

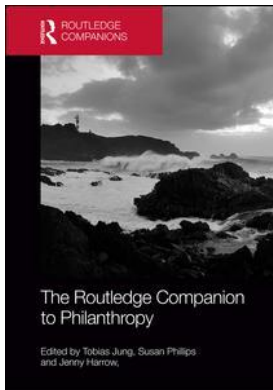
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What motivates people to give their own private resources for the public good?

Cathy Pharoah

While the previous chapter has looked at some of the broader issues around giving and philanthropy, this chapter will focus in more detail on the question: why do we give away part of what we have? This question has intrigued people of different cultures, from diverse walks of life, and from numerous academic disciplines; it is assuming renewed significance in this time of widening global inequality. As governments increasingly roll back the state and seek to redefine the balance between individual and public responsibilities, there are growing expectations of the contribution which philanthropy might make (Harrow and Jung, 2011). In purely material and instrumental terms, private giving provides substantial financial support for a vast range of civil society activities and organizations which depend on it: it provides 11 percent of their income globally (Salamon *et al.*, 1999). Today, private giving is worth more than \$335 billion in the US (Giving USA, 2014), and over £18 billion per year from individuals, companies and charitable trusts in the UK (Pharoah, 2011a,b). It is therefore increasingly important to understand the philanthropic impulse and how it might be changing in a social environment of growing secularism, individualism, consumerism, and multiculturalism. This chapter highlights how research has found that giving is embedded in multiple social, personal and moral contexts; that the motivation to give is multi-faceted. It outlines the different ways in which that motivation has been addressed and interpreted in research, some of the key findings, and concludes with reflections on the challenges to donor motivation in today's increasingly complex and demanding environment for philanthropy.

The multiple private and public dimensions to giving

As outlined by Cunningham (Chapter 2), history presents many examples of how private philanthropy is embedded in the public and civic roles and responsibilities of donors. These include private donations raised in Ancient Greece for major public projects including walls, bridges and harbours, the long European tradition from the early middle ages of founding charitable hospices, hospitals and almshouses, often within religious contexts, and the more recent US philanthropic response to the 9/11 World Trade Center bombings (Kapucu, Chapter 11). In a comprehensive study of powerful elite US donors, Ostrower (1997: 113) analyzes how the private and public are meshed in the philanthropic rationale of powerful wealthy families in the US,

writing that they ‘defend a complex position that legitimates philanthropy ... as (an institution) whose mission is ‘public’ but carried out under private auspices’. In a study of charitable family trusts in the UK (Pharoah, 2011a), some founders said that a collective sense of family public responsibility motivated private family philanthropy based on shared wealth, often derived from the family business. One said ‘we share the same values around philanthropy, the same sense of our responsibilities as part of society and of the duty towards private money for public good’ (Pharoah, 2011a: 61).

The meanings we attach to giving lie in the complex and multiple spaces we articulate between our private and public worlds. Payton (1996: ix) spells out the implications of this for understanding motivation when he comments that if the multiple personal, ethical and socio-political contexts of philanthropy are taken into account, it becomes clear that the notion of charity wears ‘many faces’, that ‘the hunt for a single explanation is misguided’. Moreover, as historical commentators have highlighted, notions around the philanthropic impulse have changed and developed over time: ‘[t]he discussions of reasons why and how people should give are ancient and continuous’ (Mullin, 2002: 12). Their complexity is well illustrated in Davis’ (1996: 2) approach to historical gifts for the establishment of public hospitals and other great institutions: ‘[a]re (they) ... power plays, penance for evils done, acts to ingratiate the doer with the gods, or expression of compassion at the plight of the indigent?’. In reality, such interpretations are neither alternative nor exclusive. Farsides (ESRC/NCVO, 2005: 10) argues that

[j]ust as various people may have different reasons for acting in a certain way, an individual may behave in the same way for a variety of reasons on separate occasions ... attempts to identify the key reasons for giving are unlikely to succeed.

Similarly, the study of routes to philanthropy amongst UK family foundation founders concluded that its development does not have a single motivation, but often results from a number of relevant events coming together, including life-events such as illness or bereavement, sudden wealth acquisition, seminal contact with charitable activities or other philanthropists, seeing a need or an opportunity, and wanting a life-change (Pharoah, 2011a). Exploring the impulse to give then is not about the search for a single trigger, but about uncovering the many, often co-existing factors, which may encourage general willingness to give, and prompt a specific gift.

Part of the complexity of understanding motivation is that giving not only straddles different aspects of our lives, but also encompasses many different kinds of behaviours: from the committed dropping of money into a church collection plate to the casual dropping of a coin or spare change into a street collecting tin; from a major gift to a cause with which the donor has deep personal, professional or social associations, to the gifting of large part of the donor’s estate for general charitable purposes over which the donor will have little control. The giving of money can be spontaneous and one-off, regular or part of planned budgeting and expenditure, and can represent a very large or small part of our spending. Gifts of money can be made to those close to us, or to complete strangers, and can be anonymous or bring wide public recognition and reward. Moreover, as the Editors highlight in their introductory chapter, giving is not confined to money, but encompasses gifts of time, labour, food and many other gifts in kind. It should not be assumed that these different giving behaviours and their motivations come from the same social, psychological or moral spaces. In relation to the giving of the wealthy, for example, Ostrower (1997) argues that some major variations in the giving behaviour of elite donors are related to the internal social organization of the elite groups to which they belong.

Different disciplinary perspectives on giving

The multi-dimensional nature of both the impulse to give and of giving behaviours means that motivation has lent itself to study within many different disciplinary contexts, each bringing its own particular insights. Economists have explored how far giving can be explained in terms of addressing 'market failures', of self-interest in supporting services which we might need but which others, such as government, neglect. There has however been an increasing understanding that such purely 'instrumentalist' explanations for giving are insufficient (Adloff, Chapter 3), that self-interest could include the personal 'warm glow' experienced from the act of giving in itself (Andreoni, 1990; Kingma, 1997) or considerations of wider public benefit (Vesterlund, 2006). There is no doubt that peer effects require further examination (Bekkers, Chapter 7). Some biologists believe there is a 'gene' related to altruistic behaviour (Reuter *et al.*, 2010), with socio-biologists pointing out that altruism has a role in evolutionary advantage (Dawkins, 2006). Sociologists look at how the impulse to give is embedded in social meanings, norms and cultures, such as those around compassion or responsibility (Sprecher and Fehr, 2005), while social anthropologists regard gift-giving as absolutely central to the exchange and reciprocity relationships essential to any society (Mauss, 1954). Psychologists and others aim to understand how giving is related to our values, beliefs, attitudes and personal identity. Religious faith, as a source of the values which inspire giving, holds a central place in this research (Wuthnow, 1999; Wilhelm *et al.*, 2007). Others have explored the ways in which the impulse to give derives from generally pro-social helping or caring impulses which also lead to other forms of giving (Lee *et al.*, 1999). For philosophers and theologians, the motivation to give has both outward- and inward-facing aspects. On the one hand, prompted by, for example, a desire to achieve greater social justice, and, on the other, to achieve personal virtue and moral goodness (Schneewind, 1996). Marketing research tends to be more applied, studying how the ways in which we are asked influence whether – and how much – we give, or the most effective ways of evoking the passions or values which might prompt a gift. For example, Ford and Merchant (2010), amongst others, have highlighted the power of tapping into nostalgia; how the memory of what we have valued in the past can prompt a gift in the present. More recently, behavioural economics has placed a focus on how the framing or structuring of options for various kinds of payments affects our economic choices (Thaler and Sunstein, 2009), and how far people can be 'nudged' towards giving through, for example, options to give when they carry out basic daily financial transactions, such as using cash machines (ATM) or paying bills (UK Cabinet Office, 2011). But, while many different factors have been found to be related to giving, one of the main purposes of the study of motivation is to explore how, and how much, singly or in combination, various impulses and influences actually explain giving behaviour.

What determines our individual giving?

Most people have a fairly strong intuitive sense of what motivates themselves and others to give; they would not regard explanations such as 'seeing a need', 'wanting to help others', 'caring about the environment' or believing 'it's the right thing to do' as in any way complex. What is elusive about understanding giving is that we know so little about the extent to which such factors influence us, or their relative importance. How much do we care about the environment if this amounts to the occasional ad hoc gift to the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), a gift whose value might be considerably less than we can afford? How common is the belief that charity is a duty? Does it mean the same to everyone and how does it get translated into the many different ways of giving? In spite of the existence of the many different perspectives on giving outlined

above, few studies have taken a multi-disciplinary approach to analyzing motivation. The vast majority of giving research takes as its starting-point that giving is a private, individual action to be explained in terms of individual characteristics and experiences. The individual person, or sometimes household, is the prime unit of study, with research variously exploring the relationships between the individual's giving behaviour and intrinsic determinants, like personal attitudes, beliefs, faith or values, or 'extrinsic' factors, such as age and economic status (Sargeant, 1999).

Internal factors influencing giving

Looking first at the internal factors which influence giving, this area of research has been less systematically tackled than the study of extrinsic factors, but is wide-ranging. In an extensive literature review of empirical studies aimed partly at informing fundraising, and including studies of the impact of particular marketing approaches or techniques, Bekkers and Wiepking (2007) identified key mechanisms influencing motivation as: the donor's awareness of need, concern for reputation, expected psychological benefits and values. Considerable experimental research has explored the effect of awareness of need on giving behaviour. It has generally found that the likelihood of a donation is positively related to degree of need (Levitt and Kornhaber, 1977). Awareness increases where donors know the potential beneficiaries of an organization (Radley and Kennedy, 1992; Polonsky *et al.*, 2002). This might explain why people often give to organizations with which they are involved in other ways, such as through volunteering and serving on boards. The significant effect of awareness of need might explain why mass communications providing direct donor experience of the impact of international disasters, for example, can have such a significant role in motivating and shaping support (Kapucu, Chapter 11). Not all donors perceive need in the same way, however, and they are only likely to give where they believe that the beneficiaries are 'deserving', and have not been the architects of their own problems.

Moving from the donor's perceptions of external need to internal perceptions, research suggests that issues of reputation are important. When given the choice, people generally prefer their donations to be known by others (Andreoni and Petrie, 2004), and the trend towards wearing coloured ribbons, or wristbands, so-called 'conspicuous compassion', facilitates public recognition of support. Social pressure appears to work more strongly if people with whom the donor has a strong tie are present when they give, or make the request for a donation. Schervish and Havens (1997) found that people who are asked to give by a relative or friend donate a larger percentage of their income, and contributions to the US 'United Way' organizations, a movement focused on 'mobilising the power of communities' (United Way, 2015), are higher in communities with stable populations. The existing social status of both the donor and the fundraiser can enhance the value of approval, and research has suggested that a donation is more likely, and larger, when requested by a person of higher social status (Jackson and Latané, 1981; Vriens *et al.* 1998).

Studies of different kinds have looked at the personal psychological reward derived from helping other people, or the 'feelgood' factor. Studies within disciplines such as neuropsychology suggest that helping others produces positive psychological consequences or 'empathic joy' for the helper (Batson and Shaw, 1991) and also reinforces stronger self-image as, for example, being a generous person (Schlegelmilch *et al.*, 1997). Halfpenny (1999) has argued that rational economic explanations based on the individual's attempt to maximize personal utility are irreconcilable with those of, for example, qualitative sociology, which involves making sense of why people give through understanding the framework of meanings in which they embed it. This is discussed further below. Other modifications to purely economic explanations were explored in

a paper by Vesterlund (2006), drawing attention to the value of including other factors within economic studies, such as the potential influence of wider social norms or interactions with other donors, the effectiveness and impact of the recipient and the benefits of the gift. In general, authors agree that more detailed empirical studies of actual decision-making processes are needed to both test such hypotheses and to determine which factors take priority when people are involved in giving.

While some of our giving may be motivated by factors present at the point of giving, such as the particular portrayal of the beneficiary or whether others are making a gift, studies of values concern more general underlying attributes which promote positive attitudes towards giving. In studies of wealthy donors, a passionate belief in a specific cause has been identified as an important motivational factor (Lloyd, 2004). Strong relationships between various kinds of values and the likelihood of being a charitable donor have been found. These include: a belief in the importance of altruistic behaviour (Farmer and Fedor, 2001; Farsides, 2005; Bekkers and Schuyt, 2005) and the presence of generally pro-social values (Bekkers, 2006, 2007); the individual's endorsement of a moral principle of care (Bekkers and Wilhelm 2008); concern for social order and social justice (Todd and Lawson, 1999); or a sense of social responsibility (Amato, 1985; Reed and Selbee, 2002; Schuyt *et al.*, 2004).

A crucial strand running through the history of the study of motivations to give, is the role of faiths, and their related beliefs and values. Both in the US and in the UK, for example, giving to religious causes represents a very large component of all individual charitable giving (Pharoah 2011b; Giving USA, 2014). Within this context, it is important to highlight that a major study of philanthropy within the world's great faith traditions identifies perceptions of giving as a duty or responsibility as a common thread, 'rooted in the ethical notions of giving and serving to those beyond one's family – (which) probably existed in most cultures and in most historical periods' (Ilchman *et al.*, 1998: ix). Many empirical studies have noted the strong positive relationships between religious affiliation or involvement and giving, and also giving to religious causes (Independent Sector, 2002), and the impact of faith-based and spiritual values (Todd and Lawson, 1999). An extensive literature review of giving within religious contexts has concluded that its effects need to be understood as occurring at multiple levels, including: impact of faith on individual values; influence of particular religious norms, such as tithing or giving away a particular proportion of income; and the socio-political influence of particular religious groups or congregations on those who belong to them (Lincoln *et al.*, 2008). While we very often interpret notions of giving in the context of an individual's personal morality (Sanghera, 2011), recent research has shown that amounts of giving are higher amongst donors living in communities with high degrees of religious or ethnic homogeneity, and are reduced in proportion to increases in diversity (Andreoni *et al.*, 2011).

External factors influencing giving

Turning to the extrinsic determinants of giving, these have been studied largely through the substantial body of survey research with its focus on measuring whether, and how much, individuals give. This has readily lent itself to further in-depth study of the relationship between the giving behaviour of individuals or single households, and the demographic and socio-economic characteristics which appear to determine it, such as income and educational attainment (Reece 1979; Jones and Posnett, 1991a; Banks and Tanner, 1997; Clain and Zech, 1999; Yen, 2002; Carroll *et al.*, 2005; Havens *et al.*, 2006; Wilhelm *et al.*, 2007; NCVO/CAF UK Giving 2005–2011 Editions; Cowley *et al.*, 2011). These studies and annual surveys have robustly established some of the key parameters which determine individual giving. Their findings have proved to be

remarkably consistent over time and geography. Research from the US has shown that strong positive relationships exist between both the likelihood of giving and the amounts given. Key factors include higher levels of income and wealth, higher educational achievement, older age, and being married. Research from the UK on thirty-year trends in household giving, drawing on data on household expenditure collected annually within the Living Costs and Food survey carried out by the Office of National Statistics, (Cowley *et al.*, 2011), establishes strong positive links between having received higher education, being employed and home ownership, and donating. Gender was also found important in this study, with households consisting of a higher proportion of adult women, and those with children, being more likely to donate. It is important to note, however, that the positive relationship between women's giving and children is reversed for charitable bequests. These are much more likely to be made by women without children (James, 2008). In addition to finding strong positive links between household income and expenditure and both likelihood and amount of giving, the study by Cowley *et al.* (2011) also found that these links have become even stronger over time. Similarly, the positive relationship between age and the likelihood of giving has strengthened over time. It finds that fewer households in the UK are giving now than in 1978, but that donors give more. Increases in both participation and donations among the richest ten percent of households over time mean that their average share of giving increased from 16 percent in the period 1978–82, to 22 percent in 2003–8. This suggests that philanthropy is increasingly becoming the preserve of older, better-educated and wealthier people. In the UK, the over-65s now account for over one-third of the value of all donations, compared with one-quarter in 1978. Growth in participation and donation size amongst older age groups contrasts with falling participation over the whole period for almost every other age band.

Echoing US findings on the strong link between higher levels of giving and higher income and wealth (Havens *et al.*, 2006), the UK research finds giving heavily skewed towards donors giving larger amounts, with the top 50 percent of households, ranked by donation size, accounting for 92 percent of all giving. This pattern has remained remarkably constant over the three decades of the study. Amounts given, however, are a poor indicator of generosity, and where poorer households do give, they are more generous. In the UK, giving comprises 3.6 percent of total spending among the poorest givers, compared to 1.1 percent amongst the richest. In spite of this contrast, there is little research on what motivates decisions on how much to give, though there is further discussion later in this chapter on factors which tend to lead to giving higher amounts. The proportion of expenditure given to charity by the wealthiest households increased during the 1980s, but this was at a time when their general share of wealth was increasing and the gap between rich and poor households was widening. It does not appear to have increased since that time. Over the last three decades, the value of giving has typically grown in times of economic growth, and has not fallen at the same rate as the economy during recessions. Overall, this study concluded that giving as a share of total spending has been remarkably stable over the last thirty years, and a recent update shows that average participation in and amounts given continued to remain from 2008–11 (McKenzie *et al.*, 2013). It seems, that despite considerable changes, philanthropy has neither increased nor declined in general importance over the last few decades. Findings on giving in Canada over the period 2007–10 confirm a similar picture, indicating that there has been little change in the proportion of people giving, or the amounts they give over this recent period (Statistics Canada, 2010). Perhaps, habits of giving are indeed relatively unchanging, or hard to change – a challenging message for fundraisers constantly inventive in the use of new technology and marketing approaches to prompt donations. 'Mental accounting', the theory that people treat money in different ways, and budget for different spending in different ways, has been put forward as a possible explanation by economic

psychologists for the relatively constant amount devoted to giving. Research has suggested that we do indeed have a ‘mental pot’ for expenditure related to giving, as to other areas of expenditure (Walker and Pharoah, 2002). Wunderink (2002) finds in her research in the Netherlands that when donations are part of the donor’s mental accounting system the average amount given is greater than for ad hoc donations, while Canadian research finds that this philanthropic pot is ‘malleable’ and open to influence by fundraising approaches (LaBarge and Stinson, 2013).

The role of incentives, such as tax reliefs of various kinds, the impact of changes to taxation, and the economic ‘price’ of the gift in motivating, and determining, changes in the level of giving, has been extensively studied within the US economic literature (Auten *et al.*, 2002). Summarizing four decades of US studies, Karlan and List (2007) concluded that it was difficult to make any strong conclusions on the impact of charitable tax reliefs or ‘price’ on giving. There has been little similar UK research. A study of the impact of tax reliefs on giving through covenant only, a method of committed long-term giving replaced by Gift Aid in 2000, however, found no substantive price effect on participation in, or the level of, giving: it queried the value of charitable tax reliefs almost two decades ago prior to their considerable and steady expansion in the UK (Jones and Posnett, 1991b). Smeaton *et al.*’s (2004) examination of the use of UK tax reliefs concluded that there was little evidence that amounts of donations were related directly to the, rather labyrinthine, rules of UK tax relief. Taking an international comparative perspective of the impact of tax rules on giving, research by Dehne *et al.* (2008) recently concluded that while many national governments do indeed consider charitable tax reliefs to play an important role in encouraging personal giving, the differences between national systems of tax reliefs make assessing their comparative effects very difficult. In a context of growing government interest in the extent to which financial behaviours can be influenced by the way in which incentives or offers are framed, Smith and Scharf’s (2010) UK study concluded that a matched payment to a charity receiving a gift had greater impact on giving than a tax rebate to the donor.

Relative importance of different motivations

The previous paragraphs have illustrated not only the multi-faceted nature of motivation to give, but how different motivations may be present in any single act of giving. Bekkers and Wiepking (2007) conclude that the relative influence of different mechanisms on the motivation to give is still unclear. From their overview of motivation studies, they conclude that multiple motives are likely to operate simultaneously in any single act of giving, and, interestingly, that the mix of motives will differ over time, place, organizations, and donors. Few studies have addressed, or tried to measure, the relative relationships between the multiple intrinsic and extrinsic factors present when a decision to give is made, though a number of survey studies already reveal the value which such research approaches might have. For example, it has been shown that apparent variations in levels of giving between different religious denominations could be accounted for, not by any assumed differences in values or beliefs about giving, but by the traditions and beliefs surrounding the ways in which gifts are given or solicited themselves. According to this, Protestant congregations are more likely to give through traditions of tithing and annual pledges, whereas Catholic churches are more likely to raise funds through regular collections (Hoge and Yang, 1994; Zaleski and Zech, 1992). Relationships between different factors might change over a person’s lifetime and changing circumstances. James (2008), for example, has shown the impact of life-events on charitable bequesting, and how changes to wills are related to experiences of illness, or the birth of children and grandchildren. Bequest decision-making may be analogous to visualizing the final chapter in one’s autobiography (James and O’Boyle, 2014).

Social contexts which prompt giving

Many researchers believe, however, that a sole focus on the individual, and on individual characteristics, is insufficient to explain what motivates giving; they have turned their attention to social influences. Havens *et al.* (2006) highlight the importance of ‘communities of participation’, or groups and organizations in which the donor is involved, as predictors of the likelihood of charitable giving. They point out that many of the individual characteristics they studied are in practice proxies for the degree to which donors are engaged in society, or their ‘network-based social capital’. For example, a college graduate probably has access to exclusive networks such as alumni or professional associations, each offering many opportunities for asking and giving. Moreover, while research has shown powerful relationships between giving and various socio-economic characteristics at the individual level, there is little research exploring why giving behaviour differs between those with apparently similar individual characteristics. For example, why do only about half of the wealthiest UK households give to charity? The explanation may lie in individuals’ different social and family situations, and considerable, mainly US, research has explored the extent to which giving and philanthropy occur in contexts where they are embedded within family, social, cultural, business, religious or location-based structures. The research is disparate but reveals the importance of context. As mentioned above, Ostrower’s (1997) work has highlighted the role of family and social networks in the giving of the wealthy, while other research has shown that decisions about charitable giving can be influenced and taken by both partners within families or households (Andreoni *et al.*, 2003; Burgoyne *et al.*, 2005; Yörük, 2010). The positive effect of cultural factors on local levels of giving, including the nature and history of activity by local authorities, has been highlighted by Wolpert (1988). Group effect was studied by Ma and Parish (2006) who found that making charitable gifts was used by members of an immigrant business community to gain advantage through strengthening their political position. That those involved in small religious groups or congregations adopted the norms of such groups in relation to altruistic behaviour and taking responsibility for others was shown by Wuthnow (1991). Other relevant research has highlighted how belonging to associations has a generally positive influence on wider civic engagement (Kwak, 2004), while Eikenberry (2009) has recently shown that belonging to social networks such as ‘giving circles’, whether formal or informal, promotes collective giving behaviour. The polarity between ‘individualism’ and ‘collectivism’ has been identified as a significant indicator of the differences between the social values and behaviours of different cultures (Schwartz, 2003), but there has been comparatively little study of the place of collective values, social structures and contexts in prompting philanthropy, or their effect on, for example, exclusiveness in participation, or the achievement of other non-charitable as well as charitable goals.

Elites and celebrities

An exception to the relative neglect of social influences lies within the detailed study of elite giving. Ostrower’s (1997) study of the wealthy highlights the important influences of family, social, political, business and other public networks on donor choices, revealing that a high proportion of wealthy donors make gifts to organizations with which they already have a relationship, as a board member, or in a congregation. It showed that philanthropic activity bestowed social prestige and status within groups, confirming membership of an exclusive elite. This also operated within important social sub-groups such as, for example, Jewish subcultures. There is a multiplier effect, too, as donors hold multiple group identities and affiliations, and their status as an elite donor can also confer status in their other wider social circles of which they have or seek

to gain membership (Gordon *et al.*, Chapter 21). Research in the UK has also found that the ideas and initiatives of peers, family, friends and colleagues can play a key role in how founders develop their philanthropic vision and mission, and that personal business, social and personal contacts have a significant role in opening up routes into philanthropy (Pharoah 2011a). Many founders identify projects to fund, or test out their ideas, amongst their colleagues and friends.

There are many important historic and geographical links between founders' and trustees' interests or experiences and their giving, such as Paul Hamlyn's seminal contact with the work of Jaipur Foot organizations (BMVSS) in India, which led to the Foundation's continuing interest in this region. Former Commonwealth links through business and other activities also influence the targeting of particular regions for support. Examples of this include the work of the Beit Trust in South Africa, and the Dulverton Trust in East Africa, both originally set up by families who made their fortunes in these regions, and are still dedicated today to helping to develop them. Growing globalism is seeing today's multi-national business activities continue to shape the international philanthropic interests of many major entrepreneurs. Many successful international entrepreneurs are only too aware of global inequalities, aiming to make a substantial contribution to development in the countries and communities from which they originated. George Soros, for example, has used the huge wealth amassed through global finance management to fund open society developments across Central and Eastern Europe, while the Khodorkovsky Foundation supports higher education amongst young Russians, and the Kusuma Trust UK, founded by Anurag Dikshit, aims to strengthen secondary and tertiary educational achievement in India. The giving of George Soros has been argued by some as representing a 'policy' rather than a 'philanthropic' transfer (Stone, 2010), highlighting issues of governance in relation to major international donations and their wider social, economic or political implications which are increasingly attracting attention (Parliamentary Select Committee on International Development, 2012).

For some, the faith and other value or cultural traditions within family, educational and wider community contexts provide important philanthropic role models or leadership. Several founders in Pharoah's (2011a) study referred to the significance of family background: as one said 'we were a family who gives'. Some founders came from backgrounds where they had direct experience of need, or had parents who saw exposure to need as an important part of family upbringing. One commented that 'involving them in voluntary work was the best thing my mother could ever have done ... my interest in philanthropy began right there, every young person should do this'. The reason for falling rates of giving participation amongst younger groups in the UK has been identified as a lack of parental or school example and motivation, and the Citizenship Foundation is funded to develop school curricula around charitable giving. Fundraising charities themselves have turned to celebrities as a new kind of elite model for giving, particularly for younger generations of donors. This carries risks. Shared involvement in supporting a common cause may make potential donors feel closer to a familiar and admired celebrity and give the impression that they can attract some of their glory. However, there is a danger that this may result in devaluing giving to lower-profile activities. It can lead to the commodification of philanthropy as just another item of consumption, or to the point where philanthropy becomes 'charitainment' (Driessens *et al.*, 2012). This can be damaging if fashions in celebrities, and causes, move on (Cooper, 2008). Moreover, if celebrity engagement in charity is trivialized, and its value seen as reputational rather than substantive in relation to a cause or to real social change, there is a risk of alienating potential donors, denigrating celebrity contributions and damaging the credibility of the cause. Recent examples where celebrities have lost their status, such as Jimmy Savile in the UK or Lance Armstrong in the US, resulted in the charities they set up being closed or losing donations. Association between powerful elites from

entertainment, media, business or government worlds and charitable causes are risky: both sides stand to gain hugely from the relationship, but a good cause may lose significant donations as well as potential reputational risk if a high-status donor falls from grace, particularly in the spotlight of the media.

Public and private choices

Current government interest and policy development around philanthropy derive from a notion that the motivation towards private philanthropy could replace the need for the state to assume total responsibility for the provision of public welfare (Healy and Donnelly-Cox, Chapter 12; Phillips and Smith, Chapter 13). Research on philanthropic giving to the major charities and causes in the UK, however, shows marked contrasts in the way in which philanthropic and statutory funding is distributed across them (Pharoah 2011c). The majority of UK private giving, for example, supports the four causes of international development, cancer, animal welfare and religious causes associated with international development or general welfare. While international causes also attract a great deal of statutory funding, the others do not. Social welfare needs in the UK attract a much larger proportion of statutory than philanthropic funding, while in contrast health causes are much more dependent on philanthropy. Charitable giving for health at the local level appears particularly strong, with local hospices in the UK showing the fastest growth in giving of all local causes, raising funds on a par with many big national charities. Hospices offer the dedicated palliative care in small, intimate and homely contexts which people prefer, and which it is often too difficult or costly to provide in large general state hospitals. Such findings indicate that priorities between private donors and public funders are rather different, and that those of the one group would not easily substitute for those of the other. Turning to the US literature, it has been concluded that there is limited evidence of a general redistributive effect from the nonprofit sector; major giving, for example, is largely dedicated to facilities like universities and large national or regional cultural institutions from which the middle and upper classes are the main direct beneficiaries (Clotfelter, 1992; Reich, 2005). In a society where there is high income inequality, the strong positive links between giving and wealth result in unequal access to the opportunity to give, or to shape the contribution of philanthropy to the public good.

Volunteering and giving

While this paper has a principally monetary focus, it is important to remember that people also give substantially to others in non-monetary ways, through volunteering their time, skills and expertise, through gifts of food, clothes and other items, and even their blood and bodily organs. Research is increasingly exploring whether, and how, different ways of giving might be related behaviours, and share motivational and other characteristics. Economists are interested in whether the giving of money and of time substitute for, complement, or crowd each other out. In a recent study in the UK (Mohan and Bulloch, 2012), it was claimed that a well-off 'civic core' of eight percent of the population is responsible for both 49 percent of volunteering and four percent of the monetary value of giving. Amongst chief executives and chairs of large UK companies, all of whom served as charitable trustees, a mix of attitudes towards whether they should give time, money or both was found (Walker and Pharoah, 2000). One respondent said 'a business leader contributes a unique mixture of skills and money: you can't get away in charities from money' (Walker and Pharoah, 2000: 50). Further investigation is taking place about particular groups' volunteering and giving dispositions (Bekkers, Chapter 7). However, such indications that giving and volunteering are complementary behaviours and

largely carried out by the same kinds of people is not borne out in all research. Other studies suggest that they are negatively related and may substitute for each other (Duncan, 1999; Feldman, 2009). Apinunmahakul *et al.* (2009) argue, however, that any apparent substitution disappears for those in paid employment. Whatever the individual's choices about giving and volunteering, a growing body of research indicates that civic behaviours and attitudes constitute a closely-related mesh, of which giving and volunteering are a part. As indicated above, participation in local associations of various kinds appears to lead individuals on to giving and volunteering (Wuthnow, 1991; Kwak, 2004; Eikenberry, 2009). A particularly strong case for the links between different voluntary activities is put by Eckstein (2001), who distinguishes between those which are individually inspired and those which grow from being a member of a group or community. She finds that in the latter '[g]iving, volunteering, and joining are mutually reinforcing' (Eckstein 2001: 830). It is not clear how far giving and volunteering simply co-exist for a number of external reasons, such as the proximity of opportunity, or are derived from the same motivational forces, but some psychologists have explained different helping behaviours in terms of the theory of our identity (Lee *et al.*, 1999). They found that volunteering, giving and making blood donations are all related to identity factors, such as expectations of how we should behave, the models of behaviours provided by our parents, our personal norms, and past behaviour. Different ways of giving, however, were not all influenced in the same way by these identity factors: volunteering of time, 'the most "public" form of donation', appears more strongly influenced by others' expectations than gifts of blood or money. Blood donation is affected more strongly by parents' models than volunteering is, while feelings of moral obligation have a stronger effect on role identity as a blood donor than as a donor of time or money. The extent to which existing activists and volunteers can be motivated to extend their commitment to giving, or vice versa, is at the heart of the relationship-building approaches to fundraising which are widely in vogue today.

Concluding Remarks

This review of the research and thinking on motivation reveals how the impulse to make a philanthropic gift is complex and multifaceted, embedded in personal, spiritual, social and economic contexts of donors' lives and mediated by the way in which gifts are solicited. The importance and interplay of different factors varies for different people, and in different circumstances. Giving can only be fully understood when interpreted as an action within both private and public spheres, within donors' intentions, as well as within their public circumstances. The reasons why giving behaviours appear relatively resilient to change, at least in the short term, are likely to lie in the deep-rooted way in which they are embedded in different private and public contexts.

While this makes motivation and the impulse towards giving a rich and tantalizing subject, it can represent a challenge to those looking for quick, easy or sustained ways to increase giving in our society. It is helpful in this context to draw on Schneewind's (1996) distinction between philanthropy as the expression of a generally humanitarian 'state of mind', and as instrumental activities devoted to specific needs, such as poverty and ill-health, regardless of where the resources come from. The study of patterns of charitable support shows that contribution to the public good is often highly partisan, aimed at reinforcing private passions rather than at meeting publicly-identified needs, and less directly socially instrumental than is recognized in government rhetoric and policy towards its promotion. While the motivation to give is a part of a pluralist and increasingly multi-cultural society, private giving does not in itself create a more pluralistic society in which the full diversity of need is addressed.

This raises the issue of how far individuals' private motivation to give can or should be seen as something which public policymakers can influence. The widespread sending of money back to communities of origin in the developing world by migrants today show how philanthropy arises in contexts of collective responsibility where governmental or other external support is lacking (Schmid and Schaul Bar Nissim, Chapter 10). Today's society in the West, however, is characterized on the one hand by increasingly diverse and fragmented communities, and on the other by increasingly individualist patterns of consumption. Motivating us to give more may only help meet gaps in public welfare if that motivation is strongly aligned with a fresh awareness of need and a renewed sense of social, public and collective responsibility towards the good of all. Current UK government policy implicitly recognizes the inherent public-private tension and aims to influence individual giving motivation and choice through a renewed communitarian emphasis on common public and shared interests. Its approach aims at both cultural and behavioural change (UK Cabinet Office, 2010). In tackling the question of how to motivate people towards specific goals, policy draws heavily on the neo-liberal behavioural economics of Thaler and Sunstein (2009). This defends individual freedom of choice, but at the same time makes the case for private and public institutions to influence choice in ways they see as desirable to themselves or which are, in their view, beneficial to the individual. Achieving a steer can involve 'framing' or manipulating individuals' spending choices in ways which lead them to make the desired decisions. Others involve creating social norms which will influence the motivation to give. The cultural norms approach implicitly recognizes that social and other contexts can have a huge influence on the motivation to give. How social, community-based or other shared senses of values and interests can be built, or developed sufficiently strongly to drive giving motivation towards certain public goods is an area currently under-developed in research, policy or practice; studies of giving remain largely individualistic in their orientation. Because of the uncertainty surrounding the potential of further tax reliefs to incentivize more giving, the UK government is hesitating to introduce further tax reliefs, in particular for the type of life-time giving products very popular in the US, while its recent 'Innovation in Giving' fund focuses rather differently on initiatives which feature the role of exchange in generating giving behaviours. Examples include 'Streetbank', which facilitates giving away time, skills or goods to those living within a mile of the donor's home, and 'Care4Care' which enables people to support the elderly in their own community while building up their own 'care pensions' in return. These are tiny test-beds for motivating giving reciprocity, and have not yet been evaluated. One challenge is that success may be related to the strength of pre-existing neighbourhood networks rather than capacity to forge new links.

A somewhat singular, though innovative, move to direct donor choice towards specific areas of public welfare is taken in a recent report by New Philanthropy Capital (NPC/Barclays Wealth, 2011) which asks if donors should 'be taking a broader, utilitarian view of what can be achieved by charitable donations'. It suggests that, at a time when charities find their income depleted by shifts in public spending and broader financial uncertainty, donors should be less motivated by their hearts and more by their heads. Should potential to make savings in public expenditure be an important motivation alongside, even superseding, other motivations? In reality, this is an approach which aims to move giving further out of the private sphere of voluntary impulse and individual discretionary power within the state. The underlying position is that if donor choice cannot be persuaded to move further into the public sphere, then the donor's discretionary power to give may have to be reduced. This approach interestingly harks back to Halfpenny's (1999) arguments as set out earlier. In implying that donor motivations and choices not based on economic considerations are not rational, it rules out the possibility that motivation can also be influenced through influencing social contexts to encourage people take greater public

responsibility for the needs of others. A recent book about major donor motivation written by a leading UK fundraiser places its emphasis on the donor benefit, arguing that ‘giving is good for you’, and that social inequality is ultimately dysfunctional for society (Nickson, 2013). This society, of course, is one in which the donor’s own existing interests – and perhaps those of the fundraiser – are embedded.

In practice, a highly directed type of voluntary giving is more like a form of voluntary public taxation than a private action for public good. The particular example given above could even be considered as leading to a voluntary hypothecated tax, in the sense of the pressure to give towards specific types of causes, a sentiment further reflected in the growing discourse on ‘Total Impact’ philanthropy (Harrow and Jung, 2015). Growing personal wealth, the burgeoning availability of information and communications through new technology and mass global media have enormously increased people’s capacity and opportunity to give, but this is proving a double-edged sword as public and governmental expectations of philanthropy increase alongside this. The study of motivation shows the intricacies of the balance it maintains between private and public spheres. As donors are presented with increasing and ever more difficult demands and choices at every stage of giving, and as governments become increasingly involved in promoting philanthropy, we will need to understand much more about how multiple motivations get articulated and the decision-making process which leads to a gift.

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