I do and for them I would just do it for them, because I know them. But aside that, I get to know them once and bye."* – P15

> *"Yes, because they are closely related people and if I can help them, I would rather help them than people I don't know."* – P12

> *"Family, friends, can I miss the money? can I eat? If yes, I would be open to help a stranger (directly)"* – P21

> *"With total strangers I really don't want anything to do with them. I really have a disconnect with them, because I don't easily have the feeling of, I want to help them, with those kinds of people. Maybe sometimes if I really find them pitiful. It is not like immediately "oh, I will help them, though with friends and family, alright no problem, you know."* – P15

> *Yes, the receiver matter. The closer we are, the more generous I will be.* – P11

Interesting is that P20 expressed the importance of kinship and family in the Chinese culture, he does not necessarily position family on number one. *"And they are also just norms and values of my parents themselves. From your family first etcetera. For me it's not necessarily family first, but I can do this I can just help."*

Additionally, three interviewees (P8-9, P14-P16) highlighted that *exposure to their culture of origin* either for others or themselves impacted their reason to volunteer for an association or organization:

> *"So, in the Netherlands I truly had that connection with the Chinese culture after I joined CSA."* – P18

> "*I remembered that I was in the first year and I was very much like I miss the cultural aspect, they didn't even celebrate a mid-autumn festival, and I found out that we are very little involved with that as an association <while it is a study association is for sinologists> and as a study. And at some point, I want to be that person who brings more cultural activities."* – P14

> *"I thought, if it succeeds and if it succeeds in bridging the gap between the Dutch and Chinese community, then it would be great to be part of it. So, a bit, it was a bit of a reason to join."* – P9

### *Social resources and philanthropy*

Like the first-generation immigrants, social resources are a prominent influencing factor for second-generation immigrants' philanthropic behavior towards the country of origin and residence.

### *Towards the country of residence*

Social network as a *functional role* by providing second-generation immigrants with connections, trust, and information to do philanthropy has been mentioned as influencer to engage in philanthropy regarding the diaspora community in the Netherlands (P8-9, P11-12, P15, P16):

> *"One reason is that my friend was a member. I once joined an event and thought oh this is fun. I contemplated and decided to join. One reason was that I knew that my friend had a good experience with CSA."* – P11

> *"A friend, it was a friend who recommended it to me. My friend was like I think you will like this; you will like this. It is also not too much work, try it and if you don't like it, you can just leave."* – P9

> *"Sometimes it is just like through connections, like can your daughter do this for me. ... of course, you liked to do it for your parents, but she was suddenly like yes, she can do it for so and so and then people would come to our house or I had to go somewhere.""* – P14

> *"It was just because I was asked as a child. Then I didn't think about it, then I just did it because I had to."* – P16

Furthermore, one participant mentioned that she did voluntary work through summer camp in China. Indicating that social network as a *functional role* might play a role towards the country of residence as well.

Several (P8-9, P12, P13-15, P21) second-generation immigrants also suggested that their parents influenced their philanthropic behavior by acting as a role model:

> *"I just think because I have seen how much my parents support their parents. I also want to do it. My dad is the oldest and the son, he really takes the most care of my grandma and if I see how much he financially does, seeing that, I also want to return to do that."* – P8

> *"Because we always must do a lot for our family. Everyone in the family always does a lot of things. Like my parents also helped their parents. I was also taught to help my parents and the family. That is why I feel family is important."* – P13

The lack of such a social network was also mentioned as a reason for not showing philanthropy towards the Chinese community in the Netherlands:

> *"Yes, I would be open to it in the future. If someone I know well, for example, says let's go, then yes."* – P18

> *"Yes, one way to motivate me to help them would be through someone I know or have a connection with."* – P18

> *"I think the most obvious would be that it should be someone close to me. Someone close by like you know oh I did this, and it helps these people. I think right now that would be the biggest stimulus."* – P21

Others have mentioned that doing philanthropic behavior within the Chinese community is a form of *social interaction* with friends from the community, similar interests or upbringing or a way to expand their social network with people like them (P8, P11, P13, P16)**:**

*"The main reason however was to get to know more people."* – P8

*"I also wanted to expand my social circle."* – P11

*"And now it's fun, just doing it with friends, setting up events together and stuff. But it is more that I like doing it because I can do it with my friends than the helping itself."* – P16

Besides, P18 suggested that he would be open to help if he knew more people in the community or if someone, he knew would ask him. On the contrary, P21 said that because he was not interested in socializing or getting to know other Chinese (in the Netherlands) that was why he was also not actively looking for voluntary work such as association or maybe also the reason why he has not been involved in philanthropy towards the Chinese diaspora.

### *Personal resources to do philanthropy*

Almost identical to the first-generation, second-generation immigrants (P8, P10, P12, P14-15, P18-21) highlighted the influence of a *perceived adequate level of personal resources* – such as time and money – to engage in philanthropy in general.

*"Now I also don't have a lot of money so I would like to spend it for myself. Maybe later when I have a stable job I would do it."* – P8

*"I am a student now. I don't really have money to donate. "Keep your wallet closed to survive.""* – P15

*"If I have the time for it, I wouldn't mind keep translating or interpreting."* – P15

*"If I had the time and money, if I can afford it, then I wouldn't see a reason not to go to China to do philanthropic work."* – P21

*"I can't do everything at the same time, and I don't have enough to satisfy everyone."* – P14

*"If I had the time and money, I would be open to help the Chinese community in the Netherlands, otherwise not."* – P19

*"Yeah, because I don't think I am currently in the phase that I can help others, that I am still in a phase where I have to help or focus on myself."* – P20

## 5.4    Sense of belonging and philanthropy

As found in the literature it is the sense of belonging that makes diaspora communities unique and characterizes their philanthropic behavior. However, it has also become apparent that the sense of belonging can differ between immigration generations. To understand how these impacts philanthropic behavior of the Chinese diaspora in the Netherlands, the sense of belonging of both generations is explored.

In general, this thesis found that both the first- and second-generation immigrants identified had adopted aspects from both the country of origin and residence. This was especially the case for second-generation immigrants. However, as participants mentioned, it is not that black and white. One might feel a stronger connection with the host country or culture, while another might feel a stronger connection with the home country or culture. Hence, the interviewees have been categorized in three groups: sense of belonging to country of residence, sense of belonging to the country of origin, and sense of belonging in between.

### *First-generation and sense of belonging*

Five first-generation immigrants (P1-2, P4-5, P7) had a greater sense of belonging to the country of origin:

> *"You are still Chinese. You always have no matter how Dutch you are, you sometimes feel Chinese. Your appearance is Chinese. Often when you have a difference of opinion or discussion with Dutch people you never win, you want to know why, because you are a foreigner. You don't live in his country."* – P2

> *"It is the same when a Dutch person celebrates their birthday and you are sitting in a circle and you are the only Chinese, yeah in those cases I don't feel like I fit in. You are with a whole group of Dutch people and with one Chinese, you don't feel like you belong."* – P2

> *"It really depends on whom you are. If I am with Chinese, I feel 100% Chinese. If I am with Dutch people, yeah you also grew up here and have been surrounded by them, you know the culture very well and how the people are."* – P7

> *"I know the Dutch culture, but I am still Chinese, I understand Chinese better."* – P7

P3 and P6 felt a stronger sense of belonging between the country of residence and country:

> *"Uh yeah... I don't feel a belonging anywhere. I'm not Chinese, I'm not Dutch, I'm just me. To me it doesn't matter who you are, that's you."* – P3

> *"I feel like I am in the middle. I am bad with adjusting to my environment, but that is what is happening."* – P6

> *"Yes, if you grew up between two worlds, at least in my case, I cannot categorize myself to one or the other country. It will continue to follow you. "In any case you are somewhere in between." It is hard to decide, you will never make the right one, you must be satisfied with whatever you choose."* – P6

Paragraph 6.1 has shown five of the seven first-generation immigrants participated in philanthropy towards the Chinese diaspora in the Netherlands due to their sense of belonging to this group.

As for their philanthropy towards the country of origin only two expressed a connection between their sense of belonging and philanthropy towards the country of origin:

*"Maybe later when I start to create a bond with my native region again."* – P6

*"You are still Chinese, you feel Chinese, you have a connection with the country of origin so you may be faster with deciding to help them."* – P7

Moreover, none of the first-generation immigrants expressed a relationship between their philanthropic behavior towards the Dutch community and their sense of belonging.

### *Second-generation and sense of belonging*

As for all the 21 second-generation immigrants they felt that they were part of a so-called third identity which is both Chinese and Dutch or neither of them:

*"Because I met a lot of people there who, like me, grew up abroad. So, second-generation immigrants, Asian immigrants, and I connect a lot more with them since we were both born in a different country but with Chinese culture and the other culture - it's mixed now. This means we can understand it from both sides and see from both perspectives, but that also means that we don't really feel a belonging to 1 of the cultures anymore. So, it has now just become more of its own culture and not whether Chinese or Dutch. It's a mix now and we all, all the immigrants, including other girls I've met there, we all feel it's become a culture of its own. And that you are in between."* – P12

*"And I don't know if you had that, but in the Netherlands, you are always reminded of it, because you don't look like a Dutch person in appearance, but in China, for example, you are reminded that you don't have that much background. It's not necessarily that you must speak the language completely, but there are just a lot of things that will let them know you're not "Chinese". So, it feels like you can never lie comfortably in a bed anywhere, that you're always kind of floating above it. Someone like that will remind you that it's not your bed."* – P14

*"Yes, absolutely. I am different here; I am different there. I always have a crisis. Here I am seen as an outsider because I do not look Dutch. I speak Dutch fluently, but I am not Dutch. And there I am an outsider because I speak Dutch fluently and they see by my appearance that I am not Chinese Chinese. And then I ask myself yes where I come from?"* – P9

*"I think because I see the advantages that I have, and the other people don't have because I'm exposed to different cultures. I grew up in a Dutch culture but also the Chinese culture and I get the benefits of both."* – P13

*"Both and neither, I mean when I'm here in the Netherlands people don't see me as a Dutch don't see me touch. But when I'm in China people don't see me Chinese because they know I'm a foreigner. So, I don't know."* – P13

However, the first group (P9-17, P19-21), mentioned that while they categorize themselves with a third identity, they still have a greater connection to the country of origin, the Chinese community or Asian community in general:

> *"I feel more Chinese, but I think that is partially because I am second generation Chinese and not third generation. So, I just got the culture from my parents that they learned. And of course, I've seen how they are, so I adopted that behavior."* – P12

> *"Even with more contact with the Dutch community now, I still feel closer with the Chinese community."* – 15

> *"Talking about connection, I feel more connected with my Asian side I feel a stronger connection with Asia, first because obvious because of my looks which is of course more Asian. Also, I like more Asian food than Dutch or Western food. maybe my mind is more collectivistic than individualistic <inaudible> as well, which makes me more connected with my Asian side."* – P13

> *"I think it is primary due to my appearance that I feel more Chinese, not because I know the language that I feel more Chinese. I master both languages at the same level (Dutch and Chinese). I know both languages equally well. So, I think it is mostly a hereditary thing."* – P16

P8 mostly felt in between both the host and home country: *"It is difficult to say whether I feel more Dutch or Chinese, because both cultures have their good and bad sides, I don't know. In some case I feel more Dutch. In terms of values, I am not as conservative, I am more openminded and free spirited. In those case I feel more Dutch. Sometimes I cannot align well with Chinese values, like I am not very family orientated, so in that sense I feel more Dutch. However, when I am only with "white" people I don't feel Dutch."* – P8

P18 was in between but felt a greater sense of belonging to the country of residence: "*I feel a connection with both communities, but I think a bit more with the Dutch community. I think also because my family, my household has relatively stayed outside the Chinese community. So, I think a bit more involved with the Dutch community.*"

P20, who did his high school years in China, unlike the others felt a greater sense of belonging to the community in the country of origin in specific than the Chinese community in The Netherlands: *"I would say more Chinese Chinese than Dutch Chinese."*

To conclude, these answers present that the sense of belonging for both the first- and second-generation immigrants come from different sources such as language, familiarity, same upbringing, interests, and culture: norm and values and most prominent appearance. Moreover, this sense of belonging gets stimulated by being surrounded by those with whom they share the sense of belonging.

*Sense of belonging to country of residence and philanthropy*
P18 who was the only one who felt a stronger connection to the country of resident stated that this partially influenced his non-existent involvement with philanthropy towards the Chinese community in the Netherlands until now:

> *"Yes, it is still because of the communities because I didn't quite belong to the Chinese communities and your environment is still largely Dutch, I think. I am interested in it, but you also must know people there to fit in. If those connections are not very strong then yes you might feel something for them, but not enough to help them."*

Nonetheless, when asked if he had to choose between a Chinese elderly or Dutch elderly to give money his sense of belonging towards the country of origin became clear: *"Yes, if I had to choose one then the Chinese grandma, it is a bit of a question of conscience, but yes also because it is something closer to you. But you also don't know what they've been through, so it depends."*

Besides, he expressed his interest and willingness to engage in philanthropy towards the country of origin, but it also became clear that he was more inclined to help the Chinese community in the Netherlands:

> *"I think that helping the community in the Netherlands is a bit easier, because is something more relatable. Now I don't know if the cause is the same, but I think the community in the Netherlands is closer."*

However, when asked whether his preference would go to the Chinese community in the Netherlands or the country of origin the following became apparent: *"I think that helping the community in the Netherlands is a bit easier, because is something more relatable. Now I don't know if it is the same, but I think the community in the Netherlands is closer."*

*Sense of belonging in between and philanthropy*
For P8 who did feel both Chinese and Dutch, did not feel the necessity to help the Chinese community now or in the future, whether it was in the country of residence or country of origin. Her answer reflects that a lack of strong connection or sense of belonging influences the decision to do so:

> *"I don't feel such a strong connection that I want to do something for the community there. I see those places more as a destination of vacation or to visit family."*

> *"I am also in general not that involved with the Chinese community. So that also plays a big role."*

However, she also expressed that she is and would probably not be involved in philanthropy towards the Dutch community either.

*Sense of belonging to the country of origin and philanthropy*
On the other hand, those (twelve) who had a greater sense of belonging to the country of origin or in some manner felt a greater connection with the country of origin, were willing to engage in philanthropic towards the country of origin, but more towards the Chinese community in the Netherlands.

When comparing their willingness to help (someone from) the Chinese community in the Netherlands or Dutch community, all of them were more inclined to help their fellow diaspora members:

> *"Yes, I think familiarity. I just think less intimidating too. You don't have to think about it so much, you just have the feeling of 是自己人 (is one of my own)."* – P9

> *"It mattered that it was a Chinese student association. I feel more comfortable with Asians, and I once joined a fraternity event, and I really didn't feel at home."* – P11

> *"Yes, suppose you are on the train, and you see elderly people, and if I see a grandfather also of Asian descent, then I simply think of my grandfather, so I have more emotional connection with that grandfather than, for example, an older Moroccan man. Yes, I'd rather help that Asian grandpa because he reminds me of my grandpa."* – P12

> *"Because it was an old Chinese lady, who made me more emotional and more willing to help her. I'm not from Hong Kong but I still felt they're kind. Yeah, they're Asian people, they're Chinese, type of Chinese."* – P13

> *"I wouldn't have done it so fast if it hadn't been people from China (Taiwan) or Singapore."* – P17

> *"Yeah, yeah ... nah no that is a mean question. Yes, naturally you would choose to save someone from your own culture, because I am 100% Chinese by blood so I would help a Chinese for sure."* – P19

> *"I think I would be more inclined to help the Chinese community here than the Dutch one. Eventually it is still your roots. I think my parents would also be happy about it."* – P21

Three of these second-generation interviewees also expressed that they thought it would be more *meaningful* to help the Chinese community rather than the Dutch community in the Netherlands:

> *"I think helping the Chinese community in the Netherlands will feel more meaningful than Dutch people. Other people can help them as well, but there are limited resources for Chinese in the Netherlands. So, you feel like you are more helpful, there are less people that are willing to help them. Other, for example, if there are only 505 people who can translate something, if just 10% is gone, then there's only like 450. But for Dutch people, there are thousands of people who can help."* – P10

> *"But the Dutch also have enough people here who they can and come to help, but I wouldn't know if the Dutch would help the Chinese community."* – P17

In the case of comparing the Chinese community in the Netherlands and China nine second-generation immigrants hinted favoring the Chinese community in the Netherlands. In some

cases, this had to do with *feasibility* and *meaningfulness* of either themselves or the philanthropic act.

> *"Comparing here and there, then the community here. The distance is smaller, and I feel more connected with the community here than in China."* – P11

> *"Because I can't just go to China to help, that's too expensive. As much as I'd like it to do it, it just isn't real. So, I would prefer the Netherlands, especially since I live in Rotterdam now where the Chinese community is way bigger than my own village."* – P12

> *"I would like to volunteer both for the community here and there. China would be more fun, but would choose mm-hmm, probably here first because it's easier to travel, and more connection with them."* – P13

> *"I find that difficult. I then think oh the Chinese community in the Netherlands, in my eyes, probably runs into such problems and probably needs this and this. But if you ask me to help the Chinese community in China, because I'm here a lot and I was born here, I don't know very well what problems I should think about and what they would need help with. It is therefore not the case that if they have problems that is less important, but because I am here and I can think faster what would be needed here and because it is just closer to home, because in the end this is normal, they are all Chinese (here and there), but is what I feel most involved with."* – P14

> *"I would choose the Chinese community here over there because of the better connection I have with the community here. I grew up here, the people around me also grew up here. You will feel closer than with for example a country on the other side of the world."* – P15

However, P17 thought it was more meaningful to help the community in China rather than the community in the Netherlands:

> *"In China. Because I think that if you had to help a community in China, I think that is much more necessary than in the Netherlands. And I have the impression that it is not needed so quickly in the Netherlands. I think everyone has a really good time here."*

P16 and P20, in contrast, while more inclined to help a Chinese person did not mind whether it was in the country of origin or residence. P20 was also the only second-generation immigrant with a stronger sense of belonging to Chinese in China than Chinese in the Netherlands.

Moreover, those who were willing to engage in philanthropy in the country of origin were more willing to do it in their hometown, except P15 who said she didn't mind if she already chose to do philanthropy towards the country of origin. What is interesting is that those who preferred their hometown also indicated differences among Chinese from different regions and felt a stronger connection to their specific region, while P15 did not feel a specific belonging to either of the Chinese immigrant groups individually.

> *"Oh yes then I would give more. The closer to the hometown the worse I find it."* – P12

> *"It depends though. I mean for what causes it. If it's really one time help and the same cause but in Wenzhou and the other in Qingtian? Yeah, I maybe would put equal amounts in both ... Yeah, but probably less in the one of Wenzhou"* – P13

> *"I would prefer helping my hometown or near it, where you come from, but eventually it wouldn't matter that much."* – P19

> *"If I could choose, the most obvious would be somewhere close to my hometown, because this is where parents come from and stuff, I think."* – P21

Looking at their willingness to specifically help the Chinese community in China and the Dutch community mixed responses were given:

> *"Yeah, I don't have a connection with them (India). It doesn't feel as my duty or something: you just want to support your people. Ok, I'll be honest, I've never donated to a Dutch charity."* – P12

> *"If it was China, I would have felt more willing to. I also feel more obligated to help, more as my duty. It's bad when an earthquake happens anyway, but the idea must also be ...."* – P20

> However, P10 would rather help the Dutch community than the Chinese community in China: *"Yeah. If we're talking about Netherlands, then yeah, I'll also be inclined to help the Chinese more. But if we're talking about Chinese in China, then if it, it's the exact same cost and I would prefer the Dutch cause, because I also belong to the Dutch community."*

### *Lack of information*
Some (P11-12, P15, P17, P19-20) second-generation immigrations described that *lack of information* about the possibilities of philanthropy was a reason why they have not shown philanthropic behavior towards the country of residence yet. Others even have not thought about doing philanthropy for the country of residence or origin:

> *"No, I don't think I ever did something specific for the Chinese community here? What can you do?"* – P11

> *"In the Netherlands, I actually don't have a clue what they all need."* – P12

> "*I wouldn't know what. I wouldn't even know where to help."* – P20

One possible explanation for the lack of information would be the earlier mentioned lack of social network acting as a *functional role* for the second-generation immigrants:

> *"I think I know maybe because it didn't come across my path, and I also did not look for it per se. Yeah. But I haven't done it yet. But I think I would."* – P13

## 5.5 Lack of trust

Both the first- and second-generation immigrants have voiced that a *lack of trust* in general negatively influences their decision to and how to engage in philanthropy, suggesting it is also the case for philanthropy towards the country of residence and origin. It especially impacts their decision to engage with formal institutes and use money as a means of philanthropy. The lack of trust comes from bad experiences, bad stories

### *First-generation immigrants*

Five out of seven, except P6, mentioned the influence of a lack of trust. For instance, P1 and P4 brought up the lack of transparency of NGOs in China and that is less attractive to engage in philanthropy if you do not know who the eventually receiver will be. P2 made a similar statement with regards to the country of residence. Other examples:

> *"We don't help everyone, because not everyone has it bad and some even misuse your kindness. Then feels like throwing money in the ocean, we earn it buy selling little by little. I have three kids; I just can't throw away my money."* – P4

Lastly, P6 and especially P3 conveyed their doubt about the usefulness of money:

> *"Just giving money to an organization is not so helpful, I don't think you really can help people by just donating."* – P3

> *"You cannot do much with money, what do they learn."* – P6

### *Second-generation immigrants*

From the second-generation immigrants ten suggested (P9-13, P15-16, P19-21) that they were less willing to donate money both the country of origin and residence, on the organizational and sometimes individual level, with some not willing at all:

> *"Yes, donate money no. I don't like donating money. For example, if the money is ultimately used for people who don't really need it, then I'd rather volunteer than donate money, or rather donate stuff is also good."* – P9

> *"Therefore, I prefer something that people can use, something I know for sure cannot be stolen like money."* – P12

Additionally, P14 and P20 noted that people in China were more wary about donating or giving money to strangers. This negatively impacted P14's decision to give money to strangers in China, while all the negative stories or warnings from Dutch counterparts did not affect her act of giving money in the Netherlands:

> *"In China I had more the idea that I just let it be, because if they really didn't like it then I just won't do it."* – P14

# 6    Conclusion

The aim of this master thesis is to understand the philanthropic behavior of first- and second-generation Chinese immigrants in both the country of origin and residence, specifically towards fellow diaspora members. To be precise this thesis explored the following research question by using 21 semi-structured interviews: *"Why do first- and second-generation Dutch Chinese immigrants engage themselves in (cross-border) diasporic philanthropy work in their country of origin and country of residence?"*

Furthermore, to see whether first- and second-generation immigrants differ in their philanthropic behavior both to the country of origin and residence both cases must be compared to each other while answering the research question. The recognized similarities and differences between the two immigrant generations have been broadly illustrated in figures 2 to 5 (see Appendix 4).

To answer the research question, two sub questions were explored. First, this thesis answered the question: *"How do first and second generation Dutch Chinese immigrants display philanthropy work?"*

Observing at the influencing factors behind the philanthropic behavior of the first-generation and second-generation interviewees, there are some similarities in their responses but also fundamental differences, when looking at the receiving end, namely country of origin and country of residence (diaspora group).

Just focusing on the country of origin it becomes apparent that the first-generation immigrants in general are more involved in diaspora philanthropy towards the country of origin than the second-generation immigrants. Not only do the first-generation Chinese show more philanthropic behavior towards the family, but they are also more engaged in philanthropy towards external parties. Aside that both generations participate in the act of gift-giving towards the family, no other similarities are found. Moreover, it becomes apparent that the scale and frequency in which the first-generation immigrants perform diasporic philanthropy is greater than that of second-generation immigrants.

Looking at the philanthropy on the societal level, 5/7 first-generation immigrants have made both monetary and non-monetary donations. Besides, they indicated that such donations to the country of origin occur occasionally. Moreover, 3/14 second-generation immigrants added that their parents or acquaintances engage in donating.

On the contrary, only 3/14 second-generation immigrants have stated that they have made donations to the country of origin, with 2/3 being at a small scale in the form of donating money to a homeless person. These were all a one-time occurrence, with two of them stating that they are less likely to do it again due to the influence of members of the country of origin, who told them to be wary about giving money to strangers (*lack of trust*). Another significant difference

that has been highlighted through this study is the prominent act of sending remittances towards the country of origin by all the first-generation interviewees (and nine second-generation immigrants who mentioned their parents) and none of the second-generation interviewees.

However, 12/14 second-generation immigrants made clear that they were willing to financially support their parents in the future by sending them money, even willing to do it on a periodic basis. This is like their parents who send/sent remittances back to the country of origin, but now the philanthropic act moved from the country of origin to the country of residence. This also suggests that first-generation immigrants display less philanthropic acts towards the family in the country of residence.

Further observing the philanthropic behavior of first- and second-generation Chinese immigrants in the country of residence, both generations take part in informal volunteerism with language related volunteering being the most notable. Another similarity between the first- and second-generation is the participation in formal volunteerism through Chinese (related) associations or organizations.

While the two generations share more similar philanthropic behavior in the country of residence, there are still crucial differences. For instance, first-generation immigrants showed more diverse informal volunteerism with some of them helping new immigrants settling down in the country of residence and another taking part in the educational development of Chinese children. Moreover, 6/7 first-generation immigrants have made (monetary) donations to the Chinese community in the Netherlands, with one of them even establishing a foundation to make donations to a temple when necessary. In contrast, only 2/14 second-generation immigrants made monetary donations to the Chinese community once. Furthermore, 8/14 second-generation immigrants mentioned helping in their parents' business and 9/14 mentioned helping their parents with language and administrative related tasks when talking about their philanthropy in the country of residence. This is a very interesting finding that has not been mentioned in the earlier literature nor mentioned by the first-generation immigrants.

Overall, first-generation immigrants show clear philanthropic behavior towards the country of origin to both the family and society in the form of (monetary) donations, while second-generation immigrants are almost not present in the country of origin. Similar, relatively more first-generation immigrants seem to engage in philanthropy on the societal level in the country of residence than second-generation immigrants. Their philanthropic behavior towards the community in general is also more divers ranging from monetary, non-monetary donations to volunteerism. Besides, on the societal level it was displayed in larger scales and frequencies. Moreover, while this thesis presents that both first- and second-generation immigrants engage in philanthropy towards the family, especially the parents, through the act of financial support such as remittances, it also shows that second-generation immigrants have a unique aspect of showing volunteerism behavior towards the family.

The second sub question: *"What is the amount of involvement of philanthropy work?"*, was answered in a lesser extent, but led as bridge to answer the research question by finding the potential drivers for the diasporic philanthropy behavior of the Chinese Dutch immigrants.

Looking at cultural (of origin) reasons, both first- and second-generation immigrants are driven by almost the same motivations. This study shows that for both the first- and second-generation *filial piety* is a very strong indicator of their philanthropic behavior towards their family and to their parents. Many second-generation immigrants emphasized that they wanted to pay back because they felt an obligation, from themselves, to repay or thank their parents and show their love and appreciation. For the second-generation immigrants this was reinforced through seeing their parents struggles and sacrifices they had to go through, while for the first-generation it appeared to be strengthened by their movement to another country and not being able to fulfill obligations to the parents. This suggest that *migration* on its own also influences the philanthropic behavior of the Chinese diaspora. Therefore, philanthropy towards the family is more displayed in the country of origin by the first-generation and in the country of residence by the second-generation.

Another concept that impacts the philanthropic behavior of both first-and second generation is the concept of *reciprocity*, which underlies *filial piety* as well. For both generations the expectation of those in the country of origin influenced them to show philanthropy in the form of gift-giving.

Furthermore, since both generations put great importance on *kinship* with many preferring to help those close to them. This also caused them to be more inclined to show philanthropy to a larger extent to those close to them. Besides, due to this focus on *kinship* it naturally led to both first- and second-generation immigrants to show more philanthropy towards the country of residence as they had more close relationships in the country of residence. In addition, the desire to be *exposed* or *exposed* other to the culture of origin was a driver of diaspora philanthropy for both generations.

However, what distinguishes the first- and second-generation from each other with regards to philanthropy towards the country of origin is that first-generation immigrants have their social network, including online network such as through WeChat, and *guanxi*. Their social network provides them with information and opportunities to engage in philanthropy, which the second-generation seems to be lacking. Nonetheless, almost every (12/14) second-generation immigrant was open to participate – one already did – in philanthropic acts towards the country of origin, because of their connection with their ancestral roots. Besides, most of them also stated that they would prefer their hometown region as they felt a greater sense of belonging towards it.

Social resources are also determinant in the differences between both generations and their philanthropy behavior towards the country of residence. While more second-generations are now more involved with philanthropy to the Chinese community in the Netherlands due to having a social network and role models, it is again the social network of firs-generation

immigrants that reaches further that sets the difference in frequency, scale, and nature of philanthropy. Moreover, especially in the country of residence *guanxi* is crucial for first-generation immigrants to show philanthropy. This is in accordance with what the literature found, where *guanxi* influence Chinese diaspora philanthropy, but this study adds to the existing literature by adding the concepts of *mianzi* and *lian*. The study shows that keeping and giving "prestige" to another, especially those close to them, is an essential driver for philanthropic behavior among first-generation immigrants in the country of residence. On the contrary, second-generation immigrants value social interaction with other Chinese immigrants more and motivates them to engage in volunteering.

Another important influencing factor is the sense of belonging of both generations. All first-generation interviewees hinted that they understood the Dutch culture and felt a connection with the country of residence to a certain degree, but all also felt a connection to the country of origin. Two first-generation immigrants hence felt in between, while five others felt a stronger connection and belonging to the country of origin. Combined with *benevolence* and the *importance of kinship* and *reciprocity* this stimulated them to show philanthropic behavior towards the Chinese diaspora in the Netherlands – where the experience of other Chinese immigrants helping them or recognizing themselves in the other diaspora members stimulated their desire to return the favor – and be more willing to engage in philanthropy towards their country of origin. As for the second-generation, all of them mentioned their belonging to a so-called third identity that has adapted to both countries. However, almost every one of them (12/14) felt a greater sense of belonging to the country of origin. This greatly impacted their philanthropic behavior, where all twelve of them would be more inclined to help their diaspora members over their Dutch counterparts. For nine of them, their sense of belonging further led to a stronger preference for helping the Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands over those in the country of origin, while the first-generation did not indicate such a strong preference. Interestingly, while their sense of belonging made most of the second-generation immigrants willing to involve in diaspora philanthropy towards the country of origin, mixed responses were given when asked to choose between their country of origin and the Dutch community in the Netherlands.

Lastly, both generations have noted that a sufficient "perceived amount" of personal resources like time and money are important to initially engage in philanthropy, particularly for the second-generation. Similar, trust must be present to start philanthropy. It is also a reason for many to not involve themselves in organizations and for the second-generation immigrants not to donate money.

# 7    Discussion

In this discussion the results of the thesis are critically discussed. In the first section the results of the study will be compared to existing literature, touching upon possibilities for future research. Second, the limitations of this thesis will be highlighted.

## 7.1    Contributions to literature

As this thesis has shown, research on diaspora philanthropy is still novel, especially when looking at specific diaspora communities, such as the Chinese diaspora. Moreover, as the literature review presented, even research on Chinese diaspora philanthropy is in its initial phase, with most of Chinese diaspora philanthropy research focusing on the United States. Therefore, this Master Thesis contributes to existing literature by introducing findings on the Dutch Chinese diaspora philanthropy in the country of residence and country of origin and differentiating on generational status.

First, several findings from current research have been confirmed throughout this study.  As Sundeen et al. (2007) and Young and Shih (2003) have proposed culture of origin, social resources, and personal resources impact and predict the philanthropic behavior of Chinese diaspora (in America), this study found similar results on all the three categories. Especially the presence of Confucianism for both the first- and second-generation as reasons for diaspora philanthropy has been confirmed. Furthermore, social network as a functional tool and the importance of *guanxi* have been confirmed in this study for both generations. Next, this thesis, like the literature (Sundeen et al., 2007) found that the Chinese immigrants must perceive a certain level of income (financial stability) for themself and extended family, and enough time to engage in (diaspora) philanthropy. Moreover, while this thesis did not find a clear relationship between level of education and philanthropic behavior, it did find, like the literature (Sundeen et al., 2007; Sundeen et al., 2009; Young & Shih, 2003) that both Chinese immigrant generations prefer educational, and as this study found, health related causes.

Additionally, as academic research indicated philanthropy among generations and across regions might differ, including the influence of their sense of belonging (Sundeen et al., 2007; Sundeen et al., 2009; Young & Shih, 2003). This study confirms this: philanthropy among first- and second-generation differs. Besides, it is indeed the case that first-generation immigrants have a stronger sense of belonging to the country of origin and lean more towards philanthropy towards the country of origin than second-generation.

Contributing, this thesis found that second-generation immigrants identify themselves with a third-identity hovering between the two countries. Resulting, in a tendency towards diaspora philanthropy towards the Chinese community in the Netherlands instead of the country of origin. However, when asked whether there was a preference for the Dutch community or country of origin, mixed results were found. Therefore, giving rise to future research.

Furthermore, this thesis contributes to the literature by showing that especially *guanxi, mianzi and lian,* with the two latter not being mentioned in Sundeen et al. (2007) and Young and Shih (2003) as social resources matter for first-generation Dutch Chinese immigrants. While these concepts are common in Chinese culture several interviewees such as P6, P15 and especially P12 that the concepts of *mianzi* and *lian* are more prevalent in the Wenzhou culture. Since, as mentioned in this thesis, many Dutch Chinese immigrants come from this region, it might be possible explanation why this thesis found such a finding, contrasting literature focusing on the United States. It is interesting for future research to examine whether this finding is more prominent for Chinese immigrants coming from these regions and if there are (further) regional differences among Chinese immigrants that effect their philanthropic behavior.

Another important theoretical implication is the dimension it adds on the discourse of philanthropy as a concept. This thesis has shown the importance of kindship for both the first and second generation in their philanthropic behavior, including cultural values and norms emphasizing the importance of family and those close. One interesting finding that this study presents is that specifically second-generation immigrants mention "helping their parents" when talking about philanthropy, which ranges from language related help to helping their parents' in their business. Not only on itself is this an additional finding, but it also confirms prior research on the importance of *filial piety*. However, even though some second-generation immigrants perceived this as philanthropy, some did not, and others were in between. This due to the nature of duty and obligation or the family aspect within this type of philanthropy. This perspective adds a new nuance to the discourse on Chinese diaspora philanthropy and philanthropy in general and opens opportunities for future research.

Given that the diasporic philanthropic behavior of Dutch Chinese immigrants has not much been researched prior, many other topics of future research arose during this Master Thesis. For instance, this thesis found that many first-and second-generation immigrants find trust very important to show philanthropy; a lack of trust impacts their philanthropic behavior. This thesis did not look in depth to the influence of *a lack of trust,* but it might be an interesting reference point for future research. Another point of discussion and possibility of future research is the impact of one of the parents re-marrying to someone from the country of residence on the philanthropic behavior of second-generation immigrants. Finally, since this thesis did not focus on the organizational level rather the individual level – when talking about the giver – this can be further explored in the future.

## 7.2    Limitations

There are several drawbacks with doing qualitative research. First, there is a lower generalizability. I will address this potential critique by emphasizing the fact that my thesis is not trying to generalize findings, but truly tries to understand what is happening within the Chinese diaspora in the Netherlands. Moreover, this is important, as research has been lacking regarding my research topic. Follow up research focusing on generalization is always possible.

Another critique point may be that as a researcher, I am biased to do this kind of research. However, there are many ways to mitigate biases and I think it is an advantage that I am part

of the same diaspora group, because participants felt more comfortable to discuss topics and were not hesitant to mention specific subjects related to the diaspora philanthropy.

Another limitation of this research is that, compared to the second-generation participants, not many first-generation immigrants have been interviewed. While this research tried to encounter it by asking the second-generation immigrants about the philanthropic behavior of their parents or other first-generation in their environment, it should be noted that more first-generation immigrants must be interviewed to reach a certain state of saturation.

Lastly, with research such as this thesis it is inevitable that language barrier forms a limitation. Even though the use of Mandarin while conducting the interviews countered this problem to some degree, many first-generation immigrants are native in their regional dialect. Therefore, it is possible that this thesis did not find the most in-depth answers for the first-generation immigrant group.

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## Appendix 1: Defining immigrant generations

| | Born in the country of residence | Both Parents Born in country of residence | All Four Grandparents Born in the country of residence |
|---|---|---|---|
| First Generation/Immigrant | No | No | No |
| Second generation | Yes | No | No |
| Third generation | Yes | Yes | No |
| Fourth generation or Greater | Yes | Yes | Yes |

*Table 1: Different generation in diaspora communities (Nowrasteh & Wilson, 2017).*

## Appendix 2: Interview guide

*First-generation immigrants*

您好，首先感谢您接受我的采访。开始采访之前我想问一下我能不能把这次采访录下来。采访中的所有信息都将严格保密。而您将是论文中的匿名者。

我现在是 Erasmus 大学的硕士生。然后正在写论文。我的论文是关于荷兰第一代和第二代华人移民的慈善行为。具体来说，我想知道他们对在荷兰的华人和中国或者在中国的中国人做了什么样的慈善事业。比如说，我想知道他们做过、正在做、想做什么样的慈善事业。我也想知道慈善事业背后的动机。所以今天我想问问您的经历，想听听您的原因。

今天的采访有四部。第一部谈谈关于您（年纪，职业，等等）。第二部是关于您的移民之旅。然后我们会谈谈您对荷兰（人）和中国（人）的归属)感。最后我会问一些问题关于您的慈善行为。

您现在有什么问题吗？（如果没有的话，我们开始吧）。

Background
1.  Introduction of yourself
    a.  Age – Year of birth
    b.  Country of origin
    c.  Country of residence
    d.  Occupation

Immigration journey
1.  When did you come here?
    a.  Did you first go to other places?
2.  How did you come?
3.  Why did you come to the Netherlands?
4.  How did experience your journey and move to the Netherlands?
    a.  How were you received and how did you experience that?
5.  What did you do upon coming here?
    a.  Did you study in the Netherlands?）
6.  How often did and do you go back? Why? Impact?
    a.  Do you still have relatives in 'the country origin'?
7.  Would you go back later to your home country?

Sense of belonging
1.  Do you feel a belonging to the Netherlands/Dutch community? Why and how?
2.  Do you feel a belonging to China/Chinese community? Why and how?
    a.  Do you feel a better belonging to one of them? Can you explain?

b. Do you feel a difference when it comes to different regions? How?
3. Which one do you feel more connected to (Netherlands/China)? Why?
4. What languages do you (mainly) speak? Different variations of Chinese dialects? How well?
    a. Do you speak Dutch? How well? Why? Does it help with your connection to Dutch people? (Would you like to learn it, why?)
5. How does your social and work environment look like?
6. How do you engage with the Netherlands and China? Why do you engage with them/one more than the other?
7. Have you ever changed yourself to either feel a greater belonging to the Netherlands or China? Why? How?
    a. Feeling of alienation? How? Why? Impact?


Philanthropy
Introduction of philanthropy
1. What kinds of philanthropy did you do/are you doing in general? (Remittances, pro bono, blood donor, translating, teaching, build schools, association, volunteering)
    o To what causes: - is there a difference why (education, health, religion, arts, culture)
    o To whom: the Chinese community? To China? Would it make a difference?
        − Family
        − Friends
        − Stranger
        − Hometown
        − NGO/organization
        − Association
        − Governmental organizations
    o Why did you do these kinds of philanthropy?
    o When and why stopped?
    o Are there any external parties that influence this decision?
2. Is there something you would want to do in the future?
    o To what causes, whom, why, why not?
3. Why are you not doing anything?
4. To what extent are you willing to do philanthropy work?
    o Money
    o Time
    o Effort
    o Would it be different for doing it here or there?
5. Would you go back to China to do philanthropy?
6. Would you be more likely to help someone with an Asian/Chinese background?

*Second-generation immigrants*

Background
1. Can you introduce yourself a bit?
   o Gender
   o Age - How old are you? – What year were you born?
   o Country of birth - Where were you born?
   o Country of residence - Where do you currently reside?
   o Occupation - What is your current occupation?
   o What is your parents' occupation?

Second-generation specific questions
1. Where are you parents from specifically?
2. When did you parents immigrate to the Netherlands? Do you perhaps know why they immigrated to the Netherlands?
3. Do you still have relatives in 'the country origin'?
   o Do you still visit them/did you/how often/why?
   o How often did and do you go back? Why? Impact?
   o In what ways do they influence you in your everyday life?
4. How long have you been here (country of residence)? (Did you ever grow up somewhere else?)

Sense of belonging
Before moving on to the next question, do you feel a belonging to either the Dutch community or Chinese.
1. What is your educational background/work background – short summary of how your life has looked like? (What, where, when)
   o How long have you been studying/Did you study in the Netherlands?
2. What languages do you mainly speak (different variations of Chinese) and how well? And at home?
   o Do you speak the Dutch language? How well? Why (yes/no)?
   o Does your language ability influence the way you feel a belonging to the Dutch or Chinese community?
3. How does you social and or work environment looks like?
   o Does this influence the way you feel a belonging to the Dutch or Chinese community?
4. Do you feel a stronger connection with your ancestral country or the Netherlands? Why?
   o Did you ever feel conflicted with which country you belonged to, why?
   o How do you engage yourself with the country of residence and origin? Why? Is there a difference?
5. In what way has the Netherlands or your parents/country of origin/culture of origin changed the way you perceive life, think, act etcetera?

6. Have you ever changed yourself to either feel a greater belonging to the Netherlands or China? Why? How?
    o Feeling of alienation? How? Why? Impact?

Philanthropy
1. What do you think is philanthropy work?
    o What has influenced this way of thinking?
2. What kinds of philanthropy did you do, are you doing (Ranging from remittances to pro bono, working for a NGO, blood donor, donor through other organizations, volunteer work like translating, teaching, volunteering, sending funds to build schools for example, commission/association?)
    o To what causes - education, health and health services, religion, arts and culture, and international assistance
    o For whom?
    o Why did you do these kinds of philanthropy/why not?
    o Are there any external entities (family, friends, local government) that influence(d) your decision to do this kind of philanthropy?
    o Did you also help during the covid-19 pandemic? In what ways and to whom? Why?
3. When did you start doing philanthropy work? (Started with giving) Why?
4. Have you ever stopped with your philanthropy work? Why (not)?
5. Is there something you want to do in the future, where and why (ot)? (Ranging from remittances to pro bono, working for a NGO, blood donor, donor through other organizations, volunteer work like translating, teaching, sending funds e.g., to build schools, commission/association volunteering)?
    o Are there any external entities (family, friends, local government) that influence(d) your decision to do this kind of philanthropy?
    o For whom?
6. To what extent are you willing to do philanthropy work? (Time, money, effort)? Why?
    o Would you go (back) to the country of origin to do philanthropy? What would motivate you to do so? What would hold you back?
    o Would you do philanthropy work in the country of residence? What would motivate you to do so? What would hold you back?
    o Which of the two would have your preference? (Within the Chinese community here/over there)? Why not?
    o Would there be a distinguish within China as well? For example, your hometown?
    o Would you be more likely to help someone who comes from a Chinese/Asian background or someone who looks not like that?
7. Are there other ways you try to involve with your home/host country? Why?
8. Chinese philanthropy: ask specifically about family and working in the restaurant[10].

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[10] This question was added after the first interviewee mentioned this.

# Appendix 3: Participant overview

Closed for viewing

# Appendix 3: Interview overview

Closed for viewing

## Appendix 4: Overview of first- and second-generation philanthropy

| Receiver | First-generation immigrants | Second-generation immigrants |
|---|---|---|
| Family | Remittances (7)[11] | |
| | Gift-giving (3-4) | Gift-giving (3) |
| Society | (Monetary) donations (5)[12] | Monetary donations (3) |
| | | Formal volunteerism (1) |

*Figure 2: Receivers and means of diaspora philanthropy towards the country of origin.*

| Receiver | First-generation immigrants | Second-generation immigrants |
|---|---|---|
| Family | | Language related volunteering (9) |
| | | Volunteering at parents' business (8) |
| | | Financial support (remittances) (12) |
| Society | (Monetary) donations (7) | Monetary donations (2) |
| | Informal volunteerism (5) | Informal volunteerism (4) |
| | Formal volunteerism at an association (2)[13] | Formal volunteerism at an association (4) |
| | | Activism (1) |

*Figure 3: Receivers and means of diaspora philanthropy towards the country of residence.*

| Drivers of philanthropy | First-generation immigrants | Second-generation immigrants |
|---|---|---|
| Culture of origin | Benevolence (5) | |
| | Filial piety (7)[14] | |
| | Reciprocity (5) | Reciprocity (3) |
| Social resources | Functional role (7) | Functional role (6) |
| | WeChat (1) [15] | |
| | Guanxi | |
| Personal resources | Financial, occupational, and family stability (7) | Financial stability (9) |

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[11] P6 willing to do so in the future and nine second-generation immigrants mentioned their parents or others.

[12] Four second generation mentioned parents or others.

[13] Three second generation said their parents do/did voluntary work.

[14] Nine second-generation mentioned their parents.

[15] Three second-generation mentioned their parents.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Time (6) | Time (9) |
| Sense of belonging | A sense of belonging to the country of origin (7) | A sense of belonging to the country of origin (12) |
| Lack of trust | Lack of trust (5) | Lack of trust (10) |
| Lack of information | | |

*Figure 4: Drivers of diaspora philanthropy towards the country of origin.*

| Drivers of philanthropy | First-generation immigrants | Second-generation immigrants |
|---|---|---|
| Culture of origin | Benevolence (5) | Filial piety (12) |
| | Importance kinship (5) | Importance kinship (14) |
| | Reciprocity (5) | Obligation/no other option (4) |
| | Exposure to culture (1) | Exposure to culture 5 |
| Social resources | Functional role (7) | Functional role (6) |
| | Guanxi, mianzi and lian (7) | Role model (6) |
| | | Social interaction (6) |
| Personal resources | Financial, occupation, and family stability all | Time and money |
| Sense of belonging | Stronger sense of belonging to the country of origin (5) | Stronger sense of belonging to the Chinese diaspora community (14) |
| Lack of trust | Lack of trust (5) | Lack of trust (10) |
| Lack of information | | Lack of information (7) |

*Figure 5: Drivers of diaspora philanthropy towards the country of residence.*