1   Celebrity Philanthropy: An Introduction

Elaine Jeffreys and Paul Allatson

> Cultural Studies has not devoted much notice to one of the keynote developments in modern culture over the last 30 years: namely, the rise of various charity projects fronted and, in the public mind, defined by celebrities. (Rojek 2014: 127)

> In the very noisy and complicated world that we have, people that reach large numbers of people, like Madonna does, have an extraordinarily important role to play [in promoting philanthropy]. When they're devoting their time, their money, their name, a lot of effort, a lot of organization skill to all of this, it makes a huge difference. (Jeffrey Sachs cited in Luscombe 2006).

> [C]elebrity humanitarianism […] is most often self-serving […] it advances consumerism and corporate capitalism, and rationalizes the very global inequality it seeks to redress; it is fundamentally depoliticizing, despite its pretensions to 'activism'; and it contributes to a 'postdemocratic' political landscape, which appears outwardly open and consensual, but is in fact managed by unaccountable elites. (Kapoor 2013: 1)

Celebrity philanthropy is a visible and controversial phenomenon, as the opening quotations suggest. According to the 'Look to the Stars: The World of Celebrity Giving' website, which is advertised as 'the web's number one source of celebrity charity news and information' since 2006, there are now more than 3,400 [Hollywood-branded] celebrities involved with over 2,000 charities that aim to 'make a positive difference in the world' ('Look to the stars' 2006–15). Besides the apparent upsurge of commentary on celebrity and charity in tabloids, gossip magazines, business and news magazines, and social networking sites, there are a

growing number of academic texts on what Dan Brockington (2014: 90) calls the 'charity-celebrity-corporate complex'. These texts chiefly focus on the activities of entertainment celebrities and corporate figures who live and work in developed western societies (Bishop and Green 2008; Brockington 2009; Richey and Ponte 2011; Tsaliki, Frangonikolopoulos and Huliaras 2011; Kapoor 2013).

Although charity and fame are associated historically (Andrew 1989: 80–5), scholars generally agree that entertainment and sports celebrities based in the so-called global North, and especially in North America and Western Europe, have become increasingly involved with a particular type of philanthropy since the 1990s (Bishop and Green 2008; Littler 2008: 240; Rojek 2014: 127). Figure 1 confirms that there is an empirical basis for this assertion, providing a graphic illustration of the growing publicity given to the subjects of 'celebrity' and 'charity' (the more commonly used term for 'philanthropy') in the world's top media outlets between 1983 and 2013 (with data drawn from the Factiva.com database). A search on the Factiva database for the keyword 'charity' obtained over 700 hits in 1983, compared to around 120 for the term 'philanthropy'. The figures for the keyword 'charity' rose to around 22,000 hits in 1993 and 157,000 hits in 2003, reaching a high of more than 353,000 hits in 2013 (compared to a high of around 20,000 for 'philanthropy'). A search for the keyword 'celebrity' obtained just under 600 hits in 1983, that figure rose to nearly 12,000 hits in 1993 and more than 79,000 hits in 2003, reaching a high of more than 166,000 hits in 2013. The results for 'charity' *and* 'celebrity' are considerably lower but demonstrate a steady increase over time: under 20 hits in 1983, more than 500 in 1993, more than 5,000 in 2003, and just over 10,000 in 2013. The results for 'celebrity' *and* 'philanthropy' are insignificant by comparison, and hence are not included in the graph: 0 in 1983 and less than 550 in 2013.

Figure 1: Newspaper Coverage of 'Celebrity' and 'Charity' (1983–2013)

Number of Hits for 'Celebrity' and 'Charity' in Factiva, 1983 - 2013

Source: Factiva.com, accessed 14 August 2014.
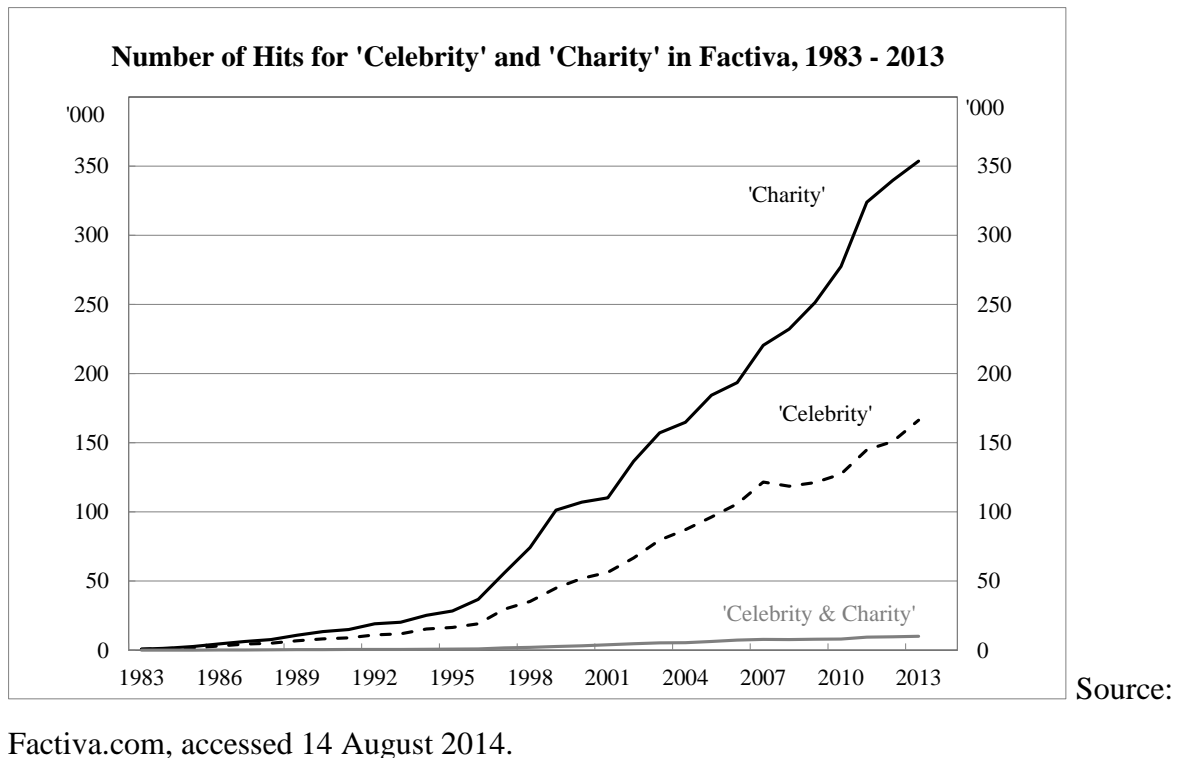
Celebrity philanthropy in contemporary western societies is differentiated from the practice wherein the rich and famous 'give back' by cheque-writing at charity galas; celebrities now use their public visibility, brand credibility and personal wealth to promote not-for-profit organizations which are increasingly institutionalized, 'business-like' and transnational in form. The rise of what is sometimes dubbed 'celanthropy' – 'charity projects fronted and, in the public mind, defined by celebrities' (Rojek 2014: 127) – is attributed to a combination of factors. Considerations relating to political change include: the retreat of many governments from providing welfare support or foreign aid; the domination of neoliberal policies; and the failure of those policies to resolve either global inequalities, allocations of risk or suffering. Factors relating to technological change include: the globalization of information technology; widespread media promotion of celebrities as newsworthy; and the competition for funding and donor awareness among not-for-profit organizations, which appears to require ongoing publicity and media interest (Turner, Bonner and Marshall 2000: 166; Cooper 2007: 5–7; Littler 2008: 240–1; Sawaya 2008: 212).

Scholars and other interested commentators praise and condemn celebrity philanthropy for demonstrating the perceived advantages and disadvantages of advanced capitalism and western liberal democracy in action. Supporters argue that leveraging 'fame' helps to popularize humanitarian values and global citizenship by raising the public profile of a given

social issues campaign and its host organization, bringing extra media coverage, attracting new audiences, demystifying campaign issues, encouraging sponsorship, and raising public awareness (Bishop and Green 2008; 'UNICEF people' n.d.). Critics insist that celebrity-endorsed philanthropy bolsters inequality, consumerism and corporate capitalism because it is driven by media desires for a story, the publicity-grabbing imperatives of the celebrity industry, and disguises the exploitative nature of trade and business relationships (Žižek 2006; Nickel 2012; Kapoor 2013; Rojek 2014).

This book explores the controversy surrounding contemporary celebrity philanthropy via critical debates on the politics of charity and philanthropy, capitalism and consumption, celebrity and fandom, and development and globalization, and cases studies that span Europe, Africa, Asia and the Americas. The volume contains 11 chapters, including this introduction, which engage with the subject of celebrity philanthropy from different analytical and cultural perspectives, rather than encouraging a Manichean 'love it or hate it' approach. Viewed as a whole, the book argues for a more nuanced understanding of celebrity engagement with philanthropy, whether referring to celebrity endorsement of public charities, celebrity donors or celebrity-funded private foundations, by exposing the contested nature of the terms 'celebrity' and 'philanthropy', and demonstrating that celebrity philanthropy can take different forms and be viewed differently in different parts of the world.

This introductory chapter proceeds as follows. We first contextualize the keywords 'celebrity' and 'philanthropy'. We then outline the general structure of the book, summarizing the contents and themes of the remaining chapters.

'Celebrity' and 'philanthropy'

The meaning of the word 'celebrity' may seem self-evident, especially given its increasingly common usage, but it has a long and somewhat chequered history. 'Celebrity' originally referred to the religious observance of rites and ceremonies, and hence pomp and solemnity, and gradually came to mean 'the condition of being much extolled or talked about', that is, being a famous or notorious public character ('Celebrity' 2014). Contemporary celebrities are dual objects of 'worship' (media and fan approval) and 'notoriety' (media and fan disapproval/scandal), depending on whether their fame, which is subject to ongoing reassessment, is viewed as being based on innate talents or as an effect of media exposure,

especially the media-fed trivia of lifestyle and personality (Turner 2004: 3–4; Redmond and Holmes 2007: 8). Daniel Boorstin (1972: 6), for example, denounces contemporary celebrities on the grounds that: 'their chief claim to fame is their fame itself'. Comparing modern-day celebrities in the United States of America (hereafter the US) with former 'heroes', he concludes that: 'The hero created himself; the celebrity is created by the media. The hero was a big man; the celebrity is a big name' (Boorstin 1972: 61).

This degenerative conceptualization of celebrity is entwined with the history and 'democratization' of celebrity in the US, with the inventions of silent cinema (late nineteenth century), sound movies (the late 1920s), broadcast television (the 1940s), the Internet (the late 1970s), and social media (the 2000s), being key staging points or phase shifts in the narrative (Jeffreys 2012). The creation of 'talking' pictures ushered in a new age of movie stars, with an accompanying focus on the physical attributes and media-created persona of the star. Broadcast television intensified and extended this process by creating television stars and ultimately making 'ordinary' people temporarily famous through the proliferation of reality television programming and associated interactive formats in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Graeme Turner (2009) has coined the expression 'the demotic turn' to describe the increasing visibility of 'ordinary people in the media' and their apparent desire to celebritize themselves, through reality television shows, talk radio and user-generated materials online.

As indicated by the expansion of types of celebrities and celebrity-making opportunities, defining contemporary celebrity is not a simple task. Some celebrities have extremely high levels of broadcast media visibility and are arguably known internationally. Others are celebrated at national or local levels, or transnationally and translocally through ethnic communities and inter-continental diaspora networks and media. Yet others create their own fame through social media and appeals to niche markets/audiences. Attempts to provide a definitive taxonomy of celebrity or a hierarchy of fame are thus complicated by the fact that new technologies are transforming the ways in which celebrity is created, traded and understood; moreover, both 'the celebrity' and 'the function of celebrity' may be conceived of differently in different cultural contexts. Celebrity is therefore better understood as an industry-coordinated 'media process' and 'the celebrity' as a commodity, sign or text that is 'productively consumed by audiences and fans' (Turner 2004: 20). The contemporary celebrity is clearly an ambiguous sign with multiple social functions in western societies at least, being a means through which interested audiences think and talk about issues relating

to both individual, social and cultural identities, and the nature of political-economic systems (Marshall 1997: x; Turner 2004: 25; see also the contributions to this volume).

The expansion of celebrity forms and celebrity-making opportunities has converged with the 'massification' of philanthropy. Although the English-language words 'charity' and 'philanthropy' are often used interchangeably, both of these terms have complicated histories. The term 'charity', which originally referred to the proclaimed love of God for humanity (c1200), came to mean Christian love (man's love of God and fellow human beings) and eventually benevolence to one's neighbours, especially to the poor, and more generally love, kindness and natural affection, without any specially Christian associations ('Charity' 2014). These understandings of the term are largely positive. However, charity as an organized response to human suffering has developed negative connotations as indicated by phrases such as 'cold as charity' and 'I'd rather die than accept charity'. The first expression refers to 'the perfunctory, unfeeling manner in which acts of charity are often done, and public charities administered' ('Charity' 2014). The second phrase highlights the moral taint that was and is still sometimes associated with charity as 'hand outs' to groups of people who are presented as socially dependent and inferior to elite providers of charitable aid. Both phrases retain the original imprecise suggestion that 'real charity' stems from an ineffable love rather than being mechanical, obligatory and hierarchical.

The negative connotations of organized charity, and occasionally its religious associations, explain the growing preference for the synonym 'philanthropy' in some discussions of legal charities or not-for-profits (Payton and Moody 2008). Like charity, the word 'philanthropy' referred originally to God's love of humankind, but now refers to the secular love of humanity as demonstrated through 'the disposition or active effort to promote the happiness and well-being of others', especially by donating time, money, goods and/or services to 'good causes' ('Philanthropy' 2014). Practitioners usually describe modern philanthropy in positive terms as referring to the development of the not-for-profit or non-governmental sector, and hence as institutionally channelled and business-style responses to the 'big' issues affecting humankind (Bishop 2007; Payton and Moody 2008). Critics infer that such philanthropies are too impersonal and money-orientated, as indicated by criticisms of not-for-profit CEOs as 'non-profit millionaires' (Bell 2009; see also Badje 2013: 5).

Celebrity endorsement of not-for-profits is often held up as a major example of the perceived

inauthentic nature of contemporary philanthropy, especially in leftist critiques put forward by scholars in Cultural and Development Studies. Chris Rojek (2014: 132–5), for example, argues that an enclave of A-list celanthropists are an increasingly notable and 'unelected' part of 'national and trans-national extra-parliamentary politics', who use the media to court acclaim and manipulate citizens of western societies into providing resources, which are frequently misappropriated, for private projects that pay lip service' to addressing global equality, but bolster vested corporate, government and media interests. Lisa Ann Richey and Stefano Ponte (2011) similarly condemn 'causumerism' – the purchase of a product, usually celebrity endorsed, for which a percentage of the profits goes to a 'good cause' – as a populist co-branding exercise that privileges 'whiteness', consumerism and capitalist accumulation by enabling western celebrities and corporations to 'speak for' and profit from suffering people in developing countries, especially in Africa. Ilan Kapoor (2013: 80) concludes that celanthropy democratizes philanthropy only to depoliticize its assumed traditional emphasis on compassionate benevolence and social change. Instead, it encourages western consumers to be 'heroes-for-a-day' who think they are delivering salvation to the rest of the world by purchasing the 'right product'.

These criticisms are both affirmed and interrogated in the chapters that make up the rest of this book.

Celebrity Philanthropy: **structure and contents**

The opening chapters, by Elaine Jeffreys and Jonathan Paul Marshall respectively (Part 1), argue for a more nuanced understanding of celanthropy by highlighting the reliance of the leftist critique on idealized conceptions of philanthropy. Elaine Jeffreys (Chapter 2) outlines the arguments 'for' and 'against' celebrity-corporate philanthropy with reference to Andrew Carnegie's 'Gospel of Wealth', Bill Gates' notion of 'creative capitalism' and the United Nations' (UN) celebrity ambassador system, and the counter arguments of social theorists (Carnegie 1889; Gates 2008; Kapoor 2013; 'UNICEF people' n.d.). Jeffreys argues that the term 'philanthropy' is imbued with debatable, utopian desires to perfect contemporary economic and political structures. While supporters of celanthropy maintain a utopian faith in the ultimate capacity of neoliberal capitalism to bring prosperity to all, critics contend that the goals of international philanthropies are incompatible with media sensationalism, celebrity culture and consumerism. However, reference to history shows that missionaries were

celebrated in ethnographic texts and public exhibitions in the nineteenth century as a means to generate public interest in and charitable donations for the 'civilizing mission' (Curtin 1964: 325; Magubane 2007: 374–5). The American Red Cross made use of promotional techniques, movies and celebrities in the early twentieth century to induce millions of 'ordinary' people to purchase goods and services to support war-time relief efforts (Rozario 2003). In other words, humanitarianism only became a mass phenomenon when philanthropy became a commercial marketing venture (Rozario 2003).

Without discounting the critique of celanthropy, Jeffreys points out that critics rarely suggest a viable replacement for the aid they despise. Moreover, despite the proliferation of intellectual complaints about the privileged, superficial and racist nature of celebrity philanthropy in the international arena, there are hardly any empirical studies of how celebrity-involved or celebrity-inspired philanthropy operates in practice in the context of developing countries, and what it does for local recipients and how it is viewed and understood by them. Jeffreys concludes that the lack of empirical studies of the operation of celebrity philanthropy in non-western contexts highlights the need for more nuanced applications of both the critical and the enthusiastic accounts.

In Chapter 3, Jonathan Paul Marshall argues that many approaches to celebrity philanthropy refuse to look at the mess of the real world. They foreclose discussion through rushing to apply the categories of 'good' and 'evil', by sidestepping the overwhelming magnitude of the problems faced in the world, and avoiding the paradoxes of help. In particular, while the left critique of helping is vital and important in pointing out fundamental problems, it leaves any form of practicable help vulnerable to criticisms of oppression, because such help necessarily involves both an unequal exchange and an attempt at maintaining or promoting order. A wider view is needed.

Marshall looks at the different (western) historical varieties of help in order to distinguish these forms in more detail, and follows this survey by looking at the incoherencies found in an interview with Angelina Jolie – international film star, UN Goodwill Ambassador, and currently Special Envoy to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (Cooper 2006; 'Goodwill Ambassadors' 2001–2015). Contrary to critics (e.g. Nickel 2012), Marshall argues that these incoherencies may arise from an implicit awareness of the overwhelming complexity of the situation, and the difficulties involved in any attempt to understand and

relate to the culturally different people being helped, however tangentially. Staying with these incoherencies may also allow the possibility of building a fictional, but useful and empathetic, relationship, thus providing an opening in which less foreclosed, and oppressive, thought and action could occur.

The next four chapters critique the impact of Euramerican-style celebrity philanthropy in the US and in international settings (Part 2). In Chapter 4, Dara Persis Murray explores the different views of female empowerment that inform the brand identity of Tyra Banks, a black US supermodel, media producer and philanthropist. Banks' most popular media program, and her main source of wealth, is *America's Next Top Model*, a global franchise that enjoins young women to embrace and promote capitalist consumer culture as embodied in the fashion and beauty industry (Banks 2003–). The would-be models compete against each other to realize their personal goals of wealth, celebrity and success. In contrast, Banks' main philanthropic effort, the TZONE Foundation, works to support girls and young women from disadvantaged backgrounds and appears representative of classic feminist efforts to empower women who are understood as an oppressed 'sisterhood'. TZONE recognizes a need for cooperative support to realize change and promote women's social, political, and economic rights, while *America's Top Model* promotes competitive individualism, hegemonic versions of beautiful femininity, and success through consumerism. These two conceptions of female empowerment are arguably incompatible.

Although TZONE was established before America's Top Model, it receives very little publicity and is rarely promoted publicly by Tyra Banks, in stark contrast to the high public profile of the Banks' franchise. Murray therefore concludes that Banks' philanthropy and self-proclaimed feminism is secondary to her commercial concerns centred on the extension of her reputation and 'brand'. This adds to the general, albeit uncorroborated, claim that the mediatized philanthropic activities of celebrities are primarily determined by self-interest, rather than by a genuine desire to help others.

Rob Millington (Chapter 5) examines how UN-advocated Sport for Development and Peace programs (SDP) contribute to the transnational branding of commercial sports and constrict understandings of development issues. Millington undertakes a case study of two specific SDP programs – 'Right to Play', a not-for-profit organization based in Canada, and 'Basketball without Borders', a corporate social responsibility initiative of the US National

Basketball Association ('Right to Play' 2013; 'Basketball without Borders' 2015). He argues that sport and sports stars draw the attention of sports fans to social issues, including global poverty and uneven development. The images projected through celebrity involvement in SDP programs also offer a counter-narrative to generalized understandings of poverty in developing economies by showing images of happy, healthy and active children participating in sport. However, the involvement of the sports celebrity within corporate-led and consumer-based development programs may also reduce the effectiveness of aid efforts, marginalize the recipients while enhancing the brands of sports stars and their sponsors, and constrict understandings of development issues by concentrating on individual outcomes such as enhanced self-esteem, confidence and sports-based leadership.

Millington concludes that discourses of philanthropy do not merely reflect social entities and relations but also actively construct those relationships, the problems being faced and those modes of solution that seem obvious. The discourse of 'sports celebrity aid' builds truth claims about what underdevelopment looks like, where it is located, how it can be addressed and who can address it. As a result of its success, we rarely hear how the subjects of development conceptualize and understand these endeavours, or indeed what they think they might need. Interested audiences in the global North are thus deprived of fair evaluations of Sport for Development and Peace programs.

In Chapter 6, Hilde Van den Bulck, Nathalie Claessens and Koen Panis analyze a sample of twelve documentaries from Belgium, The Netherlands, the United Kingdom (hereafter the UK) and the US, in which celebrity testimonials are used to present development problems and possible solutions, and hence to interpret global relations. They argue that celebrity testimonies fall into four main 'framings'. These are: (1) 'the West' saves 'the Rest [of the world]' through social engineering (including social engineering as 'the White Man's burden'; (2) 'the West' helps to save 'the Rest' through western organizations; (3) 'the West' helps 'the Rest' to save itself through local organizations; and (4) 'the Rest' can save themselves from problems caused by 'the West'. The first three frames are by far the most popular, with 'the West' generally being given a constitutive and dominant role in the development of 'the Rest'.

In the most popular framings, there is little reference to any ideas that might imply that the history of western imperialism and capitalism has helped to create and maintain patterns of

underdevelopment, thus depriving the documentaries' audiences of vital information for a deeper understanding of development problems and potential solutions. The framings also present celebrities as transitory figures, passing through, and bringing both worlds together in an uneven relationship. Van den Bulck, Claessens and Panis conclude that such celebrity testimonials tend to promote an ideology in which 'civilization' and 'development' are something that 'the West' has and 'the Rest' lacks, and which can be given to 'the Rest' by 'the West'.

Katherine M. Bell (Chapter 7) argues that even in the contemporary world, the model of the 'white saviour' is still popular in Hollywood film, popular music videos and other mainstream celebrity genres of production. In films such as *Indiana Jones* (dir. Spielberg 2003); *Lara Croft: Tomb Raider* (dir. West 2001) and *Blood Diamond* (dir. Zwick 2006), actors perform roles as heroes who 'save the day' against all odds, usually by thwarting dark and menacing adversaries. Celebrities, such as popstars Bono and Madonna and actor Angelina Jolie, activate some of the same representations of whiteness when acting as representatives of philanthropy, or as redeemers of 'the other', in Africa, whether intentionally or not.

Bell examines the publicity and television programs, surrounding Madonna's 'Raising Malawi' charity, Bono's 'Product RED' campaign, and Jolie's work for the UN ('Our story' n.d.; 'Goodwill Ambassadors' 2001–2015; 'Raising Malawi' 2009–15). Reportage around all three figures, as fund-raisers and diplomats for distant causes in Africa, appears to reproduce tropes of primitivism, Christian salvation and motherhood that stretch back to the colonial period. Indeed, media coverage of the role of Madonna and Jolie as celebrity adoptive mothers often implies widespread inadequacies in African motherhood and the salvation of children by white parentage.

As Bell concludes, the mingling of celebrities' personal and professional lives in their humanitarian endeavours generates a powerful form of enculturated authority that enables them to speak for distant others, and to define global problems for the home audience. These social and political problems are usually reduced to hapless circumstance, poor choices or rotten luck. In the cases examined, the problems are resolved through cursory references to African virtues of community and joy, but mainly through the application of North American

ideals of individualistic strength, hard work, perseverance and participation in the capitalist economy.

The next three chapters, by Devleena Ghosh, Elaine Jeffreys and Paul Allatson respectively, examine the politics of celebrity philanthropy as debated in India, mainland China, and in Latin American and US Latino settings (Part 3). Devleena Ghosh (Chapter 8) looks at the nexus of celebrity, political activism and philanthropy in the political advocacy of author Arundhati Roy, as found in Roy's comments on the nature of the Indian state, and in Indian-based reactions against this commentary. Roy (1997), the writer of the Booker Prize winning novel, *The God of Small Things*, has become a global literary celebrity and an icon of social activism through her intervention in local, regional and global politics, her practice of donating her prize monies to humanitarian and environmental causes, and what are seen as her contentious political and social opinions. Roy's main polemics are directed at the Indian state and its attempts to promote development through dams and nuclear power, and what she sees as the ensuing victimization of minorities. These criticisms have, in some people's eyes, led Roy to support dubious anti-state movements such as Maoist insurgents and the Mumbai terrorists (Guha 2000; Parashar 2009).

Although Roy's writings and activism have guaranteed her reputation among left-wing activist circles in Europe and North America, Ghosh concludes that Roy's activism puts her at odds with the more general use of celebrity in India to promote nationalism, modernist discourses of development, and the necessity for a homogeneous state. As a result, most of the media coverage that Roy receives in India is negative; her opponents characterize her as naïve, simplistic and anti-Indian (Guha 2000; Parashar 2009). At the same time, Roy rarely gives sophisticated solutions to the problems of India where the state may be the only hope, or means of recourse, for most people. Roy thus promotes a limited form of 'leftist' politics, which both depends on and reinforces her celebrity, by advocating resistance to the Indian state, but failing to provide other viable alternatives to poverty alleviation and development issues.

Elaine Jeffreys (Chapter 9) examines the controversy surrounding celebrity philanthropy in the People's Republic of China (hereafter the PRC) – a rising non-western superpower and authoritarian state. Jeffreys looks at a series of philanthropy-related scandals that arose in 2010 as a result of celebrity and corporate pledges to disaster-relief funds set up in the wake

of the 2008 Sichuan earthquake. The earthquake, which had killed over 70,000 people and left five million homeless, is widely viewed as putting philanthropy 'on the map' in China. Philanthropic donations in 2008 exceeded the documented total for the preceding decade, as individuals and corporations responded to the crisis, prompted in part by government calls for support (Wang 2008).

In 2010, the internationally acclaimed Chinese actress, Zhang Ziyi, became the focus of public criticism for allegedly defaulting on a pledge to donate CNY 1 million to the disaster-relief efforts (Zhou 2010a, 2010b). The discovery of Zhang's 'failed pledge' led fans and critics in social media forums to reactivate accusations of sexual promiscuity and level new allegations of charity fraud against her. Lack of transparency in Zhang's personal foundation, the Ziyi Zhang Foundation was also alleged to show that it was a front for personal profiteering. The ensuing controversy obliged Zhang Ziyi to hire a team of US-based lawyers, give an exclusive interview to the state-run *China Daily*, and engage in renewed philanthropic endeavours, in an effort to clear her name (Zhou 2010a, 2010b).

Zhang Ziyi was neither the first nor only high-profile casualty of a public backlash against elite philanthropy in the aftermath of the earthquake. Multinational corporations were accused of 'donation-stinginess' in chain letters posted on the Internet and disseminated via mobile phone networks, with accompanying calls to boycott them ('The story of donations gate' 2008). A range of Chinese sports and entertainment stars were also accused of 'dishonest advertising' or failing to deliver on publicized pledges. As Jeffreys concludes, these actions bring into question the assumption that celebrity philanthropy offers an easy, self-serving and 'unaccountable' means of obtaining publicity, and is 'fundamentally depoliticizing' (Kapoor 2013: 1).

Paul Allatson (Chapter 10) counters critiques of celebrity philanthropy when regarded as a problematic form of paternalism imposed on the global South by representatives of the global North, particularly those from the US. Allatson focuses on two internationally famous music stars: the Colombian Shakira and the Puerto Rican Ricky Martin. Key figures in the transnational popularization of Latin(o) American music, both stars are also renowned for their philanthropic work in the Americas. Shakira established her 'Pies Descalzos (Barefoot) Foundation' in 2003, out of an earlier organization she formed in the late 1990s when she was eighteen, to enable poor children in Colombia access to education (Fundación Pies

Descalzos n.d). Launching its first initiative in 2004, the 'Ricky Martin Foundation' focuses on supporting children rescued from human trafficking across the world (Fundación Ricky Martin 2014).

Allatson argues that understandings of Shakira's and Ricky Martin's celebrity philanthropy must move beyond Northern-centric critiques given the two artists are at home, and are celebritized, in both the global North and global South. Allatson thus locates Shakira's and Martin's celebrity philanthropy in a geospatial construct, the Spanish-speaking Americas, with neither a history of welfare state governance, nor traditions of philanthropy, as would be understood in global North terms. He approaches Shakira's and Ricky Martin's celebrity *and* philanthropy as related historical products of trans-American mass media operations, cultural interchanges and philanthropic-like traditions, as well as the historical legacies of imperialism and capitalist underdevelopment in the Americas. Allatson concludes that Shakira and Martin's fluid relation to a US Latino identification anchored in the Global South may in fact challenge readings of celebrity philanthropy as produced in and projected from the so-called global North alone.

Overall, the different chapters that make up this volume suggest that the public involvement of celebrities in charitable causes is likely to continue to expand in national and international settings. What remains to be understood are: the openings celebrity philanthropy can provide; the ways it may be constituted differently in different contexts and places; the unintended effects it may generate; and the reactions of both fans and those being helped. With such a more detailed and nuanced understanding, it may well be possible to gain greater benefit and helpful change from its use. Hence, the Afterword (Chapter 11) outlines some future avenues for research, while also drawing attention to some of the key critical approaches to celebrity philanthropy that are inhibiting more nuanced, and genuinely international, understandings of both celebrity and philanthropy, most notably when theorized and critiqued from North America.

Acknowledgements

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