

Thank you so much for inviting me today, to deliver a keynote at the ninth conference of the European Research Network on Philanthropy. It is an honor to stand here before you today, as in 2007, when I was part of the team founding ERNOP, we could not have imagined what ERNOP looks like today. It is a thriving community of scholars and increasingly practitioners, with 250 members from 30 countries, mostly in Europe, but also from Israel, Canada, the US and even Australia. I know Theo Schuyt, ERNOP's president and one of my mentors, has shared parts of ERNOP's story before, but let me share this story too, especially for those of you who are new to our community.

First of all I would like to welcome everyone who is new to ERNOP, and I hope everyone has made you feel welcome. We aim for ERNOP to be an inclusive environment, where there is space for constructive debate and above all collaboration rather than competition. ERNOP started in Theo's office at the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam, in 2007. Theo Schuyt, René Bekkers, Lesley Hustinx from Belgium and I were meeting to discuss potential funding options for collaborative projects. We had tried to get international funding for collaborative research before, but we had been unsuccessful. Very unsuccessful I should say, as most of our proposals were rejected in first rounds of review. We talked about how we could improve upon our projects. And then we came to talk about how we lacked the network in Europe to successfully collaborate and conduct comparative projects. We knew of individuals conducting research on philanthropy across different European countries, but these were oftentimes just one individual, working in one department, at one university. We knew that these individuals lacked the network and resources to connect with others studying philanthropy. And as a consequence, people left the field, or when they stayed, they sometimes reinvented the wheel, as they were unaware of other research conducted on the topics they studied. The solution was simple, we needed to create a network where these people could connect, and exchange knowledge and experiences,

which would help them to establish themselves better at their own universities, and maybe even build a research team around the topic of philanthropy.

So that is what we did. In 2007, we launched ERNOP, and in January 2008, we had our first ERNOP conference at the Vrije Universiteit. The rest is history, and although those first years were not without struggle, for resources, for convincing people of the need of a European Network, for intercultural differences, ERNOP overcame all of this, and is now a very thriving community, which I hope you all will contribute to and benefit from. It is ERNOP's mission, defined at the second meeting in 2009 in Leuven, "to advance, coordinate and promote excellence in philanthropic research in Europe.", and I strongly believe ERNOP is advancing this mission, not in the least because of the hard work by the Executive Director, Barry Hoolwerf, and all the board members and other volunteers. Thank you all!

Mission



To create more
generous societies
Societies where people care
for each other, and want to
contribute to others and the
public good, rather than take
from it

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And that leads me to share my personal mission with you. You may find it a bit unusual that a scholar has a personal mission. But I have found that this helps me to focus my work on the things that I believe matter most, and where I want to contribute to the world through my scholarship. My personal mission is to create more generous societies. And generous societies are societies where people care for each other, and want to contribute to others and the public good, rather than take from it.

Mission statement

I will conduct and share the best interdisciplinary and international research on philanthropy I possibly can, in collaboration with all stakeholders, working across different disciplines and nations, and always with high relevance for society and respect for everyone involved



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And with a mission, also comes a mission statement. And by putting this out here, from now on onwards, you can all hold me accountable.

I will conduct and share the best interdisciplinary and international research on philanthropy I possibly can, in collaboration with all stakeholders, working across different disciplines and nations, and always with high relevance for society and respect for everyone involved

-- while trying to be a kind and caring person, supportive partner and raise resilient, thoughtful and loving kids. You can see how this can be challenging at times.

Research question

Why do some people contribute more to others and the public good, and why does this differ between contexts?



Ooyin Priyati
Academy Monastery,
Mandalay, Myanmar.
Credit: Shwe Ko Than Win,
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When thinking about one overarching question that has driven my work the past 17 years, since entering academia as a junior researcher at the Center for Philanthropic Studies at the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam, than it is this question:

“Why do some people contribute more to others and the public good, and why does this differ between contexts?” And for contexts you can also read “cultures” or “countries”, but I am a sociologist by training, so for me context is the most comprehensive word.

My research focuses on both INDIVIDUAL and CONTEXTUAL level explanations. To illustrate this with an image, here you see the women and men donating food to the monks in Myanmar. These donors have their own personal motivation for doing so, but they also operate in a context where food donations are organized. There are also cultural and institutional explanations for their behavior, not just individual motivations. We will return to Myanmar later in this talk.



Before I share some of the answers we found to this research question, I want to discuss the problems of philanthropy with you. Even in a keynote on the bright side of philanthropy, I feel I cannot just skip over them.

The three problems I see with philanthropy, especially with respect to global philanthropy research, are:

Problem 1 relating to connotations

Problem 2 relating to definitions

Problem 3 relating to geographical orientation



The first problem with philanthropy that I want to discuss today is that the word 'philanthropy' is associated with 'white male big philanthropy' for many people across the world.

Here you see the "Mayor of Delft", a painting by Dutch painter Jan Steen, which for me is one of the most intriguing philanthropy paintings. You see a burgher, which is a title for an upper class citizen in Jan Steen's time, and his daughter, who in the most careless way give a donation to a poor lady and her son. Why would someone want to be depicted like that? This image is not that of the typical Maecenas. But it is illustrative for how many people see philanthropy and philanthropists, and the connotations they have with these words. --As a personal note with this painting, my parents got married in the church you see in the background, some 320 years later.--

To connect my keynote with Rob Reich's keynote earlier today, yes, I agree with him, there ARE many issues with that kind of philanthropy. Although, at the same

time, I do believe there are a great many “Big Philanthropists” out there who do genuinely care for others and want to contribute to more generous societies. One example of caring philanthropists are Mary Joy and Jerre Stead, who donated an endowment to the Lilly Family School of Philanthropy, which allowed me to continue my study and teaching in global philanthropy as the Visiting Stead Family Chair in International Philanthropy. Without their donation, and the position it created, I am not sure I would be standing before you today.



In order to solve this problem with philanthropy, the Women’s Philanthropy Institute at the Lilly Family School of Philanthropy launched this brilliant campaign (#lamaphilanthropist) in 2019, to change this problem with philanthropy.

<<play video Women’s Philanthropy Institute. 2019. #lamaphilanthropist.
<https://youtu.be/vtUJ5BRfUVg>>>

I hope that campaigns like these will help us to redefine who is a philanthropist, and help us to recall people who don’t look like Bill Gates and Warren Buffet when thinking about philanthropists.



To the second problem. The problem with definitions. Typically, philanthropy is perceived to be the donation of money to charities. Philanthropy is seen as formal giving, which is also a problem the women in the #Iamaphilanthropist video reflected upon. This is problematic because there are many other ways people can contribute to others and the public good, and here are just a few from my personal life:

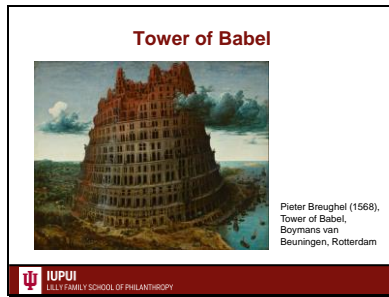
Here you see my colleague Arjen de Wit, who helped me guide 13 American students from the South of Amsterdam to the Rijksmuseum by bike, on a very rainy morning, because all public transport systems decided to strike during my study abroad course. This is philanthropy.

And here you see my students volunteering during this study abroad course. We packed birthday boxes for Dutch children living in relative poverty. This is also philanthropy.

And this is my daughter, holding a very topical book (if you cannot read it, the title is “Lacy Walker non stop talker”. This book was donated to us by one of my colleagues after we moved to Indianapolis and could only bring 4 suitcases worth of things. This is also philanthropy.

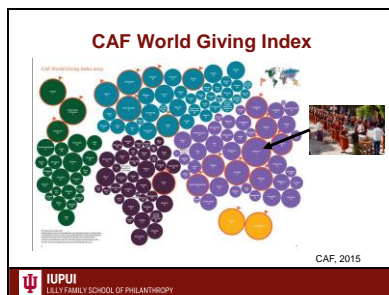
And finally here is my son, proudly finishing his third lap in a jog-a-thon for charity. This is also philanthropy.

Way to often, and this includes my own past research, philanthropy research only studies formal philanthropy, the giving of money to charitable organizations.



In terms of definitions for philanthropy, I believe the study of philanthropy resemblances the biblical story of the Tower of Babel.

Here you see Breughel's beautiful picture of this story. In this story, people decided to build a tower high enough to reach heaven. God, observing this, punishes them for trying to reach his domain and confounds their speech so that they can no longer understand each other. The study of philanthropy from a global perspective suffers from similar challenges. Philanthropy is a contested concept, with different meanings, and thus different definitions across the world. What we do know is that people all over the world practice phenomena related to philanthropy, generosity, giving, gifting, the social good, and they have been for a very long time. But the names for these practices differ across countries and cultures. As do the practices themselves that are related to generosity.



When we look at the global study of giving, the Charitable Aid Foundation's World Giving Index, based on the Gallup World Poll is an often cited source to compare and rank countries in term of their 'generosity'. Here you see Myanmar again, which ranked as 'the most generous country' in the 2015 CAF World Giving Index.

CAF World Giving Index 2017

	Rank	overall score (%)	helping a stranger (%)	donating money (%)	Volunteering (%)
Myanmar	1	65	53	53	53
Indonesia	2	60	47	79	55
Kenya	3	60	76	52	53
New Zealand	4	57	65	65	41
USA	5	56	73	56	41
Australia	6	56	66	63	40
Canada	7	54	67	61	35
Ireland	8	53	61	60	39
United Arab Emirates	9	51	71	55	27
Netherlands	10	51	51	64	36
Morocco	136	18	43	2	7
Lithuania	137	16	28	10	10
China	138	14	30	9	6
Yemen	139	13	31	3	6

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If we look at a more recent version of this World Giving Index, we see that Myanmar again ranks as “the most generous country”.

What is measured and how?

Have you done any of the following in the past month?

- Helped a stranger, or someone you didn't know who needed help?
- Donated money to a charity?
- Volunteered your time to an organization?

Why would this NOT lead to a correct estimation of generosity behaviors across the world?

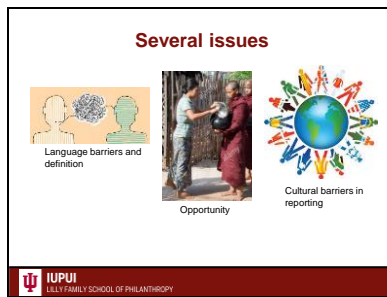
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But how is “the most generous country” determined? And is that something we should want to do? In the Gallup World Poll representative samples of about 150 countries in the world, are asked the following three questions:

Have you done any of the following in the past month?

- Helped a stranger, or someone you didn't know who needed help?
- Donated money to a charity?
- Volunteered your time to an organization?

Why do you think this would NOT lead to a correct estimation of generosity behaviors across the world?



There are several issues with using these questions as a proxy for generosity behavior, as is done in the World Giving Index. For example:

- Language barriers and differences in definitions
- Differences in the opportunity of displaying these three behaviors
- Cultural barriers in reporting. Once, after a lecture on global giving research in Russia, a lady from Kazakhstan approached me and shared that for people from her culture these types of behavior are sacred, and they would never report on these behaviors in a survey.

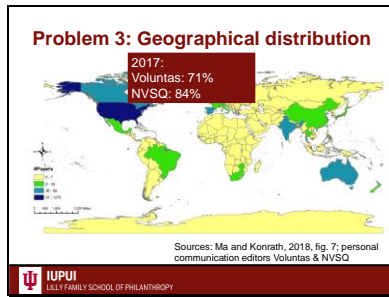
These are just three examples, but there are several more issues.

CAF World Giving Index 2017

	Rank	overall score (%)	helping a stranger (%)	donating money (%)	Volunteering (%)
Myanmar	1	65	53	91	55
Indonesia	2	60	47	79	55
Singapore	3	60	76	52	51
New Zealand	4	57	85	65	41
USA	5	56	73	56	41
Australia	6	56	66	63	40
Canada	7	54	67	61	35
Ireland	8	53	61	60	39
United Kingdom	9	51	71	55	27
Emirates	10	51	51	64	36
Netherlands
Morocco	136	18	43	2	7
Lithuania	137	16	28	10	10
China	138	14	30	8	6
Yemen	139	13	11	3	6

... and one of the results from these issues, is that the top 10 most generous countries consistently include predominantly English language countries, as you can see here in the 2017 index.

I believe it is very problematic to create rankings of “most generous countries”, especially given the flaws in operationalizing. It is a very excluding practice: what do people living in countries ranking at the bottom think about this? That their country fellowmen and women are just a bunch of selfish people? I know from research and personal experience that people in those countries also display a wide range of generosity behaviours. They are also generous. But in ways that are not captured by this measure. We can do better.



And that leads me to the third problem, where we also can do better. While the Gallup World Poll covers about 150 countries from across the world, typical studies of philanthropy are very much restricted to Western Europe and North America.

Here you see the geographical distribution of papers in our field published in 19 academic journals, as shown by Ma and Konrath in their 2018 Voluntas paper. The darker the color, the more papers originated from that country.


Working with the editors from Voluntas and NVSQ, we looked into the most recent statistics for these two key journals in our field.

In 2017, 71% of the articles published in Voluntas and 84% of those published in NVSQ originated from either North America or Western Europe. 71% and 84%. We can do better.

Some of the consequences...

- Unidimensional western view of what is 'philanthropy', and consequently which countries are 'more generous'
- Research and policy mostly based on this view

How CAN we create more generous societies with these problems in mind?

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Some of the consequences of these three problems –the problems with connotations, definitions and geographical distribution- are that we have a unidimensional western view of what is 'philanthropy', and consequently which countries are 'more generous'.

And as a result, research and policy are mostly based on this view.

How can we create more generous societies with these problems in mind?

Back to the research question

Why do some people contribute more to others and the public good, and why does this differ between contexts?



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Tom Cruise – Mission Impossible

Knowing all this, is answering this research question a mission impossible?

In order to answer this research question we need to understand the different concepts, meanings, definitions and motivations that people across the world have in relation to 'philanthropy', 'giving', 'gifting', 'social good contribution' or 'generosity behavior'.




So far, my own research has suffered from the same bias. I have conducted mostly research on ‘formal philanthropy’, using Western perspectives and definitions, and studying WEIRD populations. WEIRD meaning Western, higher Educated, Industrialized, Rich and Democratic. Here you see an animation of the World Mercator Projection, where the countries are projected using their correct size and shape, and not the distorted cylindrical map projection presented by Mercator in 1569. I propose we start doing the same for global philanthropy research: study philanthropy, taking into account all forms of philanthropy, using local words and definitions, and study the world’s population.

In the remainder of this lecture, I do want to share some of the key research findings from my collaborative work over the past 17 years, but I will end this presentation with my new research agenda, which focuses exactly on overcoming all the issues described so far.



So, back to the research question. Why do some people contribute more to others and the public good, and why does this differ between contexts?

Eight mechanisms




People may give (more) when:

- They perceive a need
- They are asked to give
- Costs are lower, benefits are higher
- People care about the recipients
- Giving is rewarded socially
- Giving reinforces their self-image
- Causes match their values
- Gifts are perceived as more effective

need
solicitation
costs/benefits
altruism
reputation
psych. rewards
values
efficacy

Bekkers & Wiepking, 2007, 2011
More information at www.understandingphilanthropy.com



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In a project with René Bekkers, we conducted a literature review of all the empirical studies of charitable giving we could find that were published before 2007. We classified these studies, based on the eight mechanisms we found in the literature that drive charitable giving. These mechanisms are:

..finally the bright side of philanthropy

People may give (more) when:

• They perceive a need	need
• They are asked to give	solicitation
• Costs are lower, benefits are higher	costs/benefits
• People care about the recipients	altruism
• Giving is rewarded socially	reputation
• Giving reinforces their self-image	psych. rewards
• Causes match their values	values
• Gifts are perceived as more effective	efficacy

Baskiers & Wriepking, 2007, 2011
More information at www.understandingphilanthropy.com

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You may have been thinking, the title of her talk included “the bright side of philanthropy”, while she only talks of all the issues with philanthropy research. I am very happy to now share some research that does show the bright side of philanthropy. Especially for the mechanisms in red I can share stories about how they contribute to the bright side of philanthropy. I will discuss these stories for the psychological reward mechanism, the altruism mechanism and the value mechanism, and some of its applications.

Mechanism: Psychological rewards

- Idea: People give (more) to feel good about themselves and to confirm their positive self-image
- Economists: The 'warm glow' or 'joy of giving' effect

Fig. 3. Neural response in the ventral striatum to monetary payoffs for the subject (yellow), the charity (blue), and both (green).

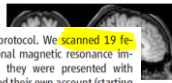


Fig. 1. (A) Study protocol. We scanned 19 females using functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) while they were presented with transfers that affected their own account (starting amount, \$100) and the account of a local charity. p. 1623

The psychological rewards mechanism states that people give (more) to feel good about themselves and to confirm their positive self-image. This is what economists call the 'warm glow' or the 'joy of giving'. In their often cited 2007 Science publication, Harbaugh, Mayr and Burghart confirmed this mechanism in a fMRI study of people's brains. Their study showed that the regions in the brain that are active when making voluntary donations relate to areas that are active when processing rewards ~ support for the warm glow people experience when giving. However: their study was only based on a sample of 19 females... Recently we have seen the issues with these types of 'high impact' studies that rely on very small samples, or suffer from other methodological issues such as low external validity, selective samples and in some cases even questionable research practices. We have seen a lot of scientific studies that failed to replicate.


Recent meta analysis confirms this initial study:



But I am happy to share that this study, on which a lot of philanthropy scholars build their work on motivations for giving, did not fail to replicate. A recent meta analysis by Cutler and Campbell-Meiklejohn (2019) confirms this initial study. In a tweet PhD candidate Jo Cutler wrote: "A key result from neuroscience of giving is that donations (even compared to selfishness) activate reward network – seen as 'warm glow' of giving". I think this meta analyses shows strong support for the idea of a "warm glow" related to giving. And illustrates a bright side of philanthropy: People feel good when giving.

Mechanism: Altruism

- Idea: people are PURE altruists when they give ONLY to contribute to a public good or service and NOT because of "private benefits"



Key private benefits:

- warm glow
- reputation

Source: Learningtogive.org / Metro Atlanta Boys & Girls Clubs

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The next mechanism I like to discuss is the altruism mechanism. This mechanism is primarily derived from the economic literature. Economists state that people are PURE altruists when they give ONLY to contribute to a public good or service and NOT because of "private benefits".

Key private benefits are the warm glow we just discussed and social reputation. Altruism should lead individuals to reduce their giving if others (for example the government) increase their giving.

If people are true altruists, government contributions should lead to the 'crowding out' of private donations. There is an abundance of evidence that supports the idea that people are not pure altruists, which I am not going to focus on today. Research typically finds that people are impure altruists. And that is in line with the findings from the fMRI studies on 'warm glow'.


But people are altruists, just not pure altruists, and you can find a plethora of evidence for this, and not only for humans, as Frans de Waal shows in his work with primates. And people act altruistically from early ages onwards. Talking about the bright side of philanthropy, here is a short clip from children in the US, who come from low income families, and are asked to make a rather tough choice.

<< Show video from: <https://www.learningtogive.org/courses/raising-philanthropic-children/raising-philanthropic-children-6-12-years-old>>>

"It is either lego's or family, and I choose family." Beautiful, isn't it? This is the bright side of philanthropy.

Mechanism: Values

- Idea: People want to change the world in line with their own values, and they can use charitable giving to change the world



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The third mechanism I want to discuss is the values mechanism. The idea behind the values mechanism is that people want to change the world in line with their own values, and they can use charitable giving to change the world in that direction. I believe that values is one of the strongest mechanisms fundraisers can and should use to connect with (potential) donors and built relationships with them. It is only when the organization and the donor share similar values and ideas of how to make the world a better place, that a meaningful relationship can start to exist. I also believe that we should encourage donors and organizations to take this one step further, and also include the values of the beneficiaries in this relationship. Too often the values of the beneficiaries –the end receivers- are overlooked, while, in my opinion, these should be the guiding principles in any philanthropic relationship.

Christina Eggenberger was one of the students participating in the study abroad trip to Germany and the Netherlands. After we volunteered for the organization packing birthday boxes for children living in relative poverty, she wrote in a blog:

“Whether one is volunteering for a children’s organization packing toys and balloons into a box, or creating a CSR program for a large corporation, philanthropists must always keep the beneficiary in mind. Doing what interests the volunteers or employers, and is most relevant to the business but leaves out the nonprofit or ultimate beneficiary of the service, only serves our ego. We must always keep in mind who we are serving, or what cause we are championing. So, to all the future philanthropists out there, keep the end in mind. Remember who you are serving, and let that be your guide.” (Eggenberger, 2019; comma’s added for reading)

This great statement was the result of a discussion we had with all the students after packing the birthday boxes for several hours. The students, and I, were quite

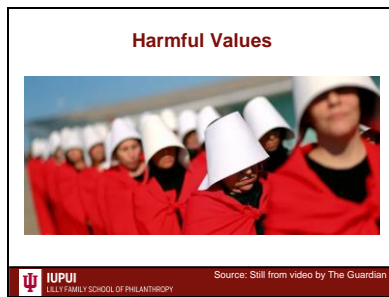
frustrated by the contents of the birthday boxes. The boxes were strongly gendered, with the girls receiving mainly pink birthday presents, including dolls and craft toys while the boys received cars and technical toys. The boys toys included much more cognitively stimulating gifts. We were also quite shocked by the level of sugar that was included in the birthday treats that went into the boxes. But during the discussion, we reflected on who the boxes are for, and how the families receiving those boxes wanted gendered toys for their children, and wanted to celebrate the child's birthday the proper Dutch way with lots of sugary cake and candy.

As Christina wrote: "As much as our group of budding philanthropists want to change the entire world, the point of the birthday box is to bring joy to the birthday boy or girl. It may not be the role of [the organization] and their volunteers to take on the gendered nature of the toy industry."

Back to the values mechanism, when we think about which values motivate people to give, religious values are an important value. Religions from all over the world motivate people to be kind to others, and to help those in need. But how religious values can also be a harmful motivation, is something I will return to very soon. When considering other 'general' prosocial values, research shows that giving is more psychologically rewarding –remember that mechanism?- for people with stronger prosocial values, for example people who have a stronger principle of care, altruistic values and empathic concern.

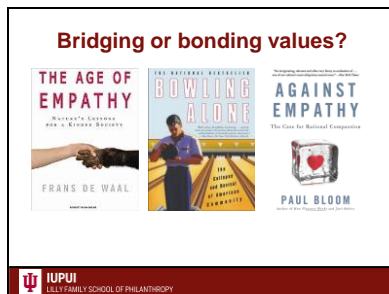
Which values?

- Religious values motivate people strongly to give
- Other important 'general' prosocial values:
 - Principle of care
 - Altruistic values
 - Empathic concern



Specific causes are more attractive for individuals with matching social and religious values: equality, fairness, social justice, human rights, environmentalism, postmaterialism, compassion. And that brings us to the potential harmful effects of values, including religious values.

As the value mechanism states: People can use charitable giving to change the world in line with these own values. Emphasis on “own values”. Because your values may not be mine. And your values may harm me. There are many examples where people’s values are directly harmful for others. Think for example about the pro-life/pro-choice movements. They have very contrasting values. For me, the idea of Gilead (from Margaret Atwood’s “The Handmaid’s Tale”) is a nightmare, but the new abortion laws in the US, including in the state of my second home, Indiana, are moving in that direction. Religious values play a large role here. Also in other ways religious values can be harmful, where people choose to only support and care for those with the same religious affiliation. People have a tendency to care for people like themselves. This also relates to values, because evolutionary research shows that people (and animals) are better capable of feeling empathy for people that look like them. If you would like to read more on the development of empathy from an evolutionary perspective, I can highly recommend the work by fellow Dutchman Frans de Waal. Both his academic and popular work are very insightful and interesting for those of us studying philanthropy.

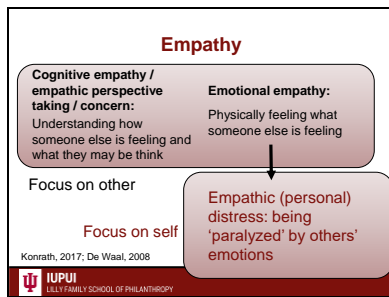


So values can lead people to care only for “people like us”, and as a result lead to segregation in society. Like bridging and bonding social capital as defined by Putnam, we need to focus more of our research on whether people’s values and consequently their philanthropy is bridging or bonding. Bridging values lead people to care for those in need, who need our help, not only for those who look like us.

In a recent book by Paul Bloom, the point that empathic values lead to harmful consequences is made as well, as Bloom argues that “Empathy has some unfortunate features—it is parochial, narrow-minded, and innumerate. We’re often at our best when we’re smart enough not to rely on it.” (Bloom, 2013).

I respectfully disagree with that statement. Empathy can be extremely useful in motivating people to contribute to others. As my colleague Sara Konrath writes in response to the book by Bloom:

“In his book, Bloom argues that empathy can lead us astray by directing our compassion and generosity toward specific individuals, usually those who are part of our own group, at the expense of helping more people. He also argues that sometimes empathy can even fuel antisocial behavior such as aggression. Bloom’s book has raised a lot of eyebrows. But it has also raised a lot of questions about what, precisely, we mean when we talk about “empathy.” I too have a problem with empathy, but Bloom’s book doesn’t capture it. The biggest problem with empathy, I think, is that people have trouble agreeing on exactly what it is.” (Konrath, 2017)



And that is exactly what is the matter with empathy. There are so many different forms of empathy, and there is often confusion on which form of empathy people are referring to.

A first key form of empathy is cognitive empathy, which can be defined as understanding how someone else is feeling, and what they may think.

The second key form is emotional empathy, where people physically feel what someone else is feeling. Both of these types of empathy can lead to altruistic behavior, and with a little nudging also to people different from oneself.

But one specific form of strong emotional empathy, empathic distress, does indeed hamper helping behavior. When someone physically takes over the emotional distress of someone in need, this can lead to feeling 'paralyzed' by that other person's emotion. And when people feel like that, they won't help or give money. Because they are focused on relieving their own distress. Most of the "case against empathy" in the book by Bloom is about that last form of emotional empathy, which is indeed not a helpful emotion in terms of helping behavior. Fundraising organizations need to be careful in that respect, by not putting people in empathic distress.

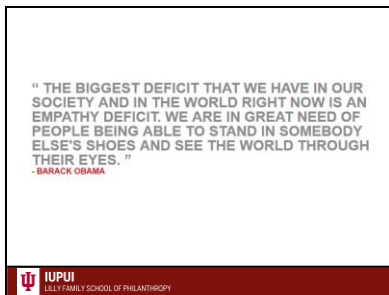
I want to share an example of a campaign by War child, a Dutch organization supporting children who are victims of war. In this campaign I think the balance is either just right, or just wrong, as it may cause empathic distress for people watching.



<<show warchild campaign video:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PIKewZLeWU8>>>

So, for you personally, did this campaign cause empathic distress? (raise hand if it did). And completely hypothetical, would you give to War child after this campaign? (raise hands).

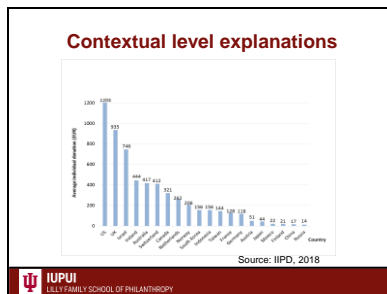
A personal disclaimer about this campaign: I have watched it about 20 times by now, and I still can't keep it dry. And I have not donated to War child. So far.



I like to end this section on values and empathy with a quote from former President Obama, who said: "The biggest deficit that we have in our society, and in the world right now, is an empathy deficit. We are in great need of people being able to stand in somebody else's shoes, and see the world through their eyes." I could not agree more with this.



But now, back to the research question, and now looking at it from the perspective of the context in which people live: Why do some people contribute more to others and the public good, and why does this differ between contexts?

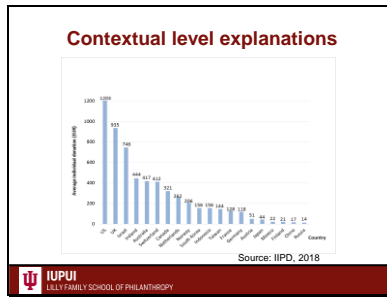


Here you see a graph based on the Individual International Philanthropy Database, the IIPD, displaying the average amounts donated by people in nineteen different countries. We collected these data in the project that also resulted in the Palgrave Handbook of Global Philanthropy.



Too many people to mention here have been involved, and kindly shared their data and time to help compose this database. Which is also philanthropy. If you are in the audience today, thank you again for all your work on this! We build the IIPD, because until that moment, in 2009, there was no data available which measured the amounts people contributed to charitable causes across countries. There have been a few publicly accessible data collections of incidence of giving, for example the Eurobarometer study, and the European Social Survey, and of course the previously mentioned Gallup World Poll, which is collected by a commercial organization, and hence has a steep price tag.

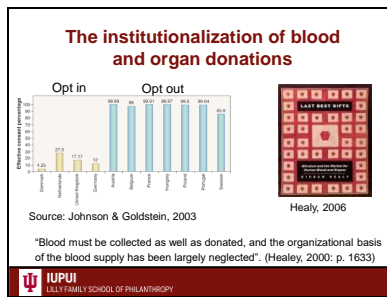
We strongly believed that you need to know not just whether or not people give, but also how much they give, if you want to understand how you can motivate people to meaningfully contribute to others, and the public good, across different contexts. With meaningful, I mean in a way that the contribution results in positive consequences for all stakeholders involved, including most importantly the beneficiaries. We believe this type of information is crucial in order to conduct research that leads to the design of meaningful policy implications, for example about fiscal incentives and laws and regulations for philanthropy.



The dark story here is, is that this is still the best comparative data available for the study of the amounts people give to charitable causes. I say dark, because there are many methodological issues with these data. The IIPD is synchronized and merged from different individual level country datasets that measured formal philanthropic giving. Of course we tried to minimize methodological issues. But of course, there are always issues when data have different sampling procedures, collection methods and timeframes – just to name a few things.

The unintended consequence of this lack of good quality comparative data on charitable giving, is that we may have the opportunity to start from scratch. So we can change this dark story to a bright one. If we truly want to understand why some people in some countries are more generous – by terms of their own definitions- than others, we can and should start from scratch and collect information bottom-up. I will provide some initial steps for this at the end of this lecture, when I share my future research agenda.

Using the imperfect IIPD, we did set out to start to understand some of the contextual variations in the level of charitable giving across the countries included in our sample. During the last section of this presentation, I want to share some initial findings with you from this research.

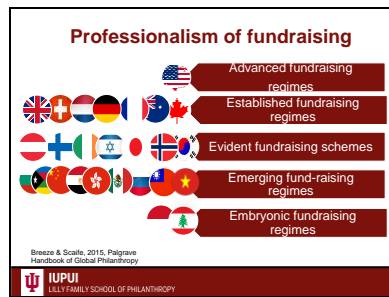


The study I would like to share with you is a study in which we examined some of the factors that relate to the “institutionalization” of philanthropy across countries. Institutionalization refers to the socially constructed system of norms, beliefs and definitions manifested in different institutions which provide formal or informal legitimacy to the practice of philanthropic giving (based on Scott 2008; Wiepking et al. 2019). This work is co-authored with all data contributors to the IIPD.

In research on the institutionalization of other forms of prosocial behavior, Johnson and Goldstein (2003) showed that policy structures are very important for organ donations.

What do you think is the difference in this picture between the countries on the left in yellow, and on the right, in blue? Exactly, policies such as “opt-out” policies greatly influence the proportion of people consenting to organ donations. When organ donation is the default option, and people need to “opt-out” if they do not wish to donate their organs, a very high percentage of the population consent to being donors. In countries with an “opt-in” system, a very low percentage consents to donate their organs.

Also of great relevance here is the work by Kieran Healy, who among other things wrote about blood donations: “Blood must be collected as well as donated, and the organizational basis of the blood supply has been largely neglected”



In our study we looked – among other things- at the collection regime for charitable donations across countries. Because, in line with Healey’s words, money must be collected as well as donated. In a chapter on fundraising across the world in the Palgrave Handbook of Global Philanthropy, Beth Breeze and Wendy Scaife classified five different types of fundraising regimes. These fundraising regimes range from embryonic to advanced fundraising regimes. In embryonic regimes, fundraising is volunteer based and is arranged through informal organization and networks. While in advanced regimes fundraising is highly institutionalized, and advanced methods and techniques are used, such as donor profiling. In those regimes, organizations are set up in a way that allow for the development of long term personal relationships between donors and organizations.

Bivariate statistics – fundraising regimes

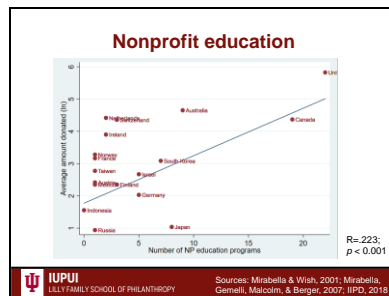
Type of fundraising regime	Countries	Average proportion donors	Average amount donated
1 Embryonic fundraising regimes	Indonesia	0.00	34
2 Emerging fundraising regimes	Mexico, Taiwan, Russia	0.62	66
3 Evident fundraising regimes	Norway, Finland, South Korea, Japan, Austria, Ireland, Israel	0.61	206
4 Established fundraising regimes	Australia, France, United Kingdom, Netherlands, Canada, Germany, Switzerland	0.79	428
5 Advanced fundraising regime	United States	0.85	1,427

Sources: Breeze & Scaife, 2015; IPPD 2018

IUPUI LILLY FAMILY SCHOOL OF PHILANTHROPY

In our paper, we first of all looked at the bivariate relationship between the different types of fundraising regimes, the percentage of people donating and the average amount they donated. From these statistics, you see that there is an unclear relationship between proportion donors in a country and the different fundraising regimes (and yes, both the embryonic and the advanced fundraising regime are only represented by one country: did I mention that we need more and better data?). Maybe one could draw the conclusion that the proportion donors is highest in the established fundraising regime. When you look at the relationship between the average amounts donated and fundraising regimes, you do see a clearer trend: the more advanced, the higher the average amounts people give. The more fundraising is institutionalized, the higher the giving. But it is important to keep in mind that these are just bivariate relationships. When using multivariate multilevel models, we only found evidence that people in the established regimes were more

likely to give and gave more, compared with people living in the evident fundraising regime.



We also looked into the institutionalization of philanthropy in the form of nonprofit education programs in different countries. As the philanthropic sector grows, and its activities get more specialized, there is a need for personnel that are trained to manage philanthropic organizations, and engage in fundraising and project development. Using the data from Mirabella and colleagues (Mirabella & Wish, 2001; Mirabella, Gemelli, Malcolm, & Berger, 2007), we looked at the relationship between the number of nonprofit education programs and likelihood of giving and amounts donated across the countries in our study. Note that the United States is not included in this graph, as they are an extreme outlier with 137 nonprofit education programs in the early 2000s. The bivariate correlation between the number of nonprofit education programs and the individual level of giving in a country is positive (.22), but can be considered moderate at best. This result did hold up when we tested this relationship using multilevel analyses, although also with a small effect size.

I wish I could share here today with you results on how this project has lead us to strong empirical results, that support particular policy implications, to help create more generous societies across the world. But the sobering reality is, is that we cannot make such claims based on the existing data and research. For this we need much better data, to which I hope to contribute with my future research.

Future research

- Revolutionizing Philanthropy Research.
 - A new literature review with René Bekkers, Ji Ma, Arjen de Wit, Sasha Zarins, and hopefully many others → see session 2c this afternoon
- Global study of prosocial behavior and motivations
 - Time, context and cause specific, with Femida Handy, Sara Konrath and Kidist Yasin
 - Start from scratch, bottom up: Interviews with people from all over the world

I would like to end this lecture with my future research agenda, in which I hope to be able to work with anyone who is interested to work towards a comparative, interdisciplinary, and inclusive approach of global philanthropy research. I am so fortunate to already be working with a lot of amazing colleagues and students, and a few of the projects we are working on are:

- Revolutionizing Philanthropy Research. This is a new literature review with René Bekkers, Ji Ma, Arjen de Wit, Sasha Zarins, and hopefully many others, in which we aim to use new technologies such as machine learning and citation network analyses to capture all of the literature on philanthropy, also in areas underrepresented in philanthropy research → see session 2c this afternoon
- Global study of prosocial behavior and motivations. We believe this should be done with attention to time, context and cause, and I am working on this among others with Femida Handy, Sara Konrath and PhD student Kidist Yasin

- Start from scratch: We intent to conduct interviews with people from all over the world about their definitions, meanings, values and motivations for 'philanthropy'.



And finally, I like to share three of the projects I am involved in for which we are always looking for new collaborators:

- First of all, Femida Handy and I are creating new chapters based on an updated and more inclusive version of the format we used for the country chapters in the Palgrave Handbook of Global Philanthropy. If you are an expert on a country not yet covered, and like to work with us, please let me know.
- Second, Prof. Trish Herzog from the Lilly Family School of Philanthropy is leading a project in the Global Religion Research Initiative, the Global Youth Development Network, in which I am also involved. In this project we are studying the intersection of philanthropy, religion and youth in countries typically underrepresented in research. I know several of you are being interviewed by emerging scholars also at this conference, thank you so much for your participation in this study.
- And finally, I am part of the supervisory board of the Global Philanthropy Indices, which are now hosted at the Lilly Family School of Philanthropy: The Global Philanthropy Environment Index and the Global Philanthropy Resource Flows

Index. We are working with people from about 80 countries to learn more about the conditions for philanthropy and about global philanthropy resource flows. Not just from North to South, but in all directions. My colleagues Una Osili and Kinga Horvath are presenting research about these indices in session 3b later today.

For all projects, we are actively looking for collaborators, and I very much look forward to hearing from you if you are interested to participate. Only together we can make a change in the way global philanthropy research is conducted.

With these projects, and many more which I could not share with you today, my collaborators and I –and hopefully also you- aim to contribute to the bright side of philanthropy: the creation of more generous societies. It may take as many years as I have been working in the field, or even longer, but I truly believe that by using a comparative, interdisciplinary, and inclusive approach, the results of our research will help build more generous societies. Thank you.

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