

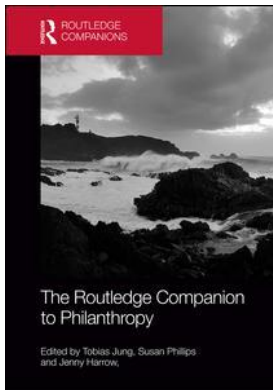
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The globalization of philanthropy

Trends and channels of giving

Hillel Schmid and Hanna Shaul Bar Nissim

The past three decades have witnessed growth in the scope and volume of global giving, as well as in the impact of private philanthropists on global issues. The emergence of private philanthropists alongside foundations and diaspora communities as key actors in the arena of international giving means we need to develop a better understanding of the phenomenon of transboundary philanthropy. This chapter provides insights into the essence of global giving and analyzes various aspects of international philanthropy.

‘Transboundary’ philanthropy includes the transfer of money, in kind services, and volunteer time across borders, both by individuals and institutions who support human and environmental causes outside of their countries of residence (Anheier and Themudo, 2004; Metcalf-Little, 2010). The three main channels of transboundary philanthropy are: institutional giving by foundations; global philanthropic activity by corporations; and individual contributions by philanthropists and among diaspora communities of immigrants. In 2010, the total monetary transboundary transfers by foundations, corporations and individuals were estimated at \$575 billion US – three times more than the amount of Official Development Assistance (ODA) (Hudson Institute, 2012). Between 1998 and 2008, total international philanthropy, including all three sources, almost doubled (Grimm *et al.*, 2009; Hudson Institute, 2009; World Bank, 2013). Eighty percent of the economic engagement of donors in global issues is done by channels of private financial flows (Hudson Institute, 2013). Given a lack of information, however, it is difficult to accurately assess the total or country-specific value of monetary transboundary transfers. Most international donations originate in the US; in 2010, they were reported to be \$38 billion (Millennium Development Goal Task Force, 2011). A recent report revealed that in 2013, China, India, Brazil, and South Africa alone account for a disproportionate \$103 billion in private philanthropic flows compared to \$577 billion from the 23 developed donor countries (Hudson Institute, 2013). The amounts vary considerably across other countries. For example, in France, transboundary contributions to developing countries were \$1 billion in 2008; in Italy, about half this amount (\$583.1 million), but still much more than the total contributions from the Italian government to ODA, which were about \$162 million (Hudson Institute, 2011; 2012). In Japan, private philanthropy to International Development causes amounted to \$5.51 billion, while the Government’s transfers to ODA amounted to 467 million. These official, but partial, data indicate that in every country, the amount of individual and institutional

philanthropy was greater than the amount of corporate philanthropy – and together, both sources of support were greater than the amount of government assistance to developing countries (Hudson Institute, 2013).

We first present theoretical approaches that explain the impetus for international giving, then consider the differing patterns of contributions and engagement by various sets of philanthropic actors, reflect on the dilemmas they face, and conclude with suggestions for future research.

A theoretical framework

The underlying rationales for cross-border philanthropy can be assessed using three mainstream theoretical approaches: social exchange; identification; and the identifiable victim effect theory.

According to social exchange theory (Emerson, 1962; Blau, 1964), international philanthropists seek to expand the scope of their international business initiatives, as well as to influence governments in order to gain benefits for their philanthropic investment. The motives of these philanthropists are also expressed in their desire to gain international recognition and prestige through their contributions, highlight the social value of their contributions, and position themselves as leaders or as influential forces in the international arena. Thus, exchange relations are developed between global philanthropists and the countries that need their contributions.

The second theoretical approach, identification theory, assumes that the basis for philanthropic activity is empathic identification with the needs of others and subordination of self-interests to the interests of others (Schervish and Havens, 1995; Schervish *et al.*, 2001; Schervish, 2005). According to this theory, transboundary giving by individual immigrants and immigrant communities derives from a sense of identification with the residents of their countries of origin. In so doing, they show empathy with marginal, low socioeconomic status (SES) populations in their countries of origin who need assistance for social, health, economic, and cultural development.

The third approach is the ‘identifiable victim effect’ theory. This explains the tendency of diaspora philanthropists to contribute to family members who remain in their country of origin. The theory highlights two major aspects that encourage philanthropic giving – identifiable victims and identifiable nationality. According to this theory, willingness to help people with whom one has no real connection increases when information is available about a specific victim who needs assistance so that the victim can be identified and distinguished from others whom one knows nothing about (Kogut and Ritov, 2005). This theory is most appropriate for examining transboundary philanthropy in which individuals and communities of immigrants contribute to individuals and families in their countries of origin because they have identified the beneficiaries as relatives who need their assistance and financial support. The philanthropists have a personal connection with these beneficiaries, who are perceived as ‘victims’ and are considered worthy of financial and in kind support.

These three theoretical approaches provide complementary aspects of a framework for analyzing the processes and trends described in this chapter. The exchange between donors and recipient individuals or communities is based on some sort of exchange or ‘give-and-take’ relations. The philanthropists identify individual victims or communities and donate personally out of a sense of empathy with the ‘victims’. In so doing, the donors gain intrinsic and extrinsic rewards, prestige or recognition for their contributions, and they position themselves in the arena of influential national and international philanthropists. Although it may seem that this kind of philanthropy is driven by altruistic motives and by identification with others, it is also driven by pragmatic and personal interests.

Driving and restraining forces

The international philanthropy movement is gaining momentum. It has grown and expanded, despite a certain decline following the economic and financial crisis in 2008–2009. There has been an increase in the number of individual philanthropists, philanthropic foundations, and corporate philanthropists, as well as an increase in the scope of transfers from diaspora communities, community foundations and internet transfers. In addition, there has been an increase in donations of emergency aid following natural disasters such as the tsunami, earthquakes, armed conflicts, and other events that led to global mobilization of philanthropic capital for humanitarian purposes. What factors are driving the increase in transborder giving, and what are the primary barriers obstructing and restraining its development?

The globalization process: Globalization encouraged economic and industrial development, which has generated wealth and prosperity among certain groups in Western societies. This has been accompanied by the growth of poverty and domestic violence in developed and developing countries, as well as by the proliferation of epidemics, damage to the environment, humanitarian disasters and exposure of certain countries to external threats and internal armed conflicts (Benjamin and Quigley, 2010). The impetus for providing financial support to countries and societies also derives from the complex, bureaucratic mechanisms of international organizations, such as the United Nations, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund, and by the inability of those organizations to cope with global poverty, mass migration of refugees and domestic conflicts (Petersen and McClure, 2011).

Technological advancement and electronic communication: Today, the internet provides cheap and immediate access to information about international needs. This development has led to the growth of online philanthropy aimed at providing international assistance, relief, and development (Clark and Themudo, 2003; Micklewright and Wright, 2005). Online giving has become a preferred mode of transboundary giving: it overcomes the physical obstacles and barriers of distance, cuts bureaucratic red tape, reduces the costs of contributions and aims to establish direct contact between donors and beneficiaries. Through this mode of giving, philanthropists have more control over the allocation of contributions for initiatives within and between countries, as well as across different sectors (Desai and Kharas, 2010; Metcalf-Little, 2010). Furthermore, the rapid progress of information systems and electronic communication technology has facilitated transboundary partnerships by reducing the costs of communication and coordination between philanthropic institutions.

Fiscal policy: Tax laws and regulations affect the scope of international contributions by reflecting governmental legitimization for the role of philanthropy, but can also place barriers in the path of donors. Notwithstanding wider questions about the relationship between tax incentives and philanthropy (Pharoah, Chapter 4), a generous taxation policy that provides incentives for charitable giving, including to foreign organizations, might promote international philanthropy. However, many countries have a stringent taxation framework that deters donors from making international contributions. In the case of cross-boundary philanthropy, it is possible to prohibit or severely limit tax deductions for direct contributions to foreign organizations. For example, in the US (which is by no means an outlier), private donors to foreign organizations are deductible only if made to those approved by the tax agency; alternatively, tax deductible support for international work has to be made through a US tax exempt organization with operations abroad or through a tax exempt organization established in the US as a 'friend of a foreign charity' (Paine, 2005; Johnson, 2011). In Europe, private and institutional donors encounter statutory and tax obstacles and are even discriminated against because of a clear preference for domestic organizations (Anheier and Daly, 2006; Vahlpahl, 2009; Hohati, 2010);

legislation that would enable charities to be treated evenly across all member states has been proposed, but not yet enacted.

Over-regulation: In many countries, local and transboundary philanthropic activity is governed by a combination of regulations, laws and tax policies that were originally intended for the private and public sectors but not for the new wave of philanthropic giving. The attempt to regulate philanthropic activity has created an administrative and bureaucratic burden, where multiple authorities deal with licensing, oversight of activities and financial auditing (Johnson, 2011). Extensive regulation affects the impetus for international philanthropy, particularly its contribution to innovation and newness (Heydemann and Kinsey, 2010). Following the September 11th attacks in 2001, the tightening of regulation over international donations affected donors' willingness to engage in international philanthropy. In the US, about 60 percent of the foundations reported that post-September 11th regulations increased their reluctance to contribute directly to other countries (Foundation Center, 2008).

Political (in)stability and corruption: Political stability, or lack thereof, in countries that receive donations from abroad can affect the motivation to give and the scope and frequency of international contributions. Studies have revealed that international donors tend to contribute to countries with a stable political, economic, and social situation; they refrain from contributing to least developing countries (LDCs) that lack political stability. Chervalier and Zimet (2006) found that most institutional contributions, up to 60 percent of all grants, have been made to emerging economies, notably China, South Africa, Brazil, Mexico and India. These findings have been corroborated by Marten and Witte (2008), who revealed that 45 percent of grants from US foundations are allocated to emerging economies which show more political and economic stability than LDCs.

Donors' confidence that their capital will reach the beneficiaries in its entirety is undermined when transboundary philanthropic capital is known, or perceived, to be susceptible to corruption in the beneficiary organizations or beneficiary governments (Desai and Kharas, 2010). Loss of confidence arises from financial corruption, particularly in government and non-governmental organization (NGO) bureaucracies and online platforms, as well as from moral corruption among senior officials who look after their own interests (Maxwell *et al.*, 2008).

While international philanthropy is being driven as part of the overall pattern of globalization, a number of these factors are also applying the brakes – to what extent, we do not really know. What is evident is that different agents of transborder philanthropy have different goals and patterns of contributions.

The goals of global giving

International giving has numerous goals and objectives which respond to the different needs at various levels – individuals, communities, societies and countries. At the individual level, international philanthropy aims primarily to eradicate poverty and hunger, enhance individuals' education, reduce child mortality and improve the health and well-being of individuals (Petersen and McClure, 2011). At the level of societies and countries, global philanthropy aims to achieve broader goals. First, international philanthropists work toward disseminating the values of democracy and laying the foundations for a better civil society throughout the world, encouraging minorities and disenfranchised populations to be more active in the political arena (Anheier and Daly, 2004; Benjamin and Quigley, 2010). During the transitions of the 1990s, for instance, American foundations donated about \$75 million a year for the promotion of democracy, economic reforms and social services in Eastern Europe and Africa (Török, 2005). Second, domestic conflicts and assisting the poorest developing countries with basic services, such as

health and education, have been an important focus. Following the September 11th attacks, foundations were also encouraged to do much more, to assist longer term reform that would avert the issues that were factors perpetuating this sort of terrorism (Bach, 2002). Third, global crises – emergency situations such as natural disasters, economic crises and situations of political unrest – generate an immediate increase in the availability of international philanthropic capital (Kapucu, Chapter 11). In 2010, there was an increase of about 15.3 percent in American donations to international causes following the destruction incurred by the earthquake in Haiti (Giving USA, 2011). This rise was hindered with a decline of 6.7 percent in 2013 (total of almost \$US 15 million). This change is attributable partially to lower overall corporate support for charities in 2013, and the fact that some donors are choosing to give directly to overseas organizations working in that arena (Giving USA, 2014). Moreover, the total contributions of the 23 largest corporations following the 2004 tsunami in Southeast Asia and Hurricane Katrina and the Kashmir earthquake in 2005 totaled \$US 263 million (Muller and Whiteman, 2009).

International philanthropists – who are they?

The characteristics of philanthropists who contribute to international causes have been identified in a number of studies. These include mega donors, donors who choose international rather than domestic causes for giving, those who give nationally and internationally, and those who send remittances and gifts to their home communities. The level of education of donors is an important factor (Ribar and Wilhelm, 1995) as it affects the motivation and readiness of donors to contribute to organizations that provide international assistance (Schmid and Rudich-Cohen, 2012; Bekkers, Chapter 7). A study conducted among households in the US (Okten and Osili, 2007) supports these findings, and adds a gender dimension: women and individuals with higher education tend to contribute more to international causes than do men and people with relatively low levels of education. Ribar and Wilhelm (1995) also find that per capita income, regulation laws, and taxation policies influence individual philanthropists' willingness to give. Occupation also matters. Yoshioka (2008) reveals that affluent Americans who made their fortunes in hightech entrepreneurship, science, communications, and medicine showed a high tendency to engage in international philanthropy. This tendency is also affected by household size (Okten and Osili, 2007), which may be associated with more recent immigrant families. In a study of Canadian philanthropists, Rajan *et al.* (2009) find that most of the donors who contributed to international causes were not born in Canada; they were religious people with high levels of income and education, and they exhibited high social and political involvement.

Affiliation with an ethnic group and racial loyalty encourages contributions to causes that benefit that group (Luttmer, 2001). Cheung and Chan (2000) report that older individuals who had traveled around the world were motivated to contribute to international causes out of a sense of empathy with the individuals and societies to which they had been exposed. The presence of immigrants in the donor's community also provides an incentive for contributions to the immigrants' country of origin. Consistent with this argument, Okten and Osili (2007) highlight that the larger the number of immigrants in a given community, the greater their tendency to contribute to international causes, and the immigrants' country of origin affects the regions and types of causes to which people contribute.

In addition, international philanthropy, particularly through online platforms such as Kiva and GlobalGiving, is influenced by the type of the programs or project presented for funding (Desai and Kharas, 2010), suggesting the value of helping entrepreneurs seeking microfinance develop good project ideas. The importance of donor confidence in the recipient organization is supported by a study conducted in Hong Kong (Cheung and Chan, 2000). This concludes

that international giving is associated with: the donor's awareness of the international cause; past experience with donations to a specific cause and moral commitment to it; and perceived effectiveness of how contributions are used.

Recent years have witnessed the emergence of a distinctive segment of international philanthropists: the new generation of philanthropists who acquired wealth in business, electronics, high tech, and start-up ventures. The *Forbes* report of world billionaires recently informed that there are 1,826 billionaires, with an average net worth of \$US 3.86 billion and a total net worth of \$US 7.05 trillion. Some 46 of these billionaires are under the age of 40. Moreover, from this list, a striking number of 1,191 are self-made billionaires (*Forbes*, 2015). These new philanthropists do not limit themselves to contributions within their countries of residence. Rather, they believe it is necessary to remedy injustice throughout the world, and have become major actors in the arena of global philanthropy (Schervish, 2008). These donors, who have also been referred to as 'entrepreneurial' philanthropists, have the financial capital, expertise and knowledge needed to identify sustainable solutions to global problems. Their connections and reputation assist them in getting to the root of complex social problems, and promote economic and social development on a global scale (Gordon *et al.*, Chapter 21). These mega donors also tend to emphasize, often quite vocally and visibility, their philanthropic activity in the international media and in business fora (Fleishman, 2007; Bishop and Green, 2008).

Foundation grantmaking

Philanthropic institutions play an integral role in the redistribution of wealth throughout the world (Okten and Osili, 2007). They serve as local agents that promote global social change (Benjamin and Quigley, 2010), encourage social entrepreneurship and support non-governmental organizations (Moran, 2009; Heydemann and Kinsey, 2010); their capital helps them finance the UN Millennium development goals (Bach, 2002; Micklewright and Wright, 2005) and enables them to contribute towards improving the quality of life for impoverished, deprived and disadvantaged populations. The intervention of private mega donors and foundations that channel their contributions to developing countries to some extent reflects the process of privatization in foreign aid in recent decades, and highlights the important role of transboundary philanthropic activities in offsetting the deficits in foreign aid. In particular, international philanthropy plays an essential role in countries where official development assistance does not even reach the threshold of 0.7 percent of the Gross National Product established by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (Edwards, 2009; Rajan *et al.*, 2009; Davis and Dadush, 2010).

The very large foundations are major players in global philanthropy. According to the European Foundation Centre (Marten and Witte, 2008), half of the foundations in the European Union engaged in activities in foreign countries, and about one-fourth of them operated in 126 countries. In the US, contributions to overseas countries by foundation amounted to \$US 4.3 billion in 2010 from 1,300 foundations, a decrease of 24.1 percent from 2008 (Foundation Center, 2012). The amount granted by some of these large foundations and their mega donors is significant. For example, in 2010 the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation granted over \$1.6 billion for the promotion of global health, and in 2012, the net worth of the Foundation was around \$3.7 billion. By comparison, the budget of the World Health Organization was \$5 billion in 2009, and the funds were raised by 193 member countries. Other examples of international mega donors include: the Ford Foundation, which allocated \$198 million for strengthening democracy in different parts of the world and for encouraging transparency in global financial systems; the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, which granted about \$106 million for

environmental quality, development and governance throughout the world in 2010; and the Open Society Foundation, which was founded by George Soros and contributed \$100 million to the Human Rights Watch Organization in 2010 (Marten and Witte, 2008; Grimm *et al.*, 2009; Benjamin and Quigley, 2010; The Million Dollar List, 2010; Foundation Center, 2012; Shaw *et al.*, 2013). Foundations often channel their contributions via domestic intermediary nonprofit organizations, which are the main providers of social services in most developing countries, thereby building organizations' capacity as well as serving beneficiaries. They are also beginning to collaborate among themselves to some degree so as to achieve 'collective impact' (Kania and Kramer, 2011) in addressing complex problems. Over the last decade, a variety of partnerships among philanthropic institutions, such as the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, 'Europe and the World', and the Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization (GAVI), have emerged that aim to overcome international barriers and obstacles for giving and achieve economies of scale (Casas and Fiennes, 2007).

Global corporate giving

Globalization, liberalization and privatization of social and governmental services have led multinational corporations to broaden their activities and increase their influence throughout the world. These corporations have provided employment opportunities and created new jobs in various countries, where they have also become involved in the political arena. International corporate giving has been modest, however, at least in relation to international private giving. In the US, corporate contributions account for five percent of all charitable giving in 2013, about \$17.9 billion (Giving USA, 2014); corporate support for international causes was about 19 percent of total US international philanthropy (Hudson Institute, 2012) and is estimated between \$US 1.4 and \$4.4 billion (Global Impact, 2013). Expectations and practices of social responsibility of corporations are intensifying as they exhibit leadership, responsibility and accountability through diverse philanthropic enterprises, as well as among different institutes and interest groups (Fortanier and van Tulder, 2009; Grimm *et al.*, 2009; Jamali, 2010; Ho *et al.*, 2012). Following the demand for transparency in corporate social and communal circles, various methods have been developed for corporations to exhibit their social responsibility. Corporations have begun reporting about their impact on global development in areas such as the war on poverty; they highlight this impact through quantitative measures, such as reports about the creation of new jobs and expansion of employment opportunities, and many are promoting standards of fair trade (Fortanier and van Tulder, 2009). The motives for corporate giving are strategic and derive from the company's business plan, as well as from the merits achieved by the philanthropic initiatives (Moran and Branigan, Chapter 24). The contributions made by these companies reflect their areas of expertise and availability of resources, and help them improve the company's reputation, broaden their business opportunities and facilitate recruitment of skilled, educated and competent workers (Grimm *et al.*, 2009).

Notably, the strategies for corporate giving vary nationally and internationally, across different societies and regions. Corporate policies can be set according to the standards of the corporation's country of origin and implemented universally, or they can be adapted to the standards of the country in which the corporation operates (Husted and Allen, 2006). McDonald's program for the promotion of health among children and their families, for instance, is implemented in the same way throughout the world. In contrast, the ABBOTT Pharmaceutical Corporation contributes to a variety of causes, including AIDS prevention, responsible advertizing and accessibility of clean drinking water and sanitation, in accordance with the policies of the countries in which it operates (Merz *et al.*, 2010). Many of these programs have both a community and a

company benefit. The Anglo-American Mining company offers programs to combat AIDS and HIV in Africa, which also promote the health of the company's own staff members; Coca-Cola finances water purification and the production of drinking water amounting annually to \$US 28 million, which also facilitates the manufacture of its own product in countries that have a water shortage; and Pfizer Pharmaceuticals mobilized staff members who specialize in the field of health, disease control and environmentalism to participate in rehabilitation efforts following the tsunami in Southeast Asia (Kasper and Fulton, 2006; Muller and Whiteman, 2009; Foundation Center, 2011; Global Impact, 2013).

Diaspora philanthropy

Globalization has led to the opening of national borders and to the free movement of goods, people and services. With an estimated 215 million people, that is three percent of the world's population, living in diaspora communities outside of their countries of origin (Werbner, 2004; World Bank, 2013), diaspora philanthropy has been growing rapidly since the beginning of the twenty-first century (Metcalf-Little, 2010). Sheffer (2002) defines diasporas as ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origin – their homelands. Werbner (2002) adds that diasporas are multinational networks of individuals who are linked by cultural, religious and social traditions and a sense of mutual responsibility across national, imperial and political borders. Members of the community feel a sense of connection and commitment to their country of origin and are even involved in its struggles and achievements (Vertovec, 2003; Brinkerhoff, 2012;). Their connections across borders encourage and enable financial resources to be channeled from immigrant donors in the host countries to individuals and communities in their country of origin, entirely bypassing governments (Newland *et al.*, 2010). Civil society organizations, religious institutions and diaspora foundations – such as the Ayala Foundation USA, which raises donations from the Filipino diaspora – in the host country are important means of making transfers, with financial institutions and online platforms competing for a share of this growth market.

Diaspora philanthropy has several characteristics and goals (Orozco, 2006; Sidel, 2004, 2007, 2008): it supports social development and the establishment of nonprofit organizations, and the civil society; provides education opportunities and transfer of advanced knowledge; and builds community capacities. Contributions to the country of origin also enable immigrants to express their identity, particularly when they are marginalized in the host country. Many immigrants have a hybrid identity, characterized by dual identification with their country of residence and their homeland (Lavie and Swedenburg, 1996). They attempt to preserve their cultural identity, gain social reinforcement, and maintain their sense of national pride by belonging to a group and by supporting or participating in programs that have a political or economic impact on their homeland. Werbner (2002) argues that diaspora philanthropy emerges out of a process which involves *material* considerations, including activities that express the immigrants' support for and identification with their country of origin, but because immigrants are 'invisible' (or 'transparent'), they also aim to reinforce their *symbolic* status as loyal citizens of their homeland. This process includes material and cultural cross-border contributions such as political lobbying and fundraising. These motives drive immigrants to join various diaspora organizations and engage in philanthropic giving. In addition, giving to the country of origin can derive from a desire for social status, recognition, political influence, reputation and material resources (Nielsen and Riddle, 2009; Brinkerhoff, 2011). Other driving, and sometimes restraining, forces that affect immigrants giving relate to the feeling that they need to give back to their homeland, as well as

their sense of moral obligation and their desire to assist the weaker elements of their community of origin.

In some countries, the share of diaspora giving is much larger than the share of local philanthropy. Thus, for example, the state of Israel is considered to be the largest importer of philanthropic contributions from overseas. For many years, donations from abroad amounted to 75 percent of philanthropic contributions to Israel (Schmid, 2011). This situation has been changed slightly in recent years, and diaspora philanthropy comprises 62 percent of all philanthropic contributions to Israel (Schmid, 2011).

Diaspora philanthropists use a variety of channels and means for contributions (Orozco, 2006; Aysa-Lastra, 2007; Johnson, 2007; Sidel, 2007; Metcalf-Little, 2010; Newland *et al.*, 2010). Two of the most common means are individual remittances, which are directly transferred to relatives and friends in the country of origin, and collective remittances, which aggregate the money of immigrants in order to increase their influence back home. In 2013, the estimated remittances of immigrants totaled \$US 536 billion (World Bank, 2013), most of which are transferred to developing countries and constitute a substantial share of their Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Besides cash remittances, this channel of assistance is measured in terms of hours of volunteer work that immigrants contribute in their countries of origin. For example, the value of volunteer time in 2009 was equivalent to \$US 3 billion, and most of the assistance was directed to relief and development efforts (Hudson Institute, 2011). As for the impact of remittances, studies reveal contradictory findings. With regard to legitimization, it has been argued that the beneficiary countries attempt to provide leverage for remittances as a national financial resource rather than considering them as personal transfers between families and communities (Brinkerhoff, 2011).

In addition to financial contributions and volunteerism, in kind donations of professional and technological know-how and commercial and political connections can be transferred directly to the beneficiaries in the country of origin. However, it is difficult to assess their scope and distribution. Examples of such initiatives include: contributions from the Indian diaspora between 1991 and 2000, estimated to be equivalent to \$US 835 million, and contributions worth millions of dollars from the Vietnamese diaspora in the US following the floods in Vietnam in 1999 (Sidel, 2007). Finally, various programs bring second- and third-generation diaspora youth to their countries of origin and expose them to the local values, culture, and tradition (Newland *et al.*, 2010). These programs include Birthright, which is financed by Jewish philanthropists in the US and aims to foster Jewish identity and reduce assimilation among Jewish youth, as well as to strengthen ties with Israel among diaspora Jewry.

It is important to note that the selection of means and channels of contribution by immigrants is related to a growing sense of compassion toward individuals, and a decline in empathy and sensitivity toward larger organizations and governments, which are considered bureaucratic, corrupt, inefficient and ineffective. A recent example is the tax imposed by The Martelly Administration on funds remitted by Haitian immigrants to their relatives back home, amounting to more than \$1 billion a year (Pearson, 2011). The trend toward giving to individuals has been intensifying in many diasporas which have lost their confidence in state institutions, as well as in some large, professional and commercialized nonprofit organizations whose social and civic ideology has been replaced by a business orientation that ensures their survival in changing, competitive and turbulent environments (Johnson *et al.*, 2004).

The impact of diaspora contributions on the country of origin has been examined extensively in the literature. Most studies have found that contributions made by immigrants, especially in Israel, China, India, Ireland and Mexico, serve as a catalyst for integrating their country of origin into the international economy (Freinkman, 2000; Kuznetsov, 2006). In their countries of

origin, the immigrants are perceived as agents of change and development who initiate a variety of civic and philanthropic activities, who are an important source of foreign investments and who can be instrumental in improving political and economic relations with Western countries (Orozco, 2006; Portes *et al.*, 2007). The country of origin can place obstacles through political measures or fiscal legislation however that deter diaspora donors from giving to their homeland. Such laws are perceived as anti-democratic and undermine the relationships between the immigrants and their countries of origin. For example, as a result of the proposed legislation in Israel to impose a high tax on foreign donations, and in the anti-democratic atmosphere that has been created by such legislation, Jewish donors in the US have reservations about contributing to organizations in Israel.

In sum, donations from diaspora communities are reflected in transfers of treasure, time and talent. Transfers of treasure benefit populations in distress or for social and rehabilitative programs; those of time provide hands-on volunteers, and those of talent provide technological, scientific, economic, medical and other knowledge and networks. The most prominent mode of contribution is transfer of money, which comprises a substantial component of the GDP in some of the beneficiary countries. Nonetheless, the extent to which different forms and modes of monetary contributions have had a meaningful impact on the beneficiaries is unclear, owing to the lack of human, physical and technological infrastructures in the home countries that can provide leverage for monetary contributions and intellectual property. Moreover, in some countries, there is no clear policy governing cross-border contributions.

Dilemmas for transboundary giving

The global political climate affects the extent of engagement among international philanthropists. Over the past decade, philanthropists have become involved in domestic and international affairs, and the ethical boundaries of their activity have been blurred. As a result, attempts have been made to implement national and international regulation of cross-border philanthropic capital. Control over international contributions has tightened, in both developing and Western countries, and rules have been established to more closely monitor international giving (Owens, 2005; Paine, 2005; Sidel, Chapter 16). Regulation has increased considerably since September 11, 2001, when cases of international contributions that were used to finance acts of international terror were brought to light (Smith *et al.*, Chapter 17). For example, the Global Relief Foundation raised funds for Al Qaeda and the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development was exposed as an organization that raises funds for Hamas (Paine, 2005). The development of regulation aimed at preventing the transfer of funds to organizations that provide clandestine backing for terror organizations has generated a public debate regarding the role of international philanthropy, the involvement of international donors in political issues and the establishment of global norms for cross-border philanthropic activity.

Transparency is essential for the credibility of giving; it provides public and official legitimacy for philanthropic activity. It ensures that activities will not be clandestine and reduces the risk of corruption and embezzlement. Lack of transparency affects public confidence in philanthropic and intermediary third-sector organizations and casts doubt on the motives of international philanthropists. A lack of confidence intensifies when there is distrust of the public sector in general, and governmental agencies in particular (Johnson, 2011). Moreover, the absence of criteria for transparency set by governmental institutions has a negative impact on cooperation in international philanthropy, whereas when donors are required to adhere to transparency standards, they tend to engage in innovative activity, seek to form partnerships and make a difference in the societies that they support (Edwards, 2009; Metcalf-Little, 2010).

In recent years, there have been increasing demands on civil society organizations to report on the use of philanthropic funds that are transferred to them, and on the impact of those funds. Foundations, mega donors, and the public at large, demand that beneficiary organizations submit reports on the use of donations, as well as on their organizational effectiveness and on the implementation of measures of success (Carman, 2009). However, international philanthropy is not subject to the same extent of exposure or public scrutiny as domestic nonprofits and philanthropy. Spero (2010) argues that international donors need to adopt norms of conduct that include adherence to the domestic laws and policies of the beneficiary country, collaboration with local authorities and mobilization of local support for the philanthropic activity.

Transboundary philanthropy has the potential to widen social and economic inequality in the world. The ability of wealthy private philanthropists and corporations to contribute to some regions rather than others creates gaps between countries and societies. In addition, affluent and stable diaspora communities are able to give back more to their countries of origin than poor diaspora communities that are still struggling to establish their status and citizenship in the host country. In this global process, there are no checks and balances, nor are there any mechanisms to ensure equity and equality in capital allocations. In such cases, philanthropic activity not only fails to solve problems, but it can even create conflicts between affluent and poor, marginalized populations. The power of these philanthropists vis-à-vis the organizations that receive contributions is also a risk factor. The situation in which wealthy philanthropists deal with nonprofit organizations that are desperate for funding creates a structural imbalance in the relationships between the donors and beneficiaries. This often places the philanthropists in a position of moral dogmatism, where they impose their views on their surroundings; their behaviour is paternalistic or maternalistic and they disregard real needs and professional expertise (Reich, 2006).

The legitimacy accorded to philanthropic activity depends on the consent of governmental and public agencies, private agencies and the public at large. Legitimacy is obtained through governmental recognition as reflected in government policies, as well as in taxation policies, regulation and administrative bylaws. The sources of public legitimization for philanthropic activity in public domains are not always clear, nor is it clear whether such legitimization derives mainly from the philanthropists' economic resources. These issues have remained unresolved, and there are still questions to be dealt with both at the national and international levels. In many countries, the entry of international philanthropic capital can upset the existing political and social situation. Despite the important contribution of international philanthropic capital to the economy and society of the beneficiary countries, it also brings in 'noise' and interference in areas where different interest groups compete for these resources.

Concluding thoughts

Transboundary philanthropy is multifaceted. It is driven by various motives, including altruistic, ideological, personal and utilitarian considerations. Altruistic motives include a sense of social consciousness among wealthy individuals who feel they need to contribute to improving the welfare of excluded, marginalized and low-SES populations. These considerations have led to the emergence of donors who make generous contributions for combating poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy, as well as for creating employment opportunities throughout the world. Besides these billionaires and mega billionaires, there are individual immigrants and immigrant communities who identify with the status of their relatives and community members from their country of origin. They donate money and in kind contributions of time and knowledge for the benefit of family members abroad who deal with daily stressors of life. Undoubtedly, however, these actors (including billionaires, foundations, corporations and individuals of modest means)

have vested interests and seek to gain personal and organizational rewards and benefits, positioning themselves as influential personalities in the beneficiary communities or countries and in the global arena. Beyond the altruistic-universal dimension of philanthropic giving, then, there is a utilitarian, pragmatic dimension of local and international philanthropy at the individual and national levels.

As shown in this chapter, transboundary contributions comprise a large share of the GDP in many developed countries. Nonetheless, there is still a lack of information about the impact of international contributions in the beneficiary countries, societies and communities. Initially, the microfinance movement and efforts to encourage the development of small businesses in disadvantaged communities abroad were received enthusiastically. However, this enthusiasm has waned in light of the limited success in rehabilitating and advancing disadvantaged populations that seek to develop small businesses. In the same vein, the extent to which these donations in fact promote technological, physical and health infrastructures or social and educational programs in developing countries is unclear. Undoubtedly, personal remittances improve the economic situation of individuals who receive such assistance. For example, there is no question that the \$US 32 billion transferred by 22 million Mexican immigrants to their country of origin improved the economic situation of individual recipients (MPI, 2014). Nonetheless, it is not clear whether this money and other financial support has led to changes at the level of the local and central government that can generate a systemwide improvement in the situation of disadvantaged citizens. Moreover, the scope of transboundary philanthropic capital raises questions as to its impact on changes and trends of ODA that Western countries distribute in developing countries.

The philanthropists who transfer capital across borders regularly encounter complex bureaucratic red tape and corruption, and it is apparent that politicians abroad have used some of the funds for their own personal benefit. This has weakened the motivation of donors to make contributions. In addition, there are no clear policies for international philanthropy and for the transfer of capital from developed to developing countries. Nor are there sufficient tax incentives, and the cost of international transfers is high due to conflicting, bureaucratic rules and multiple intermediaries who benefit from the transfers. All of this not only discourages wealthy philanthropists from contributing to foreign countries and to the organizations in those countries, but detracts from the donors' confidence in those countries. Hence, it is essential for countries that receive transboundary donations to develop efficient and effective systems characterized by transparency and accountability to overcome governmental corruption, promote policies that encourage transboundary philanthropy and set taxation policies that will provide incentives for international contributions. If this happens, we can expect that the flow of transboundary philanthropy will grow. This, in turn, can benefit individuals, societies and countries that face existential problems and that have slim prospects for economic, social and technological progress if they do not receive appropriate resources.

The interventions of the different global individuals, corporations and foundations are a major area for learning and investigating. More data need to be gathered about the streaming of the capital between the countries and the real impact they create in the beneficiary countries and societies. More attention should be paid to research on the factors that can encourage global giving and remove obstacles that discourage world philanthropy to be involved in certain societies. We should also know more about the relationships that develop between the philanthropists and the governments in the different countries in order to improve communication and cooperation among philanthropists, corporations, civil society organizations and the government. More alliances and partnerships are required in order to promote synergy and achieve a real change in societies that desperately need resources for their survival and development. Unfortunately, these issues have not been examined systematically, and there is a need to invest efforts in further research.

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