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WEALTH AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY: A STUDY OF PHILANTHROPY IN SOUTHERN NEW HAMPSHIRE AND SOUTHERN MAINE

BY

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DISSERTATION

Submitted to the University of New Hampshire
in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

In

Sociology

May, 2004

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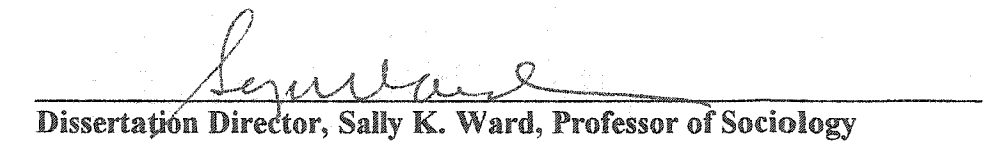

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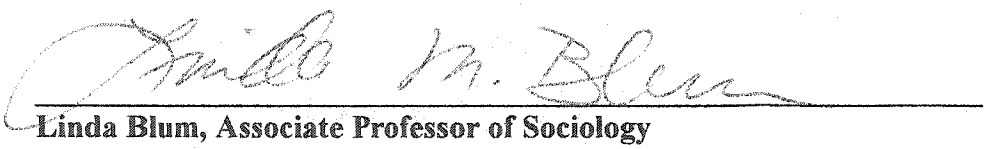

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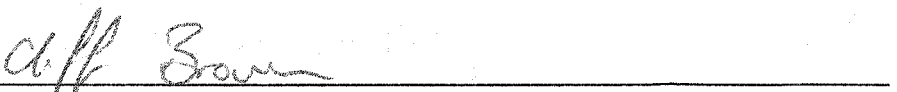

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DEDICATION

For Karen

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This study would not have been possible without the generosity of the philanthropists who gave of their time and of their insights into the world of philanthropy. I would like to thank them and also to thank all of the people who helped me to gain an understanding and entry into the social world of wealthy philanthropists.

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ABSTRACT

WEALTH AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY: A STUDY OF PHILANTHROPY IN SOUTHERN MAINE AND SOUTHERN NEW HAMPSHIRE

by

Susan Lord
University of New Hampshire, May 2004

This is a study of individual philanthropists and their beliefs and practices of philanthropy in southern New Hampshire and southern Maine. It examines the patterns and social structures of philanthropy in these areas, looking particularly at issues of class, culture, social capital, and civic participation.

Based on in-depth interviews conducted with 40 wealthy philanthropists in 2002 and 2003, the study findings suggest that I uncovered a population of philanthropists that had not been studied before. These sample philanthropists are not simply using their wealth to maintain the status quo and perpetuate their position in society, as past studies have found philanthropists to be. While some of these philanthropists choose to be members of the upper-class-elite-culture of philanthropy, others eschew or are not at all interested in membership in this culture. I identified four subsets of philanthropists in the study. Some of these philanthropists do support the traditional institutions and organizations of elite culture while others support those institutions and organizations that seek to offer social provision, address the inequities in society and, to some extent, alter the structures of society.

Generations of wealth, education, migration, party, marriage, gender and age/generation are factors that affect these philanthropists' choice of which organizations receive their time and money, and their traditional or change orientation. The subset of

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philanthropists that respondents belong to, based on their engagement in the elite culture of philanthropy, determines areas of giving, how they contribute (% time and % income), how they view decision-making in the organizations to which they donate, and how they relate to their wealth. The subset of philanthropists that they belong to also affects their diversity of associations and comfort with their wealth, which impact their positioning in either leadership or collaborative roles with the organizations to which they donate their time and their money.

These findings suggest a new, or previously unstudied social structure in the philanthropy world in which some wealthy philanthropists choose not to be members of elite culture. These philanthropists are aware of the inequities in society and focus their philanthropy on attempts to "administer social justice", "even the playing field" and "give back to society".

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"The love of wealth is therefore to be traced as either a principal or accessory motive, at the bottom of all that Americans do."
-Alexis de Tocqueville

"Philanthropy is commendable, but it must not cause the philanthropist to overlook the circumstances of economic injustice that make philanthropy necessary."
-Martin Luther King

"Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world; indeed, it's the only thing that ever has."
-Margaret Mead

This is a study of individual philanthropists and their practices of philanthropy in the small cities and towns of southern New Hampshire and southern Maine. It examines the patterns and social structures of philanthropy in these areas, looking particularly at issues of class, culture, social capital, and civic participation.

Who are the wealthy philanthropists in southern Maine and southern New Hampshire and how do their beliefs and practices of philanthropy compare with those of one another and with those of philanthropists in more urban areas, as described in the literature? How do they view philanthropy and its role in society? How do they participate in their communities? What goals do they have for their philanthropy? Are they more interested in altering the structures of society or in maintaining the status quo? How do philanthropists who come from generations of wealth compare with those who are newly wealthy?

Philanthropy is a mechanism through which those with resources have been able to give of their time and money in ways that attempt, in their words, to "administer social

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justice", "even the playing field", and "give back to society". It has been argued that wealthy philanthropists have significantly shaped American life through their dedication to voluntary service and gifts of capital (Grimm 2002). Evidence of their "good works" is all around us, as evidenced in our outdoor sculptures, parks and historic buildings, homeless shelters, social service agencies, and soup kitchens, to name a few examples.

I begin by locating philanthropy in an historical context, and follow its development to the present day. I present a theoretical frame and context for the themes and arguments of the study, and then provide an overview of the organization of the remaining chapters.

What Is Philanthropy?

Philanthropy is defined as "private giving for public purposes" (Curti 1961:146; Payton 1989), or as an opportunity for "individual citizens to pursue their vision of a just and equitable society beyond the range of government control" (McCarthy 1989:60). Technically, the word comes from Greek and means, "love of man or of mankind" (*Webster's* 1990). Philanthropy may include charity, or giving to the poor to meet acute or immediate needs, as well as giving to such organizations as libraries, museums, universities, churches, hospitals and social service agencies. It is comprised of volunteering of money, time, and services.

Elite Philanthropy

Elite philanthropy is distinguished from the philanthropy that many lower-, middle- and upper-middle-class people engage in when they make donations to organizations or to social programs. The elite are those members of society who are said to comprise the ruling class, or the "few who rule the many" (Birmingham 1968, 1990;

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Pareto 1966; Meisel 1965; Mosca 1939; Useem 1978). Their philanthropy is described in the literature as aimed at promoting the interests of the upper class (Domhoff 1978; Kendall 2002; Odendahl 1987, 1989, 1990; Ostrander 1984, 1993; Ostrower 1995; Schervish and Herman 1988). This elite philanthropy is considered to be mainly traditional in that it supports institutions and organizations that maintain the status quo in society (Nagai, Lerner and Rothman 1994).

In this study I uncovered a previously unstudied group of wealthy philanthropists, some of whom engaged in traditional practices of elite philanthropy and others who supported organizations that were working to offer social provision to those in need, and organizations that were working to alter some of the social structures in society that lead to inequality.

Philanthropy and Charity

While the technical definition of philanthropy includes donations to the poor, many philanthropists tend to think of their giving as separate from charity (Bremner 1960, 1977; Ostrander 1989). They view charity as the purview of government and say that their tax dollars should go toward the provision of safety nets and welfare; government funds should take care of immediate needs.

Most philanthropists have historically tended to view their philanthropy as focused on giving back to society and on developing aspects of society that are of interest to them and that government does not necessarily support. "Philanthropy is a social institution that takes on meaning in the context of a cultural emphasis on individualism and private initiative and a mistrust of governmental power and large-scale bureaucracy" (Ostrower 1995:8). Philanthropists value a decentralized government that offers them the

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opportunity to choose freely creative outlets for their time and money. Many feel quite passionate about what they have been able to do with their philanthropy. They view their donations as having a life force, and see the institutions and programs they support as providing a legacy for generations to come.

For the purposes of this study, philanthropy is defined as the private donation of time and money by the wealthy for the benefit of the public. It includes philanthropy that is traditional, philanthropy that is geared toward offering social provision to those in need, and philanthropy that is change-oriented and geared toward altering social structures. The term "philanthropy" is used to denote wealthy philanthropy.

Why Philanthropy?

Inequality and Poverty

Some social scientists argue that philanthropy would not be necessary without the inequities that are inevitable in a capitalist society (Bremner 1977; Hall 1999b; Levitt 1973; McCarthy 1982; McKersie 1999). Others argue that it exists to further the interests of the upper class (Domhoff 1978; Kendall 2002; Odendahl 1987, 1989, 1990; Ostrander 1984, 1993; Ostrower 1995; Schervish and Herman 1988).

In any democratic society a certain tension inevitably develops between the ideals of freedom and equality of opportunity, and the realities of unequally distributed wealth, influence and talent (Davis and Moore 1945; Hall 1999b). Every society must struggle with the question of how it will respond to the needs of those whose condition of life is untenable. Poor people are always present, and history has demonstrated that ideology, public discourse, and resulting public policy about what Katz has called "the politics of distribution"(1989) are highly complicated and changeable. David Ellwood (1988) has

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spoken of social policy as a direct and indirect indicator of what is rewarded and what is condemned in a society. Throughout its history America has struggled with the paradoxes inherent in a democratic society that values free enterprise, decentralized government and individual freedoms, but that is characterized by inequality, a widening income gap, and pockets of extreme poverty in the wealthiest nation in the world.

Sociological studies of inequality have tended to focus on structural versus culture of poverty explanations for poverty, as well as issues of racism, and gender. Research on wealth and its exercise of power is relatively absent from the discourse on how to deal with the ongoing paradox of persistent poverty in the United States, despite the fact, I would argue, that the same social structures that perpetuate poverty in this country also perpetuate the accumulation of wealth. Robert Coles has suggested that the wealthy "are not used to being scrutinized the way the poor are – no social workers, welfare workers, police, sheriffs who knock on the door and, if resisted, push it wide open . . . money buys privacy, protection, and power . . . one is under no obligation whatsoever to let anyone know very much" (1977:50). This study offers an effort to "study up" and to contribute to the discourse on the structures of wealth and power as they relate to elite philanthropy and its attempts (or lack thereof) to address issues of poverty and inequality in the United States.

Inhaber and Carroll (1992) speak of a society's decisions about social provision for those in need as an expression of democracy. "As long as there have been governments, the wealthy have sought their protection, and used them wherever possible to enrich themselves. The battle for democracy over the centuries can be viewed in one

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light as the measure of how much is granted by governments to the nonwealthy" (Inhaber and Carroll 1992:29).

Structured social inequality differently impacts people's human, social, economic and cultural asset accumulation by race, class and gender. Differential accumulation of wealth concretizes one's position in the opportunity structure over time such that mobility becomes limited (Danziger and Gottschalk 1995; Conley 1999; Oliver and Shapiro 1995; Rothenberg 2000). Some argue that philanthropy is one of the American institutions that attempt to deal with this social stratification (Hall 1999b; McCarthy 1982; McKersie 1999).

De Tocqueville, in his 1835 treatise *Democracy in America* (1945), spoke of the interface between private philanthropy, an element of the voluntary sector, and government as they worked together to provide welfare to Americans in need: "Democracy does not provide people with the most skillful of governments, but it does that which the most skillful government often cannot do: it spreads throughout the body social a restless activity, superabundant force, and energy never found elsewhere, which, however little favored by circumstance, can do wonders. Those are its true advantages" (p. 225). Bremner describes philanthropy as "an outlet for the restless energy that enlivens democracy... Its function has been described admiringly as 'to lead the way, and derisively as 'to pick up the pieces'" (1977:111).

American Exceptionalism - A Wealthfare State?

Many social scientists have addressed aspects of American Exceptionalism. They have examined the question of why the United States has been the slowest nation to develop safety nets or, as Weir, Orloff and Skocpol (1988) phrase it, "social provision"

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for its citizens in need. They have argued that this slowness was due to: the absence of a feudal past and the diffused class conflict and weakened labor movement that resulted (Korpi 1983; Stephens 1979); the American public's general mistrust of government welfare programs (Orloff and Skocpol 1984; Skocpol 1992); the state's need to maintain profitability in the marketplace, ensure social harmony, and keep people motivated to work (Piven and Cloward 1971; Wright 1997a&b); and the American liberal laissez-faire commitment to individualism and to self-help (Rimlinger 1971; Smith 1937).

Despite the relative slowness of the American state to respond to the social problems generated by differences in social condition, businessmen and philanthropists have played a role in developing social programs and responding to those in need. Long before the state stepped in, philanthropists provided much of the healthcare, education, shelter, and food available to those in need. Philanthropy was a mechanism through which the wealthy were able to participate actively in civic life (Bremner 1977; McCarthy 1982, 1989, 1990, 2001, 2003; Putnam 1993, 2000; Sealander 1997).

History of Philanthropy

Puritanism

Philanthropy in the United States developed out of a strong Puritan tradition and a strong sense of democracy. In *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* ([1904] 1996), Weber examines the ways in which religious belief with its attitude toward hard work helped to develop our capitalist society. The practices of philanthropy evolved out of this pursuit of capitalism, coupled with "Americans' profound suspicion of government action to meet public needs" (Nagai et.al. 1994:9), and strong belief in

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voluntarism and equality (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler & Tipton 1985; Daniels 1987, 1988; Eckstein 2001; Skocpol 1999; Wuthnow 1991).

In 1630, on his way to America, John Winthrop, a Puritan, an early colonist and a governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, delivered a lay sermon entitled "A Model of Christian Charity" in which he emphasized the importance of promoting a community held together by a spirituality in which people were obligated to help one another regardless of life circumstances (in Grimm 2002). "Puritanism was not just a religious doctrine; in many respects it shared the most absolute democratic and republican theories" (de Tocqueville 1945:36). The Puritan pursuit of wealth included this sense of community and strong sense of civic stewardship (Bellah et. al. 1985; Weber [1904] 1996).

William Penn, in his late-17th-seventeenth-century Quaker colony, emphasized the responsibilities rather than the privilege that went along with wealth, focusing on the importance of "obedience to superiors, love to equals, and countenance to inferiors" (in Bremner 1977:91). Cotton Mather, in his 1710 *Essays To Do Good* focused on the importance of stewardship: "pious example, moral leadership, voluntary effort, and private charity [as] the means by which competing and conflicting interests in society might be brought into harmony" (in Bremner 1977:92).

Benjamin Franklin was foremost among these stewards, and is considered to be one of the founding fathers of philanthropy (Grimm 2002; Weber ([1904] 1996). He was a major philanthropist of the eighteenth century, promoting libraries, colleges, and hospitals (Baltzell 1979; Nagai et. al. 1994). "Americans, in short, expected their moneyed elite to live modestly and not overtly display their wealth. The wealthy should

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use their leisure time to benefit the community instead of solely pursuing pleasure. Visible devotion to family, community, charity, and cultural patronage were thought to curb the acquisitive spirit while justifying the process of accumulation itself." (Nagai et. al.1994:11).

Among the aims of civic stewardship, there was a division between the goal of charity and moral reform of the unfortunate, and the building of institutions to help the poor lift themselves out of poverty through access to learning and culture in the form of libraries, museums, and churches (McCarthy 1982). This division continues to this day, as the state, the market, and the nonprofit sector grapple with the questions of how to provide for those in need, balanced with how to enhance and sustain the social and cultural capital of all people (Bourdieu 1977; Putnam 2000).

Industrialization

America's economic growth during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was extraordinary (Cable 1984). In a largely unregulated free market, corporate businessmen developed strategies to mold capitalism under a form of government in which there were few guidelines or limitations. Large aspects of civic life were conducted outside of the state and, although there was no welfare as we know it, wealthy individuals contributed private funds for the public good. Corporate capitalists were advocates of the idea that philanthropists should assume private responsibility for civil society. Such men of wealth as Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller were able to amass huge sums of wealth in the free market. They gave significant portions of their wealth to libraries, museums, hospitals, universities and social programs. This was before the establishment of the Federal Income Tax in 1913, and the subsequent tax

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breaks which purportedly motivated and rewarded philanthropy (Barlett and Steele 1994; Brownlee 1996; Clotfelter 1989; McCarthy 1982; Schiff 1989).

Foundations

Andrew Carnegie, in his 1889 article "Wealth", questioned what the rules might be for men who were able to accumulate vast amounts of wealth. He believed it was his moral duty to distribute his wealth to society, and said that men of wealth should redistribute their wealth before they die. Carnegie, Rockefeller and other wealthy men established foundations to help with the distribution of their wealth (Colwell 1993; Fisher 1983). They believed that their ability to accumulate wealth was a God-given talent and that that talent extended to determinations about the distribution of their wealth (McCarthy 1989).

Community foundations came onto the scene early in the twentieth century. They offered a way for individual donors to pool and invest their monies with other donors so that the income from these investments provided a steady resource for a specific geographic community. Investments of the funds held by a community foundation were managed by professional institutional investors, and donors were given advice about where to focus their giving (Hall 1989). "Historically, community foundations have relied on a geographic focus to help define and reinforce a sense of community. More recently, ethnic, women's and religious community foundations have employed other definitions of community" (Carson 2002:2).

Rationalism

After the Civil War, the ideology of individual philanthropic action gave way to a belief in rationalism, scientific endeavors, and organized action. Groups such as the

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voluntary Charity Organization Society, pioneered in 1877, developed a scientific method for the distribution of charity and philanthropy (Coll 1995; Hammack 1999; Karl 1976; Nagai et. al. 1994; Wheatly 1988). In the early twentieth century philanthropists began to establish foundations as part of the Progressive Era, during which scientific and organized approaches were emphasized in responding to poverty, inequality and to the solution of social problems in general. This coincided with the establishment of the research university, the move toward professionalization, and the philanthropic funding of think tanks, all of which became politicized as they interfaced with the development of social policy (Babcock 1998; Covington 1997; Drucker 1989; Hall 1989, 1999b; Lagemann 1989, 1999; Nagai et. al. 1994; Sealander 1997; Smith 1991).

As foundations and corporations became increasingly rational and professionalized, they developed more comprehensive approaches to their philanthropy. Lagemann (1989) developed the term "strategic philanthropy" to describe the policy work of the Carnegie Corporation between 1945 and 1980. She defined strategic philanthropy as "finding maximally effective means to achieve agreed-upon ends" (1989: 8), focusing specifically on the partnership between federal, state and local governments, businesses, and foundations.

Regulation of Philanthropy

The widening influence of philanthropy resulted in some criticism and concern. Labor leaders, social activists, and elite state officials began to question the extent of power and control wielded by a few wealthy men. John D. Rockefeller was accused of having "tainted money" in the 1890's and was denied a foundation charter in the early twentieth century, as the United States Industrial Commission became concerned with the

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amount of influence held by those in industry (Tarbell1904). This pattern of allowing, supporting, encouraging then questioning, investigating and limiting the practices of philanthropy continued into the twentieth century.

In 1952 the Cox Committee hearings, formally named "the Select Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations", investigated charges that philanthropic foundations included communists who were funding subversive activities (Raynor 1999). In 1969, following an eight-year investigation into the practices of philanthropic foundations, the Tax Reform Act of 1969 established several new laws restricting the freedoms of foundations (Frumkin 1999; Webber and Wildavsky 1986).

Social Movement Philanthropy

Social movement philanthropy, or change-oriented philanthropy geared toward altering social structures of inequality in society, achieved its zenith in the United States in the 1950s and 60s when the Ford Foundation led the way in funding social movement activism. Foundations had evolved from family-run organizations with their own agendas to professionalized organizations whose agenda, strongly influenced by intellectuals of the Progressive Era, was to solve social problems through "knowledge-based planned reforms" (Nagai et. al. 1994:27).

The Ford Foundation established a public policy agenda under its Public Affairs Program, and was invested in using social science knowledge to develop pilot programs to be used as models for larger government-funded programs. They funded projects that became prototypes for the Johnson Administration's War on Poverty, including Head Start, neighborhood health centers, legal services for the poor, and the negative income tax experiments. They were instrumental in developing community action programs

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which encouraged community participation in social reform, and the Gray Areas program, designed to combat juvenile delinquency and the deteriorating conditions in the "gray areas" of central cities in the U.S. (Nagai et. al. 1994; O'Connor 1999; Raynor 1999).

The ironic paradox of this kind of "progressive" social movement philanthropy was that, while its manifest goal was to alter the power relations in society, it operated through a "strategy of reform from the top" (Nagai et. al. 1994:28). The expert elite developed models that encouraged participation of people from all classes and races such that, as Daniel P. Moynihan noted, they were "organizing the power structure, expanding the power structure, confronting the power structure, and assisting the power structure" (1970, as cited in Nagai et. al. 1994:28).

Social movement theorists (Jenkins 1983, 1989a, 1989b; Jenkins and Halcli 1999; McAdam 1982; McAdam and Snow 1997; McCarthy and Zald 1977; Morris and McClurg 1992; Oliver 1983) separate funders from recipients of funding, and discuss the dichotomy of insiders and outsiders in social movement funding. Historically, philanthropists who have given money to organizations in order to support social change have been at a remove from the organizations to which they contribute.

More recent literature (Ostrander and Schervish 1990; Ostrander 1995, 1997a & b, 1998) identifies social relations in which the funders have joined with and become the activists, and are intimately involved in the organizations that they support. Alternative foundations are public nonprofits, such as Vanguard in California, and Haymarket in Massachusetts, that raise money from wealthy donors, and give control over grant decisions to community funding boards (Jenkins and Halcli 1999). Often there is a

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blending in these organizations of the philanthropists and the people who are the direct beneficiaries of their money. The idea behind this kind of social movement philanthropy is to try to transform the power structure from within and get at the root of social problems by having those in need involved in the decisions about how the money is used. Mobilization for "change not charity" is the motto of social movement philanthropists (Collins and Rogers 2000; Mogil and Slepian 1992).

Change-oriented philanthropy attempts independently to use resources outside the realms of government and the corporate world to alter the structures of society. According to Jencks (1987) and Ostrander (1997b), only 3% of philanthropy goes toward altering the structures of inequality in our society. This is the "money for change" (Collins and Rogers 2000; Maher 2000; Ostrander 1995, 1997a, 1998) that is described as social movement philanthropy.

Women and Philanthropy

There is a long historic tradition of educated and ambitious women who sought out a series of increasingly challenging volunteer positions in the absence of career opportunities (Daniels 1987, 1988; Eckstein 2001; McCarthy 1990, 2001; Ostrander 1984; Scott 1992). Through the middle of the twentieth century, these women were seen as "professional volunteers" who were critical to the missions of a wide variety of social service organizations. They included such notables as Jane Addams, Dorothea Dix, and Margaret Sanger, to name a few. Philanthropy offered a way for women to participate in public life long before the feminist movement, which paved the way for more sanctioned participation (Addams [1910] 1999; Daniels 1987, 1988; Davis 1973; Gardner 1998; Ginzberg 1990; McCarthy 1990; Sander 1998; Scott 1992).

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Skocpol has written about the importance of women's groups in lobbying for the Sheppard-Towner Infancy and Maternity Protection Act of 1921, which she believes carried the "faint outlines of a broader institutional and ideological achievement" (1992: 522), serving as a model for Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and modern welfare programs. These women's groups were a part of the voluntary third sector and were, to an extent, made up of and supported by philanthropists (McCarthy 1982. 1990, 2001; Skocpol 1992).

The Third Sector

Theorists map the interplay throughout America's history among the state, the market, and the philanthropic private sector as three seats of power and influence, demonstrating how closely connected they are with one another, and how each has contributed in various ways to social provision for America's citizens (Bremner 1977; Domhoff 1990, 1996, 1998; Domhoff and Dye 1987; Hall 1999b; Levitt 1973; McCarthy 1989; McKersie 1999; Mills 1956; Nagai et. al. 1994).

Levitt, who first developed this three-sector model in *The Third Sector* (1973), identified philanthropy as part of the voluntary sector; a variety of organizations and institutions whose general purpose is to "do the things that business and government are either not doing, not doing well, or not doing often enough.... The existence of the Third Sector often reflects the failure of the other sectors to be adequately concerned with the negative, though generally unintended consequences of their own actions" (1973:49).

McCarthy (1982) discusses philanthropy as a third force in governance (in addition to the market and the state), whose rhetoric includes the creation of a society in which the state remains small while private citizens mold the social order. She suggests

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that the state originally was forced to step forward in 1935 because philanthropy was unable to bear the weight of such huge economic and social crises. When the state did step in, however, civil, political and social rights, as developed by Marshall (1964), were granted differently to men and women, blacks and whites, and people who had accumulated wealth and people who had not (Danziger and Gottschalk 1995; Conley 1999; Oliver and Shapiro 1995; Moon 1993; Rothenberg 2000). Philanthropy played an integral part in the abolitionist movement, in anti-racism efforts, and in social justice campaigns; this is the basis for the claim that philanthropy has played a role throughout history in giving those excluded from democracy a political voice (McCarthy 2003).

Coll, in her book *Safety Net* (1995), has written about the history of welfare and social security from 1929-1979, and the complexities affecting the system of entitlements in the United States. She speaks of "public and private welfare professionals" (p. 8), and maps the ways in which their boundaries began to blur during the 1930s as more local private funding of relief efforts by philanthropists became funded by state and federal revenues.

Recently, the pendulum has swung from the relatively strongly centralized government that developed the New Deal of the 1930s and the War on Poverty of the 1960s, to the emphasis on local approaches and solutions to problems and "governance devolution and fiscal austerity [that] have been the dominant public policy trends of the 1980s and 1990s" (McKersie 1999:329).

Devolution

The Reagan/Bush administrations from 1981-1993 cut funding for social programs and offered tax breaks for the wealthy and an easing of regulatory restrictions

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designed to increase wealth. The hope, purportedly, was that wealthy business people would reinvest in the economy and that financial gains would "trickle down" to the middle and lower classes. Instead, according to some, the wealthy have not put their money toward reinvigorating the economy, but have invested in the development of more global businesses, tax-haven investments and increasingly "conspicuous consumption" (Veblen [1899] 1934) of luxurious purchases (Braun 1997; Campbell 1977; Collins, Hartmann and Sklar 1999; Danziger 1999; Danziger & Gottschalk 1995; Dovring 1991; Frank 1999; Harrison and Bluestone 1988; Levy 1999; Oliver and Shapiro 1995; Salomon 1987; Shapiro and Greenstein 1999; Sherraden 1991; Wolff 1995).

I argue that at least some sectors of wealthy philanthropists *have* been reinvesting in the economy, and have been donating their money toward social provision. In recent years there has been an "emphasis on private initiative as an alternative to government in political discourse in the United States" (Ostrower 1995:13). Private foundations and individual philanthropists have increasingly stepped in to fund social programs on a local level as the federal government pulls back its support, according to Ostrower (1995) and Odendahl (1990). Political leaders and other factions within the American polity are withdrawing from the funding of social programs, and elite philanthropy is being called upon to "defray these former government costs" (Odendahl 1990:9). There has been a "dispersion of responsibility across the government, business, nonprofit, and foundation sectors for identifying and addressing public needs and problems" (McKersie 1999:341). Massive cuts in federal spending continue to devastate nonprofit organizations that are providing education, health, and human services (Hall1999b).

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Because of the cuts in federal funding, local agencies and programs are devoting much of their time and energy to applying for grant monies to keep their programs viable (McKersie 1999). I would argue that as these agencies and programs comply with the guidelines and mandates of the philanthropic foundations and individual philanthropists to whom they are applying for funding, philanthropists are, in turn, shaping the organizations to which they donate funds.

I would suggest that philanthropy is becoming more critical as a means of social provision for those in need as the gap widens between the wealthy and the poor and government withdraws its support of social programs. If the goal of philanthropy is truly to meet the needs of the upper class and not to provide for those in need, as studies have demonstrated (Kendall 2002; Odendahl 1987, 1989, 1990; Ostrower 1995; Schervish and Herman 1988), it seems that the current political agenda which aims to decentralize government responsibility for the funding of social programs is destined to fail. This study offers an exploration of the beliefs and practices of philanthropists in southern Maine and southern New Hampshire that, among other things, examines whether these sample men and women are actually stepping in and donating their time and money to organizations and programs that offer social provision.

Current Levels of Inequality

The distribution of wealth in the United States has recently moved to the levels of inequality (see Figure 1.1) that existed in the 1920s prior to the Great Depression (Collins et. al. 1999; Wolff 1995, 2000).

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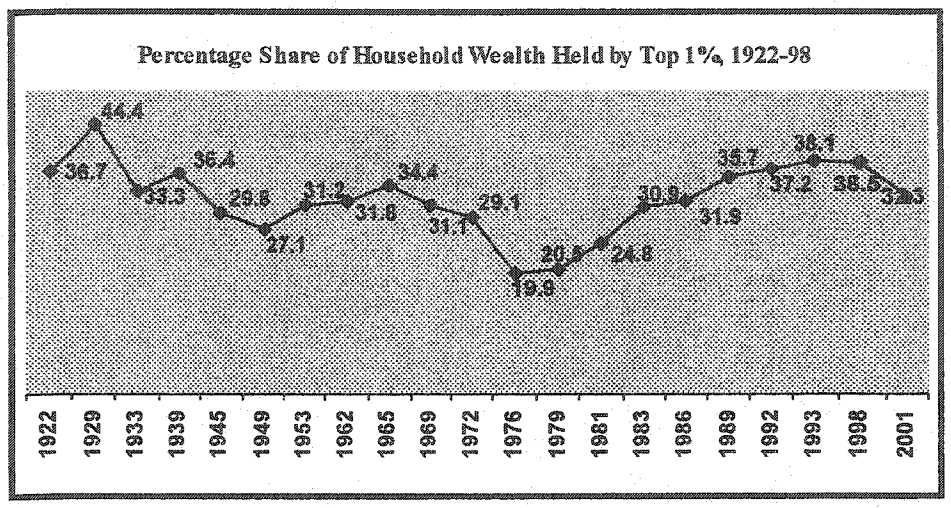
Figure 1.1 Levels of Inequality



Source: Edward Wolff, *Top Heavy* (New Press: 1996), New Series Households data, pp. 78-79 (for years 1922-89) and "Recent Trends in Wealth Ownership, 1983-1998" Levy Institute Working Paper No. 300 (Levy Economics Institute: April 2000).*Data on the distribution of wealth in the U.S. is collected every three years by the Federal Reserve's Survey of Consumer Finances. The most recent survey was conducted in 2001, at which time the top 1% of the population was found to hold 32.3% of household wealth (Kennickel 2003 "A Rolling Tide: Changes in the Distribution of Wealth in the U.S., 1989-2001" Levy Institute Working Paper No. 393 (Levy Economics Institute: November 2003).

As of December, 1999 the top 1% percent of households had more wealth than the lowest 95% of households combined (Collins et. al. 1999). Of the wealth gained in the 1980s, 99% went to the top 20% of wealth holders in the country. The top 1% gained 62% of that (Shapiro and Greenstein 1999). Figure 1.2 indicates the distribution of net worth in 1998.

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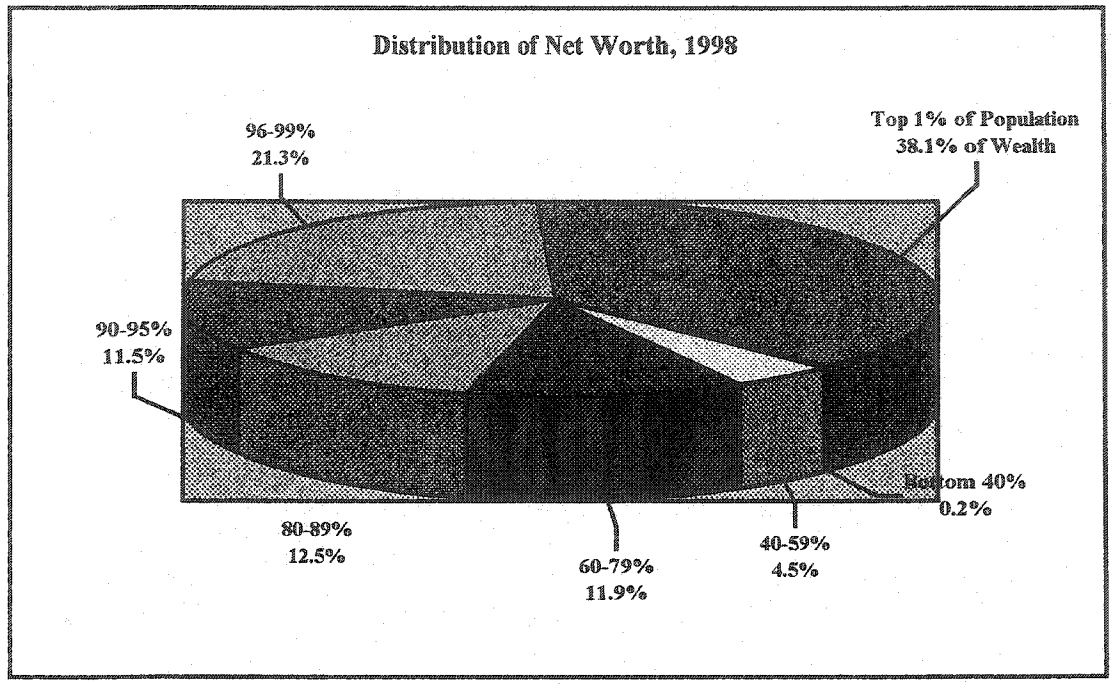
Figure 1.2 Wealth Inequality Chart



Source: Edward N. Wolff, "Recent Trends in Wealth Ownership, 1983-1998" Levy Institute Working Paper No. 300 (Levy Economics Institute: April 2000).

While no one has, to my knowledge, studied the relationship between philanthropy and inequality levels, and while this is not the focus of this research project, I would argue that philanthropists have responded to inequality levels throughout history by stepping in and attempting to fill in the gaps and respond to those who are in need both by concretely bettering their lives through charity, and by funding programs that offer them opportunities to help themselves to improve their lives. An alternative argument is that philanthropists step in to defuse a potentially volatile situation in the system created by the threatening pressure resulting from increasing inequality (Piven and Cloward 1971).

I argue that elite philanthropy is not only an instrument through which members of the upper class aim to meet their own needs. It is also a practice, as demonstrated in

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this study, through which social programs are funded and through which some members of the upper class work to offer social provision to those in need in attempts to improve both their lives and their life chances.

Theoretical Framework

Marx and Weber

Marx and Weber offer the classic theoretical frameworks within which to view concepts related to class (Marx [1844] 1978; Weber [1922] 1978). Both develop their ideas of class around how society is organized in relation to the ownership of the means of production, and in relation to the ownership of material goods. Marx locates classes in particular external structures and juxtaposes them against one another ([1852] 1994). Weber moves inside of the class structures making a distinction between class, status and party that locates social actors in different positions and changing alliances as they relate to the sources of power (Weber 1946). Both are interested in the subsequent life chances of social actors but, while Marx emphasizes conflict between the classes, Weber focuses on "the underlying normative order and cognitive practices — instrumental rationality — that are embodied in the social interactions that generate these life chances" (Wright 2002:844). In Weber's view, people have cultural identities and ideas that provide them with subjective meaning as they move through and inhabit their lives. Social classes can be open or closed as individuals are able to have cross-cutting memberships in many organizations (Weber [1922] 1968, 1946).

Kim (2002) argues that Weber had much to say about voluntary associational life in America, and that his view on the importance of civil society as "a sociocultural context that can foster robust public citizenship" (p. 187) is a much-neglected theme in

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his writings. He discusses Weber's response to bureaucracy and his proposal of a "unique model of civil society by which he strove to imbue the late modern 'iron cage' once again with vibrancy, enterprise and dynamism" (p. 195).

Kalberg (2001) also emphasizes Weber's focus on civil society. He says that the overall thrust of Weber's sociological writings was on the importance of single cases and on an assessment of the uniqueness of each society. He argues that Weber's "iron cage of bureaucracy" was based on his political and social-philosophical essays and was only a possible scenario given certain specific preconditions. He says that in his comparative-historical empirical writings Weber presented a "more dynamic and more differentiated" (p. 182) view of modern industrial societies than his iron cage depiction suggested. "Cases capture his attention – specific nation states- rather than putatively global, irreversible, and monolithic developments" (Kalberg 2001:182). According to Kalberg (2001), Weber was interested in pluralism and in the competition between different interest groups that served to enliven bureaucratic structures. He also emphasizes Weber's belief that past actions profoundly affect the present: "modern societies are best conceptualized as mixtures – even dynamic mixtures – of past and present" (Kalberg 2001:183).

The question underlying many of the studies of philanthropy can be termed a neo-Marxist question about whether and how philanthropy serves to enhance and sustain the divisions and the power differentials in society. Studies by social scientists to date conclude that philanthropy is a practice that maintains the upper class in its position and draws boundaries between members of the upper class and others.

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Beginning with the work of Digby Baltzell (1958, 1964, 1979), and followed by the work of G. William Domhoff (1970, 1978, 1998), Susan Ostrander (1984), Paul Schervish and Andrew Herman (1988), Theresa Odendahl, (1987, 1989, 1990) Francie Ostrower (1995), and Diana Kendall (2002), social scientists have been studying the upper class. They have examined the dynamics of elitism, power and privilege, and have found that much of the activity of the upper class is in the service of maintaining and reproducing itself.

This study expands the discussion of elite philanthropy by adding to the literature an exploration of philanthropists' practices and beliefs from a more neo-Weberian perspective. Using Domhoff's neo-Marxist class dominance theory (1967, 1970, 1978, 1983, 1990, 1998), which addresses the motivations of philanthropists, Putnam's social capital theory (1993, 2000), which I would classify as neo-Weberian, as it speaks to the relational conditions that facilitate philanthropy, and Skocpol's theory of historical institutionalism (1999), which I would also classify as neo-Weberian, as it looks at the forms of participation that philanthropy takes, this study examines the perceptions and practices of philanthropists as they relate to avenues of civic participation in the small towns and cities of southern Maine and southern New Hampshire.

Class Dominance Theory

Class dominance theory (Domhoff 1967, 1970, 1978, 1983, 1990, 1998) posits that there is a ruling upper class of people who travel in the same social circles and generally define what becomes important for all people in political, social, and economic discourse. It suggests that philanthropists tend to donate their money and their time in an

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effort to maintain the social structures of society and to support their upper-class position of power and influence.

Historical-Institutionalism

Historical-Institutionalists examine changing patterns of organization and resource balances. They are interested in who relates to whom, and what form participation takes at a given moment in history. "They are especially interested in forms of participation that include -- or exclude -- average and less-privileged citizens." (Skocpol and Fiorina 1999:15).

Theda Skocpol, who identifies herself as an Historical-Institutionalist, points out that democracy is not a matter of social ties and social trust, but "grew out of century-long struggles between state authorities and their subjects" (Skocpol and Fiorina 1999: 14). She argues that the trouble with today's American democracy is not a matter of lack of social ties or of social and political distrust, but "popular power and public leverage" (Skocpol and Fiorina 1999:15). She argues that at this point in time Americans are relatively disengaged and cede participation to professional people: "Americans volunteer for causes and projects usually not furthered by associations of which they are members and send checks to a dizzying plethora of public affairs and social service groups run by professionals" (1999:461).

Peter Dobkin Hall, another Historical-Institututionalist focuses in his study, "Civic Engagement in New Haven" (1999a) on one of de Tocqueville's "most illuminating- but most frequently overlooked... observations on the nature of civic engagement in American democracy.... the links between the formal processes of democratic government and the informal institutions of democratic culture" (p. 241). He

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speaks of the "privatization of civic life" (Hall 1999a:244) in the current scene of government devolution and private initiative for nonprofit provision of social services, health, and education. He specifically focuses on philanthropic foundations and their importance in the promotion of civic life.

The theories of social capital and historical institutionalism are particularly useful as they inform this study. They frame the current historical moment in which philanthropic choices are occurring. Philanthropy is currently viewed as important in the promotion of civic life (Hall 1999a), and is identified as a measure of civic engagement and social capital (Putnam 2000).

Social Capital Theory

Social Capital is a concept that is generally attributed in its current usage to Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1982), and to James Coleman (1988, 1990), who said that social capital "inheres in the structure of relations between persons and among persons" and is a form of social resource (Coleman 1990:302). It is, according to Putnam (1993), an important element of participatory democracy and economic prosperity.

Putnam has extended the notion of social capital to encompass aspects of political and economic life. He defines social capital as "features of social organization such as trust, norms, and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated action" (1993:167). According to Putnam, when there are high levels of civic engagement and cooperation in a community, and greater social capital as a result, the effectiveness of government and economic development are enhanced. He lists philanthropy among his measures of "trends in social capital and civic engagement" (Putnam 2000:27), and states that philanthropy tends to increase with increased social

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capital and civic engagement, which improves democracy. Nan Lin (2001) discusses social capital and the importance of using social connections and social relations to achieve larger goals. He emphasizes rationality and joint social action as mechanisms of making changes in social structure.

Social capital is a difficult construct to measure. Portes (1998, 2000) has argued that the concept of social capital is difficult to operationalize because its definition is tied up with its consequences. Paxton, in her work on social capital and democracy, has developed an operationalization of social capital that "divorces social capital from its potential consequences" (2002:258). She argues that social capital "requires (1) objective associations among individuals, and (2) associations of a particular type -- reciprocal, trusting, and involving positive emotion" (Paxton 2002: 256). She measures associations by summing up the mean number of voluntary association memberships of individuals and the mean number of memberships for which the individual performed voluntary work in the past year, "the sum therefore provides a measure of depth as well as breadth of association membership" (Paxton 2002:261). She measures trust by asking, "Would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with others?" (Paxton 2002:261). She further states that social capital can help to create as well as maintain and improve democracy in that it offers a trusting associational space for discourse and for collective action encouraging a quantity and quality of political participation (Paxton 2002).

Civic Participation

Recent scholarly work has focused on the importance of philanthropy in the nurturing of a healthy and prosperous democracy (Foster 2000; Putnam 1993, 2000;

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Skocpol 1999; Verba, Scholman, and Brady 1995). Voluntary association and action have been the hallmarks of American democracy from the beginning of its formation (Skocpol 1999; de Tocqueville 1945). According to de Tocqueville, "egalitarian mores, a profusion of voluntary associations, vibrant religion, competitive elections all combined to make the United States an unusually civic democracy" (in Skocpol 1999: 9). Philanthropy is an aspect of this profusion of voluntary associations. Participation through the processes of philanthropy has always been a defining characteristic of the elite in America. Stewardship is considered to be their civic duty (McCarthy 1982).

Without a capitalist society with its stratification and widening gap between the upper and lower classes, philanthropy would not be necessary, according to some philanthropists in this study. They characterize their philanthropy as an effort to temper this widening gap, to "even the playing field and give back to society". Philanthropy is a form of stewardship, an activity that is "an integral and defining element of elite culture" (Ostrower 1995:6). It is increasingly becoming a resource to which organizations and institutions are turning at this point in history as they try to address issues of inequality and poverty (Hall 1999; McKersie 1999; Odehdahl 1987, 1989, 1990).

On one hand there is the argument advanced by social science research that philanthropy serves to promote the interests of the elite. On the other hand, however, there is a body of research that emphasizes the role of philanthropy in promoting civic participation and, ultimately, democracy. These views are at odds with one another. One of the questions raised in this study is how do the philanthropists view the role of philanthropy in society?

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According to Class Dominance Theory, elite philanthropists would view philanthropy as a vehicle through which they are able to define and support what they believe is important in society. This theory would predict that these sample philanthropists would donate their time and money to those organizations that would maintain their upper-class position of power and influence in society. According to Historical Institutionalist Theory, wealthy philanthropists' view of the role of philanthropy would be one that is altered across time as participation varies in response to changing patterns of organization and resource balances. Current Historical-Institutionalists would say that sample philanthropists view their role as supporting the promotion of civic life (Hall 1999). They would predict that these philanthropists would be relatively disengaged, more likely to send checks than to become involved in organizations (Skocpol 1999), and likely to support organizations that provide social services, health and education (Hall 1999). According to Social Capital Theory, wealthy philanthropists would view the role of philanthropy as a mechanism for increasing civic engagement and cooperation in communities, thus enhancing the effectiveness of government and economic development (Putnam 2000). This theory would predict that philanthropy would increase as numbers of voluntary associational memberships and levels of trust increase (Paxton 2002).

The Study

Most of the studies on individual philanthropy have taken place in large metropolitan areas (with the exception of Kendall's study which took place in Austin and other cities of Texas), in which there may well be a social circle that operates by exclusion and seeks to increase the social and cultural capital of the elite participants and

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their children (Kendall 2002; Odendahl 1987, 1989, 1990; Ostrander 1984; Ostrower 1995; Schervish and Herman 1988).

This study examines the social structures of philanthropy in the small cities and towns of the seacoast region of northern New England, asking: Is philanthropy simply a vehicle for the wealthy to perpetuate their way of life? Are philanthropists interested in associating only with other members of their social class and drawing boundaries with others? Are philanthropists a relatively homogeneous group who share the same culture and ideology? Previous research has answered all of these questions with an emphatic "yes".

This study adds to the social science literature by offering an in-depth examination of the practices and worldviews of a sample of elite philanthropists in seacoast northern New England. It measures the civic engagement and social capital of these philanthropists and asks questions about their voluntary memberships and levels of trust. It also asks questions about whom these philanthropists relate to and how they are organized together for what purposes.

My Thesis

I argue that the view of philanthropy that is reflected in the literature is too uniform. There is more variation in elite philanthropy, on an aggregated level, than the literature would suggest. The elite philanthropy in the small towns and cities of southern New Hampshire and southern Maine is complicated and highly nuanced, and does not fit the profile presented in much of the previous research on elite philanthropy.

Although the exploratory nature of this study and the fact that it is set in a particular place at a particular time preclude the ability to provide definitive empirical

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evidence to support it, my belief that philanthropic practices change across time and place as contexts shift and possibilities become altered informs this study. I purport that the increased wealth of the upper class in the past decade, the widening income gap, the current devolution of government's fiscal responsibility for social programs, and the emphasis on increasing social capital and strengthening democracy through civic participation provide a context that has altered the face of philanthropy. This context, coupled with the less urban setting combine and, I would argue, contribute to the differences in the culture of philanthropy that are found in the study.

General Overview and Organization of the Chapters

This study offers a view of contemporary elite philanthropy in the small cities and towns of seacoast northern New England. It provides a number of interconnected themes and arguments that cut across the following chapters.

The overarching argument is that philanthropy is a more complex and diverse practice than previous studies have shown it to be. It is not merely a mechanism through which the elite operate as part of their culture and to maintain their position in society. Many of the philanthropists in this study are civic participants involved in their local communities who strive to give back to society and to offer social provision to those in need. Many of these philanthropists have invested effort in making changes to the social structure in an attempt to attain what they call "social justice, evening the playing field" and providing more equality of opportunity to those in need.

Instead of a neo-Marxist class dominance view of the practices of philanthropy, I offer a neo-Weberian approach. I emphasize the importance of historical and social uniqueness. Weber's focus on the freedom of choice of individuals, self-motivated social

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action, cross-cutting alliances, cultural identity, and his view of subjective understanding are important to my argument that philanthropy is a highly complex and nuanced institution. According to Weber, while the wealthy are affected by their station in life, their lives are not determined by their social position. He observed that the wealthy want to feel that their good fortune is deserved: "Good fortune thus wants to be 'legitimate' fortune" (1946:271). Philanthropy as a form of civic participation in a healthy democracy and, as a vehicle for the development of social and cultural capital, are themes throughout. My findings support my thesis that some of these philanthropists are more involved and less exclusive than those in other areas have been found to be.

Chapter Two explores the relevant literature and delineates contemporary studies on philanthropy. Chapter Three discusses the methodology of the study, with an emphasis on the special challenges of studying the elite. It includes a discussion of the research approach, the data collection, and its analysis. Chapter Four "Who are the philanthropists in Seacoast Northern New England?" describes the participants in the study, focusing on patterns in their backgrounds and current situations. Major similarities and differences within the sample are examined, and these philanthropists are compared with those that have been described in the literature. Chapter Five looks at these philanthropists' views of the role of philanthropy in society, examining how participants think about what philanthropy should do. It specifically examines what these philanthropists do with their philanthropy, where they donate their money, and whether they say that they are more interested in changing or in maintaining the structures of society. Chapter Six compares the sample philanthropists with one another and discusses the elite culture of philanthropy. It explores the finding that not all of the sample philanthropists are interested in being involved in this culture, and examines the similarities and differences in the practices, attitudes and beliefs of the four subsystems of philanthropists identified in the study. In Chapter Seven, "Philanthropy and Community Involvement", I discuss issues of social capital and the

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social circles that these philanthropists travel in. In particular, civic participation and community involvement are examined. In the final chapter, the findings are reviewed and summarized and research and policy implications are discussed.

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CHAPTER II

THE LITERATURE ON ELITE PHILANTHROPY

A study of individual philanthropy must consider the issue of the relationship between money and power in the United States. The debate in the literature has centered on whether elite philanthropists are simply members of the upper class using their wealth to maintain the status quo and perpetuate their position in society, or whether they are invested in trying to meet people's needs and/or to alter the structures in society. I expand this debate and argue that perhaps philanthropists are both interested in maintaining and altering social structures, and that their philanthropic practices may be both in the service of meeting their own needs and, at the same time, meeting the needs of others. The population that I uncovered in my study included elite philanthropists and a group of philanthropists who were wealthy but were not members of the elite culture of philanthropy for a variety of reasons. Despite the fact that all of those studied were not involved in the elite philanthropy world, it is important to examine the literature on elite philanthropy as a point of reference.

I begin with a discussion of elite philanthropy. I then offer a summary of the literature on the ruling elite in America and a discussion of pertinent literature on the culture of philanthropy. Finally, I summarize the contemporary studies on elite philanthropy in the United States.

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Elite Philanthropy

Elite philanthropy is a cultural practice in which most members of the upper class participate. According to Ostrower, based on her study of philanthropists in New York City, "fully 94% of those with an Adjusted Gross Income of $100,000 or more had made contributions during the previous year" (1995:23). The world of elite philanthropy has, according to Ostrower (1995), needed to expand and include more people of wealth, power and status who are not necessarily of the upper class in order to maintain its viability. These noveau-riche philanthropists require some mentoring in order to learn the practices and culture of philanthropy.

As philanthropy is said to be a defining practice of the elite (Odendahl 1987, 1989, 1990; Ostrower 1995) it is important to understand the relevant literature on elites in America before developing a discussion of their philanthropy. I turn now to a review of this literature.

Elites in America

The term "elite" was coined by theorists Vilfredo Pareto and Gaetano Mosca to describe the ruling class, or the "few who rule the many" (Pareto 1966; Meisel 1965; Mosca 1939). Class theorists such as Domhoff (1967, 1970, 1978, 1983, 1990,1998) and Useem (1984) have written extensively about the "upper class", "ruling elite", or "inner circle" in American society. They say that they travel in the same social circles, are listed in the *Social Register*, belong to the same social clubs, go to the same private schools, marry one another, sit on boards together, serve as advisors to heads of government, are heads of corporations, fund foundations, universities, think tanks and campaigns, and generally define what becomes important in political, social, and economic discourse in

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this country. Useem, in particular, wrote about the "inner circle" of a corporate elite in America, describing a class of wealthy families who dominated separate corporations that later became intermingled as individuals gained ownership of and worked in several corporations such that monopolies were formed, and a corporate elite evolved in society (1984).

Mills (1956) argued that a "power elite" runs the military, business, and government in this country and is thus in a position of hegemony. Concentrated power is in the hands of a select few. Several social scientists have advanced Mills' paradigm to locate the three spheres of power in the economy, the polity, and the culture (Bell 1976; Keller 1991).

It is important to distinguish between an elite that is class-based with its accompanying power and status, and an elite based on accumulated wealth and/or power connected with an influential leadership profession. In the United States, athletes, actors, authors and artists are able to move quickly into a wealthy status. People who are newly wealthy also participate in elite philanthropy (Nagai et. al. 1994).

Nagai et. al. (1994) divide the elite into several categories: religious, military, business, labor, legal, media, bureaucratic, and philanthropic elites, to name a few. They separate out "strategic elites" from members of the upper class, or the ruling class. "Strategic elites consist of the top leadership of the leading organizations in strategic sections of society" (Nagai et. al. 1994:50).

Ostrander defines the upper class as "that portion of the population that owns the major share of corporate and personal wealth, exercises dominant power in economic and political affairs, and comprises exclusive social networks and organizations open only to

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persons born into or selected by this class" (1984:5). While income, education and occupation are the generally accepted criteria for defining the upper class, "for the upper class, the most important factors are the ownership of wealth, the exercise of power, and membership in an exclusive social network" (Ostrander 1984:5).

Upper-Class and Elite Studies

E. Digby Baltzell, in his studies of the upper class in Philadelphia Society (1958) and across America (1964) developed a schema for identifying the elite and the upper class in society. He separated the elite from the upper class, saying that the elite were "those individuals who are the most successful and stand at the top of the functional class hierarchy" (Baltzell 1958:6). They have money and power regardless of heredity and social class. He used membership in clubs, a listing in the *Social Register*, and attendance at eastern boarding schools to determine upper-class membership. His method of classification became the template for subsequent studies of the upper class and the elite.

Domhoff (1967, 1970, 1978, 1990, 1983, 1990, 1996, 1998) and Zweigenhaft and Domhoff (1982, 1998) have offered many studies of a ruling upper class of people who travel in the same social circles, are listed in the *Social Register*, belong to the same clubs, go to the same schools, marry one another, sit on boards together, serve as advisors to heads of government, are heads of corporations, fund foundations, universities and campaigns, and generally define what becomes important in political, social, and economic discourse in this country. Domhoff frames this, in one of his most recent works as: Who benefits? - Who accumulates the unequally distributed goods? Who sits? - Who is over-represented on boards, in government, in business? Who decides? - Who

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sets the political, social, and economic agenda? And who shines? - Who is most influential and whose opinion is most sought after? (1998). In his view, there is a definite small group of upper-class people who have been extremely important throughout the history of the United States and who continue to be the people who rule America. Their aim, according to Domhoff, is to influence the agenda to benefit their continued hegemony as an elite.

Susan Ostrander in her book *Women of the Upper Class* (1984) studied the world of upper-class women in Cleveland, Ohio and concurred with Domhoff that there is a small group of wealthy women who volunteer together, sit on boards together, belong to the same social clubs, attend the same schools, marry into the same class, and work to perpetuate their position in society.

Most members of the upper class are said to engage in the practices of philanthropy as an expression of their heritage and an obligation (Millman 1991). Philanthropy is not just an isolated practice of the wealthy, it is an integral part of their culture and a way in which they express themselves and operate in the world (Ostrower 1995). In the next section I focus on a discussion of the culture of philanthropy.

Elite Culture of Philanthropy

Research has shown that there is a culture of philanthropy among the elite that serves to reproduce the upper class and operates through exclusion and boundary-setting (Bourdieu 1977, 1982; DiMaggio 1987; Kendall 2002; Lamont 1992; Ostrower 1995). At different times in history, the ruling elite have believed that people of wealth are more knowledgeable than are other people, and are thus better prepared to wield power and to

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make decisions about what should happen in a society (Carnegie 1889; Mills 1956; Plato [360 BCE] 1979).

As the United States has no aristocracy to speak of, and thus lacks the traditions and clearly-defined differences in class that are evident in such societies as those in Europe, the culture of philanthropy has borrowed some of the traditions from the European elite (Birmingham 1968, 1990). As part of their heritage, members of the European elite were responsible for the duties of attending to the needs of those less fortunate than they with their "noblesse oblige" (McCarthy 1982). In the New World, this duty took the form of "civic stewardship - the notion that successful citizens owe a dual obligation of time and money to the communities in which they have prospered", or "richesse oblige: the duties of the rich to the society which has enriched them" (McCarthy 1982:ix).

Bourdieu (1977) speaks of a cultural capital that consists of the knowledge, beliefs, and style that people operate from as they participate in society. "Like any other form of capital, it can be invested to yield social profits in the form of symbolic goods, such as titles, honors, and club memberhips" (Wilson and Musick, 1997:696).

Philanthropy enhances the cultural capital of the elite and, according to Kendall (2002), provides opportunities to engage in the inner social circles of high culture. Ironically, she argues, it serves to increase the social and cultural capital of the elite while providing little if any relief for the social conditions of those they are purporting to help.

The culture of philanthropy exists within the broader American culture. Ostrower argues, "elite philanthropy has indeed evolved and changed, but within the context of a larger continuity" (1995:10). I would add that elite philanthropy, while evolving and

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changing within the context of a larger continuity, also exists within a larger evolving and changing continuity of American culture that, in turn, alters and shapes the culture of philanthropy, according to the political climate of the historical moment.

This culture of philanthropy is passed on from generation to generation and operates as an overarching reference point for all elite philanthropists. The expectation is that members of the elite will engage in the practices of philanthropy. They are, by birthright, by marriage, or by virtue of being welcomed into the ranks, expected to become stewards of society (McCarthy 1982).

I argue that individual philanthropists respond to this expectation in numerous ways. They may embrace this aspect of their cultural heritage and carry it on, they may rebel against it, or their relationship with the culture of philanthropy may, at different points in their lifetimes, go through permutations as they grapple with the legacy of their cultural heritage.

Not only does the relationship to the culture of philanthropy change and evolve over an individual's lifetime, the kinds of philanthropy that they engage in are also subject to change and evolution as they respond to their own life processes and to the external contexts of both the evolving culture of philanthropy and the larger culture within which they live. I argue that both the culture of philanthropy and the larger culture affect donors' philanthropic choices as they make decisions about whether to engage more in traditional or in change-oriented philanthropy.

Traditional and Change-Oriented Philanthropy

It is important when looking at philanthropy to consider not only the philanthropists, but also the vast range of institutions and organizations to which they

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give. "The character of elite philanthropy is shaped not only by the values and priorities of the elite, but also by the needs and evolution of the nonprofit organizations they support" (Ostrower 1995:9). Although studies to date argue that philanthropists support primarily traditional institutions and organizations, it becomes quite difficult to separate out the different kinds of activities supported by philanthropists. *Giving USA*, in their 2002 study of national philanthropy, divides the activities into eight subsectors: religion, education, health, human services, arts, public/society benefit, the environment, and international affairs. According to their studies, most of philanthropic giving goes to the more traditional concerns that maintain and preserve the structures of society (*Giving USA* 2002).

Traditional or Conservative Philanthropy

Philanthropy has historically included giving back to society by donating money to libraries, universities, hospitals, museums, and generally maintaining the institutions that have been sustaining to the upper class. This kind of philanthropy is said to work to support the status quo, maintaining the wealthy in their positions of hegemony (Kendall 2002; Odendahl 1987, 1989, 1990; Ostrander 1984; Ostrower 1995; Schervish and Herman 1988).

Social Movement, Progressive or Change-Oriented Philanthropy

Change-oriented philanthropy is practiced by those whose giving is aimed at altering the social structures that perpetuate inequality in the United States. It is called social movement philanthropy by some, as its aim is to activate people to work together toward fundamental change in how society is organized (Collins and Rogers 2000).

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Social movements are defined as purposeful and organized efforts by groups of people who share an interest in a collective good, and join to work actively toward changing some aspect(s) of society. They are "one of the basic elements of a living democracy" (Marshall 1994:489).

Social movement philanthropists view traditional philanthropy as a mechanism for maintaining inequality and supporting a continuing array of social problems (Jenkins 1989a&b; Maher 2000; Ostrower 1995). They believe that money given to most social programs and institutions does not get at the root of social problems. Rather than altering the social structures of inequality, traditional philanthropy, in their view, serves only to maintain individuals in their impoverished positions.

The practices of philanthropy are viewed by some social scientists as vehicles through which the upper class maintains its power and protects its position in society (Kendall 2002; Odendahl 1987, 1989, 1990; Ostrander 1984; Ostrower 1995; Schervish and Herman 1988). They argue that philanthropists, while interested in benefiting the public, are not interested in altruism or in the redistribution of monies for the poor and needy in society (see particularly, Ostrower 1995).

Their philanthropy is considered to be traditional. It is an expression of their cultural heritage and offers them a certain status, privilege, and a powerful way of voicing their individual, collective, and organizational concerns, implementing decisions outside of the avenues of government. These philanthropists, according to most studies, choose to donate their time and money primarily to concerns that are viewed as more "conservative" (Jenkins 1989a&b; Maher 2000; Odendahl 1987, 1989, 1990; Ostrower 1995; Schervish and Herman 1988). In fact, according to some studies, only three

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percent of all philanthropy goes toward promoting change in the social structures of society (Jencks 1987; Maher 2000; Ostrander 1997b).

Proponents of pluralism argue that the elite are not a cohesive homogeneous group that has the same interests, ideas, and agendas. They are, rather, a diverse group of people who are interested in many varied issues, and take a variety of actions, not only to further the hegemony of the upper class. Some members of the elite exercise their power over certain issues but not others. There is no united agenda. They say that, like all other U.S. institutions, philanthropy is pluralistic in its orientation (Block 1977; Nagai et. al. 1994).

Ostrower (1995) has written that donors hold multiple group identities and involvements, and their philanthropy grows out of their experiences and attachments. Bernholz (1999) argues that the "public environment" including public policy and public opinion, along with external factors such as "the local, state, and national political climate, contemporary demographics and anticipated population shifts, the fiscal health of local service providers, and the federal tax code regulations" are integral to understanding what drives philanthropic action (Bernholz 1999:361).

This study explores the giving and worldviews of a sample of wealthy philanthropists in the seacoast area of northern New England, in an effort to determine what the ideologies and aims of philanthropists are in these smaller towns and cities.

Empirical Research on Philanthropy

In the past two decades, there has been a proliferation of research projects on philanthropy, as there is increasing recognition of the critical role played by individuals

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and institutions in the third sector in responding to and helping to define the public agenda (Grimm 2002).

To my knowledge, the studies of philanthropy to date have all been based in large metropolitan areas (with the exception of Kendall's 2002 Austin, Texas study). They have been historical studies, case studies of a particular individual or family, studies of foundations, studies of the interface between nonprofit organizations and philanthropists, and studies of the dynamics of giving and the culture of philanthropy. I summarize pertinent studies below.

Studies of Foundations

Nagai et. al. (1994), in their study of the philanthropy of foundations in the United States, surveyed a sample of trustees and officers of national foundations asking questions about a variety of social and political issues. They found that foundation philanthropists tend to follow individual agendas and to act in ways that are neither collaborative nor conflicted. They have pluralistic values and their choices are their own. In fact, they found that foundations tend to be polarized in their positions, often canceling one another out. They looked at foundation support of public-policy recipients, and found that approximately 2,000 grants supported liberal causes, while only about 600 grants supported conservative groups. Conservative grantees, however, received more dollars than did liberals.

Jenkins & Halchi (1999), in their study "Grassrooting the System? The Development and Impact of Social Movement Philanthropy, 1953-1990" tracked foundation grants made by the Washington, DC Foundation Center from 1950-1990. They defined "social movement" as "a collective attempt to organize or represent the

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interests of a previously unorganized or politically excluded group" (1999:230). Social movement philanthropy involves foundation grants to projects by grassroots movement groups, professional-advocacy and service organizations, and institutionalized organizations (churches, universities) that sponsor movement work. Their findings suggest that, while this kind of philanthropy represents a very small portion of foundation philanthropy, it has had a "major impact on most of the social movements that have developed in the past four decades" (1999:253). These include such social movements as: the Peace Movement, the African-American Movement, the Women's Movement and the Environmental Movement.

Studies of Individual Philanthropy

The studies of individual philanthropists to date have found that they are mainly concerned with protecting and perpetuating their culture and social class, rather than responding to the needs of others.

Paul Schervish and Andrew Herman (1988) conducted a study of the sociology and spirituality of philanthropists, interviewing wealthy individuals in eleven metropolitan areas across the United States, including Boston, New York, Washington, Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis, Miami, Seattle, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. They concluded that philanthropy tends to be more an expression of what interests philanthropists and their "strongly-protected domains" (1988:214) than a response to what others need.

Odendahl, in her 1990 study *Charity Begins at Home*, reports her findings based on a series of interviews with a national sample of well-known millionaires. She was interested in examining the "attributes, behavior, lifestyle, and values shared by the

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majority of the philanthropic elite [she] investigated" (Odendahl 1990:xiii). Combining the results of several studies that she was involved with over a ten-year period (1980-1990), she concludes that philanthropy is a practice of the upper class that "serves many purposes, but primarily ... assists in the social reproduction of the upper class. Private contributions by the elite support institutions that sustain their culture, their education, their policy formulation- in short, their interests" (Odendahl 1990:232).

In her 1995 book *Why the Wealthy Give*, Francie Ostrower discusses her study of elite philanthropists in New York City in which she examined their philanthropy as an element of elite culture, looking at their philanthropic behaviors and ideologies. She found that these philanthropists tended to travel in insular social circles and that their giving was part of their culture and identity, serving to perpetuate their position in society rather than to assist people or to alter social circumstances. She concluded that elite philanthropy must change and include outsiders with wealth in order to survive as an institution and practice of the upper class. Ostrower's study also examined philanthropists' views of the relationship between government and philanthropic activity, and found that donors were pluralistic in their view of a society in which power is shared between government and philanthropy concluding, "in their philanthropy, elites share and respond to widely held attitudes in American society.... Somewhat cynically, one might say that their philanthropy is conducted in such a way that elites can enjoy the sense that they are making a contribution to society without actually having to interact with members of that society outside their class" (1995:129).

Diana Kendall (2002) used her insider position as a member of the upper class to study the philanthropy and exclusive social networks of elite women of different

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ethnicities and races in Austin, Texas. She concluded that the charitable activities of upper-class women serve to reproduce and legitimize the upper class with all of its privilege and segregation.

All of the studies of individual philanthropists that I am aware of to date have been set in larger metropolitan areas, with the exception of Kendall's 2002 study. They have focused on the beliefs, behaviors, and social structures of these individual philanthropists and have examined their philanthropy from a neo-Marxist perspective, viewing it as an exclusive mechanism of the upper class. They have found that philanthropy is a practice of members of the upper class that operates to enhance their social and cultural capital, meeting their own needs and maintaining their position of privilege in society rather than meeting the needs of others and altering the structures of society.

With the exception of Ostrower (1995), who provided evidence of some variation in the giving practices of elite philanthropists in her New York City sample, previous studies of individual philanthropy have painted a remarkably monolithic picture of philanthropy. In this study I add a more neo-Weberian perspective in which I look not only at class issues, but also at issues of transmission of the culture of philanthropy, the civic participation and community involvement of sample philanthropists, what goals they have for their philanthropy, and their views on the role of philanthropy and its interface with government as it relates to social provision. I use a combination of the questions posed by Nagai et. al. (1994) in their national study of foundation elites and those posed by Ostrower (1995) in her New York study of individual philanthropists to examine these issues.

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This study is set in the small towns and cities of southern Maine and southern New Hampshire during 2002 and 2003. I discuss the methodology of the study in the following chapter.

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CHAPTER III

SAMPLE AND METHODS

This chapter describes the design and implementation of my research on the practices and worldviews of philanthropists in southern Maine and southern New Hampshire. I begin by discussing the approach used to answer my research questions. I then describe the sample and the research setting. I provide an in-depth explanation of how I worked with the data for this study, including a discussion of the stages of data analysis, how I dealt with issues of reliability and validity, and the surprises and problems that arose as I conducted the study.

The Research Approach

The overarching question I began this study with was: Who are the philanthropists in southern Maine and southern New Hampshire and how do their beliefs and practices of philanthropy compare with those of philanthropists in more urban areas as portrayed in previous research (Kendall 2002; Odendahl 1987, 1989, 1990; Ostrander 1984; Ostrower 1995; Shervish and Herman 1988)? This broad question guided my inquiry, informed my interviews, and generated additional research questions to be answered.

A qualitative approach was used in order to be able to enter into the world of these philanthropists and grasp the complexities of their beliefs, culture, and actions. Using the approach of such participant observers as Anderson (1992, 2000), Liebow (1967, 1993), and Whyte (1943), I slowly started to familiarize myself with the philanthropy field. I was interested in developing a "rich dialogue of data and

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evidence... pondering the possibilities gained from deep familiarity with some aspect of the world" (Becker 1998:66).

Liebow, in his 1993 book *Tell Them Who I Am,* speaks of the importance of portraying the individuality and significance of each person's story. "In the social sciences, there is always the danger that the need to see patterns and make generalizations about human behavior will dictate the research enterprise. There is always the danger of going too far in smoothing out data curves by ignoring important outliers, or of underreporting exceptions because we believe they are, indeed, exceptions. Only exceptionally do we use exceptions to prove (literally, test) the rule.... Exceptions- even one or two cases- may not be exceptions at all. They may be a different way of doing things, a different way of behaving, and instead of 'proving the rule', they may be evidence of a different rule, a different pattern" (Liebow 1993:320).

I was invested in looking for patterns and in portraying the depth and complexity of each person's situation. I also paid close attention to any surprises and exceptions that emerged from the data and reported them as such, exploring them in greater depth and detail as appeared appropriate in order to determine whether they indeed might evidence a different rule or a different pattern.

Individual Philanthropists

I chose to study individual philanthropists as opposed to foundations or corporations, as I was interested in examining the practices and patterns of those who had either inherited, married into, or accumulated their own wealth and were making their own decisions about how to donate it. I wanted to have direct access to these philanthropists and was not interested in interviewing the staff of foundations or

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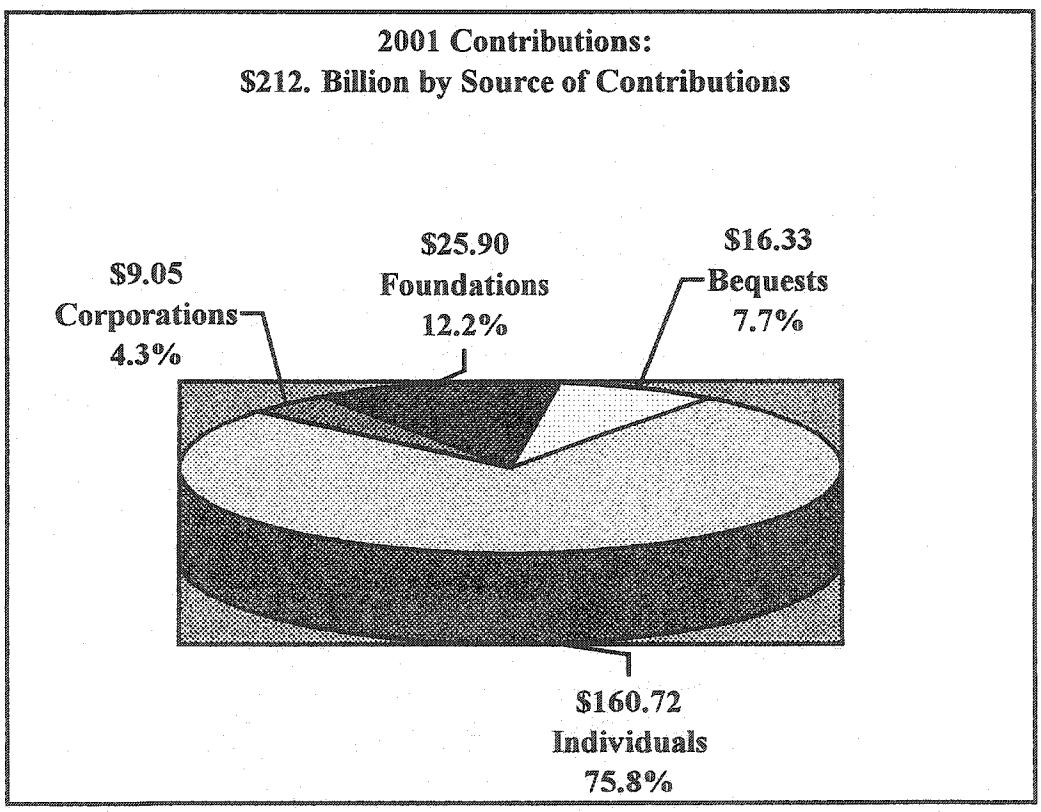
corporations. Many of the philanthropists in this study do have family foundations and are heads of corporations. I was interested in learning about their individual philanthropy.

According to *Giving USA* 2002 (see Figure 3.1), which offers national statistics on all philanthropy in 2001 based on dollar amounts, 76% of the nation's philanthropy is contributed by individuals. While the elite are only a part of this figure, which represents the distribution of all of the nation's philanthropy according to IRS data, the fact that such a high percentage of all philanthropy is contributed by individuals bolstered my decision to study individual elite philanthropy.

Figure 3.1 2001 Contributions by Source of Contributions



Source: AAFRC Trust for Philanthropy (*Giving USA* 2002)

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Gaining Entry

Entry into the field is often one of the most challenging aspects of qualitative research. It is important to establish relationships and a sense of rapport with pivotal people in the field (Becker 1998; Lofland and Lofland 1995; Weiss 1994; Whyte 1943). In the spring of 2000, I began a series of informal interviews to gain some information on how philanthropists and the nonprofit organizations to which they make their donations interact. I started by interviewing some of the development staff at the University of New Hampshire and the University of Southern Maine. I also interviewed foundation staff at the Piscataqua Foundation, the New Hampshire Charitable Foundation, the Maine Philanthropy Center, and the Maine Community Foundation. I asked them how they viewed the world of philanthropy, how they thought about the role of philanthropy in society, how philanthropy worked in their particular community, and how they went about identifying and engaging with potential donors. I attended several conferences in the area, including a Philanthropy Partners Conference and a Community Building Conference. Both the donors and the recipients were presenters and participants at these conferences. Two donor/presenters later became participants in the study.

I learned that identifying and engaging with philanthropists was a challenge to be handled delicately. Philanthropists tend to be surrounded by multiple layers of privacy. Many of them have staff whose job is to keep outsiders at bay. Many have unlisted phone numbers and addresses. Some of the strategies my foundation and university interviewees had used to identify potential donors involved hiring list brokers to provide lists of prospective people with wealth, buying lists of people who subscribe to yachting magazines, or looking at public real estate tax records to determine who owned high-end

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property in the area. I began to feel like a detective as I thought about the complicated process of identifying a population of elite philanthropists who would be interested and available to participate in my study. I narrowed my focus to a particular geographical area and began to explore.

The Research Site

A first step in developing a population of philanthropists from which to create a sample was to define a geographical area on which to focus. A geographical focus is used as people living in the same geographical area share a "common elite context" (Ostrower 1995), live in the same community in proximity to the same nonprofit organizations, and have the same philanthropic choices.

Studies of individual philanthropists have mostly been set in the large metropolitan areas of: Boston, New York, Washington, Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis, Miami, Seattle, San Francisco, and Los Angeles (Schervish and Herman 1988); Cleveland (Ostrander 1984); New York (Ostrower 1995); Philadelphia (Baltzell 1958); in the smaller city of Austin (Kendall 2002) or nationally (Baltzell 1964; Domhoff 1970; Odendahl 1987, 1989. 1990). No one had, to my knowledge, with the exception of Kendall, whose 2002 study is set in Austin and extends to other small cities in Texas, specifically set their research in the small cities and towns outside of the nation's major urban areas.

According to Odendahl (1987), cities have particularly distinctive philanthropic climates. I was interested in discovering what the philanthropic climate might be like in more rural areas with their small cities and towns, and chose as my geographical focus

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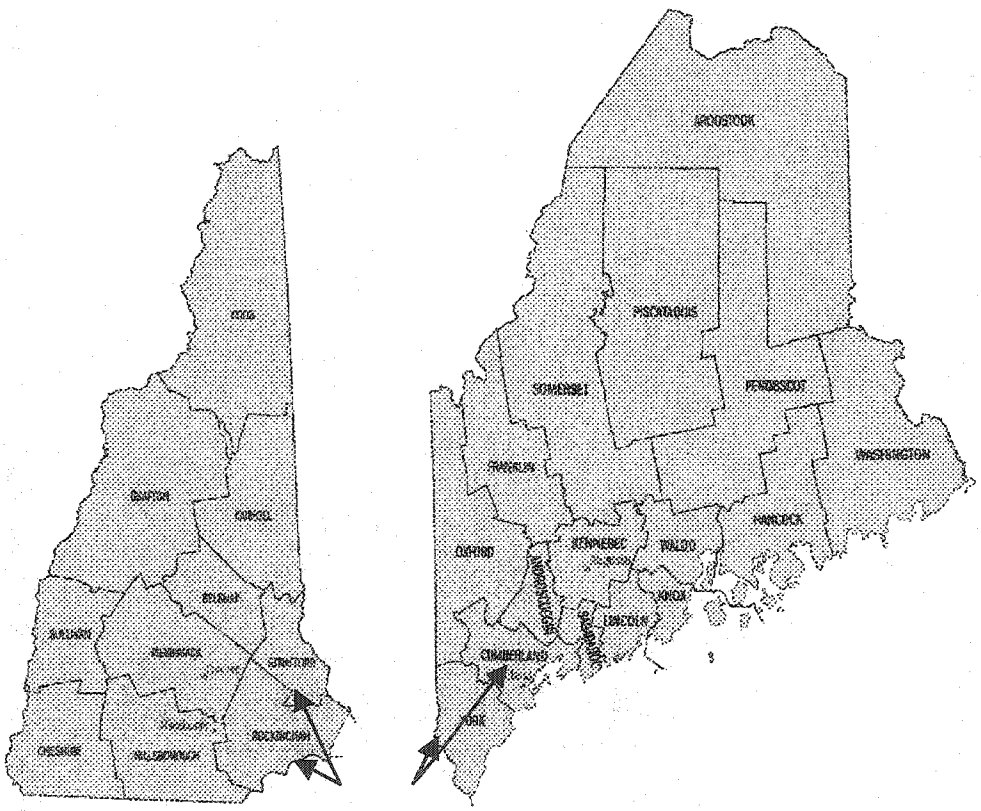
the Rockingham and Strafford Counties of southern New Hampshire, and the Cumberland and York Counties of southern Maine (see Map, Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2
2002 US Census Bureau Maps



Southern New Hampshire and southern Maine are considered to be suburbs of the large metropolitan area of Boston, Massachusetts according to the US Census Bureau, but their proximity and easy access to wide-open spaces distinguishes them from the more developed suburban areas of the large urban centers of previous research on philanthropists.

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The counties in which this study is set include the small cities of Portland, Maine (population 64,249) and Portsmouth, New Hampshire (population 20,784). Of the philanthropists interviewed for this study, 15% lived in Portsmouth, New Hampshire and 10% lived in Portland, Maine. The remaining 75% lived in such small towns as Cumberland, Maine (population 7,159) and Exeter, New Hampshire (population 13,409) (US Census Bureau 2000).

Southern Maine and southern New Hampshire are of particular interest as they are in proximity to or contain some of the eastern boarding schools and day schools that the elite attend and that Baltzell (1958), Domhoff (1970) and Ostrander (1984) used as criteria to identify the elite. Baltzell's 1958 list of the 16 most socially prestigious American boarding schools included the nearby Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts, Phillips Exeter Academy in Exeter, New Hampshire, St. Paul's School in Concord, New Hampshire, Groton School, in Groton, Massachusetts, and Middlesex School, in Concord, Massachusetts (Baltzell 1958). These seacoast areas have also historically been vacation retreats for members of the elite for generations (Higley 1995).

According to *Giving USA* (2002), Maine and New Hampshire were ranked number 49 and 48 respectively using 1999 IRS data on state-by-state generosity (see Table 3.1). This changed to a ranking of 49 and 45 respectively according to 2002 data (*Catalogue for Philanthropy* 2002).

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Table 3.1 Generosity Index: 2002 State Data

State	Having Rank	Giving Rank	Rank Relation	Generosity Index
Mississippi	49	6	43	1
Arkansas	45	7	38	2
South Dakota	43	5	38	3
Tennessee	37	4	33	4
Louisiana	44	13	31	5
Alabama	41	11	30	6
Oklahoma	42	14	28	7
Utah	27	2	25	8
Nebraska	33	9	24	9
South Carolina	39	17	22	10
Idaho	35	18	17	11
Texas	20	3	17	12
Wyoming	16	1	15	13
West Virginia	48	33	15	14
North Dakota	46	32	14	15
Florida	18	8	10	16
Georgia	19	10	9	17
North Carolina	26	`9	7	18
New Mexico	50	44	6	19
Missouri	29	24	5	20
Kansas	25	21	4	21
Montana	47	46	1	22
Indiana	31	30	1	23
Kentucky	40	40	0	24
Alaska	28	29	-1	25
Iowa	38	42	-4	26
California	4	12	-8	27
Ohio	34	43	-9	28
New York	5	15	-10	29
Vermont	30	41	-11	30
Pennsylvania	22	34	-12	31
Maine	36	49	-13	32
Washington	8	22	-14	33
Connecticut	1	16	-15	34
Hawaii	32	47	-15	35
Illinois	10	25	-15	36
Maryland	7	23	-16	37
Virginia	11	27	-16	38
Oregon	23	39	-16	39
Nevada	12	28	-16	40
Colorado	9	26	-17	41

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	Delaware	14	31	-17	42
	Arizona	21	38	-17	43
	Massachusetts	2	20	-18	44
	Michigan	15	37	-22	45
	Minnesota	13	36	-23	46
	Wisconsin	24	48	-24	47
	New Jersey	3	35	-32	48
	Rhode Island	17	50	-33	49
→	New Hampshire	6	45	-39	50

Source: *Catalogue for Philanthropy* 2002

While this study does not address the question of why New Hampshire and Maine rank so low in their giving, this information provides a general context within which to view philanthropy in these geographic locations. Perhaps these relatively low giving ranks speak to a lack of engagement in the culture of philanthropy in these areas. Several of the interviewees raised this lack of engagement as an issue that is of concern to them as they work to recruit new members to the culture of philanthropy. Overall low levels of giving may promote a stronger commitment to philanthropy among the elite who are engaged in the culture of philanthropy.

In his book *Privilege Power and Place: The Geography of the American Upper Class* (1995), Stephen Higley offers an analysis of the spatial distribution of the upper class. Using zipcodes from the 1988 *Social Register,* he examines patterns of the locations of first and second homes of members of the upper class in the United States. The *Social Register* is, according to Baltzell, "a national upper-class index" (1968:17). According to Higley's (1995) analysis, Maine ranked 15th in the country with 389 first homes listed in the *Social Register* (12% of the total 32,398 households), and New Hampshire ranked 16th, with 340 first homes listed (10% of the total). The New York City metropolitan area had the largest concentration of *Social Register* homes listed

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(7,421 or 23% of the national total). Breaking the data down into counties, he listed Cumberland County as having 132 first households in the *Social Register* (4%); York County had 55 (.1%) first households; Rockingham County had 56 (.1%), and Strafford County had 10 (.03%) (Higley 1995). These statistics offer evidence that elites do reside in this area, which is less urban than those areas in which philanthropy has been previously studied. The fact that there is clearly an upper-class presence in these areas, although the lower giving rates might belie this, made this an interesting setting in which to study philanthropy.

The Interview Sample

The development of a representative sample was perhaps the most difficult aspect of this research project. This has been a persistent challenge in studying the elite. Sampling difficulties are of concern, as different methodological approaches are associated with different findings (Domhoff and Dye 1987; Ostrower 1995). The dilemma was to develop a sample that would be diverse enough to deliver objective results.

Ostrower, in her 1995 study *Why the Wealthy Give*, developed a new way to identify donors that attempted to be as systematic as possible in the New York City research site in which she conducted her study. She began with a list of the largest nonprofit organizations in New York City, separating them into seven areas of activity: "animals and environmental causes, hospitals, other health and rehabilitation, education, culture, social services, and youth development organizations not classifiable elsewhere" Ostrower 1995:20). From this list she collected lists of donors of $1,000 or more. She then drew a random sample stratified by size of contribution, with the top strata

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consisting of people who had made at least one gift of $100,000 or more. She included sets of people from each strata in her final sample.

Ostrower states, "given the absence of any comprehensive listing of wealthy donors or individuals, the development of procedures that permit comparison of findings from different studies is a vital task. Absent the possibility of constructing a truly representative sample, moreover, it is equally important that systematic alternatives be devised whose biases are knowable. Ultimately, a complete knowledge of elite philanthropy requires multiple studies in which a variety of samples are examined. In short, then, no implication is made that this sampling procedure is perfect, or that it represents the sole legitimate technique." (1995:23-24).

As there was no comprehensive list of elite philanthropists in the area to be studied and, as nonmetropolitan areas tend to have smaller organizations with fewer donors, I turned to the annual reports of the community foundations and the local universities for lists of donors. It seemed that these might offer a relatively diverse group of individuals, and that individuals who donated to these concerns would be likely also to donate to other nonprofit organizations in the area.

The sample for this study was drawn from annual report lists of people who had contributed $5,000 or more to the community foundations in southern Maine and southern New Hampshire and/or to the University of New Hampshire and the University of Southern Maine in the year 2001, and who had claimed their primary residence in the above-named counties for a period of at least five years. Although $5,000 is not considered to be a large gift by the elite, it is likely that individuals making a single gift

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in this amount might also contribute equal or larger sums of money to other organizations, a reasonable expectation, according to Ostrower (1995).

To check the sampling validity of the community foundation and university lists, I gathered annual report lists from the area hospitals, museums, music centers, and conservation centers. I found that the names on these lists were, for the most part, also on the community foundation and university lists.

In order to expand my sample frame to include those who donate to other local organizations, as well as those who give to more national and global concerns, in addition to contacting people from the lists of contributors to the community foundations and the universities, I contacted key informants in some of the communities in the sampling area and added a "reputational" piece to my sampling strategy.

Floyd Hunter, in his 1953 study *Community Power Structure,* developed what came to be known as the reputational model. He collected his research sample by asking key people in Atlanta to identify the most powerful people in the community. He then conducted a series of interviews in which he looked for consensus, following which he produced a list of 12 businessmen who were in charge of local government. To add a reputational model to develop my sample, I started with the largest communities (Portland, ME and Portsmouth, NH) and those that were identified as wealthy communities (as indicated by the 2000 census figures for percentage of population with income above $200,000), and contacted key informants from these communities.

Key informants included the editors of local newspapers (Foster's Daily Democrat, the Portsmouth and Portland Herald, the New Hampshire editor for the Boston Globe), the head of the Chamber of Commerce, the chair of the Board of Selectmen or

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the Director of Planning and Community Development, depending on the type of town government, and others they recommended that I consult. I sent letters to them, and included a self-addressed stamped envelope and a questionnaire in which I asked them to identify the philanthropists in the area, focusing particularly on those who are important and influential, as well as those who are less well-known including those who are younger and those who have accumulated new wealth.

Unfortunately, of the twenty key informants to whom I sent letters, only four responded. They offered names of people with whom I had already been in touch, validating that I had developed a relatively comprehensive list of philanthropists.

In addition, a snowball-sampling procedure was used, in which a list of philanthropists was compiled by asking people from the original list who agreed to be interviewed to suggest other philanthropists in these areas who might be available to participate in the research project, again with a focus on those who are known, those who are less well-known, and those who are relatively new to the culture of philanthropy. The goal was to develop a sample that would be as diverse as possible with a wide range of variation in wealth source, age and stage in life, profession, gender, race and ethnicity, political bent, and philanthropic orientation. I also included two of the donors who had been presenters at the conferences I attended, hoping that they would expand the diversity of the sample.

These combined sampling methods provided a broad range of coverage of the sample frame. Philanthropists were identified who gave to the community foundations, the universities, other local organizations, and those who gave to more national and

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global concerns. This sampling method omitted donors who contributed lesser amounts of money and wealthy people who do not participate in the practices of philanthropy.

Net Worth and Income

Prior to beginning the interviews, I had decided that, in order to be included in the study, participants needed to have a net worth of at least 3 million dollars and an annual income of at least 250,000 dollars. It was impossible to ascertain people's net worth and income prior to interviewing them. In fact, many of the participants in the study had no idea as to their exact net worth and income, given the daily variations in the stock market and the complications of their financial situations. I did ask them to tell me their net worth and annual income (income included wages, dividends and interest). Some answered without blinking an eye. Some said, "You really don't expect me to answer that do you?" Some said, "It's none of your business". One person said, "Talking about money is like talking about sex and death".

For those who did tell me their net worth and annual income, the range of net worth of the respondents was between 250,000 dollars (for the two who were managing their grandparents' trusts worth 3 million each) and 150 million dollars. The range of annual income was between 30,000 dollars and 12 million dollars. Sixty-seven percent of the sample philanthropists told me what their net worth was, and 72% told me their annual income.

For those who did not respond to my questions about net worth and annual income, I was able to guess approximate net worth based on information that was available about them on the internet. Two were listed in the Forbes 400 list of the wealthiest U.S. citizens for the year 2003 (Forbes 2003), and I was able to infer

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information about the remaining nine by entering their names into a search engine and finding out about their businesses and their financial pictures. Based on educated guesses, I thought that five of the nonresponders had a net worth in the 3-10 million dollar range, five were in the 10-150 million dollar range, and three had a net worth of more than 150 million dollars. I thought that one of the nonresponders had an annual income in the $100,000-$250,000 range, two were in the $250,000-$500,000 range, four were in the $500,000-$1Million range, and four were in the $1-12Million range (see Tables 3.2 & 3.3 below).

Table 3.2 Net Worth

Net Worth	Reported	Inferred	Total
$250,000-2Million	9	0	9
$2-3Million	9	0	9
$3-10Million	4	5	9
$10-150Million	5	5	10
>$150Million	0	3	3
Totals	N=27	N=13	N=40

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Table 3.3 Annual Income

Income	Reported	Inferred	Totals
$30-$100,000	3	0	3
$100,000-$250,000	17	1	18
$250,000-$500,000	2	2	4
$500,000-$1 Million	4	4	8
$1-12Million	3	4	7
Totals	N=29	N=11	N=40

As the tables indicate, a total of 18 participants had a net worth below the targeted 3 million dollar mark, and a total of 21 participants had an annual income below the targeted $250,000 mark. It is clear that I did not capture the sample population that I had targeted for the study. While my sample did include some elite philanthropists, I had also captured a population of wealthy philanthropist who had not been previously studied.

As I got into the interviewing process I realized that it was even more difficult to find philanthropists that met my parameters than I had anticipated. Because of this I ended up changing my parameters for inclusion in the study to a net worth of at least 2 million dollars and an annual income of 100,000 dollars. Nine of the participants who did answer the question had a net worth below the 2-million-dollar mark, and three had an income below the $100,000 mark. They were included in the study for a variety of reasons. I learned that following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, according to respondents, their assets had been cut in half due to the fluctuations in the stock market. I found that some of the participants were invested in reducing their assets, as they adhered to the Carnegie philosophy that one should give all of one's money away before one died

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(Carnegie 1889). Others had been reducing their assets and income because of their age and phase in life; they were both giving their money away through their philanthropy and passing it on to the next generations. A third category, whose income and net worth were below the parameters set, were those who constitute a group of what Schervish and Herman (1988) termed the "incipient wealthy"; those who were in line to inherit substantial wealth, or who were younger entrepreneurs whose businesses were likely to produce substantial net worth and income.

Contacting Interview Participants

Once I had developed a list of philanthropists in the area, I sent out letters on University of New Hampshire stationery, explaining my study and inviting them to participate. The letter explained the purpose of the interview, told approximately how long it would take, guaranteed confidentiality, and was signed by me with my and the university's contact information in case there were any questions (see Appendix re: letter). In several instances, when there was no address listed for the person, I found an e-mail address over the Internet, sent a copy of the letter via e-mail and was able to correspond successfully in that way.

After waiting a few days for the letter to arrive, I made phone calls to the respondents either at their offices or at their homes. I would often speak first with a secretary or an assistant and would need to explain the nature of my call and ask the respondent to return my call. The secretary would sometimes get back to me with information about whether they were interested in participating, or to ask me to call back in a few months as the respondent was either traveling or too busy at the moment. Very few of the respondents returned my calls, and I generally had to leave several messages in

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order to make contact. I found that if I left a message with no information about what I was calling about, people were more likely to return my calls. Some were enthusiastic about participating; some needed to talk with me at length before agreeing to an interview. Many politely or brusquely refused. One gentleman refused, saying: "I am sorry my dear lady, but I am not interested in the topic". The minimum amount of time between the letter and the interview was three days, and the maximum was six months in the case of a very busy professional. Of note, it happened to be an election year, and many of the participants were either running for office, or helping with the campaign of someone who was running for office. A number of interviews had to be scheduled after the elections were held.

Of the 95 letters sent, 40 recipients agreed to be interviewed. As the letters were addressed to the listed names, many of them were addressed as Mr. and Mrs., or the X family. In the cases of couples or families, I left it to them to identify who would be participating in the interview. It was clear, in most cases, that one person in a couple or family was more involved in the philanthropy world, and that was the person interviewed. Nineteen participants were male and 21 were female. Twenty were from southern Maine and 20 were from southern New Hampshire (see Table 3.4).

Table 3.4 Gender by State

State	Males	Females	Total
ME	9	11	20
NH	10	10	20
Total	N=19	N=21	N=40

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A number of people never returned my phone calls. Two people who did call back refused to participate because they said that they did not consider themselves to be philanthropists. One said that he did sit on some boards and donated some money; "Our friends considered us to be wealthy because we act like we are, but the money is gone".

Twenty-seven participants were recruited through snowball sampling (see Table 3.5). Ten were drawn from foundation annual report lists; one was from a university annual report; two were presenters at the conferences I attended. I found that it was relatively easy to engage a philanthropist whose name had been given to me by another who had been interviewed. When asked, I would say that I had gotten his/her name from another participant (respecting confidentiality) who thought that he/she was a philanthropist who should be included in the study. As indicated, of the 20 key informants contacted, only 4 responded, providing names of philanthropists with whom I had already been in touch.

Table 3.5 Sources of Participants

Source	NH	ME	Total	%
Foundation	6	4	10	25%
Snow Ball	14	13	27	68%
Key Informant	0	0	0	0%
University	0	1	1	2%
Conference	0	2	2	5%
Total	N=20	N=20	N=40	100%

Non-Participants

Although it is impossible to ascertain why people refused to participate, it is interesting to note that most of the people who agreed to participate came from the community foundation lists or from lists of people whose names they provided. I did ask them to provide names of people who were not on the foundation lists and who might be

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less visible. I also asked them to give names of people who were known, those who were less well-known, and those who were relatively new to the culture of philanthropy, so that the snowball method would yield a more diverse range of participants.

An analysis of the data on those who did not participate shows that most of them came from the snow ball sampling and university lists (see Table 3.6 below).

Table 3.6 Sources of Non-Participants

Source	NH	ME	Total	Percent
Foundation	11	3	14	25%
Snow Ball	14	9	23	42%
Key Informant	0	0	0	0%
University	7	11	18	33%
Conference	0	0	0	0%
Total	N=32	N=23	N=55	100%

In my attempts to expand and diversify the sample it is possible that the fact that most of the participants came from community foundation lists and from the snow ball sample lists that they provided might have biased the sample in favor of philanthropists who were community-minded. I did emphasize that the snow ball sample lists be comprised of people who were not involved with the community foundations and people who were less well-known.

Representativeness of the Sample

Because of the challenges of recruiting elite philanthropists for participation in this study, it is clear that I did not capture a sample that was representative of the population of interest (elite philanthropists in southern Maine and southern New Hampshire), to say nothing of the general population of elite philanthropists. It is therefore not possible to make generalizations to populations beyond the limited scope of

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this particular study. As we shall see in Chapter Six, I came to believe that I had captured a sample of wealthy philanthropists, some of whom were members of the elite culture of philanthropy and some of whom were members of a previously unstudied population of wealthy philanthropists who were not members of the elite culture of philanthropy.

A larger sample is of some advantage in ascertaining representativeness, but as this is a qualitative study, I opted to interview forty people following the sampling principle developed by Glaser and Straus (1967) and Glaser (1978). Their idea is that if one is getting no new data that, it seems, will significantly alter the analysis, it is a good place to stop.

Data Collection

Forty face-to-face interviews were conducted during 2002 and 2003 with philanthropists whose primary residence was located in southern New Hampshire or southern Maine. The interviews were scheduled at a time and a place that were convenient to the participant. Every attempt was made to meet in a relatively quiet, private place in order to be able to obtain a viable recording and to ensure confidentiality. Sixteen of the interviews took place in the participants' offices; 20 took place in participants' homes (2 of which were in retirement communities); 4 took place in my office. One of the interviews began in my office at the university, and continued at the participant's home the following week. The interviews ranged in time from one to three hours, with most lasting for under two hours.

The structured interview questionnaire consisted of a series of questions about practices of philanthropy, specifying dollar amounts of donations and the organizations to which the money was donated; a section on family practices of philanthropy, asking

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about generational patterns and values; a series of questions about their views on the role of philanthropy in society; questions about civic participation and volunteer activities; and a section devoted to demographics (see Appendix for Structured Interview Questionnaire).

The interviews were tape-recorded and later transcribed by a professional, and entered into the Nvivo database where they could be coded and analyzed. As soon as was possible, following each interview I wrote notes describing my observations about the interview: highlights of the conversation, information of note about the setting and the subject, significant themes, and patterns that were emerging. These notes were also entered into the Nvivo database. I would often get on the Internet following an interview to gather more information about the subject, fleshing out his/her family history and learning more about any philanthropic activities that were in the public domain.

Operationalizing the Variables and Validating Responses

The critical data from the questionnaire included: the philanthropists' beliefs about the role of philanthropy in society; their estimates about what percent of their giving went toward altering the structures of society and what percent went toward maintaining social structures; their focus on local, national or global philanthropy; their level of civic engagement and community participation; whether they were newly wealthy or came from generations of wealth; and whether their social circles were only with others in their class. I describe how I operationalized each of these variables below.

I categorized the philanthropists' beliefs about the role of philanthropy in society as: picking up where government left off, or leading the way and operating outside of the realms of government.

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Respondents gave a percentage estimate about where their money went. Those who estimated that they gave 50% toward change and 50% toward traditional organizations were categorized as 50/50 change-oriented and traditional. Those who said that they gave more to traditional concerns were designated as giving to maintain social structures, and those who said that they gave more to change-oriented concerns were designated as giving to alter structures of society. The categorization of organizations as traditional or change-oriented is highly complex and is discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

Their responses were validated by checking them against the lists they had given of organizations they donated to along with dollar amounts of donations. We had discussed their involvement with these organizations and had talked about their careful attention to how the organizations operated and what their orientations were. I discuss their categorizations of their giving further in Chapter Five.

In the analyses of the data I used the respondents' largest gifts to determine relationships and patterns between the variables. In Chapter Five I discuss the relationship between how they categorized their donations and what they actually did with their money, based on largest gifts. It is possible that a respondent might give a largest gift to a traditional organization and give a number of smaller gifts to change-oriented organizations, the sum total of which could exceed the larger gift, leading them categorize their giving as change-oriented for the most part. An analysis of the data found that those who gave their largest gift to a traditional organization were consistent in also giving most of their smaller gifts to traditional organizations, and vice versa. The

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issue became one of different respondents categorizing gifts to the same organization differently, as we shall see in Chapter Five.

A number of respondents said that they focused their philanthropy locally, nationally, and globally. They were asked to separate out where the majority of their money went, and most could clearly choose one of the categories. These responses were also validated by checking them against the lists of the organizations they had donated to along with the amounts donated.

Level of civic engagement and community participation included looking at voting behavior, involvement in politics, club membership and volunteering other than board membership. All respondents were, by definiton, said to be engaged in civic life; I also asked about their voting behavior and their involvement in politics. Participants were considered to be engaged at a high level in their communities if they did not belong to exclusive clubs and if they volunteered in hands on ways in their community.

The newly wealthy were those who had accumulated their wealth in their lifetime or had married someone who was wealthy. Those who were second-, third-, fourth- and fifth-generation philanthropists were categorized as coming from generations of wealth.

During the interview, respondents were asked whom they felt social ties with or whom they considered to be their social peers. If they responded that they socialized only with people from their exclusive social club, or other board members, they were designated as engaging with others in their social class. If they responded that they socialized with a diverse group of people, they were said to engage with people outside of their social class.

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Data Analysis

The interview data were analyzed in a number of ways as the study progressed. I read through each interview as it was entered into the Nvivo database, and listened to the tapes as they came back from the transcriptionist, correcting errors in the transcription, coding and memoing as I went along in order to keep on top of the vast amount of data.

Nvivo software is designed specifically to handle the analysis of qualitative data. It offers a mechanism to store all of the interviews and supporting data in one database such that documents can be linked and multiple themes and patterns can be compared within and between subjects. "It is designed to remove rigid divisions between 'data' and 'interpretation'" (Richards 1999:4).

Coding and Memoing

Coding and memoing are useful in that they provide methods of organizing data and developing a sense of pattern and meaning which arises out of the material as it is collected. Lofland and Lofland (1995) identify coding as one of the core activities in developing an analysis of the data. Codes are words or phrases that categorize or sort data; they answer such questions as: What is this an example of? What does it represent? What is it about? Miles and Huberman (1994) speak of coding as analysis, or tags or labels that assign units of meaning to the material.

In Nvivo, the data are coded by color. Each color represents a node that signifies a specific category (see Figure 3.3 below).

Figure 3.3 Nvivo Coding in Text

Part of it is, this is where I haven't combed out all the threads here, there's something about...the curse of money is if you have a lot of it there's no reason you have to do anything. So you can suffer from option-itis and sort of drift around and not get a feel for your own power, your own medicine, your own contribution. And that can be a curse. It can also support you in doing that. I haven't figured out exactly how to turn that corner so

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that, sort of in the middle of it, the analogy of the sorcerers apprentice, the Disney film came up and I felt like the whole attitude with my family was this inheritance had great power. And what they were focused on was it's power to do ill, in terms of affecting peoples motivation and sense of who they are and become shallow individuals and all that kind of stuff. And to me, it feels like what's most important is to acknowledge there's great power here and so it takes training. You don't have the training you end up with Mickey Mouse and the broom. If there can be some initiation and some training and some talking about the power and the respect that it requires. Just like you have when you give a child their first knife or you teach them how to use a chainsaw, it's powerful and it can be dangerous. So here's some of the things that can help it be a tool to build, as opposed to a tool to undermine is what I see the challenge as being. ... My own approach has been, it's been to use it as a lever to change. Towards, to fight the greatest injustice or the, I'm not somebody...I recognize the importance of social justice issues, but it's not what makes my heart sing. It's not what I care about when I get up in the morning. But using the slogan, change not charity, appeals to me....

1. Age, 2. Altruism, 3. Change, 4. Civil society, 5. Community, 6. Create, 7. Global, 8. Govt., 9. Knowledge, 10. Leverage, 11. Local, 12. Loner, 13. Make a Difference, 14. Power, 15. Social justice, 16. Volunteering.

Each category can then be pulled up and a list of quotes will appear, fitting that category (see Figure 3.4 below).

Figure 3.4 Nvivo Coding By Node

Document '#11', 2 passages, 195 characters.
Section 0, Paragraph 11, 85 characters.
Sometimes it's not big amounts of money, but it's the thing that made things happen.
Section 0, Paragraph 27, 110 characters.
strategic development planning. I end up getting asked by many organizations that I don't end up being involve

Document '#14', 1 passages, 71 characters.
Section 0, Paragraph 77, 71 characters.
My own approach has been, it's been to use it as a lever to change. Tow

Document '#16 ', 1 passages, 19 characters.
Section 0, Paragraph 23, 19 characters.
leverage value of t

Document '#2 ', 4 passages, 646 characters.
Section 0, Paragraph 73, 22 characters.
other funders in tow;
Section 0, Paragraph 73, 13 characters.
matching. So
Section 0, Paragraph 191, 499 characters.
No. Some of them do try to storm on you, but you've got to stand your ground and work with them and if they don't understand no, then you turn them around and help in some way that they take the pressure off again. You show them how to do some fundraising and you show them how to get some other dollars and introduce them to other groups that are similar in nature. I think that's what they're looking for. They're all looking for the basic same thing but they don't know quite how to do it.

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Glaser's (1978) classic definition of memoing says that [a memo is] "the theorizing write-up of ideas about codes and their relationships as they strike the analyst while coding... It can be a sentence, a paragraph or a few pages ... it exhausts the analyst's momentary ideation on the data with perhaps a little conceptual elaboration" (pg. 83-83). Memos are useful in tying together pieces of data, eventually becoming a coherent analysis of the material that forms the basis for the final product.

I also entered basic information (age, gender, generations of wealth, locale of the interview) into an Excel database so that I could have a visual display of the data. I developed tables with the Excel data and began to sort and consolidate data, compiling descriptive statistics to provide a sense of some of the patterns and relationships among the variables.

Following the advice of Miles and Huberman (1994) and Lofland and Lofland (1995), I was careful to maintain a relative neutrality, not overweighting any one piece of evidence and using representative data when extracting examples. My procedures were approved by the Institutional Review Board at the University of New Hampshire before collecting data, and all participants signed a consent form prior to being interviewed (see Appendix).

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CHAPTER IV

WHO ARE THE PHILANTHROPISTS IN SEACOAST NORTHERN NEW ENGLAND?

I drive through the gates of what appears to be a huge compound and park my car in the circular driveway. A woman comes toward me from a distant corner of the property. She is carrying a bunch of beets and wiping the sweat from her brow as she smiles and asks if she can help me. I tell her I am here to interview Mr. A. who, it turns out, is her husband. She says that she doesn't know where he is, but she will try to find him. I follow her into the house and through a long cool hallway filled with beautiful paintings and sculptures. We enter the kitchen and she offers me a drink of water and motions me into a sitting room that overlooks the back yard, a rolling sweep of field that ends at the water's edge. I sit and relax as I hear her pick up the phone and send a message over the intercom system, "This is a God call". Several staff people call in informing her of the last time they saw him.

Or, I drive down narrow one-way streets looking for an apartment building, a three-decker. I park on the side of the street in front of the building and walk up three flights of stairs. I knock on the door and am welcomed into a sweltering hallway lined with books. I am ushered into a living room decorated with very unusual paintings and sculptures. There is a fan moving the air around and I am concerned about whether the noise will interfere with the quality of the sound on the tape. I test the sound, as my interviewee goes to get me a glass of water.

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This chapter presents an overview of the philanthropists interviewed for this study. I describe their demographics and discuss their backgrounds, their educations, their vocations, and their religious affiliations. I examine similarities and differences among them and begin to look at patterns in their social structures.

I also compare the philanthropists in this study with the philanthropists who have been previously studied by Kendall (2002), Ostrower (1995), Odendahl (1987, 1989, 1990), Ostrander (1984) and Schervish and Herman (1988). I include selected literature on studies of the upper class (Baltzell 1958, 1964; Domhoff 1970; Higley 1995; Zweigenhaft and Domhoff 1998), because philanthropists are, by definition, members of the upper class, or newly wealthy people who have needed to be assimilated into the upper class in order for the institution and the culture of philanthropy to survive over time (Ostrower 1995). I elaborate on the interface between the upper class, the social elite, and the culture of philanthropy in Chapter Six.

Philanthropists in Southern New Hampshire and Southern Maine

The men and women in this study come from backgrounds similar to those of the philanthropists in Kendall's (2002), Ostrower's (1995), Odendahl's (1987, 1989, 1990), Ostrander's (1984) and Schervish and Herman's (1988) studies. In fact, I would suspect that some of them come from branches of the same families. Their particular geographical context and the particular historical context in which this study takes place offer them choices and opportunities that I believe differ from those of the philanthropists in other studies.

These are wealthy people who typically live in a variety of homes: large houses with water views, spacious grounds and a staff, farmhouses in middle-class

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neighborhoods out in the country, or modest apartments on the low-income side of town. They have lived with wealth for many generations, have a wealthy "pedigree" but little wealth left, or are newly wealthy. They are young and beginning to learn about the world of philanthropy, middle-aged and making philanthropy their vocation, or they are aging, slowly divesting themselves of their wealth, and handing the reins over to the next generation.

As I have said, previous studies have shown that the elite tend to marry one another, travel in the same social circles, and live in upper-class neighborhoods, drawing boundaries that exclude members of other classes (Baltzell 1958, 1964; Domhoff 1970; Higley 1995; Kendall 2002; Odendahl 1987, 1989, 1990; Ostrander 1984; Ostrower 1995; Shervish and Herman 1988; Zweigenhaft and Domhoff 1998). They are said to engage in the culture and practices of philanthropy in order to support and maintain the social structures that have sustained them in their positions of power in society (Kendall 2002; Odendahl 1987, 1989, 1990; Ostrander 1984; Ostrower 1995; Shervish and Herman 1988). As we shall see, this is only true for a small percentage of the philanthropists in this study.

Profiles of the Sample Philanthropists

The following profiles offer prototypical compilations of data on the 40 philanthropists interviewed for this study. Each of the nine profiles is representative of several of the people in the sample who have similar characteristics (see Table 4.1). The composites are based on respondents who have similar wealth histories, similar patterns of giving, similar political views, and come from the same generation. (A listing of all of the sample philanthropists and some of their characteristics can be found in the

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Appendix). As mentioned in Chapter Three, respondents gave a percentage estimate about where their money went. Those who estimated that they gave 50% toward change and 50% toward traditional organizations are categorized as "50/50". Those who said that they gave more to traditional concerns are designated as "Status Quo", and those who said that they gave more to change-oriented concerns are designated as "Change". The number values show the range of percentages respondents' included in each profile.

The names, situations and identifiers have been changed in order to protect the confidentiality of the individuals, but the narratives and the quotes of the women and men that follow present a clear picture of the philanthropy of these sample philanthropists who live in the small cities and towns of southern Maine and southern New Hampshire. Each quotation that is used in the narrative is one person speaking and represents those in the sample who have similar characteristics to those of the profiled person.

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Table 4.1 Profiles of Sample Philanthropists

Name	New/Old Wealth	Age	Political Party	Status Quo/Change
Tessa (10, 20, 22, 26)	Old	38	D/I	Status Quo (60-90%)
Aleksa (9**, 15, 30, 35)	New/Old**	58	D/R	50/50
Alicia (6, 14, 18, 40)	New	64	D	Status Quo (67-75%)
Natalie (3, 5, 17, 33, 39)	New	67	D/R	Change (67-80%)
Hunter (1, 2*, 8, 11, 31, 36)	Old	44	D/I	Change (70-100*%)
Madison (7, 21*, 23*, 25*, 27)	New	54	D/R	Status Quo (80-100*%)
Cannon (24, 28, 37*, 38)	New	42	D/I	Change (70-100*%)
Ethan (4, 12, 13*, 16, 29*)	Old	57	D/I	Change (80-100*%)
Grace (19, 32, 34)	Old	73	R	Status Quo (80-100%)

#s – Interviewees **Old Wealth *100% Change or Status Quo D - Democrat, I - Independent, R – Republican

Tessa- Tessa is in her late 30s and is the mother of two young children. She comes from four generations of wealth and is married to Richard, who comes from five generations of wealth. They both grew up in Maine where they were childhood friends. Their families had known each other for several generations, and had moved to Maine from New York City back in the 1960s.

Tessa went to a private boarding school and to an Ivy League college. She currently works in investment banking and volunteers as a member of the local Junior League. She also sits on four advisory boards to local nonprofit organizations. In addition to her volunteer work with the Junior League, she helps out at church suppers

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and volunteers at a soup kitchen. Richard is on the town planning board, and also volunteers at community events. Both are involved as volunteers at their children's day care center.

Tessa and Richard live modestly in a small cape out in the country. They have no staff. They plan to send their children to private schools so that they can have the "good education and opportunities" that they were "lucky enough" to have had. They have opted to send them to a daycare center rather than have an au pair or a nanny, as they want them to get to know other children in the local community.

*Aleksa- A*leksa is a 58 year old married woman who is a mother/volunteer and is actively involved in the culture of philanthropy. She and her husband live in a middle-class neighborhood in a small town and are very involved socially with their neighbors.

Her husband comes from generations of wealth and he has taught her the ropes and has encouraged her to become involved in her own practices of philanthropy separate from his. She is particularly interested in supporting women's initiatives, and was one of the originators of a women's fund in her area.

Although she did not attend private schools, she and her husband sent their two children to a private day school and a private college.

Aleksa is very active in local politics. She served a term in public office and now supports local candidates running for office. During the week prior to our interview she had hosted a tea for one of the candidates, which the governor attended.

She volunteers at her local library, and as a board member for two local organizations. She is proud of the resources that her small town has to offer and feels a

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sense of stewardship about supporting and maintaining these resources for the community for generations to come.

Alicia- Alicia is 64 and retired from her law practice several years ago. She still goes in to the office a few times a week, however, and continues to work with some of her long-term clients. She says that her staff "put up with me" and "let me come in".

Alicia married a man from an upper-class background. She and her husband live in a large house in the middle of town. They have a housekeeper whom she describes as a member of the family that they "couldn't do without". The housekeeper cooks, cleans, and acts as an assistant helping them to organize their lives. She answers the phones and generally "runs interference" for them. She also handles the gardener and other staff and keeps the household running smoothly.

Alicia grew up in New Hampshire and is newly wealthy. She describes her father as "tight as a tic", and says that she learned nothing about generosity or service from her family of origin. She learned more about the culture of philanthropy from her husband's family. She is delighted with her ability to contribute to society, and has been active with her philanthropy, which she characterizes as 100% traditional, for the past 25 years or so. She participates in local politics, has served on a number of advisory boards over the years, and spends much of her time now participating in the philanthropy world and volunteering at the local hospital by providing rides to people who need them.

Natalie- Natalie is 67. She and her husband moved to Maine from New York City in 1965, as they wanted to raise their family there. He was a social worker and she worked in real estate. She made "a killing" in the market of the 1990s and, with real estate sales and stock market investments, she and her husband moved into the realm of

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the upper class. They have established a family foundation and are getting their children involved early in the culture of philanthropy.

Natalie has never forgotten her working class roots, and donates much of her time and money to social service and grassroots organizations that are working toward altering the social structures in society. She, like Aleksa, is interested in using her connections to "leverage" other monies:

> My own attitude about it is that it's a way for me to act out my social wishes. It's a way for me to not just be giving money away myself, but to also get involved in fundraising, the act of fundraising. The reason for fundraising is to transfer wealth from the people who have it to people who need it. My role in fundraising is to make sure that organizations that I care about get introduced to people who have money who might not otherwise. A gift that I can give is that we have access to people that most people who are needing the money don't have. It's all a question of access.

In addition to her fundraising efforts, Natalie serves on a foundation board and on the board of a local nonprofit organization. She also volunteers at local community events.

Hunter- Hunter is a 44 year old fourth generation philanthropist who moved to the area after college and settled down to raise his family in a comfortable but unassuming home on the edge of a small town. He has his own business, but says that it "mostly runs itself". He and his wife, who comes from a middle-class background, are "semi-retired", and they spend much of their time on their philanthropy. They travel a great deal, serve on boards (both local and national), give talks about their philanthropy, and are very involved with the organizations they support. Hunter is invested in being actively involved in the organizations to which he donates money:

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> To me philanthropy is not just giving money, it is being actively involved in the organizations. That side is very fulfilling. It's a balance to one's life. It's a connection with people who share passions for whatever it is. For me, it was a highly valued thing in the family that I was brought up in. Not just giving of your resources, but giving of your time. Both my parents and grandparents, dating back to my great grandparents were involved with philanthropic activities. For me it became sort of an obligation of, this is what you do.

Hunter and his wife have an "assistant" who has an office in their house and helps them with all of their activities. They also have a housekeeper who comes in several times a week. Their children live at home and go to a local private day school.

Hunter is very active in the culture of philanthropy and is a public figure in the philanthropy world. He donates primarily to the environment, but believes it is his "civic duty" to also donate to local causes. His volunteer work is mainly giving talks and helping out in the community. He also serves as a board member of several nonprofit organizations and is a mentor to some of the newly wealthy philanthropists whom he has recruited to the culture of philanthropy.

Madison- Madison is 54 years old and is a newly wealthy entrepreneur who owns and runs his own business and lives in New Hampshire. He is single and is new to the culture of philanthropy. He grew up in Massachusetts where he attended public schools and a state university. He moved to New Hampshire as a young adult and began a dot.com company that "took off" in the 1990's.

He is just beginning to get involved in philanthropy and has put a great deal of energy into learning how to do it. He has a mentor who comes from four generations of wealth and is a member of the culture of philanthropy. This mentor is helping to teach Madison the ropes, and he has been innovatively donating his company's services to local

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nonprofit organizations and using his contacts to "leverage" funds from other newly wealthy philanthropists. Madison is a new board member at a local nonprofit organization and is very enthusiastic about engaging others in support of this organization.

Cannon- Cannon is 42 and is newly wealthy. He owns his own company and accumulated several million dollars during the boom of the 1990s. He is from the Boston area, and moved to New Hampshire following college. He and his family had spent summers in New Hampshire, and he wanted to raise his children there. He is married, with four children, and he and his wife live in a large house with several acres of land on the waterfront. They have a nanny for the children, and send their children to private school, a privilege neither of them had. He travels a lot for his job, and his wife runs the house and volunteers her time at the children's school and at their church.

Cannon has just begun to think about getting involved in philanthropy. He is interested in learning as much as he can about it, and is looking for a mentor to show him the ropes. So far, he has focused his giving in the local community. He donated his old boat to a summer camp, gave a substantial gift to the local hospice, and gave another to the local soup kitchen. He does not have much time to volunteer himself, but he does get involved coaching his children's soccer team, and holds an auction each year for the local AIDS organization. He is interested in social justice issues, but also believes it is important to support such organizations as his alma mater and the local library.

Ethan- Ethan is 57 and is single. He is from the mid-west, and recently moved to the area from Boston where he had lived since college. He came of age during the 1960s and says that this was critical to his worldview and underscores much of what he does

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with his philanthropy. He identifies with the activism and idealism of the 60s and holds a strong belief that it is possible to "make a difference" by participating actively in society.

Ethan inherited two million dollars when he came of age, and he has struggled with what to do with his money since then. He says that he has always struggled with the way that his family made their money two generations ago. He has been very involved in Haymarket, a change-oriented organization whose motto is "change not charity". He is invested in social justice issues and focuses 100% of his philanthropy on attempts to alter the social structures of society.

He is a teacher at a local college, lives alone in an apartment in the middle of town, and mostly socializes with people who are from a working class or middle class background. Because he has given away as much money as he could, he has had to cut down on the dollar amounts of his donations in recent years. He is active in his community, serving on the board of the community foundation and volunteering his time at a local newspaper and at the civil liberties union in town.

Grace- Grace is 73 and is a member of what she describes as "a very elitist family". She grew up just outside of New York City, and was sent to a private boarding school when she was 12. Prior to this she had attended a private day school. She had a governess when she was younger, and "all the privileges of the elite". She graduated from an Ivy League college and worked for a while as a curator at an art museum. She left her job during World War II because she thought she should "do some war work". She worked at a company where they were making telephones for the army, and later married a man who was also of the upper class. They "immediately had three children" and moved to Maine to raise them. Maine was a place where both of their families had

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vacationed in the summers. They bought a wonderful property on the water, "a piece of heaven", and Grace began volunteering at the local hospital.

She and her husband lived a quiet life in Maine, although they would travel to New York occasionally to continue running the family foundation. He worked as a banker in a nearby town, and they socialized with their neighbors and with their children's friend's parents. They made an effort to "mix in" and, while they belonged to the country club, they only went there to play golf and tended not to socialize with other members of the club.

Grace's husband died a few years ago and she moved to a retirement community as she felt she couldn't handle running the house alone. She has given the family home to her children and spends each summer there with them and with her grandchildren. She currently does not volunteer, as she is "too old", but she does serve on the board of the community foundation and is socially active in her retirement community. She also continues to play golf and considers herself to be "an athlete".

Characteristics of the Sample

Origins

Eighty percent of the philanthropists interviewed grew up elsewhere and migrated to the area. Of the 20% who grew up in the area, only three came from generations of wealth (five were newly wealthy). Of those who migrated to the area, 16 were newly wealthy and 16 came from generations of wealth.

Many of the sample philanthropists came from large metropolitan areas and were sent to private boarding schools and summer camps in southern Maine and southern New

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Hampshire. Some spent vacations in the area. They liked it so much that they decided to settle down and raise their families there.

While a few do live in exclusive neighborhoods on large estates, most live in neighborhoods where they tend to blend in with their middle-class neighbors. Many spoke of the importance of feeling that they are not different from others and being able to "fit in" and "be a good neighbor". Grace talked about how important it was for her to try to blend in and live modestly:

> I like to know my neighbors and I like to know a whole widespread group of people. We were always at an advantage socially in both our families, but we never put on airs. My husband was brought up in a great big house and really would have liked to have lived in a tent. I can't comprehend the ways people live now. A couple who want to have seven bedrooms, seven baths, four cars, I don't even comprehend that. I really despise it.

Another theme voiced by many of the sample philanthropists was the importance of living in a small town and being able to see the effects of their philanthropy and to feel that they had had an impact on their community. The interviewees talked about the gratification of being "a big fish in a little pond". Natalie said that she enjoyed being able to make a visible difference in her small community:

> If you get involved you can make a difference. Doing the same thing in Boston or New York, the chance of being able to make a difference is pretty small. Here there's an interesting combination. The prize worth winning is attainable, so with a little bit of effort you could get involved and make a difference. I've seen things that I've been able to do that have some effect. You do this for some kind of gratification. I'm glad to help. It isn't everywhere you can do that.

Perhaps the fact that so many of the study participants had relocated and chosen to live in these areas gave them such a strong sense of ownership and investment in their

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local communities. They considered themselves to be stewards of the small towns and cities in which they lived and, indeed, their philanthropy had had a visible impact on the local community.

As I spoke with these philanthropists and heard about the donations they had made and the projects they had backed, I became aware of the impact that their philanthropy had had on the area over time. Buildings, parks, libraries, inventions, medical research, theater, music, art, and films; all had benefited from their gifts of time and money in very visible and tangible ways.

Age

Age is an important variable in understanding the social structures and culture of philanthropy (Odendahl 1990, Ostrower 1995; White 1989). Most philanthropists become involved in the practices of philanthropy at characteristic times in their lives, according to Ostrower (1995). She says that for men and women who are involved in the working world, this tends to be either after they have retired, or after they have been able to step back from close involvement in their vocations and have more time to devote to their philanthropy. Men and women who do not work outside of the home tend to become more active in philanthropy as their children age (Ostrower 1995).

This fits with Erikson's generativity-versus-stagnation phase of development that occurs later in life, and includes a "concern for establishing or guiding the next generation" (1968:138). Generative acts, according to Erikson, strengthen both the actor and the recipient of the act and thus lead to a sense of mutuality that enhances both individual and collective identities (1968:219). I would argue that philanthropy is a

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generative act through which the philanthropist is invested in and able to strengthen both him/herself and the recipient of his/her giving.

Regardless of how many generations of wealth they had come from, the respondents in the study talked about needing to establish themselves in their lives before being ready to participate in the culture of philanthropy. Most of them were in their 40s and 50s before they began to make a concerted effort to engage in the practices of philanthropy. As Tessa observed, there seems to be a developmental process that must occur before one is ready to become involved in one's own philanthropy, and there is also a need to learn about how to participate in the culture of philanthropy:

> I think there's a developmental line about participating. Learning -- whether it's actual philanthropy, or volunteering, or both. I think the level of participation goes up and down. For the conscientious, the serious people, I think there is [a developmental process].

Madison, who is newly wealthy, spoke of the need to become interested in a particular project before entering into the world of philanthropy, and said that this occurs at a later stage in life:

> I think that there's kind of an entry point that people have getting interested in a subject, something stimulates people to get interested. It could be something in the past. There's a moment at which they're interested. They enter into this stage and everything is different.

The philanthropists in this study range in age from 31 to 86. The majority are in their 40s and 50s (see Table 4.2). While some became involved in the practices of philanthropy when they were younger and more engaged in the day-to-day running of their businesses and families, most had followed the pattern that Ostrower (1995) and

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Erikson (1968) identified, becoming involved when they were older and more established in their lives and in their worlds.

Table 4.2 Ages of Sample Philanthropists (N=40)

Age	Total	Percent
30's	4	10%
40's	13	32%
50's	9	23%
60's	7	17%
70's	6	15%
80s	1	3%
Totals	**N=40**	**100%**

Historical Contexts/Generation. The range of ages of the sample philanthropists offers an interesting view of the ranges of historical contexts in which these philanthropists have developed and practiced their philanthropy. The respondents fall into categories of: Depression Era Philanthropists (ages 78+), World War II Generation Philanthropists (ages 60-77), 60s Generation Philanthropists (ages 42-59), and X Generation Philanthropists (ages 21-41) (Schlesinger 1999).

Mannheim (1928) defined a generation as consisting of people of the same age who are confronted with a powerful historic event. He said that not all members of a generation respond in the same way to the event, but the fact of the connection to that event distinguishes a generation from a cohort. Events such as the Depression, World War II, the Civil Rights Movement, or the Vietnam War are such organizing events, according to Hochschild (2001). Hochschild classifies the potential organizing event of the current cohort -- the X Generation – as global warming, and goes on to say that this is a cohort that is not organizing, as "greater choice but less security leads the young to see

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their lives in more individual terms: big events collectivize, little events atomize" (2001: 68). She cites Putnam's (2001) research on social capital as she discusses the civic disengagement of the X Generation.

I believe that that the social movements of the late twentieth century have been organizing events for many of these sample philanthropists and have impacted their beliefs and practices of philanthropy. In addition to the Civil Rights Movement and the Environmental Movement of the 60s, they talked of having been affected by the Women's and Peace Movements of the 70s, and the Gay Rights Movement of the 80s.

Some of the older respondents spoke of the effects of their philanthropy on relatives who had become involved at the turn of the century, and how the values of service and stewardship had been instilled in them. Hunter, a member of the 60s generation, described the figures in his family who had influenced his philanthropic beliefs and practices:

> There's something else that goes on there. I think there are people that are not particularly well-heeled who are very philanthropic and who are philanthropists in their own way. It's something about a mindset. My mother's family certainly was well off, but they were not extremely well off. They were very comfortable and very passionate about the obligation. I don't know if it came out of a religious belief, I think there's something about New England Puritanism. There happened to be some Dutch Reform Presbyterians in there. I think it goes to the way that you took care of the community. If you had more you supported others. There was a big tradition of taking care of the poor in the community.

He went on to talk about the values that he had inherited from his ancestors, and how his parents were able to be supportive of his social activism:

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> They were growing up at the turn of the century when there was a surge of values, issues like the Conservation Movement developing. My great grandmother on my father's side stood up and stopped wearing the bird feathers in her hat. She was an early founder of Massachusetts Audubon. There were a lot of visionaries, a lot of energy. My mother's mother worked in settlement houses in the 1920s and was the regional chair of the Junior League. She was out there in the 1920s and 30s. My mother's father was a Teddy Roosevelt Republican. He was into dealing with changing the hours in the mills, child labor laws in the 1920s. It was not just giving money. There was a Progressivism that was there. So even though, particularly for my mother, when I was out there and 16 years old trying to stop pesticide from being sprayed, or recycling, or doing some pretty radical stuff, marching in Boston about endangered species, my parents were very supportive of it. I don't think they had done it themselves. I think they had understood that position of social activism.

Madison spoke of growing up with parents who had had to struggle during the Depression and how much less people were involved in material displays of wealth during his childhood:

> Our income was above average, but nobody had any money. I've thought about that, with all the things kids have these days. When I was a kid, you rarely had a new bicycle. Things were passed down from siblings.

Several of the respondents in their 40s and 50s talked about the activism of the 1960s and its effect of their lives. They spoke of a belief that they could have an impact on society and that they should question the way things were and work to change things if they did not believe in them.

The historical context and the generations in which these philanthropists find themselves affects how they view their philanthropy and what they do with it. The sample philanthropists in their 70s and 80s cited the Depression and World War II as

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affecting their practices of philanthropy by making them more aware of and responsive to issues around poverty and war, while those in their 40s and 50s talked about the activism of the 60s as particularly influential.

Young People and Philanthropy. Several of the sample philanthropists spoke of a new emphasis on getting young people involved earlier in the culture of philanthropy. There is a growing movement to involve children and young adults in the practices of philanthropy (Eisenberg 2002; Foster 2000). Young people are being encouraged to volunteer their time and to make decisions about their own funds at a very early age. Members of the charitable foundations talked about developing seminars to teach young people about philanthropy. Many families are giving their children control of their own funds. Madison is active in recruiting younger people to the culture of philanthropy:

> You need to start giving at a young age. It's not something to be reserved for when you're 50 or 60. When you decide you've finally come into enough money that you can give. I think you start giving what you can early on.

Natalie, who is newly wealthy and involved in establishing a family foundation spoke of the ways in which they were trying to engage their children in the practices of philanthropy:

> After we incorporated the foundation, there was a special weekend retreat on intergenerational issues... We came out of that weekend really convinced that it was better to include younger people early on rather than later. So at that point we made a decision that each of the children could join the advisory board at age 16. Three of them have done that. One percent of what we give out, we give to them to give out themselves. They have to research it and present it to the group. They have to sit in on all of our meetings and listen to what we have to say. We're trying to bring them along

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> and talk to them about fundraising. We tell them they're running this and how are they feeling? I'm glad we've done it. It's the right thing to do it. They're not as involved or as enthusiastic as I'd expect them to be, but I'm hoping that over time they'll get more and more involved.

Tessa, who is 38 and comes from generations of wealth, spoke of the differences between the generations and the difficulties she observed in trying to engage some younger people in the culture of philanthropy:

> I'm interested in the difference in the generations, their feelings about philanthropy, and their responsibilities. I think people in my current generation are much more willing to give, not just money, but spending time, making a commitment, and really recognizing the importance of it. Some people of our generation don't seem to get it. It's disturbing to me.

In this area of the country at this time in history, according to the philanthropists in this study, the culture of philanthropy is opening up to and recruiting younger members. These philanthropists are attempting to involve young people and teach them about the practices of philanthropy at an earlier age. This could be alternatively viewed as an attempt to involve young people early in altruistically giving back to their communities, or as a method of ensuring that elite values and practices are reproduced.

Gender

Forty-eight percent of the participants in the study are male and 52% are female. All are white, and 95% are of European descent. Five percent are Jewish and of Eastern European descent.

Zweigenhaft and Domhoff (1998) claim that the elite has been strengthened by the diversity that has been achieved by including women and minorities as a result of the civil rights and women's movements of the 1960s and 1970s. Volunteering of time has,

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throughout history, been an avenue through which women were able to participate in public life (Daniels 1987, 1988; McCarthy 1990, 2003; Ostrander 1984; Sander 1998; Scott 1992).

Ostrower (1995) and Ostrander (1984) both discuss the gender arrangements of the elite and the position that women occupy in the upper class. Ostrower characterizes this position as one of "power and powerlessness... Although they are members of society's most privileged class [women] generally do not hold the positions of economic and social authority occupied by their male counterparts on whom they generally depend for their resources" (1995:69). Ostrower (1995) separates the men from the women in her study, saying that women are virtually absent from the top institutional positions of economic power in the United States, and are dependent on their male counterparts for their resources (p. 69). The women in her study are similar to those in Ostrander's (1984) study in that most of them are volunteers: 69% of Ostrower's women do not work (1995:70), while 95% of Ostrander's women do not work (1984:13). This is not true of the women in this study. As we shall see below they are, for the most part, in positions of power and influence in society.

Philanthropy in the United States is increasingly becoming the purview of women (Gardner 1998; McCarthy 2001). According to Gardner (1998), "women currently hold at least half of the investment wealth in the United States" (p. B1). She says that women's patterns of philanthropy differ from men's in that they give more to social service organizations and tend to make smaller gifts to more organizations than do men. An analysis of the data (Table 4.3) shows that this is true of the women in this study:

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Table 4.3 Gender and Area of Giving – Largest Gifts

Area	% of Men	% of Women
Rel/Culture/Ed	26%	23%
Rights/Advocacy/Policy	11%	0%
Environment	53%	19%
Social Services	10%	58%
Totals	100%	100%
	N=19	N=21

As discussed in Chapter Three, when I contacted a couple or a family and asked them to participate in the study I left it to them to identify who would be participating in the interview. It was clear, in most cases, that one person in a couple or family was more involved in the philanthropy world, and that was the person interviewed. Those who were single clearly made their own decisions about their giving practices (though these may have been affected by family and friends). Those in gay partnerships made same-gendered decisions if theirs were jointly made. Many of the sample philanthropists said that they made their giving decisions separately from their partners and/or families. For the remaining respondents it is not clear whether giving decisions were jointly made and were thus, perhaps, male/female decisions, which may call into question some of the following discussion on gender.

The most apparent patterns in examining the relationship between gender and giving are that the men in the sample tend to give more of their largest gifts to the environment than do the women (53% of men and 19% of women), and the women tend to focus more on giving to social service organizations than do the men (58% of women and10% of men). The fact that 53% of the sample men say that they give their largest gifts to the environment and 26% of the sample men say that they give their largest gifts

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to education is a very different finding from Ostrower's (1995) finding that 75% of men gave their largest gifts to education and only 7% of men gave their largest gifts to the environment (p. 73).

The fact that so many of the women say that they give to social service organizations may be related to the fact that they have for generations volunteered in these organizations and are thus more familiar with them, more aware of their needs, and more committed to them. The women's movement has, I would argue, given women the opportunity to participate financially in the philanthropy world in ways that are of their own choosing and may be different from those of men.

Many of the women interviewed in this study are very active participants both in the professional world and in the philanthropic world and exercise their own economic and social authority. They appear to have achieved a relative level of equality with men, as they use their own money to make decisions about making donations to their particular interest areas. Seventy-one percent of these women are professionals who are very active in the economic world. Many own and run their own businesses. Only 29% percent characterize themselves as "mother/volunteers" or volunteers. Of the thirteen who are newly wealthy, eleven are actively involved in professions and two characterize themselves as volunteers. Four of those who come from generations of wealth are involved in professions and four characterize themselves as volunteers.

As one might expect, most of the newly wealthy women have active professional lives. Although the N is small, the fact that four of the women who come from generations of wealth are employed is noteworthy and may be indicative of an effect of the women's movement. This may also be an indicator of a different culture of

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philanthropy in this area, in which these women choose to be professionally active. Two of them are directors of social service organizations, one is an investment planner, and one owns and runs her own business.

Of the two newly wealthy women who identified themselves as volunteers, one had married a newly wealthy professional and one had married a man who came from generations of wealth. Of the men, only one person identified as a "Mr. Mom" who stayed at home and took care of things there while his wife worked; he came from three generations of wealth and had married a working class woman who was a professional. The remaining 95% of the men were professionals or retired professionals.

Women are in positions of power in the culture of philanthropy represented by this sample. They are not in the positions of "power and powerlessness" of the women described in Ostrower's (1995) study. Many are active in the professional world and all of them are influential in their board work and in their volunteer work, as we shall see in Chapter Seven.

Marriage

Previous studies of members of the upper class have found that they are an exclusive group of people who marry one another and socialize with one another in the interest of maintaining boundaries between themselves and members of other classes (Baltzell 1958, 1964; Domhoff 1970; Kendall 2002; Odendahl 1987, 1989, 1990; Ostrander 1984; Ostrower 1995; Schervish and Herman 1988). Ostrander (1984) and Ostrower (1995) emphasize marriages in which husbands and wives maintain traditional roles. The husband goes out into the world while the wife remains at home raising

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children and making certain that the help keeps things running smoothly in the service of the husband's career.

Of the interviewees in the sample who came from generations of wealth, only 25% married within their class. Sixty-five percent married members of other classes, and 10% were single. Five percent identified themselves as gay/lesbian and single.

Of the newly wealthy, 15% married members of the upper class, 40% married members of the middle or lower class, and 45% were single. Twenty percent of the newly wealthy identified themselves as gay/lesbian; of these, one person was married, one was single, and two were partnered (included in the analyses as single).

Zweigenhaft and Domhoff (1998) devote a chapter in *Diversity in the Power Elite* to issues of gay/lesbian representation in the power elite. They speak of the difficulties in studying this issue, as living an openly gay/lesbian lifestyle is a problem in being accepted into the power elite. Like members of other minorities who have been previously excluded from the ranks of the elite, gay/lesbian people have to "manage their image by remaining closeted" (p. 175). The sample philanthropists who are categorized as gay/lesbian in this study are self-identified; I did not ask a question in the interviews about their sexual orientation. It may well be that there were more gay/lesbian philanthropists in the sample than are identified.

I argue that the partner arrangements of these sample philanthropists have an effect on their philanthropic ideologies and choices. Those who come from generations of wealth and have married outside of their class behave differently than those who marry within their class, as we shall see in Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

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Education

Baltzell (1958) claims that private schools, in addition to providing an education, "serve the latent function of acculturating the members of the younger generation, especially those not quite to the manner born, into an upper-class style of life" (p. 293). Zweigenhaft and Domhoff (1992, 1998) emphasize education as a key ingredient for upward mobility. In discussing their finding that the elite is more diversified by gender, race, ethnicity and sexual orientation, they say, "education seems to have given them the edge needed to be accepted into the power elite... These elite schools not only confer status on their graduates but also provide contacts with white male elites that are renewed throughout life at alumni gatherings and other special occasions" (1998:179-180).

All of the people interviewed for this study were very well-educated. One hundred percent had a college education, and 42% had postgraduate degrees. Sixty-eight percent of the respondents had attended private schools. Fifty percent of the newly wealthy and 85% of those who came from generations of wealth had attended private schools. Fifty percent of the newly wealthy and 15% of those who came from generations of wealth had attended public schools (see Table 4.4 below).

Table 4.4 Education and Generations of Wealth

School Type	Generations of Wealth		
	First	Second+	Total
Private	50%	85%	N=27
Public	50%	15%	N=13
Totals	100% N=20	100% N=20	N=40

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As one might expect, the sample philanthropists from generations of wealth were more likely to have attended private schools than were the newly wealthy. Of the three who came from generations of wealth and attended public school, two had migrated to the area. The fact that half of the newly wealthy attended private schools is noteworthy and may confirm the argument that education is a key ingredient of upward mobility (Zweigenhaft and Domhoff 1998). It may also confirm Baltzell's (1958) claim that private schools function to acculturate newly wealthy youth into an upper-class lifestyle.

Private schools are institutions in which members of different classes are able to interact and become groomed for lives of privilege and power (Baltzell 1958; Cookson and Persell 1985; Zweigenhaft and Domhoff 1992, 1998). Scholarships, many of them generated by elite philanthropy, make it possible for Weber's (1946) cross-cutting alliances to develop. These alliances run both ways and, I argue, exposure to other lifestyles affects the ideologies and choices of these students.

The question becomes, does private schooling affect these sample philanthropists' orientation toward philanthropy? Table 4.5 shows the relationship between area of giving and form of education.

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Table 4.5 Area of Giving (Largest Gifts) and Education (N=40)

Area	Private School	Public School	Total
Rel/Culture/Ed	18%	38%	10
Rights/Advocacy/Policy	4%	8%	2
Environment	41%	23%	14
Social Services (Incl. Health & Youth)	37%	31%	14
Totals	100% N=27	100% N=13	N=40

It appears that a private school education does have an effect on the orientation of some of these sample philanthropists toward their philanthropy. Only 18% of those who attended private school gave their largest gifts to the traditional area of religion/culture/education, as compared with 38% of those who attended public schools. More of those philanthropists who attended private schools gave their largest gifts to the environment and to social services than did those who attended public schools. As 10 of the 13 who attended public school were newly wealthy, it is possible that the finding that 38% of these sample philanthropists gave to the traditional religion/culture/education organizations may be due to the fact that they are aspiring to become members of the elite culture of philanthropy whose giving is said to be primarily to these traditional areas according to other studies (Kendall 2002; Odendahl 1987, 1989, 1990; Ostrander 1984; Ostrower 1995; Schervish and Herman 1988).

Vocation

"While any discussion of an upper-class family structure must of necessity concentrate on the money-making founders of family fortunes, their contemporaries in the law or medicine, in publishing and politics, or in pursuit of the arts may in fact be far more important to the enrichment of the community as a whole" (Baltzell 1958:131).

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Contrary to popular belief, and contrary to the findings of Ostrower's (1995) study, which said that most philanthropists are either retired or are not active participants in the work force, the philanthropists in this study tend actively to pursue competitive careers in addition to the time they spend volunteering, serving on boards, and being engaged in their philanthropy. Many of them hold significant positions in corporate, legal, medical, educational and other professions. The participants in this study are involved in a variety of occupations. Table Table 4.6 below shows a breakdown of the participants' professions by gender.

Table 4.6 Occupations by Percent of Men and Women

Occupations	% of Men	% of Women
Banker/Financial Planner	**16**	**5**
Head of Own Business	**37**	**38**
Fund Raiser/Volunteer	**11**	**33**
Lawyer/Physician/Professor	**31**	**5**
Social Service Director	**0**	**14**
Other	**5**	**5**
Totals	**100%**	**100%**
	N=19	**N=21**

The largest percent of both men and women own and run their own businesses (37% of men, and 38% of women). Of these, 27% are retired. Other sample philanthropists are financial planners, social service directors, lawyers, physicians, professors, professional fundraisers, and bankers.

The majority of the participants in this study are active in professional lives that, I would argue, offer them an opportunity to intermingle with people of the middle- and lower-classes, daily exposing them to social problems and situations that they become invested in improving.

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Religion

According to Baltzell, "class tends to replace religion (and even ethnicity and race) as the independent variable in social relationships at the highest levels of our society" (1964:63). Zweigenhaft and Domhoff, in their 1992 study, argue that class identification is primary for Jewish people who have become assimilated into the social elite. They go on to argue in their 1998 book, *Diversity in the Power Elite*, that class remains paramount in the social structure, despite all of the "diversification" that has occurred in the power elite (p. 194).

The religious affiliation of the sample donors is quite diverse, although 90% of them are white and Christian. Zweigenhaft and Domhoff (1992, 1998) say that the power elite are white Christian and male, and class has not lost its importance in shaping life chances. The composition of this sample may have more to do with the lack of diversity in southern New Hampshire and southern Maine than the whiteness and Christianity of the upper class in these areas. The highest percentage of donors in the sample was Protestant (57%), followed by those with no religious affiliation (27%), followed by Catholics, Jews and Buddhists (each at 5%).

Only 10% of all sample donors reported giving to their religious organizations. Of these, only one person spoke of having given a large amount of money in the past year ($10,000). This finding is contrary to the Giving USA finding, based on national IRS data, that 38% of all philanthropy goes to religious organizations in the United States, as shown in Figure 4.1 (*Giving USA* 2002).

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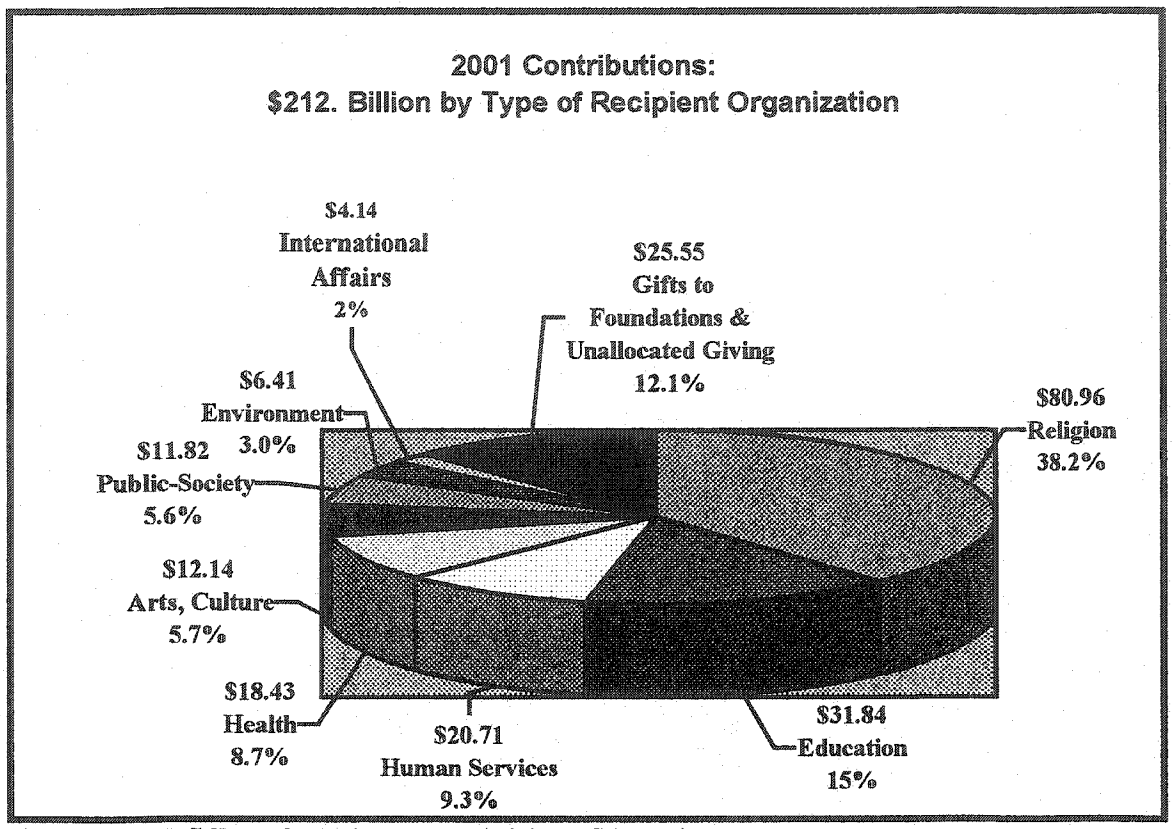
Figure 4.1 2001 Contributions by Type of Recipient, National Data



Source: AAFRC Trust for Philanthropy (*Giving USA* 2002)

The philanthropists in this study are not as invested in giving to their religious organizations as philanthropists in other studies have been found to be. While several people spoke of having learned about philanthropy from observing the tithing of their parents and grandparents who had given ten percent of their income to their church, they said that they preferred to give to organizations that were less likely to receive donations.

Political Party

A surprising characteristic of the sample philanthropists was their political affiliation. Sixty-eight percent of the philanthropists were registered Democrats, 17% were registered Independent voters, and 15% were registered Republicans (see Table 4.7).

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Table 4.7 State by Party

State	Democrat	Independent	Republican	Total
New Hampshire	56%	71%	0%	N=20
Maine	44%	29%	100%	N=20
Totals	100% N=27	100% N=7	100% N=6	N=40

*Although percentages are not permissible with Ns of 7 & 6, these categories are included for the purpose of comparison.

It is particularly interesting to note that there were no Republicans among the southern New Hampshire philanthropists in the sample, although New Hampshire is largely comprised of registered Republicans. Fifty-six percent of the Democrats were from New Hampshire, while 44% were from Maine. Seventy-one percent of the Independents were from New Hampshire and 29% were from Maine. The fact that so many of the sample philanthropists are registered Democrats is an important variable in explaining the beliefs and the practices of these philanthropists.

Once again this raises the question of the representativeness of the sample. Are the philanthropists in southern Maine and southern New Hampshire a particularly Democratic group, or are these particular philanthropists the people who are more community-minded and therefore more willing to participate in the study? I discuss this further in Chapter Five.

Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter I have described the wealthy philanthropists in my study. There are ways in which the philanthropists in this study are different from those that have been described in the literature. While many come from similar backgrounds and have been raised in a similar elite culture, these philanthropists have chosen to live away from large

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metropolitan areas. Many have migrated to the area, and have chosen to live in these small towns and cities in which they are able to "live simply". Most live closely with their middle-class neighbors and are tightly integrated into their communities. Many speak of having been affected by the social movements of the latter half of the twentieth century. While 25% of those who come from generations of wealth marry within their class, 65% percent marry outside of their class. Many of the women interviewed in this study are very active participants both in the professional world and in the philanthropic world and exercise their own economic and social authority. All of the respondents are very well-educated, 68% of them attended private schools, and most are actively engaged in professional lives in addition to their philanthropy. The philanthropists in the study are all white and most are Christian. Only 10% reported giving their largest donations to their churches. The majority are registered Democrats.

While Tessa, Aleksa, Hunter, Ethan, Madison, Grace, Alicia, Cannon and Natalie are alike in that they are wealthy, actively engaged in the practices of philanthropy, and have chosen to live in the Northern New England Seacoast area, there are many ways in which they are different from one another. Grace and Tessa come from old wealth families and say that they are interested in maintaining the status quo in society with their philanthropy. Although they are at either end of the spectrum in regard to their age, they have similar values and are engaged in similar activities with the time and money that they spend on philanthropy. Hunter and Ethan also come from old wealth families, but their philanthropy is oriented toward changing the structures in society. Perhaps this is because they both claim to be members of the 60s generation. Alicia and Madison are newly wealthy and are interested in maintaining the status quo, though they are also

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members of the 60s generation. Perhaps they are more interested in becoming members of the elite than in making changes in society, and are therefore following the giving patterns of traditional elite philanthropists. Cannon and Natalie are newly wealthy and their giving is change-oriented; they are not following the giving patterns of the old wealth elite.

These patterns suggest that migration, age/generation, gender, marriage, education, and political party all have an impact on aspects of these philanthropists' philanthropic orientation and behavior. It appears that the beliefs and practices of the philanthropists in this study are more complicated than are those of the elite philanthropists that have been described in previous studies (Kendall 2002; Ostrower 1995; Odendahl 1987, 1989, 1990; Ostrander 1984; Schervish and Herman 1988). They are not a uniform group whose primary goal is to perpetuate their position of power and influence in society, as we shall see in Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

I turn now to an in-depth discussion of the similarities and differences between these sample philanthropists as related to their philanthropic practices and their views on the role of philanthropy in society.

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CHAPTER V

VIEWS ON THE ROLE OF PHILANTHROPY IN SOCIETY

This chapter examines the ways in which the philanthropists in this study view the relationship between philanthropy and government, and how they think about the role of philanthropy in society: What should philanthropy do? It explores what these philanthropists do with their money and how they think about their giving. It particularly focuses on whether they are interested more in maintaining or in changing the structures of society, whether they are interested in supporting organizations that offer social provision for those in need, and the possibility that their philanthropy is both self-serving and altruistic.

The debate in the literature has centered on the neo-Marxist question of whether elite philanthropists are simply members of the upper class who use their wealth to maintain the status quo and to perpetuate their position of power and influence in society, or whether they are invested in trying to meet people's needs and/or to alter the structures in society in order to narrow the gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots" (Kendall 2002; Odendahl 1987, 1989, 1990; Ostrander 1984; Ostrower 1995; Schervish and Herman 1988). It is a debate that inheres in the very definition of philanthropy, and takes place in the literature between neo-Marxist social scientists who argue that philanthropists are self-serving in their practices (Domhoff 1970, 1974, 1998; Kendall 2002; Odendahl 1987, 1989, 1990; Ostrander 1984; Ostrower 1995; Schervish and Herman 1988, and historians who argue that philanthropists have always worked to do

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"good deeds" and to meet people's needs (Bremner 1960, 1977; Grimm 2000; Hall 1989, 1999a,b; Hammack 1999;Payton 1989; Salomon 1987).

Previous studies have shown that elite philanthropists are primarily interested in supporting the status quo and in maintaining their position in society (Kendall 2002; Odendahl 1987, 1989, 1990; Ostrander 1984; Ostrower 1995; Schervish and Herman 1988). Odendahl, for example, concluded, "American philanthropy is a system of 'generosity' by which the wealthy exercise social control and help themselves more than they do others" (1990:245).

I argue that this is not exclusively the case, at least among this sample of wealthy philanthropists in southern Maine and southern New Hampshire. I believe that the fact that 80% of these sample philanthropists have migrated to the area, that 68% are Democrats (and another 18% are Independents), that 53% of them are from the 60s generation, that so many have been affected by the social movements of the latter half of the twentieth century, that 71% of the women in the study are professionals who are active participants in the philanthropy world, that 68% of the respondents have attended private schools, and that 65% of those who come from generations of wealth have married outside of their class has had an impact on how they think about and what they do with their philanthropy.

The culture of philanthropy that I discovered in this study is multi-faceted. The beliefs and practices of these philanthropists are varied. This is not an exclusively elite group. Not all of the wealthy philanthropists in this study are members of the elite culture of philanthropy, as we shall see in Chapter Six. Many of these philanthropists say that they are invested both in promoting social change *and* in preserving the structures in

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society. Many believe that it is important to preserve and support historic buildings, wide-open spaces, and infrastructure. A few support social justice efforts and emphasize the importance of equal opportunity and equity for all people. Some say that they are interested in contributing to social provision and trying to meet people's needs. Others, however, say that they are interested in contributing primarily to the traditional organizations that their families have invested in for generations, and they focus their philanthropy on working to maintain the status quo. Table 5.1 offers a look at the views of the profiled philanthropists on the role of philanthropy in society and the percent of their giving that is change-oriented in their estimation. Percent Change is based on respondents' estimations of how much of their giving goes toward change-oriented philanthropy, and shows the range of percentages for those included in each profile.

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Table 5.1 Views on the Role of Philanthropy in Society and % Change-Oriented Giving

Name (Generation)	%Change	Views on Role of Philanthropy
Tessa (Old)	10-40%	Donates primarily to traditional organizations, but does believe that it is her philanthropic duty to do some "direct charity work".
Aleksa (New/Old)	50/50	Believes it is important to both maintain and change societal structures. Infrastructure is important, and many things need to change.
Alicia (New)	25-33%	Believes that philanthropy is mostly about meeting the needs of those in need. She does, however donate to the hospital and to her alma mater.
Natalie (New)	67-80%	Is very concerned about the cutbacks in federal support for social service agencies, and primarily sees philanthropy as needing to fill in the gaps.
Hunter (Old)	70-100%	Donates primarily to the environment and supports his alma mater and his children's private schools.
Madison (New)	0-20%	Believes government should take care of needy and that philanthropists are responsible for supporting culture and the arts.
Cannnon (New)	70-100%	Sees philanthropy as supporting bureaucratic structures while changing inequities in society.
Ethan (Old)	80-100%	Believes that philanthropy is about rectifying the inequities in society that make philanthropy possible and necessary.
Grace (Old)	0-20%	Mostly believes that philanthropy should offer society culture and education. She does support some social service organizations and does "charity work".

Grace and Tessa come from old wealth families and, though they are of different generations, both are interested in preserving community institutions and in offering some social provision. They participate in the practices of philanthropy because it is expected of them as part of their upper-class-elite culture, and say that they give mostly to traditional organizations. Ethan, who comes from several generations of wealth, is interested in changing social structures so that there is not such a wide gap between the upper and the lower classes; he supports social justice efforts. Hunter, who also comes from an old wealth family, supports his alma mater and his children's private schools, and thinks of his largest donations to the environment as change-oriented philanthropy. Aleksa and Natalie, both of whom are newly wealthy, strongly support organizations that offer social provision, which they categorize as change-oriented philanthropy. Cannon and Alicia both believe that it is important to support traditional structures while working

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to rectify the inequities in society. Madison supports traditional organizations and believes that government should take care of social provision for those in need.

The fact that so many of these philanthropists give to both traditional and change-oriented organizations, though they are able to characterize their overall giving as either traditional, change-oriented or 50/50 , offers support to my argument that philanthropy is much more varied than the literature would suggest. The categorizations of their giving as either traditional or change-oriented are more "ideal types" (Hekman 1984) than anything approximated in the sample. These ideal types are useful, however, in developing an understanding of the beliefs and practices of these sample philanthropists.

Tensions

The tensions in American society between the ideals of freedom and equality of opportunity, and the realities of unequally distributed wealth, influence and talent (Hall 1999) are reflected in the tensions in the culture of philanthropy between those who are said to be self-serving in their philanthropic practices and those who work toward giving back, evening the playing field, and reducing the widening gap between the poor and the wealthy.

These tensions can be observed in the very definition of philanthropy: the private donation of time and money by the elite for the benefit of the public (Curti 1961). The elite, by virtue of their status and power are in the position to decide how much time and money to donate, which "public" to "benefit" and, in many circumstances, how this "benefit" is implemented (Domhoff 1970, 1987, 1990).

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These various tensions are reflected in the responses of the philanthropists in this study to the questions: How do you view the role of philanthropy in society? What should philanthropy do?

Is it possible that philanthropists engage in the practices of philanthropy out of a sense of generativity (Erikson 1968) that is able to at the same time enhance their own lives and the lives of those whose circumstances they ostensibly seek to improve? I believe that this is true of many of the philanthropists in this study. While these philanthropists certainly wish to provide for themselves and for their families, many of them struggle with their station in life and with the inequities in society. They are not comfortable with their wealth and, as Max Weber observed, would like to feel that their good fortune is deserved (Weber [1922] 1963:106-107).

This chapter examines the differences between what these philanthropists say that they are interested in doing with their philanthropy and what they actually do. It begins to develop possible explanations as to why some of these sample philanthropists say they are interested in supporting change while others say they are interested in maintaining the status quo.

I begin with a discussion of how these sample philanthropists say that they think about philanthropy and its role in society. I go on to talk about the goals that these sample philanthropists say that they have for their philanthropy, examining whether they say that they are interested in maintaining or in altering the structures of society. I then compare these responses with the organizations to which they say that they donated their largest gifts in order to determine whether their stated goals match their actual giving

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behaviors. I go on to a discussion of possible explanations for why these wealthy philanthropists do what they do with their time and with their money.

Views on the Role of Philanthropy in Society

According to Odendahl (1987, 1989. 1990) and Ostrower (1995), most philanthropists do not think of their practices of philanthropy as a part of a larger social structure. They characterize their giving as motivated by social and familial networks, by connections to particular organizations and causes and by issues that they find personally compelling at a given moment in time. Most philanthropists do not tend to think of their giving as having over-arching social or political goals. As Ostrower found in her 1995 study, "respondents rarely connected their own giving to governmental activities and programs" (p.113). Odendahl found that "members of the culture of philanthropy equate their freedom to make individual decisions about dispersing their wealth with capitalism and democracy" (1990:44-45).

Most of the philanthropists in this study said that there was no underlying ideological framework for their philanthropy. However, when asked about how they viewed the role of philanthropy in society (what should philanthropy do?) they responded very strongly and almost unanimously that they believe that government should remain small, and that philanthropists should have the freedom to use their private dollars in ways that they believe are significant. While they don't think about it, or identify it as such, there is a very clear ideology that guides their philanthropy. Some see the role of philanthropy in society as getting things done that government can't do because it is specialized or controversial, others see it as a complement to government programs filling in the gaps that otherwise people or institutions would fall through, and some see it

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as an efficient catalyst that prods systems to get things done that wouldn't otherwise be supported.

Ethan, who comes from generations of wealth, and says that he is change-oriented in his giving, speaks about the dilemmas philanthropy poses for him. His is a view that many of the old-wealth-change-oriented sample philanthropists articulate in one way or another, as we will see in Chapter Six. While their wealth offers them the opportunity to be creative and to have some discretion about what they support, much of what they support has to do with trying to balance out the inequities that make wealth and philanthropy possible:

> Well, it's a point of conflict in my own mind, quite honestly, because to have philanthropy, private philanthropy, you have to have a lot of private wealth... If we were a socialist society and everybody had some money and gave away a very tiny amount, that would be fine, but it would be hard to tell the difference between the value of that and just a socialist taxation system where people voted for someone who then decided how to give away their money. So there are two issues there. One is the creativity of discretion by private individuals, and the other is the phenomenon of wealth itself, including very significant wealth that allows for larger creative philanthropic projects but may not be so good. For the phenomenon of psychological ramifications of concentrated wealth may be detrimental to the very values that many people are giving money to. I do not know, finally, how I feel about that... I do believe that it's not possible to have a decent society without some disparity of wealth... On the other hand, the idea of huge, huge disparities, and only private giving as opposed to public giving, I don't agree with that.

In a similar vein Aleksa, who says that she gives equally to traditional and to change-oriented organizations, speaks of her conflicts about the need for philanthropy.

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She sees it as an expression of freedom, and an efficient way to accomplish some things that government is not able to do:

> I think it is a necessity. At the same time, I'm really conflicted about it because I wish there wasn't a need for private philanthropy. There's the whole issue about whether the government is doing enough. Should it be involved at all? Maybe it should be a private thing. A lot more gets done quicker, that's for sure. It's really effective... It helps facilitate the transfer of wealth of the haves to the have-nots in an efficient way, maybe more efficiently than the government can do it.

These philanthropists' discussions about the role of philanthropy in society fit neatly into Bremner's (1977) categories. He said that philanthropy works either to "lead the way" in society, or to "pick up the pieces" (Bremner 1977:111), filling in the gaps where government has failed to respond to the needs of society. Some of the sample philanthropists speak of an ideal of a partnership between philanthropy and government in which they work together to address the needs in society.

Leading the Way: Creativity, Flexibility and Innovation

Ethan says that he is change-oriented in his giving practices and talks about the changing relationship between philanthropy and government. He speaks of the ways in which philanthropy has the capacity to be creative and supportive of innovative and adventurous ideas and organizations:

> Ideally private philanthropy is more independent, and more adventurous. Government is becoming a creature of corporations. There are interesting developments about, for one thing, the closeness between the nonprofit and the for-profit world. Government is getting involved in that too. I think that everybody should be talking to each other, but I worry about it. I certainly think that if they taxed rich people more there would be more money in government to take care of social problems. I don't think that private philanthropy

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should do it all. I really do think there's a role for government, i.e. the community, to take care of its own. I'm not ready to throw the government away entirely.

Cannon, who is newly wealthy and also says that he is change-oriented in his giving, talks about his belief that philanthropy will never be able to address all of the needs in society. He believes that philanthropy can lead the way and offer things that government can never offer, and that federal programs should "provide the basics":

> I don't think private philanthropy is ever going to be able to address all the needs. I don't think it was ever set up to address all the needs, so we shouldn't expect it to. What I'd like to see is really creative ways to address the problems; where they're willing to take some risks and learn something from it and get to a new level where we've addressed one issue and created a new one. I think government programs should be there to provide the basics, from food, clothing and shelter when people are down and out. I don't want to see them controlling everything.

Madison is newly wealthy and says that he is traditional in his giving. He believes that the government should provide basic health and welfare services for those in need and sees philanthropy's role as supporting education and being creative, providing models for the public sector to pursue and develop:

> I don't think philanthropy should have the burden of providing basic health care and welfare for people who've got problems. I think that's the government's job.... Philanthropy can do some of the creative stuff. It can provide models to the public sector. There's no question that, for many universities, philanthropy really does provide some opportunities for research that wouldn't be possible for public money.

Tessa, who comes from generations of wealth, also identifies herself as traditional in her giving. She thinks that because philanthropy is less regulated it

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can be more helpful to some of the organizations that are more innovative and are not supported by the state or the market:

> It would be logical that private philanthropy would go a little further out in terms of what is acceptable to fund because it is isn't answerable in the same ways as government or corporations are. So then private philanthropy could be of most benefit to the organizations that aren't able to receive much in the way of government or corporate support.

She believes that philanthropy should serve as a catalyst and a role model for others to become involved without necessarily creating a specific agenda. She says that the creative energy of philanthropists might engage others to participate in the culture of philanthropy and that they should create their own agendas.

Ethan and Cannon say that they are change-oriented in their philanthropy, while Tessa and Madison say they are traditional. Despite the differences in what they say that they do with their giving, all agree that philanthropy should lead the way in society.

Philanthropy is said to either lead the way in support of creative and unexpected possibilities that government might later support, or to follow and fill the gaps, supporting ideas and organizations that government has been unable or unwilling to sustain.

Picking Up the Pieces

Some of the study respondents say that they think philanthropy should fill in the gaps in society, responding to what they see as the needs that government is not taking care of and, "picking up where government isn't interested, really". These philanthropists are very aware that this filling in the gaps by philanthropists has become more important in recent years, as government has pulled back its funding for social

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programs. Philanthropy, according to these respondents, can cut through some of the bureaucratic red tape and move more quickly to meet some immediate needs.

Grace comes from generations of wealth and says that she is traditional in her philanthropy. She thinks that it makes sense that philanthropy would follow behind government and serve a function by "fine-tuning" government programs and helping people with their quality of life:

> The government can only do so much. You can only tax the people so much, and the government does what it considers to be worthwhile. I think we could do better in this state. The role of philanthropy should be to fill the gap between what people can have or they can get from the government or their local service agency; things that contribute to the quality of life... I think at this point, the way society is structured, philanthropy fills the gaps of what isn't covered by government.

Natalie, a newly-wealthy change-oriented philanthropist, talks about the balance that she thinks should be occurring between government and philanthropy, and the difficulties that she has observed as the devolution of government responsibility for social programs takes place and philanthropists are expected to fill in the gaps:

> I would like to see government having a greater role, and private philanthropy filling the gap. I think part of the problem in some sectors right now is that private philanthropy is expected to fill the gap. It's a tough thing to shift. It's been probably the past five years, thinking about public higher educational institutions, and even some public schools are starting foundations. It's very difficult, because people don't want the money they give privately to take place of what they view as the government's responsibility.
>
> To me, government responsibility should take care, on an ongoing basis, of some of the neediest of our citizens. That's the fundamental responsibility of the government. Individual philanthropy should be personal, first and foremost, and community-oriented as well.

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Natalie thinks that it isn't safe for society to depend so much on philanthropy. She believes that social problems should be handled by the larger society:

> I think that philanthropy should play a big role but I think it isn't safe that society depends on philanthropy to solve the problems. I think societal problems have to be dealt with by society at large. I think there ought to be a lot of room for people to discuss how and what philanthropy should be doing. I think philanthropy should kind of help people to help themselves.

Aleksa, who is 50/50 in her giving, would like government to do more so that philanthropy doesn't have to fill in these gaps, but she is aware of the necessary function that philanthropy performs and believes that it is important, given the way things are, for philanthropists to support organizations that offer social provision to those in need:

> I'd love to see a world in which private philanthropy would not have to fill the holes. If I were an elected government official, I would have worked hard to have government do more. In the world in which we live, I think that, unfortunately, philanthropy has to fill the holes.

She talks about how she thinks philanthropy has changed in recent years:

> It feels like the world has changed so much that it's worth having a concerted effort to redesign that relationship. All of the taxation issues, and social issues: Whose responsibility is it? Where really does it come from? And now we're so far down that track that it's just the way that it is, without any real thinking about how it should be in the future. I'm not a socialist, so I don't think it should go all the way to that... I do feel that where we are now is because of the way things have gone, as opposed to a think tank of really intelligent people who actually thought, this is how we should organize our society to make sure people have the resources they need.

These sample philanthropists talk about their philanthropy as serving a function and performing a role in society. They are interested in the interplay

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between government and philanthropy in offering social provision to those in need. They have differing opinions about whether philanthropy should be leading the way or following behind what government is able to do, but they believe that they are not engaging in the practices of philanthropy merely to serve their own interests. They are serving their own interests and also serving the interests of others. The similarities and differences in how they think about the goals that they have for their philanthropy are discussed below.

Goals: Altering or Maintaining the Structures of Society?

Studies of philanthropic donations separate philanthropy into the categories of traditional and social movement or change-oriented philanthropy. Traditional, or conservative philanthropy ostensibly seeks to maintain the structures in society through which philanthropists have been able to accumulate and sustain their elite position of power (Kendall 2002; Odendahl 1987, 1989, 1990; Ostrander 1984; Ostrower 1995; Schervish and Herman 1988). Social movement or change-oriented philanthropy seeks to get at the root of social problems, and to alter the social structures of inequality in society. This philanthropy is distinguished from the social provision that is, from a neo-Marxist perspective, said to be aimed at quieting the masses whose discontent might lead to real social structural change, and thus maintaining the inequities in society (Collins and Rogers 2000; Covington 1997; Jenkins 1989a&b; Maher 2000; Ostrower 1995).

A well-known parable serves to demonstrate the distinction between social provision and change-oriented philanthropy: A man is standing on a riverbank and, as he observes several bodies floating down the river, he jumps in and begins pulling them onto the shore in an attempt to save them. A second man, after watching all of the chaos

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engendered by the first man trying to deal with an endless supply of bodies floating by, walks up the riverbank and finds a person who is pushing people into the river. He confronts this person and stops him from pushing people into the water. The first man is said to fall into the category of offering social provision; he is helping and making things better, but he is not getting to the core problem. The second man is offering a change-oriented intervention; he is altering the structure and getting to the root of the situation.

While most of the respondents say that they don't think of their donations as either traditional or change-oriented, some are very clear about how they think about and approach their giving. There are interesting variations in how these sample philanthropists think about their giving.

Measuring Change-Orientation

One of the ways that I examined the question of change-orientation of these philanthropists was to ask them if they thought that recipients of philanthropy should be involved (serve on the boards, make decisions about how the money is used) in the organizations from which they received funds. I was interested in whether they thought that recipients should be given power as they had been during the civil rights movement. With the exception of the two who gave to organizations in the rights/advocacy/policy category, most of the respondents said that they thought recipients should be consultants, but should be kept separate from the grant-makers.

Alicia, who is newly wealthy and says that she is traditional in her philanthropy, made some very telling remarks that emphasize her view of the power differential:

> I would say no. I think it's an interesting idea if you get the feedback from people who are in the trenches and doing the work. I'm very skeptical of the idea of it being government-mandated that you've got to have consumers on the board. That's crazy. *It's*

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> *hard enough for us well-educated, interested, intelligent people to try to figure out the intricacies and run a highly-bureaucratic organization* (emphasis added). I'm not saying that a single mom who is getting services shouldn't have some input; how she feels the services are provided, how could the services be done better, so on and so forth. But that's different from being on the board. Being on a board requires a lot of technical expertise.

Alicia clearly believes that there should be a divide between those who give and those who received donations. She emphasizes that she is a member of a group of "well-educated, interested, intelligent people" and has "a lot of technical expertise". She believes that she exists in a different sphere from those who are recipients of her philanthropy.

Alicia has said that she is traditional in her philanthropy, and most of her giving is to social service organizations. Her view of the importance of maintaining a separation between donors and recipients of funds fits with the view that a member of the elite culture of philanthropy might have as described in the literature (Kendall 2002; Odendahl 1987, 1989, 1990; Ostrander 1984; Ostrower 1995; Schervish and Herman 1988).

The change-orientation of these sample philanthropists was difficult to measure and validate, as there were often differences between how they said that they thought about their philanthropy, what they said they did with their philanthropy, and what they actually did do with their philanthropy. I turn now to a discussion of how traditional and change-oriented philanthropy have been examined in the literature.

Other Studies of Giving Patterns

The concepts "traditional" or "conservative" and "change-oriented" or "social movement" philanthropy are difficult to define and to operationalize. Each study that

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looks at patterns of giving handles this issue differently, and it is therefore challenging to ascertain exactly what is being discussed as findings are compared across studies.

Nielsen (1985) divides organizations into "conservative" and "liberal", saying that conservative institutions are "basic" ones such as hospitals, museums and universities. A liberal institution "conceives of itself as primarily an instrument of social change in behalf of justice and equity" (p. 421). These are the grassroots organizations that seek to alter the structures of society.

Christopher Jencks, in his 1987 study "Who Gives To What?" used IRS data and data from Gallup Surveys between 1962 and 1981 to look at how Americans of all classes distribute their philanthropic gifts to different types of nonprofit organizations. He divided the nonprofits into churches and other religious organizations, educational institutions, hospitals, other health and social welfare organizations, and all other organizations. He found that the largest percentages of philanthropic giving (62-63%) went to religious organizations.

However, most of the monies did not go to social welfare activities and organizations. Very few of the contributions were "charitable": "They are almost all meant to 'do good', but the prospective beneficiaries are seldom indigent and are often quite affluent.... Only a small fraction of all gifts to colleges and universities goes for scholarships to help poor students. Gifts to symphonies, art museums and other arts groups are equally unlikely to be aimed at making art available to those who could not otherwise afford it" (Jencks 1987:322). He found that there was a u-shaped relationship between income and philanthropic effort, with the rich and the poor giving more as a percentage of their income, than do those in the middle.

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Jenkins and Halcli (1999) show that in 1990 all of the nation's private grant-making foundations awarded only 1.2% percent of all of their grant dollars to social movement organizations. They define social movement organizations as "grassroots movement groups, professional advocacy and service organizations, or... institutionalized organizations such as churches and universities that are sponsoring movement work" (p. 230). They divide social movement projects into the categories of: Racial/Ethnic Minorities, Economic Justice, Rights Groups, Peace and World Order, and Public Interest Movement Groups such as Environmentalism and Consumer Rights (p.241).

Covington (1997) examines the grants awarded by twelve "conservative" foundations from 1992-1994. She identifies the conservative organizations by referring to *The Right Guide, 1995,* "a national listing of right-of-center organizations" (p. 4), and divides the organizations to which these grant dollars were awarded into: Media Groups, Legal Organizations, State and Regional Think Tanks and Advocacy Groups, Religious and Philanthropic Institutions, Academic Sector Organizations, and National Think Tanks and Advocacy Groups. She concludes that the largest grants were awarded to Academic Sector Organizations (42% percent of all grants) and National Think Tanks and Advocacy Groups (38%) (p. 6).

Nagai et. al. (1994) offer a chapter on "Ideological Divisions Within The Foundation Elite", in which they separate the foundations into conservative, moderate, and liberal, based on ideas about economic issues, social structure, and foreign policy (p. 69-75). They find that, while there are leanings toward liberal or conservative ideologies within organizations, it is difficult to divide them clearly into these categories.

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"Many traditional foundations steer away from funding an ideologically explicit, conservative agenda but choose to limit funds to traditional institutions. The irony of such funding strategies is that some traditional institutions, such as universities and the mainline American churches, have also become prominent sites for radical scholarship and activism" (p.159).

Nagai et. al. (1994) divide foundation spending preferences into three categories: *Spending for Social Change*, which consists of social justice programs for women, programs for blacks, programs for gays, access to legal services, peace initiatives, arms control, human rights, women's studies, sociology, and Afro-American studies; *Health and Welfare Spending,* which consists of access to health care, health care cost containment, AIDS research, programs for the disabled, programs for the aged, problems of the homeless, and environmental problems; and *Spending for Hard Science Research,* which consists of mathematics, genetics research, IQ research, and economics (p. 110-111).

I discuss the ways that I grappled with these categorizations below.

Operationalizing Traditional and Change-Oriented Philanthropy

While the constructs traditional and change-oriented philanthropy are important ideal types, they pose a challenge to the researcher who attempts to measure them in the philanthropy world. I spent some of my interview time asking respondents how they think about the question of separating out traditional/conservative philanthropy from social movement/change-oriented philanthropy.

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Hunter, who is 44 and comes from three generations of wealth, had thought about these issues a great deal. He offered a useful discussion that illustrates some of the complexities involved. He began by defining the terms:

> When you say "social movement", the only way I could answer that is to change "social". I would change it from social movement to change-oriented philanthropy because change can include environmental programs, and the social is not about the environment. If we do it that way, thinking about conservative versus progressive philanthropy, is another accent that I would put on it. Conservative is just kind of protecting and strengthening institutions and modes of societal organizations, including land protection and parks. Things like that are somewhat environmental, and so I would say conservative versus strategic or change-oriented philanthropy.

Madison has an interesting and exceptional view of change-oriented philanthropy:

> I give to structures that are there, as opposed to giving money to people to make them change. I have a good friend who thinks they (change-oriented philanthropists) can create change, and what they're really doing is finding a way and seeing if they can make it (a change-oriented program) go a little bit longer or higher. I think it's a good metaphor to think about. If you think you're making waves by giving money then you're really naïve or you're really distracting people from their mission. You're playing with people.... I think that mixed message is happening all the time in empowerment or grassroots work. They are giving people little bits of money that distract them from what in fact might be an important task.

Madison believes that his money can be better used trying to support and develop systems that are already in place and firmly established. He sees the attempt to alter existing structures as an onerous and practically impossible task, and thus sees change-oriented giving as futile. Perhaps this is a partial explanation for why so few people tend to give to change-oriented organizations, both in this study and nationally.

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In general, the philanthropists in this study tend to think of traditional organizations as those basic institutions that Nielsen (1985) spoke of: churches, healthcare, libraries, museums, the arts, educational institutions, and historic preservation. They identify change-oriented philanthropy as philanthropy that is geared toward grassroots organizations, racial, ethnic and economic justice concerns, organizations supporting peace and world order, and public-interest groups. While Nielsen (1985) grouped social service and environmental organizations with his basic traditional organizations, Nagai et. al. (1994) developed a third "health and welfare spending" category that included social service and environmental concerns.

The philanthropists in this study were not consistent as to how they categorized their environmental and social provision donations. As we will see below, most grouped them as part of their change-oriented philanthropy, while some grouped them with their traditional philanthropy.

As I moved more deeply into the world of philanthropy, it became apparent that each organization was comprised of both conservative and change-oriented aspects. Organizations that had arisen, perhaps, out of a specific social movement, became more organized, professionalized, and bureaucratized with the passage of time. Not only this, but even within each organization there were factions that had to do with altering social structures and factions that had to do with maintaining things as they are.

For example, an Ivy League school, identified in previous studies as a traditional or a conservative organization, has such programs available as scholarships, which attempt to alter the structures of society by making an education available to someone who might not otherwise have that opportunity. Or environmental concerns can be

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viewed as both traditional and change-oriented, as Hunter demonstrated. They are, at the same time, preserving and altering social structures as they work literally to preserve and protect the environment while altering what people do to harm it.

Natalie, who is newly wealthy and 67, is confused about how to categorize her giving for land preservation. She decided, after some discussion, that it was change-oriented:

> I've always prided myself in giving to grassroots organizations. Social change is important to me, but the largest gift that we made was to protect land. Is that social change or not? It's important. One of the things that we did at xxxx that I think was unique, is that we asked a very large gift for the environment and we found that people were willing to give. So that in its self was social change, shifting how and where money was given.

It became apparent that these philanthropists tended to not think of their donations in these terms, and that most were quite diversified in their practices of giving. I resolved this issue by asking each participant to talk about how he/she thought about the goals of his/her philanthropy, and to give me a "guesstimate" about what percentage of their giving was aimed toward the alteration of the structures of society, and what percentage was geared toward the maintenance of the status quo.

In my analysis of the data, I grouped those who identified their giving as more toward change as change-oriented philanthropists, and those who identified their giving as more to traditional organizations as traditional philanthropists. Those philanthropists who said that their giving was evenly divided between traditional and social movement concerns (ten percent said that they gave 50/50) could be termed pluralists. As

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mentioned above, these categorizations represent ideal types and are useful for developing an understanding of the beliefs and practices of these philanthropists.

Hunter, an old wealth philanthropist, struggled as he sorted out how he would categorize his giving:

> It's interesting, because the largest amount of money I've given away has been for direct land protection by far. So if you actually looked at balance, it would come out in favor of that, probably easily two-to-one in recent years. And yet, my targeted funding, and even the work I do fundraising for xxxx is for protection, something that I care deeply about. On the other hand, I chaired the X Board for six years. I gave money to them, a lot of strategic, but even so when you take the total amount of time, and the total dollar resources I'd probably come out giving easily two-to-one, maybe three-to-one in favor of protection and preservation. But that's all because of specific environmental, so it would not characterize what I choose to do necessarily. Although yes, it might. I get involved with species and bio-diversity and oceans protection. Some of what I would do would have to do with international law, marine law and more radical kinds of things, which you could clearly put into the social or change end. Some of it would have to do with protecting bio-diversity preserves, marine preserves, and that's where the big-ticket items are. If you're going to do that you have to buy the land, you have to buy somebody's right. So, it may be that although my mind is focused more towards strategic funding, the actual time I put in and the money I'm investing would be traditional.

Clearly, this is a complicated issue. Hunter said, when asked specifically to categorize his giving, that 75% of his donations went toward change. Even more complicated was the question of how to identify different organizations as conservative or change-oriented. Hunter had specified that his donations went to such organizations as the Nature Conservancy, the Ocean Conservancy, Doctors Without Borders, an American Indian Institute, a shelter, the local hospital, and his children's private schools. He

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determined the 75% change-orientation of his giving based on the dollar amounts and on his understanding of the goals of the organizations, all of which he had been quite involved with at one time or another, having served on their boards. He categorized his land preservation donations as traditional while his Ocean Conservancy donations were, he believed, change-oriented. He categorized his Doctors Without Borders and American Indian Institute donations as change-oriented, and his donations to the shelter, the local hospital and to his children's schools as traditional. At different points in his interview, Hunter spoke of his philanthropy as more change-oriented and more traditional. While his 75% change-orientation was used in the data analysis, it is more an assessment of how he thinks about his philanthropy than a valid assessment of what he actually does.

This raises another issue about the design of the study. Apparently these philanthropists' responses may not be valid measures of what they actually do with their philanthropy. The decision to have participants provide a self-assessment as to the goals of their philanthropy and what they actually do with it offers data that is more about how they think about what they do than about what they actually do with their donations. Furthermore, even if these respondents' stated perceptions of the goals of their giving matched what they said they actually did with their giving, it is difficult to ascertain what the organizations actually do with the donations.

Validating Responses

I had asked for specific lists of organizations to which these philanthropists had made donations in the year 2001 along with dollar amounts of donations. These lists were self-reports based on memory. All respondents gave lists and dollar amounts, highlighting their largest gifts.

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I compare self-reports of the sample philanthropists' goals of their giving and the organizations they listed as the recipients of their donations below, as I analyze similarities and differences between respondents as related to their giving patterns. I also explore what they say about their philanthropy and examine the latent content of their views.

Findings: Sample Giving Patterns

Fifty percent of the philanthropists in this study said that they gave primarily to change-oriented organizations. Forty percent said that they gave primarily to traditional organizations, and ten percent said that they gave equally to traditional and to change-oriented organizations.

This finding is different from the findings of previous studies, all of which have concluded that philanthropists primarily fund traditional organizations and are more invested in maintaining the status quo than they are in promoting social structural change (Covington 1997; Jenkins 1989a&b; Kendall 2002; Maher 2000; Odendahl 1987, 1989, 1990; Ostrander 1984; Ostrower 1995; Schervish and Herman 1988).

This is, however, a finding about these philanthropists' perceptions about their giving as opposed to what they actually do with their donations. An examination of their giving areas and their largest gifts finds that, if we define social service organizations and environmental organizations as traditional, only five percent of these sample philanthropists give to change-oriented organizations, while 95% give to traditional organizations. The five percent who give to change-oriented organizations give to organizations or programs that are categorized as rights/advocacy/policy. This five percent is a slightly higher percentage than the often-quoted finding that less than three

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percent of all philanthropic giving goes toward altering the structures of society (Jencks 1987; Maher 2000; Ostrander 1997b).

Despite the fact that many of the respondents spoke of their commitment to social justice concerns, only a small number of donors actually gave to the rights/advocacy/policy organizations whose mission was to address social justice issues.

Social Justice Efforts

According to Gindin (2002), "a socially just society is one that fosters and encourages the full and mutual development of all the capacities of all members of society" (p. 16). Ninety percent of the respondents voiced a belief that it was important to focus at least some of their philanthropy on social justice efforts. Only five percent of them actually listed social justice organizations (rights/advocacy/policy) as recipients of their largest donations. Many of the respondents, however, thought about their social service giving as addressing issues of social justice.

Natalie, who is newly wealthy and says that she is change-oriented in her giving, is particularly interested in social justice issues given her working class background. She is very aware of the inequities in society, and says that she uses her philanthropy to "give back" by donating her money to social provision:

> I think a lot of people get raw deals, partly because of their age, their sex, their religion, their sexual orientation, or their economic structure.

She said that she donated 80% of her money to social service agencies and talked about how important it is to offer direct services to those in need, "it's thinking of how generous you can be, and do you care enough?" She is aware of government cutbacks to nonprofit organizations and says that she encourages others to give to institutions and agencies that have previously been funded by the state:

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> It's difficult for people who have not traditionally given to the social services, especially to the very needy or to public education. These have traditionally been funded by public money so it's hard to then reverse people's attitudes. There are a number of social service agencies that are resorting to private fundraising, and they really have to get aggressive because most of the philanthropic money traditionally has gone to other kinds of things.

Ethan comes from generations of wealth, and says that he is change-oriented in his giving and is interested in social justice issues. He says that he supports equal rights for all and is one hundred percent invested in altering the structures of society that "make philanthropy necessary". He believes that:

> Philanthropy is an engagement in a community toward an end of improving living conditions and equity and good feeling between people. I would say wealth and equity is perhaps the most, the thing I'm most passionate about because I really think it's the root of so much. The fact that so few people have so much and so many people have so little, I just think it's unfair. So many of my friends have trouble keeping a savings account, have trouble paying the rent and everything. In a time when everybody's talking about, maybe not quite so much now, but within the past few years talking about a booming economy and you see people struggling with free services, service jobs without benefits. It's really maddening and the increased disparity between the high and low salaries is getting worse.

Natalie and Ethan voice a theme that is interwoven throughout the interviews. Perhaps because of the small size of the cities and towns that they live in, these wealthy philanthropists are more closely associated with members of other social groups and are thus more open to and aware of their concerns. Many of the philanthropists in this study are tuned in to issues of social justice and say that they are invested in attempting to "even the playing field" and "give back". Their giving, however, is not purely toward altering the structures in society that "make philanthropy necessary". While giving to

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social service organizations can be viewed as a form of giving back and administering social justice, it does not alter social structures. It makes things better for the recipients of the donations, but it does not get at the fundamental problems that face these recipients

As the categorization of giving to social service organizations and the environment has such an impact on the study findings, it would be useful to examine exactly which organizations study respondents give to, to explore how they categorize their giving to specific organizations and, finally, to clarify how I categorized their giving for the purposes of this study.

Donors' Categorization of Recipient Organizations

Rights/Advocacy/Policy Organizations. The sample philanthropists say that they give to such rights/advocacy/policy organizations as: NARAL, Haymarket, women's rights organizations, AIDS service organizations, gay/lesbian rights organizations, legal aid organizations, and peace organizations.

Social Service Organizations. The social service organizations that they give to are such organizations as: homeless shelters, soup kitchens, food pantries, foster child programs, battered women's shelters, low-income family programs, programs for disadvantaged children, centers for the blind, child abuse prevention programs, programs for handicapped children and adults, elderly programs, cancer programs, Special Olympics, Planned Parenthood, Big Brothers/Big Sisters, Red Cross, MS Society, Save the Children, and the United Way.

Environmental Organizations. These sample philanthropists give the majority of their largest gifts to land protection and preservation. Some respondents also give to such organizations as: the Nature Conservancy, the Ocean Conservancy, The Society for

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the Protection of Forests, the Isle of Shoals Marine Laboratory, Seacoast Land Trust, Audobon, and the Sierra Club.

All of the sample philanthropists who gave to Rights/Advocacy/Policy organizations categorized their giving as change-oriented. Those who gave to Social Service and Environmental organizations categorized their giving as either traditional or change-oriented for a variety of reasons as we will see below.

Hunter, who comes from generations of wealth and characterizes his giving as change-oriented talks about his giving to the environment:

> The field of interest that I'm most involved in is the environment and promoting a sense of place. I'm interested in direct environmental stewardship. Not so much in land protection as much as it is the way in which we help humans understand and be good stewards in the environment. The social piece of my environmental work is promoting a sense of place. People understand how important where they are is. If you tug on a piece of nature you tug on the entire world. I want people to understand how their tugs affect things. It's capacity building with environmental organizations perhaps that is more satisfying to me than supporting an event. I enjoy supporting the things that are the hardest to raise money for. I think of this giving as change-oriented.

Ethan, also from generations of wealth, and change-oriented in his giving, talks about his environmental donations:

> I give to the environment, and I sub-categorize that as direct land protection, versus a whole host of other kinds of environmental giving which is strategic, rather than direct. They would have to do with global warming, global climate change, ocean protection, protection of the existing environmental wall. And I probably would add good environmental citizenship: giving money to National Audubon, the Sierra Club, so environmental citizenship would be another sub-category there. Some of my giving in

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this category is traditional in that it is preserving what is there, and some of it is change-oriented in that it is trying to change how people think about the environment.

Perhaps one of the reasons that these philanthropists are thinking about their social service and environmental donations as change-oriented is because they are not the "traditional" cultural and educational donations that elite philanthropists have given to for generations, as evidenced in previous studies (Odendahl 1990; Ostrower 1995). Certainly gifts toward social provision are not generally considered to be the purview of elite philanthropists (Ostrower 1995).

Another possible explanation for the differences in how these philanthropists think about their environmental giving can be found in the literature on American Environmentalism (Bron 1995; Dowie 1995; Freeman 1999; Gottleib 2001; Mertig and Riley 2001; Silveria 2001). Silveria (2001), in particular, points to four eras of American Environmentalism: The first era, which she labels "Conservation and Preservation" dates to the 1870s when environmental organizations developed to preserve and conserve natural resources that were being quickly used up in the wake of the urban and industrial revolutions. Such organizations as the Sierra Club, founded in 1892, and the National Audobon Society, founded in 1898, arose during this era. Early environmentalism is viewed as an effort by privileged classes to preserve a place for pleasure and recreation (Dowie 2001). The second era, "The Rise of Modern Environmentalism in the 1960s" was spurred by the publication of Rachael Carson's *Silent Spring* in 1962, and was characterized by "bottom-up grassroots demands from citizens and citizen groups" (Silveria 2001, 3) for industrial society to clean up and control pollution. The third era, "Mainstream Environmentalism" began with Earth Day 1970 and focused on urban and social justice issues, reacting against such disasters as Love Canal. The fourth era,

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"Grassroots Environmentalism" is a reaction to the Reagan Administration's anti-environmental practices and is characterized by diverse groups of people organizing to force environmental issues onto the public agenda, recognizing such issues as the uneven distribution of environmental protections based on areas of socioeconomic and political power (Silveria 2001).

While it is not my intent to delve deeply into this area, it is an interesting finding of this study that so many of the sample philanthropists give to the environment and that there is a division in the environmental giving practices of these wealthy philanthropists, perhaps, based on which era of environmentalism they identify with. This is an area for future research.

An analysis of the relationship between self-identified traditional or change-oriented giving and giving area (Table 5.2) finds that these philanthropists categorize their giving in different ways:

Table 5.2Giving by Area- Largest Gifts

Giving	Rel/Culture/Ed	Rights*	Environ.	Soc. Service	Totals
Trad.	70%	0%	36%	29%	N=16
Change	10%	100%	50%	71%	N=20
50/50	20%	0%	14%	0%	N=4
Totals	100% N=10	100% N=2	100% N=14	100% N=14	N=40

*Although percentages are not permissible with an N of 2, this category is included for the purpose of comparison.

The data in Table 5.2 both validate the self-assessments and indicate the extent of variation in philanthropic giving in this sample. There is a relationship between the area of largest gift and the self-assessment of philanthropy (change vs. traditional). Seventy

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percent of those who gave a large gift to a "traditional" organization in the area of religion, culture or education characterize themselves as traditional in their orientation to philanthropy. This compares to the much smaller percentages giving to the other, less traditional areas of rights, the environment, and social services (0%, 36%, and 29% respectively). Sizable percentages of those with large donations to these less traditional areas consider themselves to be change-oriented in their giving (100%, 50%, 71%), compared to only 10% of the religion/culture/education group. Those who actively give to less traditional causes see themselves as more change-oriented, although the relationship is not a perfect one. This partially validates their self-assessments and my conclusion that, within this sample, there is a sizable group of philanthropists who are interested in using their resources for change, as opposed to maintaining the status quo.

While it may be true that what some of these philanthropists say they do and what they actually do are two different things, according to the categories established in the literature, this is a debatable issue on several levels. First, if organizations are comprised of both change-oriented and traditional aspects (Cooperrider et.al. 1999; Perrow 1997; Staggenborg 1988; Zald and McCarthy 1987), their giving to social services and to the environment can be thought about as giving toward the change-oriented parts of these organizations. Second, if these sample philanthropists are contributing to areas that, according to the literature, have not received contributions before, this is a change in the philanthropy world. And third, if these philanthropists are thinking about contributions that are for the greater good of all classes, economically and otherwise, this could arguably be said to be change-oriented philanthropy.

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Rather than make my own determination of what categories to assign to the giving to various organizations, I chose to group religion/culture/education together as traditional organizations, to separate out rights/advocacy/policy giving as clearly change-oriented, and to separately list environmental and social service giving (including giving to health and youth).

Possible Explanations for Sample Variance

An analysis of the data found that there were a number of possible explanations for the variations both within the sample and between this sample and those of other studies (Kendall 2002; Odendahl 1987, 1989, 1990; Ostrander 1984; Ostrower 1995; Schervish and Herman 1988). While these are not definitive explanations, given the exploratory nature of this study, they offer a number of possibilities for future research.

Giving to Organizations Not Otherwise Supported

One explanation for the fact that some of the philanthropists did not give to the traditional organizations of religion, culture and education, is that so many of the sample philanthropists tend to give to organizations that are not otherwise supported. A surprise that arose out of the data is that 40% of the respondents who come from generations of wealth say that they decide where to donate their money by focusing on and supporting those programs or projects that they believe will not otherwise be funded. They say that so many philanthropists give to such institutions as art museums or their alma maters that they feel that these organizations do not need their money. Many of the philanthropists in this study prefer to give large gifts to "underdog organizations" that other wealthy philanthropists might not support.

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Ethan, who is from an old wealth family and identifies himself as change-oriented in his giving, talks about this:

> I feel the Harvard pitch is basically, 'help us to give other people the experience you had at this college', which I feel is really about introduction to the power system in the U.S. and maybe in the World, and that's not what I'm interested in. In the abstract, groups that appeal to me are ones that have trouble getting money elsewhere. I'm also very interested in seed money and groups that are controversial. I'm getting more interested in how I spend other people's money in terms of grants. I'm always interested in groups that are trying to change the rules.

Hunter, also from an old wealth family and change-oriented in his giving, spoke of funding groups that are less likely to get support because they are out of what he terms, "the mainstream":

> I like to provide support to the community in a variety of ways. I also ideally like to support groups that are a little less likely to get support than some of the more mainstream ones... I tend to try to focus on ones that aren't prone to get, aren't likely to get support.

Grace, who is from an old wealth family and says that she is traditional in her philanthropy, thinks that those philanthropists who are more senior should take more risks with their philanthropy, as she believes that younger philanthropists tend to be more conservative with their giving. She said, "I honestly feel that some of us that have been here a bit longer should do something else with our philanthropy- take some risks".

Generations of Wealth

Another possible explanation for the sample variance is that perhaps the sample philanthropists who come from several generations of wealth are more comfortable with their positions in the culture of philanthropy and are thus more change-oriented in their

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giving than are those who are newly wealthy. Table 5.3 shows the relationship between these philanthropists' self-reported kinds of giving and generations of wealth:

Table 5.3 *Giving by Generations of Wealth*

Giving	1st Generation	2nd-5th Generation	Totals
Traditional	40%	40%	(N=16)
Change-Oriented	45%	55%	(N=20)
50/50	15%	5%	(N=4)
Totals	100% (N=20)	100% (N=20)	(N=40)

The results show that 55% of those who come from generations of wealth say that they are change-oriented in their giving as compared with 45% of those who are newly wealthy. While these aren't large differences, I would suggest that perhaps those who come from generations of wealth are more established in the philanthropy culture and in their practices of philanthropy than are those who are newly wealthy, and are thus more willing to donate to organizations that are less traditional in their orientation and mission.

Madison, one of the newly-wealthy respondents who identifies his giving as traditional talked about this as he discussed his giving practices:

> We're pretty traditional so far. I don't know if that will always be the case. I think it's primarily because we're new to philanthropy and that's what's been around. I think that's more a sense of our history and where we've been as opposed to this new period where we'll be looking more to the future and can think, what do we really want to accomplish here?

Madison is apparently more interested in fitting into the elite culture of philanthropy than he is in supporting particular organizations. He says that as he and his wife become more

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comfortable with their wealth and with their position in the philanthropy world they will be more willing to venture away from traditional organizations and will probably give more to change-oriented organizations.

A look at the data on the specific organization to which these philanthropists donate their largest gifts finds that there are differences between how these new and old-wealth philanthropists categorize their giving and what they actually say that they do with their money (see Table 5.4).

Table 5.4 Generations of Wealth and Area of Giving- Largest Gifts by Percent of Generation Cohort

Area	% of 1st Generation	% of 2nd – 5th Generation	Totals
Rel/Culture/Ed	**40%**	**10%**	**10**
Rights	**5%**	**5%**	**2**
Environment	**20%**	**50%**	**14**
Social Services (Incl.Health, Youth)	**35%**	**35%**	**14**
Totals	**100%** N=20	**100%** N=20	N=40

Fifty percent of the philanthropists who come from generations of wealth give their largest gifts to the environment, and 50% of these characterize their environmental giving as change-oriented while 36% of these characterize their environmental giving as traditional (14% of these characterize their environmental giving as 50/50). Of those who are newly wealthy, 35% give their largest gifts to social services, and 67% of these characterize their largest gifts to social services as change-oriented while 33% characterize their largest gifts to social services as traditional. Only 10% of those from generations of wealth donate their largest gifts to the traditional areas of religion, culture,

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and education, as compared with 40% of the newcomers. Five percent of each give to the change-oriented rights organizations.

These results are in sharp contrast to those of Ostrander's (1995) study of New York City philanthropists. She found that philanthropists in her study gave their largest gifts to the areas of culture and education, regardless of the number of generations of wealth they had come from (67% of the newly wealthy gave to education and 39% gave to culture while 76% of those from more than one generation of wealth gave to education and 50% gave to culture) (Ostrower 1995:96).

Marital Situation

Another explanation for the finding that so many of the sample philanthropists give to non-traditional organizations could be that so many of these sample philanthropists married outside of their class, thus making them more aware of and responsive to the inequities in society. Table 5.5 shows the relationship between kind of giving and marital situation for these sample philanthropists.

Table 5.5 Sample Percent Giving by Marital Situation

Giving	M Other Class	Single	M w/in Class	Total
Traditional	31%	45%	46%	16
Change-Oriented	56%	55%	39%	20
50/50	13%	0%	15%	4
Totals	100% N=16	100% N=11	100% N=13	N=40

Of the 16 sample philanthropists who married outside of their class, 56% characterize themselves as change-oriented in their giving. Of the 11 who are single,

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55% characterize themselves as change-oriented in their philanthropy. Of the 13 who married within their class 39% say that they are change-oriented in their philanthropy. Sixty-five percent of those who come from generations of wealth married outside of their class and 10% of them are single.

These findings suggest that the prevalence of inter-class marriages and single philanthropists in the sample, particularly the high percentages of sample philanthropists who come from generations of wealth and are single or married outside of their class, might make these philanthropists more aware of the inequities in society than those philanthropists who married within their class. A look at the qualitative data supports this.

Hunter, who comes from an old-wealth family, talks about the effect that his wife's lower middle class background had on their philanthropy. He says that his ways of donating money have changed significantly since his marriage:

> P's philanthropy is interesting. She grew up in a lower middle-class family and her parents raised her to- during the holidays to take food baskets, boxes of food to shut-ins. I had never done that so it was a great experience for me to buy groceries and take them to peoples' houses at Thanksgiving and Christmas. That was a different kind of philanthropy. That's what she grew up on, totally different than mine. I grew up on the kind of philanthropy where you gave to your prep school or college, or to the symphony or something. Now we do more hands on things.

Hunter talked about how even his giving to education has changed. It is not the traditional giving to one's alma mater that one might expect an old wealth philanthropist to participate in. He and his wife recently gave full-tuition college scholarships to the children of some of their friends:

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> It blew them away believe me. These are close friends of ours. My wife has grown up with these kids and stuff like that, and now they all have children. They're all blue-collar workers. They work hard and so forth and, you know, we're just in a lucky position so we like to help out with their children, give them college funds and take the pressure off the parents. It's funny the comments they make, "I hope my child's smart enough to go to college."

Alicia also gives money to friends in an informal way. She married into a family that comes from generations of wealth. While her largest gift is to the environment and she characterizes it as a traditional donation, she is actively involved with social service organizations. She is on the board of Planned Parenthood and contributes regularly to this organization and to several other social service organizations in her area:

> I feel very fortunate that we've been in a position to support things. My husband is very much that way and he's always been in public service and that's gone along with that. We've helped individuals that we know. I have the same friends now as I did when I didn't have any money. It's very much a mixed bag.

Ethan is single and from an old wealth family. He says that his friends and the people with whom he has had significant relationships tend to be from working-class or middle-class backgrounds. He makes it a point to remain close to people who have had to struggle with the inequities in society, and his philanthropy is focused primarily on organizations that work to change the underlying inequities. He gives to such organizations as NAACP and the Civil Liberties Union:

> This past year I gave a grant to a woman who had lost a job because of a disability and she was basically living in her bedroom. I was able to give her money to carry her forward for one year until the city was able to give her some money. I gave to a save our neighborhood organization here in town. I loved the work they were doing. They had

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gone for a larger grant and were denied. I got together with a friend of mine that has a foundation and gave some money for a year, and now they have a grant for next year.

The marital situation of these sample philanthropists has had a direct impact on how they think about and how they practice their philanthropy. Because they are exposed to and aware of the situations of others, they tend to donate to organizations that are not the traditional organizations usually supported by elite philanthropists.

Age and Generation

Table 5.6 shows the relationship between self-reported giving to traditional or change-oriented organizations and age:

Table 5.6 Percent Giving by Age

Giving	30's-40's	50's+	60+	Total
Traditional	35%	56%	50%	N=16
Change-Oriented	59%	33%	36%	N=20
50/50	6%	11%	14%	N=4
Totals	100% N=17	100% N=9	100% N=14	N=40

These results show that younger people in their 30s and 40s tend to be more change-oriented in their giving than are those in their 50s and older. Those sample philanthropists who are aged 50 and over tend to be more traditional in their giving.

One of my arguments is that the sample philanthropists who were affected by the 60s civil rights counterculture movement, and by the subsequent social (rights) movements of the latter half of the twentieth century are different from those who were not, and that this explains some of the sample variance. The sample philanthropists who

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were part of the 60s generation, or were affected by that period in history tend to be non-traditional in their philanthropy. They give to the environment and to social service organizations, and categorize this giving as change-oriented; a minority of them gives to rights/advocacy/policy. I discuss this in further detail in Chapter Six.

Migration to Area

Another explanation for the fact that some of the sample philanthropists are not traditional in their ideologies or practices may be that they have chosen to live in these small towns and cities in which they have access to wide open spaces for which they may feel a sense of stewardship. Or, as some might argue, their interest in the environment may be motivated by the fact that they are trying to preserve and protect their own back yards, so to speak. Land preservation could be said to be motivated by self-interest.

I would argue that because many of the men and women in this study moved to the area in order to live more simply, blend in, and be more closely connected with their neighbors, they have an awareness of and an appreciation for the environment and an awareness of and an appreciation for the social problems that their neighbors face. They say that they are interested in "giving back" and "making a difference". Table 5.7 examines the relationship between area of giving and migration.

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Table 5.7 Area of Giving (Largest Gifts) and Migration

Area	Migrated	From Area*	Total
Rel/Culture/Ed	22%	37%	10
Rights/Advocacy/Policy	6%	0%	2
Environment	38%	25%	14
Social Services (Incl. Health/Youth)	34%	38%	14
Totals	100%	100%	
	N=32	N=8	N=40

*Although percentages are not permissible with an N of 8, this category is included for the purpose of comparison.

Of the 32 sample philanthropists who migrated to the area from elsewhere, 38% donate their largest gifts to the environment, as compared with 25% of those 8 who are from the area. Of those from the area, 38% donate their largest gifts to social services as compared with 34% of those who migrated to the area. A larger percentage of natives give donations to religion/culture/education than those who migrated to the area.

These findings support my argument that there is a relationship between migration to the area and giving to the environment. The fact that both those who are from the area and those who have moved there support social services gives credence to the idea that living and working more closely with one's neighbors might make one more aware of and responsive to social problems. An analysis of the qualitative data below further supports these arguments.

Alicia is newly wealthy and says that she gives to traditional organizations. She is identified with the town that she migrated to 45 years ago and takes its stewardship seriously:

> I feel very much identified with xx because I've lived here for 45 years and I've watched it develop and participated as a professional in its growth. I was involved in a lot of

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things that happened here. I feel like I participated in all these things and have known all of the people involved. I've made a place for myself in the years I've been here.

Madison is also newly wealthy and traditional in his philanthropy. He is very invested in his community and believes that people need to think about their philanthropy as supporting a complex system:

> We live in an unusual area. We're part of a small enough community that we can participate, and actually make a difference... When P and I were married we went through a thoughtful process about where we wanted to be. We actually made lists of places where we might live and visited a couple that were on both of our lists. We chose to live here. Now we're really here.

Cannon is newly wealthy and says that he is change-oriented in his giving. He enjoys the fact that because he lives in a small community he feels he is more aware of what people need and has the ability to do something about it:

> Giving back to the community is important to me. I feel like people have a responsibility to do that. I do feel a sense of responsibility toward it; using your own resources, whether that be time or money, skills, etc. to contribute to those in need in your community. I think philanthropy should be helping somebody across the road. I have a pretty broad sense of what it is.

Aleksa is 50/50 in her giving and is very enthusiastic about her love of the area:

> I love this town. I've lived here since I started my company in 1975. I just love it here. Anything to do with the community that I can give back after all my years of living here and working here, I really enjoy doing it. I feel like I'm making enough of a difference. Going downtown is very important. Running into people down there that I know and people that have businesses here. It is important to be involved in the volunteer things that I have been involved with.

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Ethan migrated to the area, is from an old wealth family, and says that he is change-oriented in his giving. He talked about his commitment to his community and to living a simple life:

> I have my own connection and have developed my own connection with the natural world that I think is in the same vein, anyway, of what these folks know and are committed against incredible odds to maintaining in their community. It's supporting something that is kind of at the core of what I care about in terms of a way to approach life and it's doing it in a way that is no strings attached. When I look at my priority, I feel like I live a comfortable life but not a grand life. Having a comfortable life is important to me but I'd rather be putting my money into the ground, the conservation work, than spending it on my own. I suppose it's also the participation in all the downtown businesses. You pop in and out and talk to them all the time. It's like a village almost.

Hunter is from an old wealth family and moved to the area because he values the sense of community he thought he could find in a small town:

> I feel a part of the community when I am able to have meaningful interaction with people I share the community with. I resonate much more with people that I can see and sit knee to knee with, and check in with on a regular basis. It's a matter of sharing good times and bad times. It's almost like your marriage vows with the people around you. It's a mutual thing. The rewards and relationships that come from that exercise are very important.

Tessa comes from an old wealth family and says that she is traditional in her philanthropy. She values a small town sense of community and she and her husband carefully chose where to settle and raise their family:

> I'm one of those people who loves to go downtown on a Saturday morning and walk along the streets and bump into 20 people I know. It makes me feel very connected. We care deeply about what happens in the seacoast area. We spend a good percentage of our time and income trying to make this a better place to live. It is important to us to feel and see that we can actually have an influence on causes that are important. I like to have

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> my charitable dollars and charitable time given to local projects where I can see an impact. I like walking downtown and running into friends and acquaintances, and participating in various nonprofit activities. That's very important to the community, helping nonprofits through participation.

Grace, who is from an old wealth family and is traditional in her giving speaks of the importance of having moved to a place where she can live simply:

> We lived very simply. We had a gorgeous piece of land. I immediately involved myself in the community, because that's what interests me.

It does appear that the fact that many of these philanthropists moved to the area in order to live more simply, blend in, and be more closely connected with their neighbors, has heightened their awareness of and appreciation for the communities in which they live and affects their involvement in their communities. Many of them have made a thoughtful choice to live simply and to cast off the trappings of elite culture. This will be discussed further in Chapters Six and Seven.

Political Party

One of the surprising findings of this study is that there are so many Democrats (68% of sample) and Independents (17%) in the sample (see Table 5.8). This may partly explain the change-orientation of some of these sample philanthropists. It may also explain part of the reason that they support environmental and social service organizations and are invested in actively participating in and supporting their communities.

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Table 5.8 Sample Percent Giving by Political Party

Giving	Democrat	Independent*	Republican*	Total
Traditional	37%	29%	67%	N=16
Change-Oriented	52%	71%	17%	N=20
50/50	11%	0%	16%	N=4
Totals	100% N=27	100% N=7	100% N=6	N=40

*Although percentages are not permissible with Ns of 7 & 6, these categories are included for the purpose of comparison.

Of those sample philanthropists who said that they were Republican, 67% identified themselves as giving to traditional organizations. Of those registered as Independents, 71% said that they gave to change-oriented organizations. Of the registered Democrats, 52% said that they gave to change-oriented organizations.

An analysis of area of giving by political party (Table 5.9) finds that 50% of the sample Republican philanthropists said that they gave their largest gifts to the environment, 33% of the Democrats said that they gave to the environment and 29% of the Independents said that they gave to the environment. Of those registered as Independents, 71% said that they gave their largest gifts to social service organizations, 32% of the Democrats said that they gave to social service organizations and 17% of Republicans said that they gave to social service organizations.

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Table 5. 9 Sample Percent Giving by Political Party – Largest Gifts

Area	Democrat	Independent*	Republican*	Total
Rel/Culture/Ed	28%	0%	33%	10
Rights/Advocacy/Policy	7%	0%	0%	2
Environment	33%	29%	50%	14
Social Services	32%	71%	17%	14
	N=27	N=7	N=6	N=40

*Although percentages are not permissible with Ns of 7 & 6, these categories are included for the purpose of comparison

Certainly the number of Democrats and Independents in the sample had a significant effect on the findings. The fact that so many of them give to the environment and to social services partially explains the change-orientation of so many of the sample philanthropists. Again, it is difficult to determine whether the large number of Democrats is a product of the sampling procedure, or whether the community-mindedness of these Democrats made them more willing to participate in this study.

Gender

As shown in Chapter Four, the fact that 71% of the women, perhaps affected by the women's movement, are professionals who are actively involved in the philanthropy world is part of the explanation for the variance in the sample. A large percentage of the women (58%) donate their largest gifts to social services, perhaps because women have, for generations, been engaged in volunteering for social service organizations. Fifty-three percent of the men donate their largest gifts to the environment, perhaps because they have been affected by the environmental movement of the 60s.

Education

Sixty-eight percent of these philanthropists attended private schools, as discussed in Chapter Four, which may have contributed to their beliefs and practices of philanthropy.

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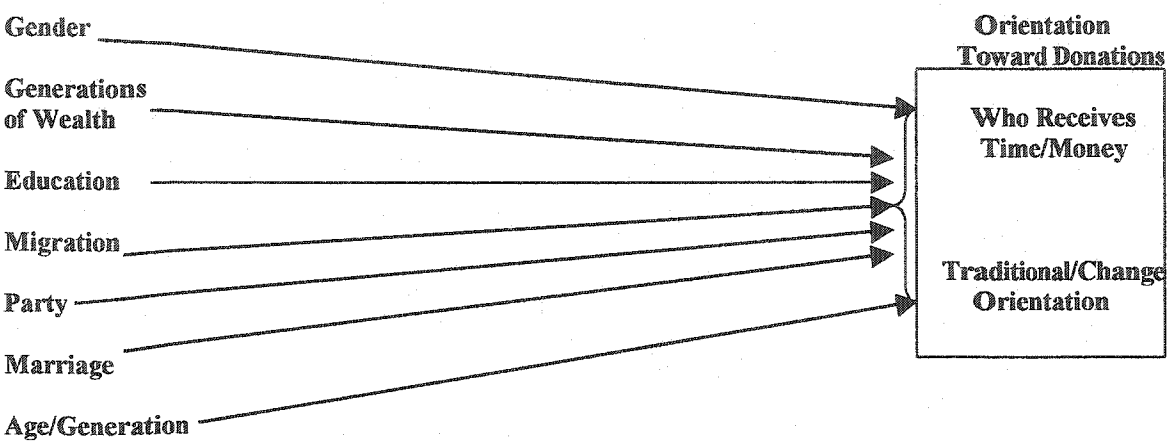
Determinants of Beliefs and Practices: Orientation Toward Donations

Figure 5.1 below offers a model of the determinants of the sample philanthropists' beliefs and practices as they affect their orientation toward donations.

Figure 5.1 Model of Determinants of Philanthropic Beliefs and Practices: Orientation Toward Donations



As figure 5.1 shows, seven variables were found to be important to determining the sample philanthropists' orientation toward donations. Generations of wealth, education, migration, party, and marriage all affect these philanthropists' choice of which organizations receive their time and money, and their traditional or change orientation. Gender directly affects who receives time and money, while age/generation directly affects the traditional or change orientation of sample philanthropists.

Summary and Conclusions

These philanthropists are joined by the fact that they "do" philanthropy. They are stewards of their communities, however they define them, and are, I believe, at the same time enhancing their own lives and the lives of others with their donations of time and money.

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A number of the philanthropists in this study are invested in preserving land, while others are involved in offering social provision to members of their communities. Some support the traditional organizations of religion, culture and education, and a few focus their philanthropy on rights/advocacy/justice concerns. Some think about their giving as leading the way in society, while others think of it as following behind to fill in gaps and pick up the pieces where government has either pulled back support or not been interested in what they view as societal needs.

There are differences between what these philanthropists say that they do and what they actually do with their money. Some of these philanthropists categorize their giving to the same organizations as change-oriented philanthropy while others say that it is traditional philanthropy. The variables generations of wealth, education, migration, party, marriage, gender and age/generation all affect these philanthropists' choice of which organizations receive their time and money, and their traditional or change orientation.

Many of these philanthropists value and wish to protect the beauty of the places in which they have chosen to live and to raise their families. Some have rejected the trappings of elite society. Many are aware of and responsive to social problems, and their giving could be said to improve the lives of the recipients of their donations without necessarily altering the structures of society that make this kind of philanthropy possible. Only 5% of the sample gives to organizations that are considered to be the social movement organizations that aim to alter the structures of society.

Within this sample of philanthropists there are a number of identifiable subgroups: those who come from generations of wealth, identify themselves as traditional

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in their giving and have upheld the exclusive practices of their elite culture (17% of the sample, as profiled by Tessa and Grace); those who have eschewed their upper-class background, are change-oriented in their giving, and have worked to blend in with other classes and participate in civil society (28% of the sample, as profiled by Hunter and Ethan); those who are newly wealthy and aspire to be members of the elite culture of philanthropy, identifying themselves as traditional in their giving (22% of the sample, as profiled by Alicia and Madison); those who are newly wealthy, are change-oriented in their giving, and do not aspire to be members of the elite culture (23% of the sample as profiled by Natalie and Cannon); and those who are divided in their orientation and in their aspirations (10% of the sample, as profiled by Aleksa).

What I discovered through my analysis of the data is that while some of the philanthropists in this study are, or are aspiring to be, members of the upper-class-social-elite culture of philanthropy, some are either eschewing this culture or are not interested in becoming members. This may explain the differences between my findings and those of previous research. In Chapter Six I go on to a discussion of the similarities and differences between four subsets of philanthropists that arose out of the data analysis.

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CHAPTER VI

A COMPARISON OF FOUR SUBSETS OF PHILANTHROPISTS

When I began this study, I expected that there would be some differences between the beliefs and practices of philanthropists who were newly wealthy as compared with philanthropists who had come from generations of wealth. In particular, I thought that those who were newly wealthy would be more conservative in their giving than would those who had come from old wealth families, as they would be working toward acculturating into the upper-class-social-elite culture of philanthropy. I thought that those who had been active participants in the philanthropy world for generations would be more likely to be change-oriented in their giving as they would be more comfortable in the culture of philanthropy and perhaps more willing to be creative and innovative in their giving practices.

As we have seen, this was only partly the case with the philanthropists in this study. In Chapter Five we learned that 55% of the sample philanthropists who came from generations of wealth said that they were change-oriented in their giving, while only 40% of those who were newly wealthy said that they were traditional in their giving. An analysis of the areas to which they donated their largest gifts found that 50% of the philanthropists who came from generations of wealth gave their largest gifts to the environment, and 50% of these characterized their environmental giving as change-oriented while 36% of these characterized their environmental giving as traditional (14% of these characterized their environmental giving as 50/50). Of those who were newly

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wealthy, 35% gave their largest gifts to social services, and 67% of these characterized their largest gifts to social services as change-oriented while 33% characterized their largest gifts to social services as traditional. There was more variation in the sample than I had thought that there would be.

What I discovered was that those who came from generations of wealth and those who were newly wealthy were not uniform groups whose practices and ideologies could be easily understood and categorized. While a number of the sample philanthropists appear to be representative of an elite culture of philanthropy, another portion of the sample seems to represent a culture of philanthropy that has either recently developed in the northeastern New England area, has been there for generations and has not been studied before, or has been brought to the area by those who migrated there.

It is impossible, given the design of this study, to ascertain whether I am researching a culture of philanthropy that is new, or whether it is one that has existed in the area for a long time. It is clear, however, that some of the philanthropists in this study are practicing a kind of philanthropy that is different from that practiced by those who have been studied before, and that only a small subset of the sample philanthropists fits the profile of the elite philanthropists who have been described in previous studies.

In this chapter I explore the subsystems I uncovered in the sample, comparing and contrasting those who are members of the elite culture of philanthropy with those who are engaged in practicing a different kind of philanthropy than has been identified in previous studies. I begin with a discussion of the processes through which, according to the literature, one becomes acculturated to the world of elite philanthropy, explicating the ways in which these sample philanthropists do or do not follow these processes. I

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develop a schema of the subsystems in this particular sample of philanthropists, and then focus in on the similarities and differences between the philanthropists in these subsystems.

An Upper-Class-Social-Elite Culture of Philanthropy

A study of philanthropy must include an exploration of the mechanisms through which one becomes a member of the upper class, the social elite, and the culture of philanthropy. While these social structures are ostensibly different, they are connected in that the culture of philanthropy is developed, carried, and transmitted by members of the upper class who are considered to be the social elite in American society. Avenues into the upper-class-social-elite include: birth, marriage, or an invitation and sponsorship by a person or a group of people who are already members (Odendahl 1990; Ostrander 1984; Ostrower 1995).

The upper class is defined by ownership of wealth, exercise of power, and exclusive social networks, according to Ostrander (1984). These social networks comprise the social elite. As practiced by the upper class, philanthropy is, according to Ostrower, "an integral and defining element of elite culture [that] provides a case study in the nature and functioning of upper-class culture in American Society" (1995:6).

Philanthropists who come from generations of wealth have been raised in an elite culture of philanthropy. This culture of philanthropy has been described as a vehicle through which the elite have been able to cultivate and maintain elite tastes, values, practices, and cultural capital (Lamont 1992; Bourdieu 1982). The wealthy are socialized to donate their time through volunteerism, and their money as part of their social and cultural world. "American elites do fashion a separate world for themselves by drawing

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on and reformulating elements and values from the broader society. Elites take philanthropy... and adapt it into an entire way of life that serves as a vehicle for the cultural and social life of their class.... In the process, philanthropy becomes a mark of class status that contributes to defining and maintaining the cultural and organizational boundaries of elite life" (Ostrower 1995:6).

As I have said, the philanthropists in this study include those who are already members of an upper-class-social-elite culture of philanthropy as well as newcomers who have been invited to join, are being sponsored, and are purportedly on their way to becoming members of this culture. There are also wealthy philanthropists in this study who do not wish to remain or to become members of the old elite culture of philanthropy and are, I argue, developing or carrying on their own philanthropic culture. The processes of acculturation in which some do and some do not participate are discussed below.

Dynasties

In her national study of the philanthropic practices of well-known men and women of wealth, Odendahl (1990) discusses the processes through which an inheritance is built and passed along for generations to come. "Building a dynasty requires complex and creative combining of the assets of the founder's progeny – either with the consent of relatives or by the establishment of such irrevocable legal instruments as charitable and non-charitable trusts and foundations. Decisions and actions that lead to dynasty are normally formulated within the first few generations of wealth" (p. 72). Issues arise as determinations are made about how much wealth is to be passed along, and how much of the capital must be protected and grown in order for individuals to be able to provide for

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their nuclear families and have enough left over to donate (Clignet 1992; Odendahl 1990).

Odendahl has observed a pattern in these "dynasties" that she characterizes as "cyclic" (1990:79). She argues that the family dynasty is most stable in the third generation of wealth. Individual philanthropists from this generation, she says, are more comfortable and confident of their position in the world than are those of other generations. Newly wealthy philanthropists are getting their footing and establishing their "pedigree". Those in the second generation are caught up in the transition to "old wealth" and, although there is probably more actual capital at this phase, they worry that they won't handle it as well as did those who made it in the first place. Those in the fourth and fifth generations "harbor a great deal of ambivalence about their standing" (Odendahl 1990:79).

"Over time, new money becomes old money" (Odendahl 1990:71). Ostrower (1995) argues that the social structures of the philanthropy world have changed considerably in recent years. She describes a weakening of boundaries based on status group membership within the culture of philanthropy in the 1970s and 1980s that allowed new, and previously excluded millionaires to "rise to prominence in philanthropy" (p. 48). She purports that this opening up of the philanthropic world generates new sources of support that work to strengthen and sustain the meaning and role of philanthropy within the larger elite, and argues that as the culture of philanthropy opens to new members, they become integrated into the culture of philanthropy over time. Newcomers, or their descendents, eventually become the "old guard" as they assume their positions in the culture of philanthropy. These previously closed systems of the

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upper-class-social-elite culture of philanthropy have not only had to open up to newcomers, they have also begun to recruit people who are newly wealthy in order to survive (Ostrower 1995).

Zweigenhaft and Domhoff (1998) claim that it takes "at least three generations to rise from the bottom to the top in the United States" (p. 6). They also say that assimilation becomes an important part of successfully attaining membership in the upper class. "Newcomers who seek to join the power elite have to find ways to demonstrate their loyalty to those who dominate American Institutions – straight white Christian males" (p. 177).

A Different Culture of Philanthropy?

Odendahl (1990), Ostrower (1995), and Zweigenhaft and Domhoff (1998) all argue that the upper-class-social-elite culture remains relatively unchanged as newcomers become assimilated into this culture. These and other studies of elite philanthropy have neglected to explore the possibility that not all wealthy philanthropists aspire to membership in the upper-class-social-elite culture of philanthropy (Kendall 2002; McCarthy 1982; Odendahl 1987, 1989; Ostrander 1984; Schervish and Herman 1988). As we shall see, a percentage of the old wealth philanthropists in this study *are* members of this culture, and are engaged in the process of extending the boundaries of the elite culture of philanthropy to those who are newly wealthy and are interested in joining this elite culture. Others in the sample, however, are engaged in a different culture of philanthropy that is not elite and seeks to include any and all who have the financial resources to participate.

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Four Categories of Sample Philanthropists

Instead of the two subsystems of sample philanthropists that I had expected to find (those who were newly wealthy and those who came from old wealth families), I discovered that there were four subsystems of philanthropists in the sample (see Table 6.1). I based my categorizations of these philanthropists on my observations of them, of what I could see of how they lived when I interviewed them, and on what they said to me about their worldviews and about their beliefs and practices of philanthropy. Essentially, I found that there are two groups of sample philanthropists who are interested in being members of the upper-class-social-elite culture of philanthropy, and two groups who are not interested. Those who are interested in membership in the elite culture of philanthropy are labeled Old Wealth Elite and New Wealth/Aspiring. The two groups of sample philanthropists who are not interested in being members of the upper-class-social-elite culture of philanthropy are labeled Old Wealth/Eschewing and New Wealth/Not Interested. Table 6.1 shows the four subsystems of sample philanthropists as related to the percent of the sample that is represented in each subsystem, and the number of generations of wealth those in each category come from.

Table 6.1 Subsystems of Sample Philanthropists N=40

Category	% Sample	Generations of Wealth
Old Wealth Elite	25%	3-5
New Wealth/Aspiring	28%	1
Old Wealth/Eschewing	25%	2-3
New Wealth/Not Interested	22%	1
Total	100%	

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Old Wealth Elite

Those who fit into the category of Old Wealth Elite come from three, four and five generations of wealth and are firmly ensconced in the upper-class-social-elite culture of philanthropy. These philanthropists engage in the practices of philanthropy because it is what members of the upper class are expected to do. Their emphasis is on the social connections that their philanthropy offers to them; they cultivate connections with others of their elite culture. They are comfortable with their wealth and, although they speak of giving back to society, the Old Wealth Elite tend to be self-serving in that they give back to the upper-class society that they have been part of for generations. They primarily support the traditional organizations that their families have supported over time and are more likely to engage in "formal giving"; they write checks in response to formal requests for funds. They evidence a certain self-importance as they seem to believe that they are superior to other people and that they are more qualified therefore to determine how their money is spent by the organizations to which they donate and, as we shall see in Chapter Seven, they tend to take a leadership role in some of the organizations to which they donate.

Of the ten sample philanthropists in this category, half have married other members of the upper class, and half have married outside of their class. Eight are involved in community foundations, and seven have their own family foundations. Two are X-Generation members, five are from the 60s generation and three are from the WWII generation. Three are Democrats, four are Republicans, and three are registered Independents. Some of these philanthropists are helping the New Wealth/Aspiring group

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of philanthropists in their efforts to become acculturated to their elite culture of philanthropy.

New Wealth/Aspiring

The interviews in this study occurred in the years 2002 and 2003 following the economic prosperity of the 1990s. The newly wealthy participants in the study include people who have accumulated enormous wealth during this period. Those sample philanthropists who are in the New Wealth/Aspiring category have married into, applied to or been recruited into the culture of elite philanthropy. Many of them are young and have been interested primarily in providing for their families and developing a sense of financial stability before they venture into the world of philanthropy. Others are older, more secure, and very focused on their philanthropy as they devote much of their time learning the ropes from their mentors and trying to "do it right", they way that these "old guard" members of the upper-class-elite culture of philanthropy have been doing it for generations.

Those who are labeled New Wealth/Aspiring are similar in their practices of philanthropy to those who serve as their mentors and who sponsor their membership in the elite culture of philanthropy. They tend to categorize their philanthropy as traditional and they evidence a certain sense of self-interest as they give to organizations that their Old Wealth/Elite mentors support. They view their philanthropy as an obligation and their giving tends to be formal. They are comfortable with their wealth and tend to believe that they are important, by virtue of their ability to accumulate wealth. They believe that they are more qualified to make decisions about how their donations should be used by the organizations to which they give than are the recipients of their gifts.

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Of the eleven sample philanthropists in this category, six have married members of their own middle class, two have married members of the upper class, and three are single. Six are involved in community foundations; none have their own family foundations. Four are 60s generation members and seven are WWII generation members. Nine are Democrats and two are Republicans.

Old Wealth/Eschewing

Those who fit into the category of Old Wealth/Eschewing come from two or three generations of wealth and, although they have been born into it, they are not interested in remaining a part of the upper-class-social-elite culture of philanthropy. Because they have been members of the elite culture of philanthropy, however, they are in various stages of transition as they move out of the elite culture, and some may continue to manifest some of the characteristics of this elite culture despite their eschewing of it. Those in this subset have struggled with coming to terms with their wealth and say that they are interested in living comfortably, but simply. They tend to not think that their wealth is deserved, and their "giving back" is, for the most part, aimed at change and at improving things for the larger society.

These sample philanthropists think very carefully about their philanthropy and are strategic about what they do with their money and their time. As we shall see, their giving tends to be more informal than that of those in the Old Wealth/Elite and in the New Wealth/Aspiring subsets, and they believe that the recipients of their donations should make their own decisions about how they are used. They see themselves as partners or collaborators with those to whom they donate their money, and say that they are working to "rectify the inequities in society that make philanthropy possible". While

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they enjoy the social connections that their philanthropy offers them, they speak of the connections that they are able to make with the recipients of their donations and with people from all walks of life.

In this category, eight of the ten have married outside of their class. Eight are involved in community foundations and five have family foundations. Nine are members of the 60s generation and one is a WWII generation member. Seven are Democrats and three are Independents.

The fact that so many of the philanthropists in this subset are 60s generation members is, I believe, significant to their eschewing of the elite culture of philanthropy. I would argue that their exposure to the civil rights movement and to the subsequent rights movements of the latter half of the twentieth century affected them in such a way that it led them to question the beliefs and practices of the elite culture of philanthropy and to develop their own beliefs and practices of philanthropy. These philanthropists were exposed to and influenced by the peace movement, the environmental movement, the women's liberation movement, and the gay/lesbian liberation movement, which I believe influenced their choices about how to practice philanthropy, as we shall see below.

New Wealth/Not Interested

The New Wealth/Not Interested philanthropists have become wealthy in their lifetimes and are not at all interested in becoming part of the social-elite culture of philanthropy. Many of these are wealthy people who are not comfortable with their wealth and wish to better the lives of people around them who have not been as fortunate as they have been. They have been raised in service-oriented families who expected them to give back to society and, while they are not necessarily aiming to be like their

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Old Wealth/Eschewing counterparts, they tend to give to the same change-oriented organizations. These sample philanthropists are very careful and thoughtful in their giving practices. Several attend conferences to learn about how to go about practicing their philanthropy. Some have hired consultants to help them with decisions about their giving.

Of the nine sample philanthropists in this category, four have married members of their (middle) class, one married a member of the upper class, and four are single. Only two are involved in community foundations; none have family foundations. Three are X Generation members, three are 60s generation members and three are WWII generation members. Eight are Democrats and one is an Independent.

From Composites to Individual Voices

Up to this point I have used composites to discuss the developments in the data analysis, as they offered a way to present the material in groupings that made sense, given the initial division of the respondents into categories of old and new wealth. With the development of the four subsystems of sample philanthropists it now becomes more useful for each respondent to use his/her individual voice. Each respondent is given a name and is categorized according to the above subsets (see Table 6.2 below). I continue to alter identifiers in order to protect each person's confidentiality, and discuss each person's beliefs and practices of philanthropy in detail when quotations are used in order to elucidate the discussion. While all of the participants are not necessarily quoted, each quote is representative of the views of the others in each category and, unless otherwise stated, each quote is one that the others in the subset do not contradict.

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Table 6.2 Categories and Names of Philanthropists

Old/Elite	New/Aspiring	Old/Eschewing	New/Not Interested
Jackie	Janice	Nate	Barry
Peter	Paul	Ben	Karen
Kate	Dan	Ray	Lisa
Laura	Barbara	Michael	Jeff
Bill	Nora	Sheila	Sharon
Connie	Mary	Sarah	Richard
Stuart	Andrew	Tom	Priscilla
Robert	Anne	Jay	Linda
Paula	Jennifer	Mark	Martha
Jerry	Julie	Elizabeth	
	Fred		
N=10	**N=11**	**N=10**	**N=9 Total=40**

In the following pages I examine the similarities and differences between the philanthropists in the different subsets as related to: their areas of giving, their relative generosity, their sense of power and privilege, issues of guilt, ways in which they have come to terms with their wealth, and how they handle wealth with their children, their families, and their friends.

Areas of Giving

An examination of the data on the giving practices of those sample philanthropists in each subsystem (see Table 6.3) finds that those who are in the Old/Elite and the New/Aspiring categories, by their own evaluation, give their largest gifts primarily to traditional organizations. Those who are in the Old/Eschewing and New/Not Interested categories, say that they give their largest gifts primarily to change-oriented organizations.

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6. 3 Categories of Philanthropists and Giving Type (Self-Categorized) (N=40)

Giving	Old/Elite	New/Aspiring	Old/Eschewing	New/Not	Total
Change	2	2	9	7	20
Traditional	7	7	1	1	16
50/50	1	2	0	1	4
Totals	N=10	N=11	N=10	N=9	N=40

These are not surprising findings if we think of those who are Old/Elite philanthropists as supporting the organizations that they have given to for generations, and those who are interested in becoming elite philanthropists as following in the footsteps of those who are already established in the culture. Donations to traditional organizations have been described as part of American Philanthropy – "a system of 'generosity' by which the wealthy exercise social control and help themselves more than they do others" (Odendahl 1990:245).

It also makes sense that those are in the Old/Eschewing and New/Not Interested subsets would say that they give more to change-oriented organizations than to traditional organizations. These are the sample philanthropists who say that they are more interested in "giving back" to society; some of them are working to alter social structures and to administer social justice.

An analysis of the specific areas to which the sample philanthropists give their largest gifts (see Table 6.4) finds that, of the OldWealth/Elite philanthropists, only two give to the traditional culture/education/religion organizations while the remaining eight are divided evenly in giving to social services and the environment. Of the New Wealth/Aspiring philanthropists, six give their largest gifts to traditional organizations of

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culture/education/religion, while three give their largest gifts to social services, one gives to the environment, and one gives to rights/advocacy. (It is interesting to note that the one person in this subset who gives to rights/advocacy is a lawyer who is gay.) All of the Old Wealth/Eschewing philanthropists give to non-traditional organizations: three give their largest gifts to social services, six to the environment, and one to rights/advocacy. Of the New Wealth/Not Interested philanthropists, the majority gives their largest gifts to social services and to the environment.

6. 4 Category of Philanthropist and Giving Area (Self-Categorized) (N=40)

Giving	Old/Elite	New/Aspiring	Old/Eschewing	New/Not	Total
Culture/Ed/Rel	2	6	0	2	10
Social Services	4	3	3	4	14
Environment	4	1	6	3	14
Rights/Advocacy	0	1	1	0	2
Totals	N=10	N=11	N=10	N=9	N=40

As we saw in Chapter Five, a large number of the sample philanthropists give their largest gifts to the environment and to social services (a total of 28). It is notable that six of those who are in the New Wealth/Aspiring category give to the category of culture/education/religion. This may be an indication of their awareness that the elite, whom they wish to join, have supported these traditional organizations for generations, and may have to do with their strategy as they try to learn the ropes and begin to participate in the elite culture of philanthropy.

It is also of interest that the majority of those who are in the Old Wealth/Eschewing category give their largest gifts to the environment. This may be a

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product of their wish to preserve the geographic area in which they have chosen to live. Another possible explanation for this giving pattern is that such a large number (eight) of these Old Wealth/Eschewing sample philanthropists married outside of their class; a strong indicator that they don't adhere to elite values and norms. It also may be due to the fact that many of these sample philanthropists are members of the 60s generation and became environmental activists during that time.

Sixties Activism and Giving Practices of Old Wealth/Eschewing

Ben, who comes from three generations of wealth and is gay, single, and one of the two philanthropists in the sample who give their largest gifts to advocacy groups, says that the protest music of the 60s had a great influence on his philanthropic beliefs and practices:

> There's a great tradition of public service in my extended family. I've grown up with that. In my immediate family I didn't have a daily exposure to philanthropy and what that meant. I would say only a few years ago did I begin to reflect on how I got it. One of the major influences was protest music of the 60's. It was the first place I ever heard about the situation of women, the situation of laborers, and people of color. I picked up a lot and became aware that there are other people in the world that don't have the privilege I have.

Michael comes from four generations of wealth and married a woman from a middle class background whom he met in college. He talked about how deeply he was affected by the activism of the 60s, focusing particularly on how he developed the belief that he could really have an impact and make significant changes in society with his philanthropy:

> Those of us who were part of the 60s generation certainly have that activism implanted into us. I was chair of Earth Day when I was 16. There is the feeling of knowing that

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> you can achieve something. If you put your mind to it you can make change. You can facilitate change and improve the way of life in our society by the things that you believe in, by putting your money, time, and energy into whatever it is.

Ray, who also married a woman from a middle class background and comes from three generations of wealth, concurred that growing up in the 60s had had a big effect on his belief in his ability to effect change through his philanthropy:

> That's classic 60s stuff, that you actually believe in your soul that you can make a difference and that you can change the world through your simple acts. That idealism hopefully doesn't die out. I don't see it in the 30-year-olds but I don't know. I haven't seen it. I see it in the late 40 and 50-year-olds because we grew up in that time when you felt you really could do it. The fact is you really have. Take the Merrimack River, for example. When I was in prep school, you'd die if you fell in it, and now it has salmon in it.

These Old Wealth/Eschewing philanthropists do appear to be trying to change the world through their acts of philanthropy.

How Philanthropists Contribute

Philanthropists are, by definition, involved in the practices of giving. These sample philanthropists contribute through donations of their money, their time, and their fund-raising skills. Generosity is a relative construct, however, and while their dollar amounts may be high, their relative generosity is variable.

According to a recent study reported in *American Demographics* (Gardyn 2003), while wealthier people donate more money, lower-income earners tend to give away a greater percentage of their income. "People earning less than $25,000 contribute an average of 4.2% of their household income to charitable groups, while those making

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$100,000 or more shell out an average of 2.7% of earnings" (Gardyn 2003: 46). This has been a consistent finding by the Independent Sector, a Washington, D.C. nonprofit organization that has been tracking charitable giving in the larger U. S. population since 1987 (Gardyn 2003).

In this study, 57% of the philanthropists say that they give 2-10% of their income annually, 35% say that they give 20-33%, and 8% say that they give 100% or more of their income annually. Income is a complicated issue in wealthy populations, as it may include such funds as returns on inherited wealth in addition to annual earnings from a profession.

Regardless of how many generations of wealth they have behind them, most of the sample philanthropists speak of the need to go through a period of becoming established in their lives prior to getting actively involved in the practices of philanthropy. They say that they must be certain that their spouses and children are well provided for before they feel that they can enter into the world of philanthropy in a substantial way. They also talk about the need to become established in their respective professions before giving of their time.

As Martha, who is in her 50s and is in the New Wealth/Not Interested category aptly put it:

> I strongly support the idea that giving away money and time to making the world a better place is a desirable thing, but that does not come ahead of everything else. In establishing who you are -- even establishing a successful business and making money -- having a family and good relationship, those come first, because if they don't come first, you won't be happy and you won't give away money wisely.

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The question becomes: how much time and how much money is enough to establish who one is and to support one's family, and how much time and money is enough to give away? Beyond this, how much does one wish to pass along to the generations to come, both in one's own family and in the larger society? As we shall see, the responses to these questions are different for those in each subset as they relate differently to their wealth, to the upper-class-social-elite culture of philanthropy, and to the larger society.

Donations of Money

Most of the philanthropists in the study say that they don't think about their giving as a percentage of their income; they are, however, able to make guesstimates about how much they give. Table 6.5 shows the variable generosity of the philanthropists in each subset.(Percent Income categories are based on ranges of the specific percentages that respondents gave)

Table 6.5 Subsystems of Philanthropists and Percent of Income Donated

Percent Income	Old/Elite	New/Aspiring	Old/Eschew	New/Not	Total
2-10%	5	8	6	4	23
20-33%	5	2	2	5	14
100%+	0	1	2	0	3
Total	N=10	N=11	N=10	N=9	N=40

Of those philanthropists who are in the Old/Elite category, half say that they donate 2-10% of their income and half say that they donate 20-33%. These numbers are similar to those in the New/Not Interested category, in which five say that they donate 2-10% and four say they donate 20-33% of their income. While it is difficult to draw

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precise conclusions from this data, it is interesting to note that the breakdown of the donated income percentages is almost the same for those in the Old/Elite and those in the New/Not Interested categories. Perhaps this is because those in both categories are not in the process of transitioning into or out of the elite culture of philanthropy. The breakdown for the New Wealth/Aspiring subsystem is also almost identical to that of the Old Wealth/Eschewing subsystems. This may be because due to the fact those in these subsystems are in the process of transitioning into or out of the elite culture of philanthropy. It makes sense that more of those in the New/Aspiring category would give smaller percentages of their income than would those in the Old/Elite category, as they are not as established or as comfortable with their wealth.

As previously stated, some respondents were unwilling to disclose their net worth and income, and the reported annual incomes ranged from $30,000 (donating 10% of income) to $12,000,000 (donating 10-20% of income). Given the lack of complete data, it is impossible to determine whether the philanthropists in each subset give equivalent amounts of money. They are much more forthcoming about the amount of time they donate.

Donations of Time

All of the sample philanthropists say that they sit on advisory boards of nonprofit organizations in addition to volunteering their time in more hands-on ways (the details of which we shall see in Chapter Seven). An analysis of the percent of time that these subsystems of sample philanthropists say that they contribute to their philanthropy (see Table 6.6) finds that they spend relatively equivalent amounts of time on their

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philanthropy. (Percentages are grouped based on specific ranges of responses that participants gave).

Table 6.6 Subsystems of Philanthropists and Percent Time Spent on Philanthropy

Time on Philanthropy	Old/Elite	New/Aspire	Old/Eschew	New/Not	Totals
1-10%	4	4	4	5	17
25-75%	5	5	5	4	19
100%	1	2	1	0	4
Total	N=10	N=11	N=10	N=9	N=40

Those in the Old/Elite, Old/Eschewing and New/Aspiring categories say that they donate equivalent amounts of time to their philanthropy. Those in the Old/Elite, New/Aspiring and Old/Eschewing categories donate slightly more time than do those who are newly wealthy and not interested in becoming members of the elite culture of philanthropy. All of those who say that they donate 100% of their time are women.

One might think that the newly wealthy philanthropists would donate less time to their philanthropy, as they have been working to accumulate their wealth in their lifetimes. This is not true for this sample of philanthropists. Those in the New/Aspiring and New/Not Interested categories are quite innovative in their approaches to philanthropy, as we shall see below.

Included in their donations of time and money, these philanthropists are all involved in fund-raising efforts. They often chair capital campaigns, sponsor lavish fundraisers, participate in charity events, and provide large endowments to organizations in efforts to catalyze others to donate money.

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Fund-Raising

In their fund-raising efforts those who are newly wealthy tend to have much in common with one another, as do those who come from generations of wealth. Many of the newly wealthy philanthropists speak of leveraging their philanthropy, a similar concept to the "strategic philanthropy" that those who come from generations of wealth talk about. The difference is that those who come from generations of wealth use their family name, reputation and money to raise funds. Having made their millions in the business world, and needing to provide first for their families, the newly wealthy sample philanthropists are interested in using their assets to make more assets.

New Wealth. While the actual amounts of money they donate are relatively small, the newly wealthy philanthropists tend to give of their time and of their skills and other resources, using these in their efforts to leverage money from others.

Janice, who is in her 50s and in the New Wealth/Aspiring category, talks about this leveraging of assets. She and her husband recently accumulated large amounts of money in the stock market and are just beginning to be involved in the philanthropy world:

> The percentage that we donate is small, probably smaller than average because of where we are in our lives. Less than five percent is a guesstimate. I think we contribute a lot more time than other people do. What we've found, and what we tell the organizations that ask us and that we agree to become involved with, is everybody has capital needs, and we understand that. It's a contribution we're willing to make to the extent we can. Again, some of the most rewarding have been non-financial contributions. For example, we're fortunate enough to own a large home. We've chosen on occasion to share that with organizations. We love having parties. We've contributed an event.

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Lisa, in her 30s, is also newly wealthy, but in the New/Not Interested category. She speaks of donating a percentage of her company's time in a way that serves to leverage their philanthropy, making nonprofits more visible to the community and thus more likely to be supported by other donors:

> What I'm most proud of is how I've used my organization as a tool to contribute to the community. This whole company has rallied to benefit the community. I use people here to work on nonprofit projects. We developed something called the pro bono partnership program. The staff selects one nonprofit per year that we're going donate our services to for the year. We donate 200 hours of work to a nonprofit. It makes a huge difference to the nonprofit, but more importantly to me, it helps educate the staff about what's going on in the community. It's a real outreach opportunity for the nonprofits.

Jeff, who is also in his 30s and in the New/Not Interested category, talks about a concept called "cause marketing", in which he and his company offer a percentage of their income from sales of a product toward a particular cause. In this way his company has been able to raise millions of dollars that they donate to cancer research.

Old Wealth. The sample philanthropists who come from old wealth backgrounds speak of using their family name to get others to support a project that they are interested in, donating large amounts of money to certain concerns in an effort to get others on board, or donating smaller amounts of money to causes that they are not necessarily interested in so that they can get others to participate.

Jay, who is in his 40s and in the Old Wealth/Eschewing category is a third generation philanthropist who uses his name and his family foundation to draw out others strategically in support of projects that deal with problems he is interested in but doesn't have enough money to "solve".

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> I use the XX Foundation as a way to organize my choices of giving, but also as a way to discover those strategic funds. There's not enough money to solve all of these problems, so I like to find the places where even a small amount, if I don't have it, a small amount can have an impact by getting others involved.

Michael, in his 50s and also an Old Wealth/Eschewing philanthropist, talked about using his connections and offering to support the causes of other philanthropists in order to get others who have connections involved in supporting organizations that he would like to support:

> Then, quite honestly, there is a whole other category, which is once you're involved in fundraising yourself, you gain obligations because you've asked somebody else for money and they can call in the chips. Sometimes I'll say 'I know you're trying to raise money' to someone whose name or something is essential to something I'm doing. I say, 'I know you're not interested in this, but I need to broaden it beyond me so I'll give you a thousand for your project if you'll get involved in mine".

Peter, in his 40s and in the Old Wealth/Elite category, uses his name, his reputation as a philanthropist, and his family's money and connections to strategically raise money large amounts of money for causes that he is interested in supporting:

> I have to be quite honest about my willingness to support something so I can get other people to do it. You have to do that if you want to get other people to support something. You have to be on the front line. I've raised a lot of money over the past twenty years in the state. My parents have been very generous, and the family name carries a lot of weight. People perceive me as being able to access some of the larger gifts.

Both leveraging and strategic philanthropy have to do with using assets and connections to generate more assets and connections. The only difference seems to be that those who come from generations of wealth are able to use their family name and

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their family's connections in the process of strategic philanthropy, while those who are newly wealthy can use their assets and skills to leverage more dollars.

Formality/Informality of Giving

These sample philanthropists also differ in the ways in which they make their donations. Those who fit into the Old Wealth/Elite and New Wealth/Aspiring categories are similar to one another in that they tend to donate their money by writing checks to organizations and institutions that formally solicit their funds. Several of the Old Wealth/Eschewing and New Wealth/Not Interested philanthropists donate their money in more informal ways.

Nate and Sarah, who are in the Old/Eschewing category, and Jeff and Richard, who are in the New/Not Interested category, are generous in informal ways with family, friends and neighbors who are less fortunate than they. Nate, in his 40s, had given twenty of his friends' children full tuition for their college educations for Christmas the previous year. Jeff, in his 30s, had given his mother a new house and had put several of his nieces and nephews through school. Richard, in his 60s, supports some of the projects that the community foundation decides to not fund because he finds them interesting and thinks that they should be supported. Sarah, in her 40s, has developed several informal scholarships for children who come from her area and are interested in going to college.

Elizabeth, who is in her 70s and in the Old Wealth/Eschewing category, has found a creative way to practice her philanthropy. She formally adopted a woman in her late 40s who worked for her in her company and made her part of her family. She thought of it as an opportunity and a gift to herself:

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> Yes, a wonderful one. It's a privilege to be able to adopt somebody when they're 40 or 50 years old. It's because I wanted to leave her something, and to make sure that the inheritance laws didn't get in the way. She was always intended to be treated as an equal to my children, and so I just thought that's one way I can do this. I did it 10 - 15 years ago. I think one of the other kids knows it but I didn't think it was important. I saw no reason to tell them. They shouldn't feel any differently about her as a sister, and they don't. It's quite a gift, except I'm the one that's getting the benefit from it. I really am.

Karen, who is in the New Wealth/Not Interested category, informally donates money each year to a woman and her family whom she had met on vacation when she was younger:

> I spent my childhood going to the Bahamas. There's a woman who we grew up knowing there who lived in poverty and whose life affected me. Later on my husband and I would give her money as much as we could every year to help her out with her family.

These informal practices of philanthropy by those who are either eschewing or not interested in membership in the upper-class-social-elite culture of philanthropy are exceptions that may be paving avenues for new forms of philanthropy. They are unsolicited and are intended to better the life situations of their recipients. These philanthropists are able to get much personal satisfaction from their giving, and in this sense their philanthropy could be said to be self-serving. Their donations have, at the same time, made better places of their worlds as well as the larger world as they have been able to better the life situations of others.

I turn now to a discussion of the power and privilege that come with wealth, and the ways in which these sample philanthropists handle it.

Power and Privilege

Power and privilege are some of the benefits that wealth affords, according

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to Class Dominance Theory (Domhoff 1967, 1970, 1978, 1983, 1990, 1998), and philanthropy is a mechanism through which those in positions of power and privilege have been said to work to maintain their place in society (Kendall 2002; Odendahl 1987, 1989, 1990; Ostrander 1984; Ostrower 1995; Schervish and Herman 1988). The philanthropists in each category in this study relate differently to issues of power and privilege, and only some of them are interested in maintaining their positions in society.

An excerpt from Andrew Carnegie's 1889 essay "Wealth" offers a useful point of reference to work from in examining how each subsystem relates to these issues:

> This, then, is held to be the duty of the man of Wealth: First, to set an example of modest, unostentatious living, shunning display or extravagance; to provide moderately for the legitimate wants of those dependent upon him; and after doing so to consider all surplus revenues which come to him simply as trust funds, which he is called upon to administer, and strictly bound as a matter of duty to administer in the manner which, *in his judgment* [emphasis added], is best calculated to produce the most beneficial result for the community- the man of wealth thus becoming the sole agent and trustee for his poorer brethren, bringing to their service his *superior wisdom, experience, and ability* [emphasis added] to administer- *doing for them better than they would or could do for themselves* [emphasis added] (62).

Those in the Old Wealth/Elite and New Wealth/Aspiring categories adhere quite closely to Carnegie's instructions on how to administer their wealth, with the exception that they do not necessarily set an example of "modest, unostentatious living". Those in the Old Wealth/Eschewing and New Wealth/Not interested categories tend to take this part of Carnegie's instructions to heart; they live simply. However, they do not tend to believe that their "wisdom, experience, and ability" are capable of doing better for

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recipients of their philanthropy than they could do for themselves. They believe that recipients of their philanthropy can best make decisions for themselves. Rather than giving to maintain their positions of power and privilege in society, those philanthropists in these subsets give to "even the playing field", "give back to society", and "rectify inequities". A discussion of how those in each subset relate to issues of power and privilege is offered below.

OldWealth/Elite

Ostrander (1984) has said that children of the elite are taught early to believe that they are different from children of other socioeconomic classes. "They learn that they have special talents and special responsibilities.... They are both protected and prodded so they can become the very best of what they can be, within the acceptable boundaries of class expectations" (Ostrander 1984:70). Weber observed the importance members of the upper class placed on feeling that their good fortune was deserved ([1922] 1963).

Those who fit into the Old Wealth Elite category appear comfortable with their sense of privilege and seem to think it is "earned". They speak of their philanthropy as an obligation and a practice that they have been born to, and talk of having benefited from the transmission of power and privilege. For many, the practices of philanthropy are a vehicle through which they are able to connect with others in their social class. Some speak in veiled ways about the feeling that they are superior to other people and are thus more capable of making decisions about what should happen in society. In this subsystem, the sample philanthropists think that they should have a say about how their donations are used.

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Decision-making. This belief about decision-making is evidenced by Connie, who is in her 60s and comes from five generations of wealth. She thinks that recipients of donations should really not be involved in decisions about how the donations are used in the organization to which the donations have been made. She thinks that it is important to involve recipients as much as possible in the dialogue, but she says that this requires patience and understanding. The bottom line for her is that it is her money:

> People representing it (the organization) are doing the best of their ability in any part of it, so I'm all for trying to be patient and understanding and having them come on board with us. It's not a simple solution, though. It is my money after all.

Paula, in her 40s, believes that she knows the best way to make things happen, and speaks about the importance of "solving" community problems:

> We philanthropists as individuals need to listen to what's going on in the community, and figure out the best way we can to make that happen, and try to solve some of those problems.

Laura, in her 30s, has grown up in the area and, although she says that she has tried to reject her social status, she is clear that she does not think recipients should be involved in decision-making about how they use donated funds. She emphasizes the traditional values of philanthropy as she says that it is important to remember who is serving whom:

> When I look back at what might have been that old boys network, I've certainly rejected that. In general, I've tried to reject the air of being better than - social status.... I don't think recipients should be involved in decisions about how the money is used. I think it's a conflict of interest and I think you dilute the vision of the people that may want to make a statement about their grant giving or their own particular mission with grant giving. I feel like we need to revisit those traditional values of philanthropy, and figure out who's serving whom.

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Although she says that she has rejected the old boys network, she values the social connections that she has made and sustains through her philanthropy, "It was in my blood to do... a lot of connections have come out of it".

Social Connections. The connections that these philanthropists are able to make through their practices of philanthropy are an important aspect of their giving. Bill, who is in his 30s, only gives to those organizations to which he has connections. It is important to him to know who the people are in the organizations that he supports, and he prefers that they be run by people that are his friends:

> Every cause has a story, which resonates with an individual, or not. For me it's very personal. It's about who the people are. Are they friends? What quality of work are they doing?

Stuart, in his 70s, is quite open about the fact that his philanthropy is self-serving. For him, the social side of things comes first, and the reality of whether he is contributing to the community is secondary:

> I care to some extent for the well being of my community, that's definitely second layer. While I have things that I'm interested in that I give money to, there isn't anything about philanthropy that interests me really. What is most important to me is the social contact it provides.

Peter, in his 40s, agrees that the social aspect of philanthropy is what is important, and the stimulation and fulfillment he gets from being involved are exciting to him. He thinks about his philanthropy as a form of "social engineering", and believes that he and the people with whom he connects in the philanthropy world are able to make change happen in the "best possible ways":

> Here's the selfish side of the thing, which I'll be very honest to say is, it's the connections that one makes, and the stimulus and the fulfillment that I enjoy.... I hate the term social

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> engineering, because it sounds really weird and I don't like it at all, but the fact is you've got people who have new ideas and great things and want to have change. They connect with people who have connections, or who have resources, or business whatever it is that can make those changes happen, and they make sure that they happen *in the best possible ways* (emphasis mine).

Jerry, in his 40s, moved to the area from the Midwest. He speaks of his experience in entering the world of the elite culture of philanthropy in the area, emphasizing the importance of making social contacts:

> I really enjoyed the quality of the people, the social interaction I received from being involved in the organizations, and also, the giving mattered. There was a certain amount of social climbing. There were certain developments, certain people I met. Things I never would have been involved in or learned about. Now I use my network to benefit people I think are going to serve the public well.

The sample philanthropists in the Old Wealth Elite subsystem are aware of their power and privilege and believe that they are entitled to it. They believe that by virtue of being members of the upper-class-social-elite culture of philanthropy they are equipped with superior knowledge and experience that has prepared them to decide how their wealth should be used by those to whom they donate funds. They engage in the practices of philanthropy because it is expected of them, and their emphasis is on the social connections that it offers them.

New Wealth/Aspiring

Those who are in the New Wealth/Aspiring category evidence a sense of self-importance and self-interest as they speak about their practices of philanthropy. Like the Old Wealth/Elite, they speak of feeling that they are better equipped to make decisions about how their donations are used than are the recipients of the donations. Although

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they are newly wealthy, they seem to believe that they are more qualified to deal with these decisions than are members of the organizations to which they are donating their money.

Decision-Making. Like those in the Old Wealth/Elite subset, those in the New Wealth/Aspiring group believe that they should have a say in decisions about how the money that they donate is used. Janice is in her 50s and evidences her sense of self-importance when she says that she is "one of the most participatory people in the state". She views her philanthropy as very significant, and her commitment to community as unusual:

> As you can imagine, we are solicited worldwide. We get constant requests all the time... I am sure there are very few people that have the kind of commitment to community that I do.

When asked about whether she thinks that recipients of donations should be involved in decisions about how the money is used, she says that she believes that it is important for her to make certain that the money is used for pursuits that she believes are important:

> If I am giving to that organization, I have a responsibility to see to it that it is going to programs and efforts that I believe in.

Paul is in his 60s and his wealth is both a product of his business pursuits and a product of his marriage to a woman who came from an old wealth family. He says that their philanthropy serves their self-interest. While he talks about supporting social justice issues, he characterizes his philanthropy as self-serving:

> Our philanthropy serves our self-interest in a broad sense. We are interested in maintaining sort of an effective civil society, in the sense of supporting the arts, and the

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broader cultural context of society... I feel very fortunate that we've been in a position to support things. You can really make things happen.

Anne, who is in her 60s, speaks of the self-serving aspect of her giving. She says that it is a mechanism through which she is able to advance values that she holds, and though she feels recipients should not have a say in how the money is used, she believes it is important not to patronize them:

> I see it personally as helping advance the values that I hold, though you've got to be careful not to patronize those folks.

Social Connections. These philanthropists are also interested in developing and enhancing their connections with others in the upper-class-social-elite culture of philanthropy through their practices of philanthropy.

Dan, who is in his 60s, feels very identified with his fellow philanthropists because of the donations he has contributed. His philanthropy helps him to feel connected and involved with the people he feels are important in the philanthropy world:

> I was involved in a lot of things that happened here. I was a member of the board of xx almost at the beginning; I served for a number of years. I was part of the development committee and I've watched the town develop... I feel like I've participated in all these things and known all the people involved that ever did anything around xx.

Although they are new to the culture of philanthropy, these New Wealth/Aspiring philanthropists give, as do their sponsors and mentors, because it is something that they believe that they are obligated to do. They believe that they should make decisions about how their donations are used by the organizations to which they give. They are interested in the social connections that their giving offers, and they exhibit a sense of superiority and self-importance about their philanthropy that those in the Old Wealth/Eschewing and in the New Wealth/Not Interested categories don't evidence.

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Old Wealth/Eschewing

Those sample philanthropists who have come from old wealth families and are eschewing their families' elite lifestyles and value systems are aware of the imbalances in society and are interested in trying to address some of those imbalances. They tend to believe that it is important to let the organizations to which they donate make their own decisions about how things should happen in their particular organization.

Decision-making. Rather than positioning themselves as more important and more informed than those to whom they are donating funds, those in the Old Wealth/Eschewing subset try to learn from them and help them in collaborative ways.

Sheila, who is in her 50s and comes from an old wealth family, feels a sense of responsibility toward her fellow man, and thinks that the recipients of her donations are capable of figuring things out for themselves:

> I do believe that it's our responsibility as human beings to help other human beings. They can figure out best how to work that for themselves.

Jay, in his 40s is also not interested in being directly involved in what happens with his donations. He gets excited about what he calls "organized spontaneity":

> I'm more interested in endorsing good people and good work than I am on focusing in on the specific outcomes. I think it is more exciting to see what happens than to try to control it. I'm a great believer in unintended consequences, or organized spontaneity if there is such a thing. I believe that often we focus on the center of the work, the piece of work at hand but the enduring and probably more substantial results are in the concentric circles around them.

Elizabeth, in her 70s and from three generations of wealth, believes that recipients should be involved in decisions about how donations are used:

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> It's important that they feel part of whatever is going on. Then they feel part of the solution.

Social Connections. Those in the Old Wealth/Eschewing subset do not tend to view their philanthropy as geared toward developing social connections with other philanthropists. They are, rather, interested in developing connections with a diverse group of people.

Ray is in his 40s and has grown up in a "Forbes 400 family". He is interested in living simply and in "giving back" to society with his donations. He views his philanthropy as an expression of his interconnection with all of humanity, and sees his philanthropy as a response to the inequities of the world:

> This is my gift. This is where I feel the pain of the world.

He succinctly characterizes his philanthropic goal as trying to effect social change by coming from a place that is not about self-interest:

> I believe that the ultimate social change is to be acting from a place that's not about self-interest.

Elizabeth talks about privilege and social connectedness in a different way from those in the Old Wealth/Elite category. She feels honored to be in the position of being able to be a philanthropist, and decides where to donate by keeping abreast of local needs, as opposed to giving to organizations that others with whom she has social ties would give to:

> I feel very privileged to be able to help when I can. Lately I've been gearing towards women's issues. Every so often you read stories in local papers. You think, oh my gosh that could happen to anybody. It's never happened to me, but what if it did? What would you do? Where would you go? Who would you turn to? You can't turn to people you

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> really know well. It would have to be an organization so it doesn't get too personal. That's how I think about what to support.

Those in the sample who fit into the Old Wealth/Eschewing category have struggled with their position in society and are interested in involving the recipients of their gifts in decisions about how these gifts are used. They emphasize an awareness of their place in the world of humanity and the importance of giving back in unattached ways that are not about self-interest.

New Wealth/Not Interested

Those who are in the New Wealth/Not Interested category are invested in giving back to the larger society. They remember where they came from and believe that those who are recipients of donations should be involved in making decisions about how the money is used. In learning how to become involved in philanthropy they tend to go to philanthropy conferences or to hire consultants from the nonprofit world who can help them to develop their own practices of philanthropy. Because they do not wish to belong to the upper-class-social-elite culture of philanthropy, they do not seek out members of this elite culture as mentors or as sponsors.

Decision-making. The philanthropists in this subset tend to have a "hands off" attitude toward their donations. They believe that the organizations to which they donate funds are fully capable of making decisions about how the money is used.

Barry is in his 60s and believes that recipients of funding should be involved in decision-making as long as there are some guidelines about how things happen:

> I just try to help in ways that I think I can make a significant difference to the people involved. I try to give a little back. I hear about things that seem like they're worthwhile

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> and I want to help. I think it is important for people to make their own decisions about how to use the money. You need to be reasonable about that; you can't have hard and fast rules. Reasonable conflict of interest rules ought to apply.

Richard, who is in his 60s, believes that recipients of donations should make their own decisions about how the money is used. He is impressed with those who run the organizations to which he has given money, and feels it is important to give them free rein:

> Most of the Executive Directors that I've worked with are exceptional. We tend to be most active in supporting initiatives to upgrade the agency's ability to serve its population. Overall we are interested in supporting greater good for greater numbers.

Martha, in her 50's and married to a man who comes from an old wealth family, also feels strongly that recipients should be involved in decision-making processes:

> An example would be where the intent of the philanthropy is focused on a certain population, or a certain situation that people who have the money are quite distanced from, and don't know much about. I think if they make decisions with input of people who are impacted by whatever it is, they will make better decisions.

Social Connections. The philanthropists in this subset do not pursue their philanthropy practices in an effort to cultivate social ties with others in the philanthropy world. They choose to learn about philanthropy from consultants whom they hire to teach them the practices of philanthropy rather than learn from mentors who are involved in the upper-class-social-elite culture of philanthropy.

Jeff is in his 30s and says that he doesn't need a lot to live on. He is trying to learn the ropes about how to be a "better philanthropist", not by turning to those in the elite culture of philanthropy, but by hiring consultants to help make decisions about where the money should go:

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> Because wealth and success have come very quickly for us, we have begun the process of formally trying to understand how things work. We've brought in people to help us make decisions about where our money goes. We're taking the steps to better understand, to better give, to be better philanthropists as our wealth grows. We don't need a lot to live on in a year. We're trying to determine where does that money go from there.

Linda, who is in her 60s and is one of the newly wealthy dot-commers, has invested a lot of time and energy in learning how to be a philanthropist. She attends conferences and has hired professional people at various times as consultants to help her learn how to do philanthropy:

> We started in xxxx and we never thought we'd be able to do philanthropy. We're very much in the position of trying to figure out philanthropy and our role in it. It's not just money; it's time and skills, knowledge. It's working toward building a healthier society. Some of that means alleviating suffering as it is, but the better way of doing it is by investing in other people, a few of them. At the beginning I had a strong feeling that money wasn't enough. I almost felt like money was a cheap fix, and if I really believed in something... So I began to take an active role in a lot of things. I went to conferences and hired consultants. I also feel to be a good philanthropist you need to understand the issues and the way to understand them is to be more involved personally.

Those in the New/Not Interested category emphasize the importance of giving their donations in ways that do not involve strings or hoops for the recipients to jump through. They are aware of the inequities in society and of the distance between their lives and the lives of those to whom they donate their money, and believe that those to whom they donate funds are more equipped than they are to make decisions about how the money is used. Rather than turn to mentors in the elite philanthropy world, they hire consultants and attend conferences to help them learn how to carefully and thoughtfully engage in the practices of philanthropy.

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Relating to One's Wealth

Philanthropy has been argued to be a way of legitimating wealth, or of legitimating the upper class to the rest of society (Ostrander 1984; Ostrower 1995). Inheritance can be viewed as having negative consequences, and some of the sample philanthropists struggle with the issues of how to live with their wealth: how much money to keep for themselves, how much money to pass along to their children, and how much to give away. Some of the philanthropists in this study believe that money can be a burden, and that it can corrupt their lives. Others are more content with their wealth and feel that it is deserved.

Wealth can be a double-edged sword for some, in that it comes with not only many opportunities, but also a great deal of responsibility. Many of the sample philanthropists speak of the difficulty they have in deciding how to handle the question of passing along their wealth to their children. They want their children to have the opportunities that wealth can afford, but also want them to be motivated to pursue their own destinies in life. As discussed earlier, those in each subset relate differently to their wealth, to the upper-class-social-elite-culture of philanthropy, and to the larger society.

In addition to the issue of how they relate to their wealth, it takes some time and life experience for these sample philanthropists to become comfortable with their role as philanthropists. This is true regardless of which subset they are in.

Philanthropy could be said to follow some of Erikson's (1968) developmental phases in the life cycle, particularly the phases of initiative versus guilt, and generativity versus stagnation. In the initiative-versus-guilt phase, which occurs during young adulthood, Erikson speaks of the importance of a sense of ambition and purpose and "the

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ethos of action" (1968:120) as one relates to the "widening social radius" (p. 104). Taking action through generativity, or giving back, avoids stagnation and, he says, tempers the inevitable guilt that comes with attempts at dealing with "a sphere of unquestioned privilege" (p. 121).

While those in the Old Wealth/Elite and New Wealth/Aspiring subsets don't seem to feel guilty about their wealth, many of those sample philanthropists in the Old Wealth Eschewing and in the New Wealth/Not Interested subsets point to guilt as one of the motivating factors for their philanthropy. They speak of the dilemmas of being born into wealthy families or earning enormous amounts of money, and talk of their guilt about the inequities in society. They characterize their philanthropy as a way to assuage this guilt.

Old Wealth Elite

Most of those sample philanthropists who come from old wealth families speak of growing up with an expectation that philanthropy will play a large role in what they do with their lives. Philanthropy is something that both their families and their social culture require of them; they speak of a need to carry on their family's legacy and to perform their social duty.

These sample philanthropists do not talk about guilt as a motivating factor for their philanthropy. They speak of it more as a practice of the upper class that they have been groomed to perform. According to these philanthropists, involvement in the practices of philanthropy can be very time-consuming; one's life is, in a sense, carved out. They say that philanthropy, for members of the upper class, is a must. The culture requires it.

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Paula, who is in her 40s, considers her philanthropy to be part of the way that she and others of her class live:

> It's the way we live. It's part of our lives.... One goal is to give back to the society from which I get the money, because my money is virtually all unearned, an inheritance.... For me it became sort of an obligation, of this is what you do.

According to Peter, who is in his 40s and comes from four generations of wealth, philanthropists who come from old money families "*are* philanthropy". They have been raised in a culture of philanthropy that has been transmitted from generation to generation, and they "have no choice" about whether to participate in philanthropy. It is something that they are expected to do:

> Philanthropy is what you do in our family. It is not acceptable to have wealth and not share it, and that's just a given. That is not done in our family.

Robert, in his 40s and also from an old wealth elite background, says that philanthropy is "what you do with your life":

> Philanthropy is not an option. It's in your mothers' milk as you're growing up. It's what you're going to do with your life.

Kate, who is in her 80s speaks of giving back, and says that one has a responsibility to give to one's community:

> If you've got enough, you share. If you have money, it's your responsibility to help out your community or whatever it is. Giving back....

While it appears that Kate is interested in giving back to her general community, it is clear that she is mainly interested in giving to her own circumscribed social elite community. Her donations go to such traditional organizations as her alma mater, the local library, and the art museum. It is also clear that her definition of having "enough"

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includes making certain that her children and her children's children have inherited enough to live the elite-upper-class lifestyle to which they have become accustomed.

These sample philanthropists have been raised to believe that they have an obligation to participate in the practices of philanthropy. It is what they do, and by virtue of being members of the upper class they believe that they are better equipped than are others, to do it well.

New Wealth/Aspiring

Those in the New Wealth/Aspiring subset have no difficulty with feeling guilty about their wealth and are learning from their Old Wealth/Elite mentors the values and practices of the culture of philanthropy. These are practices that they are invested in engaging their children in at an early age so that they can carry on the elite culture of philanthropy and new wealth can become old wealth.

Paul married a woman from an old wealth family and learned about the practices of philanthropy from his wife and from her family. He says that he would like his children to become involved in their own philanthropy and plans to set up a foundation for them to manage:

> I would hope that we've been able to teach by example. They know that we donate heavily to all sorts of things and that we're involved in the board work. What I would like to do is set up a foundation and have them be trustees so they would have to get together and make the decisions about how the money is given. I have some friends who have done that. Make the kids realize the importance of philanthropy then willy-nilly they have to make some hard decisions about how it's done. Hopefully that serves as an example and they have money of their own to do it.

Barbara, in her 60s, has been raised in a family that is very service-oriented, so when she became wealthy "due to the rising of the stock market over the last 30 years", it

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was "second nature" to her to become involved in philanthropy. She learned from her mentors in the elite philanthropy world how to give her money away, and she is trying to engage her children in the elite culture of philanthropy:

> I felt able to do more dollar-wise. I never thought I'd have enough money to give away... Once it started to roll it really came in. I learned from xx and others in the philanthropy world. I feel it creates networks for not only myself but for others. I'm always trying to get my children to give money away. I give money in their names. I find out what they're interested in and I encourage them to carry on.

Andrew is in his 60s and has earned his wealth through his own successful business. He is involved in the arts and travels the world with a group of like-minded elite philanthropists with whom he has been involved on the boards of local organizations. He has learned about philanthropy from this group, and he has exposed his children to the philanthropy world as much as possible:

> I'd like them to know that it doesn't matter whether you have any money or not. It matters that you are interested and that you're trying to help, and that you reach out. I set up a fund that they will direct. I made sure they knew what I was doing, and when there were functions they came to them with me. My daughter always felt that she met the most interesting people through me in the different organizations that I was in and she's held onto a lot those people throughout the years.

Julie is in her 40s and grew up in a family that had no philanthropic background. She married a man who came from an old wealth family, and she is learning from him how to become involved in the elite culture of philanthropy. She enjoys her wealth and is particularly interested in having her children know that they are privileged, and in getting them involved early in their own philanthropy. She wants her children to learn:

> That it's an important part of your life. That you start early. We hope to do that with travel, exposing them to the world so they understand that this is not really the world.

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> One day they will likely inherit the work that we've done, and when that happens they will be in a place of being really responsible and making choices.

These sample philanthropists have become wealthy in their lifetimes and are learning how to practice philanthropy from mentors in the elite culture of philanthropy or from their spouses who are from old wealth families. Like their Old Wealth/Elite mentors, they believe that philanthropy is something that people with wealth are obligated to do and they are engaging their children early in the practices of philanthropy.

Old Wealth/Eschewing

Those who are in the Old Wealth/Eschewing category have struggled quite a bit with the fact that they were born into wealthy families. Many of them speak of the difficulties they have faced in coming to terms with their wealth and with their role as philanthropists.

Ben, who is in his 50s, came from three generations of wealth and has done a great deal of work toward coming to terms with his inheritance. He feels particularly guilty about his wealth, and talks about how difficult it was for him to gain access to his money at the age of sixteen when it was not "popular to be a trust fund kid". He speaks of how he thinks the guilt and shame about his wealth were passed on by his mother:

> Money was such a non-discussed topic. I think possibly because of privacy, guilt and shame. She [mother] didn't want any part of society, any part of false society, and that's a wonderful positive thing that I remember.

Michael, in his 50s and from four generations of wealth, has had to go through a process of becoming comfortable with his role as a philanthropist:

> Somehow early on I decided, no, I will become a philanthropist when I know what I want to give money to. Because I know that I want to change the world, not because I should be doing it. I felt very claustrophobic, so I didn't join boards prematurely. I did,

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> in a couple of instances, and got off them thinking clearly I'm only on it because of my name and because of my connections. I have nothing to contribute and it makes no sense. And likewise, I gave away less of a proportion of my money early on because I didn't know what I wanted to give it to and I felt pressure, but I rejected the pressure.

He talks about the stresses and sense of burden that accompany the role of philanthropist for him:

> I think about the stresses of being a philanthropist. Getting identified as a philanthropist becomes a considerable burden because everybody either wants your money or your time, or both. You become way too much in demand. It's actually not unlike becoming a doctor where most people want their lives to be meaningful. They want other people to want them. That seems like almost an ultimate goal, once Maslow's lower needs are met, you want to have meaning. Both medicine and philanthropy saturate your life with a kind of meaning and opportunity that becomes too much, and that's quite a considerable stress. If you add the fact of giving away money and being known for it and the family name, managing that stress is a critical part of my philanthropy.

Ray, who is in his 40s, talks about the difficulties of knowing how to live, given the resources that were available to him from birth. His philanthropy is a way for him to reconcile this question:

> I guess if I think about it in my own life, I've been blessed with ample resources. I live in a world where for most of humanity resources are scarce, so really to me it's a spiritual question of, I think it's in the gospel of St. Luke. There's the question of 'how then shall we live?' So then the question is, for those of us with wealth, how then shall we live given those needs that surround us in the world? It's a really important question. So one of my responses to this situation is philanthropy.

He feels that he has had too many options in his life, a problem that he terms "optionitis". He discussed his process of coming to terms with his inheritance and with his role as a philanthropist:

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> It took me a while. It was like going out, blasting off in that direction, and it took me a while to circle around and come back to the gravitational field of my family and continue to be dealing with what it means to have the resources and power endemic to my family circumstance. And when I came back in, wanting things to line up was really important to me.

He ultimately has come to terms with his wealth in a way that he finds very freeing. He has decided to live comfortably and to give most of his money to the environment:

> I feel there's been a bunch of attitudes around money in general that I have moved to. There's this stinginess that I feel, like fundamentally there's a generational issue in our family about deserving, and discomfort with deserving. As I work with that issue internally and systemically and feel like, well, less constrained by those received attitudes. Nobody talks about it clearly but it's one of those things that pervade behavior. As I clean that up I feel more free. I feel more free to give. I feel more free to enjoy myself.... I've rejected silence. It's recent. It's been an evolution. Being from a Fortune 500 family, there's a way that you kind of believe that people are reading Fortune magazine and saying those things about you but I think that's foolish. So I've gotten more comfortable with my own financial situation and being wealthy and have done the personal work around that. I feel like I live a comfortable life but not a grand life. Having a comfortable life is important to me but I'd rather be putting my money into the ground, the conservation work, than spending it on my own.

Sheila, who is in her 50s and comes from two generations of wealth, has made an effort to live her life quite modestly. She is concerned about her children remaining open-minded and not thinking that they are better than anyone else because of their wealth:

> I want them to think about it, for it to become part of their lives... And all the things you don't want them to be. You don't want them to think they're better than anybody else just because they can do this. I'd like them to stay open minded.... We took a trip with my

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father to New York when I was eleven or twelve years old. It was our first or second vacation ever. We were staying in a very fancy hotel. I remember him taking us into the lobby and saying that you've had a lot of special privileges and this trip has been wonderful but the other thing I want you to know is the reason you've been able to do this is one, we've been lucky, and two, we've worked very hard for it. It didn't just come to us. I never want you to think you are better than anybody.

Many of the Old Wealth/Eschewing respondents agree with Sheila that they would like their children to have compassion for others and not feel that they are "better than other people" because of the money they have inherited. They want their children to have "normal" lives and not feel burdened by their money. They have struggled with coming to terms with their wealth and do not feel that it deserved or that they are better equipped than are others because of it.

New Wealth/Not Interested

The sample philanthropists who are in the New Wealth/Not Interested category have a strong awareness of the gap between the poor and the wealthy in their communities and are interested in giving back and getting involved in helping to make things better for those in need. Many have been raised with an expectation that they would be involved in some form of giving.

Barry, who is in his 60s and has earned his wealth quickly, is involved in giving back in quiet and unassuming ways. He learned at a very young age that it is important to get involved and to give whatever he can to his community:

It was something people expected you to do, help out. I didn't need a whole lot of encouragement. As soon as I had a little to spare I tried to help out. I think the culture that I grew up in pretty much expected everybody to pitch in. We were upper middle class. If I were to have children I'd tell them to get involved. There are a lot of things to

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complain about, and the best way to do something about it is get involved. Encourage the things you like, and work against the things you disagree with.

Some are not accustomed to having money, feel overwhelmed by their good fortune and are very willing to share their wealth. Jeff, who is in his 30s and has accumulated his wealth quickly, speaks of this discomfort:

> I still am very uncomfortable. That may be why I'm more comfortable giving money away. I'm still uncomfortable with my wealth. I'm a poor kid and I've grown up to be a millionaire. It's a very uncomfortable thing for both my partner and I. We don't feel right in ourselves. So we just feel like, I'm like the kid who has come from nothing and I can't seem to get out of that kid. We're very generous with our families and friends. I don't know why these movie stars blow their money. I just feel like these people who live in $28,000,000 mansions with six BMWs... I would be so uncomfortable. People keep telling me that I should get a Mercedes. I would be so embarrassed driving a Mercedes. I would feel so uncomfortable.

He went on to talk about how he thinks about leaving a legacy and how to relate to his family around the money:

> You want to make sure that your money goes to what you want, and then it depends on do you want a legacy? Do you want for it to have your name on it? The family thing is really tough. You have nieces and nephews and brothers and sisters. It seems like giving it away to family is tough. You have this deep guilt that you should funnel it to them. The trust says we'll pay for our nieces' and nephews' education but they need to get a B or better. We're really looking at how to maintain and control it so it's not wasted.

Priscilla, in her 70s and retired, thinks that philanthropy is a mechanism through which the wealthy are able to assuage their guilty consciences:

> I think it's a necessary outlet for people's conscience. I think that it's a good thing to be able to assuage your guilt by giving. I think that happens over and over again. The

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> Robber Barons who became philanthropists were of course taking care of their guilt feelings.

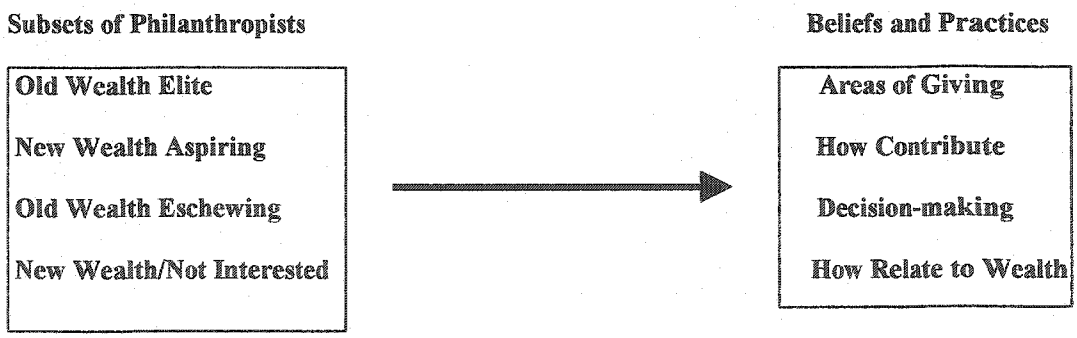
She gives primarily to social service organizations and says that her philosophy is that she has been given much in her lifetime and so she must give in return.

These sample philanthropists who are newly wealthy and are not interested in becoming involved in the upper-class-social-elite culture of philanthropy have come to practice their philanthropy because they believe that it is important to give back to the society from which they have accumulated their wealth. They are aware of the inequities in society and are interested in addressing them in careful and thoughtful ways.

Subsets and Beliefs and Practices of Philanthropy

Figure 6.1 below offers a model of the how membership in each of the subsets of philanthropists determines their beliefs and practices of philanthropy.

Figure 6.1 Model of Subsets and Beliefs and Practices



As figure 6.1 shows, according to the findings of this study, the particular subset of philanthropists that one belongs to, based on one's engagement in the elite culture of philanthropy, determines areas of giving, how one contributes (%

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time and % income), how one views decision-making in the organizations to which one donates, and how one relates to one's wealth.

Summary and Conclusion

The processes through which one becomes a member of the upper-class-social-elite culture of philanthropy are quite complicated. Previous studies have failed to consider the possibility that all wealthy people may not wish to become members of this elite culture.

The philanthropists in this study are not all interested in becoming involved in the elite culture of philanthropy. While some do carry on the practices of this culture, some of the participants in this study choose to eschew this culture and have developed a different culture of philanthropy than has been described in previous studies. Those who are interested in the elite culture of philanthropy are more open to newcomers and more invested in recruiting them into their world in order to keep their culture viable. Their philanthropy tends to be traditional and self-serving. Those who eschew this elite culture and those who are not interested in becoming involved in it are invested in offering social provision to those in need and in giving back to the larger community.

In this study I uncovered four subsets of philanthropists. Those who come from generations of wealth and are interested in participating in the elite culture of philanthropy, those who are newly wealthy and are interested in entering into this elite culture, those who are from old wealth families and are eschewing the elite culture, and those who are newly wealthy and are not interested in joining the elite culture of philanthropy. The sample Old

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Wealth/Eschewing and New Wealth/Not Interested philanthropists make their largest donations to social service and environmental organizations, as compared with the more traditional cultural and educational donations of those in the Old Wealth/Elite and New Wealth/Aspiring subsets.

The subset of philanthropists that respondents belong to, based on their engagement in the elite culture of philanthropy, determines their areas of giving, how they contribute (% time and % income), how they view decision-making in the organizations to which they donate, and how they relate to their wealth. A number of the sample philanthropists are uncomfortable with their wealth and privilege and have had to come to terms with it as they decided whether or not to participate in the elite culture of philanthropy. Some feel guilty and have a need to legitimize their position in society through their philanthropy. Some have difficulty deciding how to live with their wealth and whether and how to pass it along to their children. Others believe that their privilege and power is deserved, and that they are better equipped than others to make decisions about how society should operate and how their donations should be used.

The current climate in these small cities and towns, with its emphasis on enhancing social capital and civic participation, encourages and supports these philanthropists' efforts to participate actively in the life of their community and to "give back" to the society that has given so much to them. I turn to a discussion of their community involvement in Chapter VII.

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CHAPTER VII

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT AMONG PHILANTHROPISTS

> Each generation has interpreted the notion of civic stewardship to fit the special contours of its world.... Wealth was inextricably linked to public service from the outset, and if one succeeded in attaining riches he knew that he must also assume the attendant obligations of stewardship. By virtue of their leisure, breeding, education, and success, the rich were deemed ideally suited to minister to their cities' needs, particularly in periods when governmental functions were limited.... Civic stewardship - noblesse oblige - this was the 'social glue' that bound urbanites to their neighbors. (McCarthy 1982:3-6)

In the above quotation historian Kathleen McCarthy describes the philanthropy of the nineteenth century in New York City and in Chicago. The philanthropy that is practiced today by the sample philanthropists in the small cities and towns of northern New England is similar to McCarthy's philanthropy of the Gilded Age. As it was in the nineteenth century, civic stewardship is very much a part of the fabric of the philanthropy world of these communities as described by many of those interviewed for this study. Although most would not identify as having leisure, they do speak of an obligation of stewardship and, while those in the different subsets define, interpret, and express this stewardship differently, many are aware of and responsive to the current limits of governmental functions and the ways in which these limits impact their communities.

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Using the subsystems developed in Chapter Six, this chapter examines the community involvement of the sample philanthropists. It examines whether they focus their philanthropy locally, nationally or globally, and explores the ways in which they are similar to and different from one another in their orientation to their communities, in their group memberships, in the social circles in which they travel, and in their civic participation.

Community Orientation

A Sense of Place

"Live Free Or Die" is the slogan written on license plates in New Hampshire, and "The Way Life Should Be" is the first sign you see as you cross the border into Maine. These slogans speak of a connection to the democratic values of free enterprise, decentralized government, and individual freedoms. They speak of a commitment to a certain quality of life and a deep sense of place. Many of the philanthropists I interviewed for this study reflect these values and, as we shall see, many are oriented toward investing in the health and well being of their local communities.

Some of the sample philanthropists' emphasis on local community development and participation may be related to the current debate about the health of democracy in the United States. This debate has been well publicized in the media. It centers on popular responses to scholarly research that argues, "The troubles for our democracy may lie in a loss of social ties or in the changing universe of voluntary associations" (Skocpol 1999:3). Scholars have recently been examining the quality of civic life in the United States (Brint 1999; Eckstein 2001; Fiorina 1999; Hall 1999; Putnam 2000; Skocpol 1999; Skocpol and Fiorina 1999). They have been debating the question of whether Americans

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are becoming increasingly disengaged from one another and from their communities. Putnam (2000) argues that the United States, which has a long history of high levels of civic engagement, experienced a sharp decline in social capital in the late twentieth century.

The community foundations in Maine and New Hampshire have recently been working with Putnam, and also with members of the Saguaro Seminar: *Civic Engagement in America* at Harvard's Kennedy School for Government, to study the levels of social capital and civic participation in their geographic areas (Giving New Hampshire 2003; Maine Community Foundation 2001). Many of the philanthropists in this study are aware of Putnam's research and are working together to raise peoples' awareness of the importance of issues of social capital and of civic engagement and participation in their communities.

All of these sample philanthropists are active participants in the stewardship of their communities, though they are differently involved, as we shall see below. Table 7.1 below provides a broad summary of the community participation of these sample philanthropists separated by subset (a more comprehensive listing can be found in Appendix I).

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Table 7.1 Summary of Community Participation of Sample Philanthropists by Subset

Subset	Civic Participation	Volunteer Work	Clubs	Social Circles
Old Wealth/ Elite	Votes Campaigns Has been in national politics.	Library, Helps at children's school, Church, Boards.	SPNEA Junior League Garden Club Yacht Club Country Club Nature Cons. Historical Soc.	Children's friends' parents, Childhood friends, Family.
New Wealth/ Aspiring	Votes Town Officer National politics.	Museum Curator, Children's school, Lectures, Church, Community Events, Hospital, Boards.	Country Club Garden Club Nature Cons. Historical Soc.	Family, College friends, Neighbors, Prof. contacts.
Old Wealth/ Eschewing	Votes Town Council	Soup kitchen, Coaches non-profits, Hospice, Delivers meals, Pro bono work, Boards.	NARAL Seacoast Land Trust, Nature Conservancy, CLU, NAACP.	Women's group, Prof. contacts, Neighbors, "Loner".
New Wealth/ Not Interested	Votes Planning Board	Auctions, Runs/Walks, Soup kitchen, Environ. orgs., Gives talks, Shelter, Boards.	Rotary Club Business Clubs, AMC, GLBT, NOW.	Family, Book group, College friends, Prof. contacts

The above table offers some examples of the community involvement of the philanthropists in each subset. While this is not a complete accounting of their activities and associations, it does show some of the gross patterns and differences in how they participate in their communities. Those in the Old Wealth/Elite subset and those in the New Wealth/Aspiring subset tend to be more active in national politics, to volunteer for the more traditional arts, culture, and education organizations, to belong to exclusive elite clubs, and to associate primarily with other members of their upper class. Those in the Old Wealth/Eschewing subset and in the New Wealth/Not Interested subset tend to be active in local politics, to volunteer for the less traditional social service and

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environmental organizations, to belong to clubs that are more integrated in terms of class, and to associate with more diverse groups of people. An in-depth explication of the details of the similarities and differences in how those in each subset participate in their communities is the focus of this chapter.

A Local, National or Global Focus?

Given the differences in the orientation of these sample philanthropists to the elite culture of philanthropy, one might expect that there would be differences in how they focus their giving of money and of time. I had expected that those in the Old Wealth/Elite and New Wealth/Aspiring subsets might focus their philanthropy more nationally and globally than would those in the Old Wealth/Eschewing and New Wealth/Not Interested subsets, as the elite culture of philanthropy is a national and international culture (Nagai et al. 1994; Odendahl 1990; Ostrower 1995).

What I found was that eighty percent of the respondents report that they identify with their local communities and donate primarily to local organizations. It is clear that stewardship, or "ministering to their cities' needs" (McCarthy 1982:3) is an integral aspect of their philanthropy, regardless of subset. The remaining 20%, who say that they either focus on all three categories or donate primarily to national or global organizations, are relatively evenly spread across the subsets (one is in the Old/Wealth Elite category, two are in the New Wealth/Aspiring, two are in the Old Wealth/Eschewing, and three are in the New Wealth/Not Interested category). A look at the specifics of what these philanthropists say about their orientation to place offers a sense of how they think about where they focus their philanthropy.

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Peter, who is in his 40s and in the Old Wealth/Elite subset, says that he focuses his philanthropy locally. He speculates that the pattern he has observed of philanthropists giving to local organizations in these areas might be due to the history and climate of northern New England. He says that because of the ruggedness of the terrain and climate, New Englanders have needed to join against the elements and to "look after their own". He thinks it is "good business" to give back to his community and to support it. He talks about the importance of diversity in a community, and the importance of having a sense of social responsibility. His giving is focused on culture and education, and on historic and ecological preservation, as his family's philanthropy has been for generations:

> I believe it's real important for the community to be a strong community. I feel very passionate about the access of all types of people to diverse communities, diverse housing stock, workforce housing. The ability for people of all skill sets to live and work in a community. I hate homogeneous areas. I feel passionate about making sure we have creative zoning and programs. That fits in with my passions about the arts and historic preservation; the accessibility of arts to kids of all backgrounds. The preservationism in the community is something that I like for its own sake, but also it's something the entire community can connect with. I'm into sustainability, the intersection of good economics, good land protection. Businesses can make money and be socially responsible at the same time.

Fred, a New Wealth/Aspiring philanthropist in his 70s, also gives locally. He thinks about the community as something that gives to you, and says that every person owes it to his/her community to repay the debt. Like his Old Wealth/Elite mentors, he donates primarily to education and to culture:

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> It's important to be raising funds or even volunteering to do things to give back to the community that you take from all of your life.

Mary, who is also a New Wealth/Aspiring philanthropist, believes that it is important to give locally in order to develop social capital in the area. She emphasizes that she feels she can make a difference with her giving:

> One thing I do, in contrast with a lot of folks I know in national philanthropy is that I think it is really important to be grounded in your community and to give to your community. Very few people in national philanthropy, partly because of where they are located, ever have had that experience. They're talking about social capital all the time, civic dialogue and civic participation and they have none of these themselves. They have no concrete experience of that. We live in an unusual area. We're part of a small enough community that we can participate, and actually make a difference.

Michael, an Old Wealth/Eschewing philanthropist in his 50s, says that he feels it is his "civic duty" to donate a large percentage of his money and time to local organizations. He sees it as an obligation as a "good citizen", and "being a good citizen is part of what makes communities work". According to him, being a good citizen means getting involved in one's local community by supporting its institutions and volunteering one's time and talent in ways that help to make it a safe and healthy place in which to live and to raise one's family:

> The work I've done with xxxx has got me interested in what are the factors that are supportive of community and helpful human interaction within a democratic society. What factors, what forces, are at work to undermine a good healthy community? I'm interested in undoing the unhelpful forces and supporting the helpful forces. So those are the two main areas of social concern. I give to other things to be a good citizen. For example, I don't tend to give to traditional schools, museums. Being a good citizen is part of what, from that perspective, is part of what makes communities work.

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Jay, an Old Wealth/Eschewing philanthropist in his 40s, who identifies himself as focusing his philanthropy locally, has an interesting view of his philanthropy. He believes that part of each philanthropist's role as a "citizen of the world" is to stimulate others to become activated in their own philanthropy:

> I guess I'm interested in helping people to find within themselves contributions. I mean that as a gift that they have within themselves. The core social issue for me is how to inspire every citizen of the world, the global world, to discover ways within themselves to contribute to the unity that we need in the community. That's a pretty global social issue. I think the field of interest is increasing the personal responsibility and, really, discovery. Personal discovery is an important social issue because it could be that people who feel they don't have a voice discover that they do, or those that aren't hearing a voice begin to hear a voice.

Tom, an Old Wealth/Eschewing philanthropist in his 40s discusses his view of the interplay between local and global level participation:

> We're all part of a system. I think there are people out there who are trying to push on the big windmills and that's great to the extent that they're successful and effective. My view of my role is not at that level. It's more at a grassroots, local level where one can see the process, see the fruits of your labor and make a difference that way. I think it ripples upward to the global system. If we all minded our own community we'd be a much better world. I think it's a great idea to give money locally because you can automatically see, or more easily see the benefits and what happens.

Martha, a New Wealth/Not Interested philanthropist in her 50s says that she focuses her philanthropy both on a local and on a global level:

> I think our society is fractionalized to the point of... we get more of our information from external sources like TV, media, internet than we do from each other, by and large. It's becoming more and more in my life anyway. I feel almost equally distant from troubles in Greenland as I do troubles in Afghanistan.... My concerns are equally weighted down

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> by what's happening globally as what's happening locally. It's almost like on a local scale I feel things are under control. It's on a global scale I think things are out of control and that's where more of my philanthropic wish list would begin to address things.

It is clear that many of these sample philanthropists do think about investing in and developing their local communities with their philanthropic donations. They feel responsible to "minister to their cities' needs" (McCarthy 1982:5). A number of them speak of the importance of increasing the social capital in their areas, an aspect of healthy democracy that I discuss below.

Social Capital

The concept of social capital is one that is well known to these sample philanthropists. Many of the respondents mentioned Robert Putnam and his book *Bowling Alone* (2000) when I asked them questions about their social ties, levels of trust, group memberships, volunteer work and forms of civic participation.

Barbara, a New Wealth/Aspiring philanthropist in her 60s, had given copies of the book to all of the members of one of the advisory boards she sits on. She thinks it is an important guide to the kind of work that a nonprofit board should support, and is particularly interested in helping to increase opportunities for people to connect with one another in the community.

As discussed in Chapter Two, social capital is a construct developed by James Coleman (1990), who tied some of the individualistic market-oriented thinking of economists to such sociological issues as social networks, norms and values. He spoke of social capital as a form of social resource that "inheres in the structure of relations between persons and among persons" (Coleman 1990:302). Putnam (1993, 2000) mentions philanthropy as one of the measures of social capital and civic engagement in a

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community. He claims that philanthropy tends to increase with increased social capital and civic engagement (2000).

Measures of social capital include: level of trust, number of group memberships, diversity of social circles, and level of civic participation, as well as engagement in volunteer activities. These measures of social capital, as they pertain to the sample philanthropists, are discussed below.

Trust

Using Paxton's (2002) indicators of social capital, I asked respondents about their voluntary association memberships as well as their volunteer work, and asked if they thought, "most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with others?" (2002:261). One hundred percent of the respondents said that they feel that people can be trusted, although some added the phrase, "until proven otherwise". As we have seen, all of the respondents serve on boards of nonprofit organizations as part of their philanthropy and, as we shall see below, most also are members of other kinds of groups.

Group Memberships

Unlike the philanthropists in previous studies who were found to belong to exclusive upper-class-elite clubs and organizations (Kendall 2002; Odendahl 1987, 1989, 1990; Ostrander 1984; Ostrower 1995; Shervish and Herman 1988), very few of the philanthropists in this study belong to clubs or organizations in which they associate exclusively with others of their class. Table 7.2 shows the kinds of groups to which the philanthropists in this study belong. It shows what percent of the philanthropists in each subset are involved in each group, and identifies which groups are those to which

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members send checks and which are those to which members show up and potentially interact with one another.

The cultural, historic preservation, environmental, and advocacy organizations are those for which memberships consist of mailing in a check, perhaps attending a meeting or two, and receiving a card that might offer member benefits. The recreational, social & service organizations, professional organizations, churches and community foundations offer participatory memberships in which the sample philanthropists have an opportunity to interact with members of other classes.

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Table 7.2 Memberships and Percent of Philanthropists in Category

Group Memberships	Old Wealth/Elite (N=10)	New/Aspiring (N=11)	Old/Eschewing (N=10)	New/Not (N=9)	% of Sample Total
Elite Clubs (Country, Garden, Yacht, Jr. League)	40% (19, 31, 32, 34)	27% (6, 17, 35)	0%	0%	17%
Cultural *	30% (10, 34, 36)	36% (3, 7, 21, 25)	40% (2, 4, 11, 29)	0%	28%
Historic Preservation* (SPNEA, Historic Society)	20% (10, 32)	45% (7, 14, 21, 25, 40)	50% (4, 8, 11, 12, 29)	11% (24)	33%
Environmental* (Audobon, Forest Preservation, Greenpeace, Nature Conservancy, Seacoast Land Trust)	50% (9, 10, 19, 32, 36)	27% (14, 15, 21)	50% (11, 13, 16, 26, 29)	55% (18, 24, 30, 33, 37)	45%
Advocacy* (NARAL, GLBT, NAACP, CLU, NOW)	0%	18% (3, 21)	10% (4)	22% (30, 38)	13%
Recreational (Pilots, Scuba, AMC)	0%	18% (6, 15)	20% (1, 26)	11% (33)	13%
Social & Service (Women's Group, Book Group, Rotary, 4H)	30% (22, 27, 32)	9% (35)	10% (29)	22% (24, 30)	18%
Professional (Bar Assoc., Chamber of Commerce, Ed. Orgs.)	30% (20, 22, 27)	45% (6, 21, 23, 35, 40)	10% (8)	55% (5, 24, 37, 38, 39)	35%
Church	10% (22)	45% (3, 6, 14, 15, 25)	10% (26)	11% (30)	20%
Community Foundation	80% (9, 10, 19, 20, 27, 32, 34, 36)	54% (3, 6, 7, 14, 15, 17)	80% (1, 2, 4, 8, 11, 12, 26, 29)	22% (18, 39)	60%

*Write checks but do not associate with one another.
(Numbers specify respondents.)

Seventeen percent of the sample philanthropists, all in the Old Wealth/Elite and New Wealth/Aspiring subsets, belong to exclusive elite clubs in which they associate only with others in their elite culture. Those who are members of cultural and historic preservation organizations are, for the most part, in the Old Wealth/Elite, the New Wealth/Aspiring and the Old Wealth/Eschewing subsets. The relatively large number of Old Wealth/Eschewing members of cultural organizations that have traditionally been the

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purview of members of the elite culture of philanthropy may be due to the fact that they are in the process of transitioning out of the culture and are thus still involved in some of its aspects. While all of the subsets are represented in the environmental organizations, there are relatively fewer New Wealth/Aspiring members.

Although the numbers are small, it is noteworthy that both of the New Wealth subsets say that they have the same number of advocacy group memberships. The newly wealthy philanthropists are also more active in professional organizations than are those who come from generations of wealth, perhaps because so many of them have earned their wealth in this lifetime as a result of their professional pursuits.

Sixty percent of the respondents say that they are involved in their local community foundations. This is not a surprise, as I began developing my sample by contacting people on the annual report lists of the southern Maine and southern New Hampshire Community Foundations. There are more Old Wealth/Elite and Old Wealth/Eschewing philanthropists involved in the community foundations than there are New Wealth/Aspiring and New Wealth/Not Interested philanthropists. Perhaps this is because in this area those who come from generations of wealth are very involved in their community foundations. The New Wealth/Aspiring philanthropists who are involved in the community foundations have probably been recruited and are being sponsored by Old Wealth/Elite members. The community foundations are forums in which these philanthropists have an opportunity to socialize with one another. They have annual meetings and develop task forces in which members are able to interact with one another. These meetings are places where there is a possibility of mingling with other classes, as foundation staff may be members of other classes (Nagai et. al. 1995), and the recent

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trend is to involve members of the middle and lower classes in foundation work, according to the foundation staff that I interviewed as part of this study.

The Old Wealth/Elite and the New Wealth/Aspiring subsets are alike in that they belong to exclusive elite clubs in which they associate only with other members of elite culture. Those who are newly wealthy are alike in their advocacy and professional group memberships and those who come from generations of wealth are alike in their community foundation memberships.

Social Circles

As mentioned, previous studies have concluded that the elite belong to the same exclusive clubs and socialize primarily with one another (Baltzell 1958, 1964; Domhoff 1970; Higley 1995; Kendall 2002; Odendahl 1987, 1989, 1990; Ostrander 1984; Ostrower 1995; Schervish and Herman 1988). Their philanthropy is said to be motivated by self-interest rather than altruism, and is characterized as a vehicle through which they can enhance their social lives, exercise control, and maintain their position of power and influence in society (Kendall 2002; Odendahl 1987, 1989, 1990; Ostrander 1984; Ostrower 1995; Schervish and Herman 1988).

Most of the sample philanthropists say that they socialize with family and extended family members, with neighbors, with parents of their children's friends, and with people they have met through their professional pursuits. This means different things depending on which subset they are in.

Old Wealth Elite and New Wealth/Aspiring. The social exclusiveness described in the literature is evident in the Old Wealth/Elite and the New Wealth/Aspiring subsets. Many of these philanthropists know one another through their

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fundraising efforts and their participation on the boards of local organizations. They cultivate these relationships, developing friendships that are carried on for generations. Several joke that there are only a couple of hundred people who are involved in philanthropy, and they ask the same people over and over for donations. Peter, an Old Wealth/Elite philanthropist, says that he supports a number of projects because of his friendships with the fundraisers:

> Of course I do get a share of solicitations and the other thing that happens is you end up passing thank you notes back and forth between the same two hundred people in the state. There are a certain number of projects you end up supporting because of somebody who supported something that is very important to you.

Mary, a New Wealth/Aspiring philanthropist in her 50s, says that she socializes primarily with:

> People I have met through organizational board work that I would continue to keep up with. Then there are also long-term friends, who don't necessarily live in this community; people who I see on a regular basis. Colleagues, work colleagues.

As she is working hard at her business and is aspiring to enter the world of elite philanthropists, she spends much of her time socializing with these people whose support and friendship she is cultivating.

Old Wealth/Eschewing and New Wealth/Not Interested. The Old Wealth/Eschewing and the New Wealth/Not Interested philanthropists, like their Old Wealth/Elite and New Wealth/Aspiring counterparts, also socialize with people whom they meet through their professional work, as well as family members, neighbors, and parents of their children's friends. Their social circles, however, tend to be more diversified. Because so many of them have chosen to live simply and blend in with their neighbors, as we saw in Chapter Six, the neighbors with whom they socialize tend to be

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neighbors in middle-class neighborhoods. The parents of their children's friends with whom they socialize tend to be members of the middle class also, as most of their children attend public schools.

Jay, an Old Wealth/Eschewing philanthropist says that he and his wife socialize with a diverse group of friends:

> Our social circle includes extended family, a very diverse group of friends, quite a few craftspeople and artists. Craftspeople and also friends tend to be older, as a couple we tend to have older friends. We don't have children so we don't have that community.

Ben, who is also an Old Wealth/Eschewing philanthropist, talks about his social circle as being filled with "real people". He lives in a middle-to-lower class neighborhood and makes it a point to socialize with people who are not wealthy:

> One of the most valuable things one of my sisters told me when I was going off to college was to meet people who weren't at the college. In other words, meet real people. Two of my closest, long-time friends are two women who work at the college who are secretaries there. I socialize with them and their husbands, their extended families. I've always treasured that advice, so that would be some advice I'd give. More than just meet people, but meet people in different places than you are.

Karen, a member of New Wealth/Not Interested subset, says that she and her husband are "not in a social scene":

> We like people who you can have a good conversation with about culture, education, who are involved in what's around them. People who like to be outside. People who like to cook and eat. We don't belong to clubs. People who are down to earth, and who are who they are. We're not in a social scene. We're social but we don't care about being seen.

Several of the Old Wealth/Eschewing and New Wealth/Not Interested philanthropists characterize themselves as "loners" who don't socialize unless they have to as part of their professional or board work. Those who are in the Old

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Wealth/Eschewing and New Wealth/Not Interested subsets tend to have more diversified social circles than do those in the Old Wealth/Elite and New Wealth/Aspiring subsets. Their friendships are often based on mutual interests rather than on maintaining connections in order to perpetuate their position in the society.

Civic Participation

Civic participation is an important aspect of social capital and is, for many of the philanthropists in this study, an important part of their lives. Defined as "the little things that connect us to one another" (Putnam 1993, 2000), or an active investment in public life (Skocpol 1999), civic participation includes philanthropy. Measures of civic participation include voting behavior, reading the newspaper, contributions to and involvement in community organizations, political contributions, and political activity (Nagai et. al. 1994).

Philanthropists are, by definition, civic participants. However, those in each subset position themselves differently in regard to their civic participation. While those in the Old Wealth/Elite and New Wealth/Aspiring subsets assume leadership roles of power and influence in their civic participation, the Old Wealth/Eschewing and New Wealth/Not Interested philanthropists tend to be collaborative in theirs, offering their expertise and learning from those to whom they are offering their time and money.

Although the fact that all of the study participants say that they are registered voters and that they voted in the last presidential election makes this a relatively insignificant finding, it is important nonetheless to note that all say that they vote.

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In addition to voting, these philanthropists are active in town, state and, sometimes, national government. Many give large donations to local candidates running for office and volunteer their time in support of local campaigns. Some of them are currently running for office or have been involved in government in some way in the past. One of the Old Wealth/Elite philanthropists has been in national politics. Two of those in the New Wealth/Aspiring subset have been in national politics and two have been involved in town government. None of the Old Wealth/Eschewing philanthropists have been active in politics, and two of the New Wealth/Not Interested are on their towns' planning boards.

Jay discusses the civic participation and volunteerism in southern New Hampshire and southern Maine, focusing on the willingness to lend a hand rather than a dollar in New England:

> If you're going to build a barn, I'll come and help you and I'll even give you some board and beams but I'm not going to give you five dollars to go buy a board. There's this ethic, it's very curious. I think we look at the dark side of it without looking at the folkways that inspired a lot of the New England traditions. They were civic-based, New England folkways about economic freedom and civic ways. There is a built-in hard-wired culture in northern New England about civic participation. That's why volunteerism is so high. Communities are tight-knit; they have four hundred years of roots, depth.

This investment in their communities and willingness to lend a hand certainly is a strong characteristic of the philanthropists in this study, regardless of whether they are in the Old Wealth/Elite, New Wealth/Aspiring, Old Wealth/Eschewing or New Wealth/Not Interested subsets. Most of these sample philanthropists evidence a high level of community participation, social trust and engagement in the civic life of their communities. Although the ways that they are involved may be different for those who

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are members of the elite culture of philanthropy and those who are not, most of these sample philanthropists are active in their local communities and feel strongly that participation is important to the development and sustenance of a safe and healthy place in which to live and prosper. All are involved in some form of volunteer work, another measure of civic participation, though they are differently involved, as we shall see below.

Volunteering

Participation in volunteer work is one aspect of building social capital, according to Putnam (1993, 2002). Previous studies have shown that philanthropists are more willing to write a check than to "get their hands dirty" while doing volunteer work. According to these studies, any volunteer work that philanthropists do tends to be advisory board work or work that is more about serving their own interests than about meeting the needs of the people and the organizations that they are professing to help (Kendall 2002; Odendahl 1987, 1989, 1990; Ostrander 1984; Ostrower 1995; Shervish and Herman 1988). Skocpol (1999) argues that Americans are more willing to send checks to organizations than to participate in them and are, at this time in history, disengaged and unwilling to become involved.

While this is true of some of the philanthropists in this study, it is not true of all of them. All do serve on advisory boards and some are involved in the fundraising efforts that these previous studies describe, but many of them are also very much involved in their communities and are engaged in other kinds of volunteering. All of the philanthropists in this study are alike in that they, by definition, give of their time and their money. As we saw in Chapter Six (Table 6.6), those in the Old Wealth/Elite, New

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Wealth/Aspiring and Old Wealth/Eschewing categories say that they donate relatively equivalent amounts of time to their philanthropy. Those in the Old Wealth/Elite, New Wealth/Aspiring and Old Wealth/Eschewing categories say that they donate a little more time to their philanthropy than do those who are in the New Wealth /Not Interested category. The ways in which they donate their time are, however, quite different as we shall see below. Table 7.3 offers a view of the specific kinds of volunteer work that these philanthropists do (for a more detailed listing on each philanthropist see Appendix I).

The information about how the sample philanthropists volunteer is based on their own responses to the questions: "Do you volunteer?" and "How?" The list may not be accurate, therefore, as it may not be comprehensive or it may include activities that do not actually occur. Regardless, it is a representation of what these philanthropists say about the specifics of their volunteer work.

Table 7. 3 Type of Volunteer Work and Percent of Philanthropists in Each Category

Volunteer Work Type	Old Wealth/Elite (N=10)	New/Aspiring (N=11)	Old/Eschewing (N=10)	New/Not (N=9)	% of Total
Hands On	80%	73%	90%	100%	85%
Arts/Cultural/Ed	20%	36%	10%	0%	18%
Religious	10%	9%	0%	0%	5%
Healthcare/Youth	0%	9%	50%	22%	20%
Fundraising	40%	36%	30%	11%	30%
Board Member	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Eighty-five percent of the philanthropists interviewed say that they volunteer in "hands on" ways in their communities. This is an impressive statistic on the face of it. It

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does not, however, capture the frequency of their volunteering, or what they mean by "hands on", as we shall see below.

Those in the Old Wealth/Elite and New Wealth/Aspiring subsets say that they volunteer for the arts, cultural, educational and religious organizations that have traditionally been the organizations for which members of the elite culture of philanthropy have volunteered for generations. In their volunteer work, which is relatively infrequent, they tend to assume leadership roles, performing such functions as giving talks at their children's schools, ushering or manning booths at events, or being a curator at a museum. Those in the Old Wealth/Eschewing and New Wealth/Not Interested subsets volunteer more regularly for healthcare and youth organizations. They tend to collaborate with the people for whom they are volunteering, and say that they do a variety of things that include helping to build houses and playgrounds, making repairs at the local homeless shelter, bringing meals to shut-ins, serving meals at soup kitchens, and providing transportation for those who need it.

The finding that 100% of the sample philanthropists are members of executive boards of nonprofit organizations is the same as that of previous researchers (Kendall 2002; Odendahl 1987, 1989, 1990; Ostrander 1984; Ostrower 1995; Shervish and Herman 1988). While ostensibly board membership includes fundraising efforts, only 30% of the sample philanthropists identify fundraising as one of their volunteer activities. It is not surprising that more of the Old Wealth/Elite and New Wealth/Aspiring philanthropists say that they are involved with fundraising, as this is said to be a strong focus fostered by members of the elite culture of philanthropy (Ostrower 1995).

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An analysis of what they say about their participation along with some case examples may elucidate more of the differences between the subsets of sample philanthropists. While some position themselves in expert executive volunteer roles, others are more collaborative in their positioning and seek a more mutual role in which they can both offer their skills and learn from those with whom they are working.

Old Wealth/Elite

Those in the Old Wealth/Elite subset are volunteers who offer leadership and public service to their communities in the traditional way in which members of the upper class have been offering stewardship for generations (Kendall 2002; Odendahl 1987, 1989, 1990; Ostrander 1984; Ostrower 1995; Shervish and Herman 1988). Volunteering is what these elite philanthropists do as part of their culture, and it serves the function of providing a venue through which they can socialize and collaborate with others of their class, while they offer leadership and maintain a certain control over the traditional organizations to which they donate funds.

A breakdown of the particulars finds that of these sample philanthropists, two say that they do not volunteer at all other than the work they do as members of executive boards of nonprofit organizations; two volunteer at community events; one is a deacon at his church; one does search and rescue work; two go into their children's private schools and volunteer in the classroom; and, as we shall see below, one volunteers with his colleagues at the local soup kitchen and one volunteers "full-time" for the garden club and as a board member of various organizations.

Stuart and others who work in his office venture out together on a monthly basis to volunteer at the local soup kitchen:

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> We have here at the office a program where once a month we go down and serve dinner at the xxxx soup kitchen.

He considers this to be "good business", and he does it to promote a sense of corporate responsibility and community stewardship among his colleagues. He considers attending such community functions as fairs, clean-up days, and musical events to be part of his volunteering and goes to them in order to show his support. This showing up at community functions is, in his view, an important part of being a good community member and representing others in the elite culture:

> I attend functions because I think it's important to show a body count. When I say a body count, I 'd say that I sometimes feel I'm representing something by being there.

Connie is a typical representative of the Old Wealth/Elite subset. She lives in a beautiful home surrounded by lush gardens on the edge of the water and is very active with the local yacht club and with the local garden club. She is involved with the community foundation and is an active member of her Ivy League school's alumnae association. She flies back and forth on a regular basis to New York City to meet with the board of her family's foundation, and thinks of her volunteering as a judge for the garden club, and serving on the boards of several nonprofit organizations as a full-time profession:

> I've always considered that I work eight days a week, and most all of every day for the different organizations. I think it's much more difficult to have a profession of a volunteer or board member than it is to have a job from nine to five because you spend your life making decisions about what you're going to undertake. Often you're pleased with your enthusiasm, your interests and your beliefs. So, yes, I do spend all day doing that kind of thing. I love it.

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Although 80% of this subset of sample philanthropists says that they participate in hands on ways in their community, many do not volunteer regularly other than their board work, and much of their volunteer work is not hands on.

New Wealth/Aspiring

Those who are in the New Wealth/Aspiring subset are striving to be like their mentors, and their volunteer work is therefore similar to that of those in the Old Wealth/Elite subset. They tend to assume leadership roles in their volunteering and they are interested in collaborating and socializing with others in the elite culture of philanthropy as they perform their community stewardship function.

Of the eleven sample philanthropists in this subset, two say that they don't volunteer other than their board work; one is a very active volunteer in the church serving as an usher on a regular basis; one volunteers once a week at the local hospital; one volunteers once a week at the library; four volunteer for arts/cultural organizations by sitting on town committees that advocate for the arts, ushering or manning booths at events, and serving as museum curators; one gives talks and is involved in the Main St. program in town; and, as we shall see below, one offers pro bono legal advice.

Paul is a retired lawyer to whom local nonprofit organizations often turn for legal advice. He works with them and represents them pro bono. In addition, he volunteers once a week at the local hospital offering rides to people who can't drive themselves to and from appointments for medical reasons:

> Sometimes I help out. I'm a trained lawyer, so sometimes I help on something like that. Sometimes I drive for different places. Well, I'm retired so I have the opportunity...

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Anne volunteers at community events by handling registration or working at concession stands, and often delivers meals to people who are ill. She was a member of the Junior League in the city in which she lived prior to moving to the area and views volunteer work as an obligation for people who are wealthy enough to become involved in the philanthropy world:

While she is not able to be as active as she used to be due to her age, Nancy, who is in her 70s, still volunteers one day a week at the local hospital as a welcome desk worker.

Mary has been very successful with her business and feels that it is important to be an active participant in her community and to volunteer as much as possible. Despite the fact that she puts in as many as 80 hours each week at her business and serves as a board member for three nonprofit organizations, she volunteers for special events for the arts and is a curator at her local art museum for a few hours a month. She is also very active in encouraging her employees to volunteer as much as possible. She speaks of volunteering as an investment in the life of the community:

> I do believe in the investment notion, the idea of not expecting things in our community, or civic life to be free. We are really investing in having those things available to us. In our area there are so many things that have been built here, developed here, by people who have worked hard at them. I am trying to contribute to something, investing in something that will last.

Much of the volunteer work of the philanthropists in the New Wealth/Aspiring and Old Wealth/Elite subsets is self-serving in that people are volunteering because this is what members of the elite culture of philanthropy do. Their volunteer work is in support of the traditional organizations to which they donate, and is geared toward

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offering leadership to their communities as well as offering themselves a venue for social interaction and collaboration with others of their class.

Old Wealth/Eschewing

Those in the Old Wealth/Eschewing subset tend to be more involved in hands on volunteer work than are those in the previous subsets. They view themselves as community members and collaborators with their fellow man rather than stewards in leadership roles in their volunteer work. They are interested in giving back and in working side-by-side with those less fortunate than they in attempts to learn from them and help them to improve their lives.

Of the ten philanthropists in this subset, two say that they don't do any volunteer work other than their board work, three say that they go into their children's public schools regularly and help out by giving talks, teaching certain modules, or doing whatever is needed, one additionally volunteers regularly at a soup kitchen, one volunteers with a conservation group providing educational talks and working at clean-up events, one volunteers his services each week as a doctor at the local free clinic, one volunteers as a journalist and for the civil liberties union, and two help out with building projects, as we shall see below.

Nate talks about having helped to build the local community park, and how important he feels it is to be "not just writing a check but also getting down there and turning a wrench and helping out". He goes into his son's school to help out in the classroom, and spends time working with some of the recipients of his donations and helping them out with projects that they direct.

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Tom volunteers at local events in order to support and feel a part of his community and to get to know people, as he is new to town:

> Volunteers can go and usher and work the concessions, be out at the events and help seat people and all that. I've just done that since I moved to town. It's a way of being a part the community.

He has also done a lot of carpentry over the years and offers his services when there is a need in the community. He helped to build a community center for the youth in his town:

> My volunteering has varied at different levels in my life. I guess it started when I volunteered to build a children's center. That motivation wasn't monetary. It was about using construction skills and doing stuff to help kids. So, at different times of my life I've had the ability to participate in different ways.

Tom had run a coffee house when he was younger, which he believed had provided an important community service by giving people a place to go and have fun without getting into trouble:

> I opened up a coffee house in xxxx and I realized that I was providing a public service in many ways. We weren't Starbucks, it was more like a sixties version of a coffee house. We had music, open mikes and, because we didn't serve alcohol, a lot of high school kids benefited by it and enjoyed being there. It turned into a bit of a hangout, and of course none of them really had much money to spend. Yet we provided a valuable public service.

Ray came of age during the 60s and believes that communities are made up of strong bonds between people who live and work together engaged toward a goal of developing and sustaining "equity, diversity and good feeling between people". He volunteers his time at community events, helping out by working concessions and doing whatever is needed. He also volunteers regularly at the local soup kitchen, at his children's school, and gives talks to nonprofit groups about fundraising. Ray has helped

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many individuals in the community over the years. He identifies certain people whom he would like to support, and just helps them with whatever they need help with, "no strings attached". In this way he has helped a number of people out who "needed a leg up".

> I've done some stuff, days in my children's school talking about certain issues. There's a bunch of organizations I have been involved in helping out. I've done some soup kitchen kind of hands-on volunteer work... It really is about working with people around shared ideals.

Those in the *Old Wealth/Eschewing* subset tend to be more active and hands on in their volunteering than do those in the previous subsets. Their 60s background has contributed to their desire to get involved and change the system, so they give of their time and talent seeking to participate in their communities in tangible ways.

New Wealth/Not Interested

Many of those in the New Wealth/Not Interested subset have been raised in service-oriented families and have a desire to offer service and to give back to their communities. They are interested in getting involved with others in their local communities, and in working with them to develop a more integrated place in which to live and work.

Of the nine sample philanthropists who are newly wealthy and not interested in becoming part of the elite culture of philanthropy, all say that they are involved in hands-on volunteering. One volunteers at her children's public school as needed; two offer pro bono consultation/coaching/tutoring of others in their field; one is a volunteer for the local hospice organization and, in addition, delivers meals to people who are ill; three participate in and sponsor events; one volunteers weekly at the local soup kitchen; and one volunteers his building expertise, often working full-time at this.

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Jeff speaks of how meaningful it is for him to get involved. He holds auctions at his company to raise money for the local AIDS organization, participates in walks and runs to raise money for medical research, volunteers at the local soup kitchen, and believes that actively participating in a project carries more weight than just donating money:

> Oh it's easy to write a check, but it's more meaningful to get involved. If you put your credibility on the line and participate, it will carry much more than giving cash. We like to do things that are fun and low key like walks and bike rides. We do the xxxx walk and we normally sponsor each other to do the walks.

Richard speaks of the importance of participating in his community. He sees his volunteer work as a way of connecting "privilege with community responsibility" and is invested in developing a more integrated community:

> I think of volunteering as reconnecting privilege with community responsibility. I mean that in having the opportunity to be a catalyst, to reconnect those who have privileged choices with parts of the community that do not have that privilege of choice, and through that process creating more of an integrated community, more of an integrated community on all levels, all fields of interest... Until people learn how to coexist with each other, until people's basic physical needs are being met, everything is at risk. Personally, it allows me to give back to the community or to institutions that have been beneficial to me.

His volunteer work includes serving meals at the local soup kitchen on a weekly basis.

Lisa owns her own business, is single, and lives modestly in a middle class neighborhood. She is just beginning to become involved in the philanthropy world and believes that it is important to do as much as she can to volunteer her time and expertise

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to give back to her community. She doesn't want to forget where she came from and she gives of her limited time each week by volunteering at the local women's shelter and working at community events as the opportunity arises. Because her time is so limited by the running of her business, she tries not to commit to too many structured volunteer situations:

> I participate as a family member when people need help. I participate as a friend, or a neighbor, when something's happened you bring them dinner, or get groceries. You just do things without being asked. I'm very proactive that way. I volunteer on a regular basis. My neighbor is involved in Hospice. I helped her run an event. I do that kind of thing but not one particular place on a regular basis. It's either because somebody I know is involved in it or because I've been asked.

The philanthropists in this subset, like those in the Old Wealth/Eschewing subset tend to be more active in hands on ways with their volunteer work. They are interested in actively participating in and giving back to their communities.

Determinants of Philanthropists' Leadership/Collaboration

Figure 7.1 below shows the relationships between the variables that, according to the findings of this study, determine whether these sample philanthropists are in roles of leadership or collaboration in their relationships with the organizations to which they donate their money and time.

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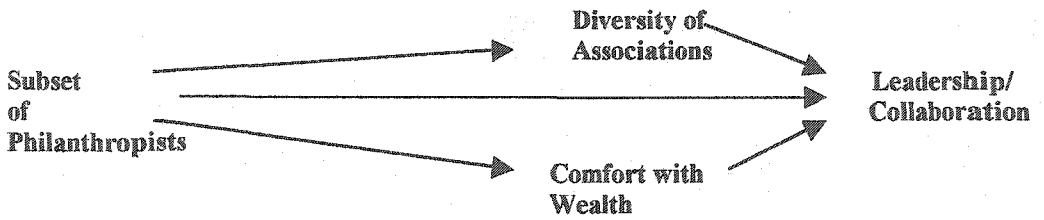
Figure 7.1 Model of Determinants of Philanthropic Beliefs and Practices: Leadership/Collaboration



As the model shows, according to the findings the particular subset of philanthropists that respondents belong to affects their diversity of associations and comfort with their wealth, all of which impact their positioning in their philanthropy in either leadership or collaborative roles.

Summary and Conclusions

These findings support my argument that there is more variation in philanthropy than the literature would suggest. The philanthropists in this study are not a uniform elite group whose primary goal is to perpetuate their position of power and influence in society. While some do fit this profile, others do not want to be members of the elite culture of philanthropy and are involved in and committed to participating in their communities in reciprocal ways. They tend to support those institutions and organizations that seek to offer social provision, address the inequities in society and, to some extent, alter the structures of society.

The subset of philanthropists that respondents belong to affects their diversity of associations and comfort with their wealth, which impact their positioning in either leadership or collaborative roles with the organizations to which they donate their time and their money. The ways in which these philanthropists define their communities and the ways in which they participate differ according to which subset they belong to. Those

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in the Old Wealth/Elite and in the New Wealth/Aspiring subsets tend to associate primarily with one another, to support organizations that have traditionally been a part of their elite culture for generations, and to assume leadership roles in their volunteer work in which they exercise their power and influence in ways that affect the policies and procedures of the organizations to which they donate their time and their money. Those in the Old Wealth/Eschewing and New Wealth/Not Interested subsets tend to socialize with more diverse groups, to support more change-oriented organizations and position themselves in more collaborative and mutual ways in their giving and volunteering practices.

While eighty-five percent of these philanthropists say that they engage in "hands on" volunteer work, the frequency and particulars of what they mean by this differ according to subset. Only 17% of the sample belong to exclusive clubs in which they interact socially only with one another; they are members of the Old Wealth/Elite and New Wealth/Aspiring subsets and are very much involved in elite culture. Those who are in the Old Wealth/Eschewing and New Wealth/Not Interested subsets tend to "blend in", get involved and participate more in the "civic fabric" of their communities.

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CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

There is a dark invisible
workmanship that reconciles
discordant elements and
makes them move in one society.
-Wordsworth

My study began with the goal of examining the beliefs and practices of elite philanthropists in the small towns and cities of southern New Hampshire and southern Maine. The overarching question I began with was: Who are the philanthropists in southern Maine and southern New Hampshire and how do their beliefs and practices of philanthropy compare with those of the philanthropists who have been studied in more urban areas? I was interested in finding out who these philanthropists are, and in learning about the patterns and social structures of elite philanthropy in these regions, looking particularly at issues of class, culture, social capital, and civic participation.

Previous research, which has mostly been set in large metropolitan areas, has shown that philanthropists are primarily interested in promoting their own interests and in drawing boundaries around their exclusive organizations in order to maintain their culture and their position in society (Kendall 2002; Odendahl 1987, 1989, 1990; Ostrander 1984; Ostrower 1995; Schervish and Herman 1988). The philanthropists in this study do not all fit the profile of those in previous studies. While some are invested in maintaining the upper-class-social-elite culture of philanthropy, many of the sample philanthropists are not interested in being part of this elite culture and are genuinely interested in giving back

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to their communities and in promoting the well-being of people from all walks of life. They do not all belong to elite organizations and their philanthropic practices are not only in the service of the promotion of elite interests. While some do support traditional institutions and programs, many are active civic participants who say that they are invested in social justice issues, in social provision, and in the promotion of equal opportunity for all. They consider themselves to be "stewards" of the society that has given so generously to them, and take seriously the job of giving back to their local communities. This chapter summarizes key research findings about the beliefs and practices of a sample of wealthy philanthropists in northern New England and makes suggestions for further study of elite philanthropy.

In earlier chapters I looked at philanthropy as a more complex and diverse practice than previous studies have shown it to be. I emphasized the importance of historical and social uniqueness, and argued that philanthropy is becoming more critical as a means of social provision as the gap widens between the wealthy and the poor and government withdraws its support of social programs.

I stated that the current economic, social and political context, following the enormous economic growth of the nineties and the fiscal devolution of federal support for social programs, has made it important to incorporate those who are newly wealthy into a culture of philanthropy that is open to and invested in supporting social programs. I argued that the elite culture of philanthropy has needed to open up in order to accommodate newcomers in the current social structural space in which it finds itself as an institution. I asserted that all of this, along with the recent popular and scholarly

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emphasis on increasing social capital and strengthening democracy through civic participation has provided a context for the philanthropy in these areas.

I conclude this dissertation with an integration and review of the research findings, and suggest areas for future research that will increase our sociological understanding of the social structures and patterns of the philanthropy of the wealthy.

Tensions

The very definition of philanthropy contains within it certain tensions that inhere in the culture of philanthropy. Defined for this study as the private donation of time and money by the wealthy for the benefit of the public, the questions emerge: Which public? What kind of benefit? Who decides?

These tensions reflect the tensions in a capitalist democracy that makes philanthropy both possible and, I argue, at this time in history, necessary. In any democratic society there are inevitable tensions between the ideals of freedom and equality of opportunity, and the realities of unequally distributed wealth, influence and talent (Hall 1999). Philanthropists are, by definition, wealthy donors who, as I discovered, may or may not choose to be members of an upper-class-social-elite culture of philanthropy. According to Ostrower (1995), they are invested in a decentralized government and in a free market that allows them to accumulate and maintain wealth and to make their own choices about what they will do with that wealth.

The fact that organizations that have been previously funded by the government are now turning to philanthropists for fiscal support speaks to a third category of tensions. These are the tensions between the financial needs of nonprofit organizations, which have increased with the recent cutbacks in federal support for social programs, and the "class-

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based status concerns that are virtually inherent to contemporary elite philanthropy" (Ostrower 1995:141). The culture of philanthropy has evolved and become increasingly bureaucratized over time, and it has become more important to society as an institution that contributes social provision as a third arm of governance (McCarthy 1989).

The elite culture of philanthropy, which has been shown in previous research to be exclusive, self-serving and not interested in supporting social programs (Kendall 2002; Odendahl 1987, 1989, 1990; Ostrander 1984; Ostrower 1995; Schervish and Herman), is only part of what I found in this study. While some of these sample philanthropists are members of an elite culture of philanthropy, others are not interested in membership in that culture and are more attuned to the redistribution of resources to those in need.

Theoretical Framework and Predictions

Rather than the neo-Marxist class dominance view of the practices of philanthropy that has been evident in previous studies, I offered a neo-Weberian approach in this study. I emphasized the culture and meaning of philanthropy, and the importance of the relational realm, examining the cross-cutting memberships and groupings that are possible in a collaborative and cooperative class structure. I agreed with Weber (1946) that, while the wealthy are affected by their station in life, their lives are not determined by their social position. Weber's much-neglected view on the importance of civil society as "a sociocultural context that can foster robust public citizenship" (Kim 2002:187), as well as his interest in pluralism and the competition between different interest groups that enlivens bureaucratic structures (Kalberg 2001) informed my work.

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As we saw in Chapter I, Domhoff's neo-Marxist Class Dominance Theory would predict that the sample philanthropists would donate their time and money to those organizations that would maintain their upper-class position of power and influence in society. Historical Institutionalist Theory, which I classify as neo-Weberian, would say that the philanthropist's view of the role of philanthropy would change across time as participation changes in response to changing patterns of organization and resource balances. Historical Institutionalists would say that sample philanthropists view their role as supporting the promotion of civic life (Hall 1999), and would predict that these philanthropists would be relatively disengaged, more likely to send checks than to become involved in organizations (Skocpol 1999), and likely to support organizations that provide social services, health and education (Hall 1999). Social Capital Theory, which I also classify as neo-Weberian, would say that wealthy philanthropists would view the role of philanthropy as a mechanism for increasing civic engagement and cooperation in communities, thus enhancing the effectiveness of government and economic development (Putnam 2000). This theory would predict that philanthropy would increase as numbers of voluntary associational memberships and levels of trust increase (Paxton 2002).

Findings

The findings show that the philanthropists in this study are affected not only by their social position, but also by many variables in the social and historical context that they find themselves in. Many of them have chosen to live and work closely with their middle- and lower-class neighbors, and their practices of philanthropy have been affected by this, and also by the recent popular emphasis on diversity, civic participation and

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social responsibility that has surfaced in the years following the prosperity of the nineteen-nineties.

Who Are the Philanthropists in Seacoast Northern New England?

The focus in the literature has been on the question of whether elite philanthropists are simply members of the upper class using their wealth to maintain the status quo and perpetuate their position in society, or whether they are invested in trying to meet people's needs and/or to alter the structures in society. The sample of wealthy philanthropists that were interviewed in this study was clearly comprised of an understudied population. It is impossible to assess whether the sample is representative of the population of interest (philanthropists in southern Maine and southern New Hampshire), and it is therefore not possible to make generalizations to populations beyond the limited scope of this particular study.

The findings of this research show that many of the philanthropists in this study operate differently from those in the previous studies. Not all of the sample members are members of the elite culture of philanthropy; while some are and some are aspiring to be members of this culture, others eschew membership and a number are not interested in becoming members. Many are involved with and invested in their local communities. Many are willing to participate and "get their hands dirty". Many marry outside of their class, live in diverse neighborhoods, and socialize with their families, their neighbors, and with the parents of their children's friends, many of whom are members of other classes.

Eighty percent of the sample philanthropists chose to migrate to the area from larger metropolitan areas, and to live in these small communities in which their social

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circles are potentially more diversified. Sixty-five percent of the sample philanthropists who come from generations of wealth marry outside of their class, ten percent do not marry at all, and five percent identify themselves as gay/lesbian. Fifty-three percent of the sample philanthropists are from the 60s generation, and those who were affected by the activism of the 60s and of the subsequent rights movements of the latter half of the twentieth century tend to be more change-oriented in their giving. The majority of men in the study donate their major gifts to environmental organizations, perhaps as a result of the environmental movement, while the majority of women, perhaps as a result of the feminist movement, donate theirs to social service organizations, a finding that is very different from the findings of previous studies in which the majority of philanthropists donated their major gifts to culture and to education (Kendall 2002; Odendahl 1990; Ostrower 1995; Schervish and Herman 1988). All of the respondents are very well-educated, sixty-eight percent attended private schools, and most are actively engaged in professional lives in addition to their philanthropy. Seventy-one percent of the women, perhaps as a result of the feminist movement, are very active participants both in the professional world and in the philanthropic world and exercise their own economic and social authority. A majority of the philanthropists (68%) in this study are registered Democrats.

Findings About Views on the Role of Philanthropy in Society

Some of the sample philanthropists view the role of philanthropy in society as leading the way by offering creative and innovative programs and resources to society, while others view philanthropy's role as following behind and picking up the pieces or filling in the gaps where government has not been able to meet or is not interested in

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meeting the needs of those in need. Some believe that philanthropy offers opportunities to administer social justice where there are inequities and/or to give back to the society in which they have prospered.

When asked about how much of their giving is in support of traditional philanthropy, or in support of maintaining the status quo in society, and how much is in support of change-oriented philanthropy geared toward altering the structures in society, fifty percent of the sample philanthropists say that they give to change-oriented organizations and forty percent say that they give to traditional organizations, while ten percent say that they give equally to each. Respondents in their thirties and forties are more change-oriented than are those who are fifty and older. The Democrats and the Independents in the sample are more change-oriented in their giving than are the Republicans.

While the philanthropists in this study are almost evenly divided in their giving to traditional and to change-oriented organizations, this research shows that they are, by their own assessment, slightly more geared toward giving to organizations that work to alter the structures in society. An analysis of the particular organizations to which the sample philanthropists say that they donate their funds finds that there is a relationship between the area of largest gift and the self-assessment of type of philanthropy (change vs. traditional). Their less traditional social service and environmental giving is largely characterized as change-oriented. Within this sample there is a sizable group of philanthropists who are interested in using their resources for change, as opposed to maintaining the status quo.

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A Comparison of Four Subsets of Sample Philanthropists

The processes through which one becomes a member of the upper-class-social-elite culture of philanthropy are quite complicated, and all wealthy people may not wish to become members of this elite culture. I uncovered four subsets of philanthropists in this study: those who come from generations of wealth and are interested in participating in the elite culture of philanthropy, those who are newly wealthy and are interested in entering into this elite culture, those who are from old wealth families and are eschewing the elite culture, and those who are newly wealthy and are not interested in joining the elite culture of philanthropy. A comparison of the giving patterns of the subsets finds that the sample Old Wealth/Eschewing and New Wealth/Not Interested philanthropists make their largest donations to social service and environmental organizations, as compared with the cultural and educational donations of those in the Old Wealth/Elite and New Wealth/Aspiring subsets.

A number of the sample philanthropists are uncomfortable with their wealth and privilege and have had to come to terms with it as they decide whether or not to participate in the elite culture of philanthropy. The Old/Wealth Eschewing philanthropists are transitioning out of the elite culture while the New Wealth/Not Interested philanthropists never attempt to join. Those in the Old/Wealth Eschewing and in the New Wealth/Not Interested subsets tend to have difficulty deciding how to live with their wealth and whether and how to pass it along to their children, while those in the Old Wealth/Elite and in the New Wealth/Aspiring subsets believe that their privilege and power is deserved, and that they are better equipped than others to make decisions about how society

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should operate and how their donations should be used. Many of the philanthropists in this study are, through their practices of philanthropy, benefiting themselves while at the same time benefiting others.

Findings on the Community Involvement of the Sample Philanthropists

The findings of this research show that the philanthropists in this study are differently involved in and committed to their local communities, depending on their relationship to the elite culture of philanthropy. All are, by definition, civic participants. Most actively participate in the political life of their communities. Eighty-five percent of these philanthropists say that they engage in "hands on" volunteer work, however this means different things for different subsets of the sample. Those in the Old Wealth/Elite and New Wealth/Aspiring subsets tend to volunteer for traditional organizations and assume leadership roles that ensure that they are able to maintain power and control over what happens in these organizations. Those in the Old Wealth/Eschewing and New Wealth/Not Interested subsets tend to be more collaborative and "hands on" in their volunteer activities.

Only a small percentage (17%) of the sample belongs to exclusive social clubs in which they tend to interact socially only with one another; they are in the Old Wealth/Elite and New Wealth/Aspiring subsets and are committed to the elite culture of philanthropy. Others prefer to "blend in", get involved and participate in the "civic fabric" of their communities. Many say that they are interested in issues of social justice and in enhancing the quality of life of all community members.

My findings support my thesis that there is more variation in the philanthropy world than the literature would suggest. These sample philanthropists in the northeastern

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United States seacoast area are not only self-serving and exclusive in their philanthropic beliefs and practices. A large number of them are invested in meeting the needs of those in need and in giving back to their communities. While those in the Old Wealth/Elite and New Wealth/Aspiring subsets offer a "pious example, moral leadership, voluntary effort, and private charity [as] the means by which competing and conflicting interests in society might be brought into harmony" (Bremner 1977:92), those in the Old Wealth/Eschewing and New Wealth/Not Interested subsets hearken back to those early American philanthropists described by Nagai et. al.: They "live modestly and [do] not overtly display their wealth... [They] use their leisure time to benefit the community instead of solely pursuing pleasure" (1994:11).

Predictions and Findings

The prediction of Class Dominance Theory that the sample philanthropists would donate their time and money to those organizations that would maintain their upper-class position of power and influence in society was supported for the Old Wealth/Elite and New Wealth/Aspiring philanthropists in the study, but was not supported for those who are in the Old Wealth/Eschewing and New Wealth/Not Interested subsets.

The Historical Institutionalist Theory's prediction that sample philanthropists would view their role as supporting the promotion of civic life was true for the majority of the philanthropists in this study. The added prediction that these philanthropists would be relatively disengaged, and more likely to send checks than to become involved in organizations was found only of the Old Wealth/Elite and New Wealth/Aspiring philanthropists in the study; those in the Old Wealth/Eschewing and New Wealth/Not Interested were more involved and less formal in their giving practices. The prediction

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that the philanthropists would support organizations that provide social services, health and education was only partially supported, as 28% gave their largest gifts to social services, while 3% gave their largest gifts to health, and 10% gave their largest gifts to education. The remaining 59% gave their largest gifts to the environment (35%), to rights/advocacy/policy (5%), to youth (5%), to religion (2%), and to culture (12%).

The results of Social Capital Theory's predictions are more difficult to ascertain, as the focus of this study was not on measuring social capital per se. The prediction that philanthropists would view the role of philanthropy as a mechanism for increasing civic engagement and cooperation in communities, thus enhancing the effectiveness of government and economic development (Putnam 2000) may be one that supported for these philanthropists, but it was not measured. The prediction that philanthropy would increase as numbers of voluntary associational memberships and levels of trust increase was also not one that was measured. Civic engagement, voluntary associational memberships and trust levels were measured and found to be high among most of the philanthropists in this study regardless of their subset.

Suggestions for Future Research

Previous studies on individual elite philanthropy have been, for the most part, set in large metropolitan areas, and have approached the topic from a neo-Marxist perspective, attending to issues of class conflict and power differentials. The debate has centered on whether elite philanthropists are simply members of the upper class using their wealth to maintain the status quo and maintain their positions in society, or whether they are invested in trying to meet people's needs and/or to alter the structures in society.

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With this research project I have added to and furthered the discussion by setting my study in the small towns and cities of southern Maine and southern New Hampshire and interviewing a population of wealthy philanthropists that have not been studied before. I have approached the debate from a neo-Weberian perspective, focusing on the relational realm and looking at a more collaborative and culturally and ideationally cooperative class structure in which cross-cutting memberships and groupings are possible (Wright 1997a&b, 2002), and civil society "can foster robust public citizenship" that enlivens society (Kim 2002).

My findings have demonstrated that these sample philanthropists are not simply using their wealth to maintain the status quo and maintain their position in society. While some do support traditional institutions and organizations, others support those institutions and organizations that seek to offer social provision, address the inequities in society and, to some extent, alter the structures of society. These findings suggest a new, or previously unstudied, social structure in the philanthropy world in which some wealthy philanthropists choose not to be members of elite culture. They are aware of the inequities in society and focus their philanthropy on attempts to "administer social justice", "even the playing field" and "give back to society".

I have not attempted with this research to argue for a particular policy or a particular program to deal with the issues raised. I have attempted, rather, to demonstrate the complexities involved in a democracy that "does not provide people with the most skillful of governments, but it does that which the most skillful government often cannot do: it spreads throughout the body social a restless activity, superabundant force, and energy never found elsewhere, which, however little favored by circumstance, can do

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wonders" (de Tocqueville [1835] 1945:225). I agree with Bremner's description that philanthropy is "an outlet for the restless energy that enlivens democracy" (1977:111). These philanthropists can and do indeed "do wonders", and their practices of philanthropy are practices that do indeed "enliven democracy".

Further research is needed in order to continue to advance the dialogue about philanthropy in both urban and rural areas with the application of a neo-Weberian perspective on the culture of philanthropy. A replication of this study in a metropolitan area would help to determine whether the culture of philanthropy has indeed changed, or whether there is a different culture of philanthropy operating in these regions that has not been studied before. Replications of this study in more rural areas would add to the body of knowledge about the social structures and practices of rural philanthropy.

Further research is also needed in order to continue to address and learn about the challenges of studying the elite. The elite continue to be difficult to identify, difficult to access and difficult to engage in the research process.

In this study I clearly uncovered a population of wealthy philanthropists that has not, to my knowledge, been studied before. This population, with its emphasis on change-oriented philanthropy, merits further study in the face of the current economic, social and political context in which philanthropy is becoming more critical as a means of social provision as the gap continues to widen between the wealthy and the poor and government continues to withdraw its support of social programs.

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Appendix I

Name	State	Age	Generations Of Wealth	Occupation	Volunteer Work	Organizations	% Traditio	% Income	Party	Focus	Civic Participation
1. Nate	NH	40'	3	None	Built Park, Kid's School	Pilots & Scuba	10%	10%	D	Loca	
2. To	ME	40'	2	Real Estate	Children's Ctr, Cof House, Event	None	0%	10%	D	Globa	
3. Andrew	NH	60'	1	Lawyer -Retired	Legal Advice, Rides , Events	Interfaith Alliance	25%	20-25%	D	Loca	Campaigns
4. Ben	ME	50'	3	Professo	Civil LibertiesUnion,Newspaper	NAACP	10%	75-100%	D	Loca	Campaigns
5. Priscill	ME	70'	1	Professor-Retire	Tutors, Advises Teachers	Educational Orgs.	33%	?	D	L/N/G	
6. Paul	NH	60'	1	Doctor- Retire	Church, Social Service Org.	Soc. Reg , Pilots Org.	66%	10-20%	D	Loca	Campaigns
7. Nora	NH	70'	1	Editor-Retire	Hospital Wor	Smithsonean, SPNEA	80%	?	D	Loca	Campaigns
8. Sarah	NH	40'	3	Social Services	Kid's Schoo	Historical Soc, SPNEA	25%	5%	I	Loca	
9. Jackie	NH	40'	3	Mother/Volunteer	Peace Corp, Search & Rescue	NARAL, Nature Con	50%	30%	D	Loca	Campaigns
10. Peter	NH	40'	4	Own Business	Local Events	Nature Conservancy	75%	10%	I	Loca	Campaigns
11. Jay	NH	40'	3	Fundraise	Conservation Group	Environmental Grps.	25%	15%	D	Loca	Campaigns
12. Elizabeth	NH	70'	3	Own Business	Local Events	Historical Soc, SPNEA	20%	?	I	Loca	
13. Ray	ME	40'	3	Own Business	Soup Kitchen, Kid's School	Nature Conservancy	0%	30%	I	Loca	Campaigns
14. Dan	NH	70'	1	Lawyer	Local Events	AMC	75%	10%	D	Loca	Campaigns
15. Barbara	NH	60'	1	Mother/Volunteer	Athaneum,Historical Society	Nature Conservancy	50%	30%	D	Loca	Campaigns
16. Michael	ME	50'	4	Doctor	Drs. W/O Borders, Clini	Audobon	20%	>100%	D	L/G	Campaigns
17. Anne	NH	60'	1	Own Business	Library	SPNEA	20%	10%	D	L/N	Campaigns
18. Barry	NH	60'	1	Own Business	United Way, Events	Seacoast Land Trust	70%	25-10%	D	Loca	City Council
19. Kate	ME	80'	3	Volunteer	No.	Soc. Reg, Country	80%	20%	R	Loca	
20.Jerry	NH	40'	3	Investment Planner	Kid's School, Lectures, Events	Jumpstar	60%	12%	I	L/N	Campaigns
21. Mary	NH	50'	1	Own Business	Auctions, Museum, Events	NARAL, SPNEA	100%	10%	D	National	Campaigns
22. Laura	ME	30'	4	Social Services	Church Work, Events	4H	90%	5%	D	Loca	Campaign
23.Jennifer	ME	50'	1	Fundraise	No.	Bus. Grp.	100%	5%	R	Loca	
24. Lisa	NH	30'	1	Own Business	Clean Up Day, Events	Women's Grp	30%	10%	I	Loca	Campaigns
25. Julie	NH	40'	1	Own Business	No.	SPNEA	100%	10%	D	Loca	Campaigns
26. Mark	NH	40'	2	Own Business	United Wa	AMC, Seacoast LT	60%	5-10%	D	Loca	Campaigns
27. Robert	NH	40'	3	Lawyer	Coach, Teac	Rotary. Bar Assoc.	80%	2%	D	Loca	Campaigns
28. Karen	NH	40'	1	Other	Meals to ill, Kid's School, Hospi	xx Coalition	25%	5-7%	D	Loca	Planning Board
29. Sheila	ME	50'	2	Volunteer	Kid's School, Library	Oxfam, Music Grps.	0	5%	D	Loca	Campaigns
30. Martha	ME	50'	1	Mother/Volunteer	Kid's Schoo	Nature Conservancy	50%	33%	D	L/G	Campaigns
31. Bill	ME	30'	5	Investment Planner	No.	Country Club	30%	5%	D	Loca	Campaigns
32. Connie	ME	60'	5	Volunteer	Church Work	Yacht, Garden Club	88%	33%	R	Loca	
33. Richard	ME	60'	1	Own Business	Soup Kitchen	AMC, Nature Cons.	33%	100+	R/I	Loca	Campaigns
34. Stuart	ME	70'	3	Own Business	Soup Kitchen	Country Club	80%	25%	R	Loca	Campaigns
35. Fred	ME	70'	1	Banker	Main St. Org, Talks	Country C, Rotary	50%	5%	R	Loca	Campaigns
36. Paula	ME	40'	3	Investment Planner	Talks, Clean Up Day, Reg.	Jr. League, Garden	20%	10%	I	Loca	
37. Jeff	ME	30'	1	Own Business	Auction, Soup Kitchen	Nature Conservancy	0%	20%	D	Loca	
38. Sharon	ME	50'	1	Social Services	Talks, United Way, Auction	GLB	20%	20%	D	Loca	Campaigns
39. Linda	ME	50'	1	Own Business	Pro Bono Work,Coaching	Women's Grou	20%	10%	D	L/N/G	Campaigns
40. Janice	ME	50'	1	Own Business	Community Events	Chamber Commerce	75%	5-10%	D	Loca	Town Office

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Appendix II

INTERVIEW GUIDE

I. Practices of Philanthropy

1. What is it about philanthropy that has been most important to you?
2. How do you define philanthropy?
3. What are the social issues about which you feel passionate?
4. When you think back on philanthropic donations you have made, which do you feel particularly glad that you made? Why is that? Are there any you have felt negative about? Why is that?
5. What percentage of your income do you donate annually to philanthropy?
6. During the past 3 years, to which organizations have you donated money? Approximately how much?
7. What was the goal of the money that you gave to (each ORG)? Do you know how it was used? How?
8. What goals do you have for your philanthropy?
9. How do you decide where to donate your money and how much money to donate?
10. Are you involved in the organizations to which you donate money in ways other than your philanthropy? How?

II. Family and Philanthropy

1. Do you or your husband/wife come from a family that had a tradition of philanthropic activity? If so, how many generations of your family have been involved?
2. Are there any particular attitudes or ideas about philanthropy that were passed on to you by your family?
3. Are there any attitudes or ideas held by your family about philanthropy that you have rejected?
4. What attitudes and ideas about philanthropy would you like to pass on to your children? How would you do this?

III. The Role of Philanthropy in Society

1. How do you think about the role of philanthropy in society? What should philanthropy do?
2. Should those in need take care of themselves?
3. How do you think about the relationship between private philanthropy and government programs?
4. Should there be greater government regulation of philanthropic activity of individuals and foundations?
5. What outcome are you interested in with your philanthropy? Are you interested in promoting change or in maintaining the status quo? Or both? What percentage of your philanthropy supports projects which seek to alter the structures of society? What percentage supports projects that seek to maintain the status quo?
6. If interested in bringing about change, what kind? What specifically interested in maintaining in the status quo?

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7. Should recipients of money donated by philanthropists be involved (serve on the boards, make decisions about how the money is used) in the organizations from which they receive funds? Ie. as in the civil rights movement.
8. Do you identify more with a local, a national or a global community? How do you show this?
9. Are there certain organizations that you are under particularly strong pressure to give to?

IV. Civic Participation/Social Capital/Community Involvement

1. How do you participate in society?
2. Would you identify yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or in some other way?
3. Do you vote?
4. Apart from voting, are you involved in politics or government in any way?
5. Are you currently serving on the boards of any nonprofit organizations? (If appropriate) Which ones?
6. Are you currently serving on the boards of any corporations? (If appropriate) Which ones?
7. Do you volunteer? If so, what kind of volunteer work do you do?
8. What gives you a sense of community or a feeling of belonging in your community (however defined)?
9. Do you participate in your local community? How? National? How? Global? How?
10. What organizations do you belong to?
11. Who do you feel social ties with? Who are the social peers that you interact with?
12. Would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with others?

V. Background Data

1. Where did you live most of the time while you were growing up?
2. What was the highest year or grade of school your mother completed?
3. What was the highest year or grade of school your father completed?
4. What was your father's occupation while you were growing up?
5. What was your mother's occupation while you were growing up?
6. What is your occupation?
7. How did your family's income compare with most American families' income while you were growing up?
8. What is your race and your ethnicity?
9. In what religion were you raised, and what is your present religion if any?
10. How often, if ever did you attend religious services while you were growing up? Now?
11. What is the highest year or grade of school you completed?
12. Did you attend private schools?
13. Do you send your children to private schools?
14. What is the name of each college/university you attended? What was your major area of study as an undergraduate? As a graduate student (if this applies)?

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15. What was your total income before taxes for 2001? What was your family's total income before taxes from 2001? (Include wages, salaries, interest, dividends and any other income).
16. What is your net worth?
17. How old were you on your last birthday?
18. What is your marital status?
19. What percent of your time do you spend on philanthropy?

20. Is there anything else you think we should know about philanthropy?

21. Can you think of other philanthropists who might be willing to talk with me?

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UNIVERSITY of NEW HAMPSHIRE

_____, 2002

Dear Mr. and Mrs. _____,

I am a PhD. Candidate in the Sociology Department at the University of New Hampshire conducting a research project to find out about the practices and views of philanthropists in Southern Maine and Southern New Hampshire. I am writing to invite you to participate in this project. I plan to work with approximately forty participants in this study.

If you agree to participate in this research, you will be asked to engage in a one and one half to two hour interview. The interview will be audio taped and the tape will be transcribed into a database in order to analyze patterns in the data collected.

While you will not receive any compensation for your participation in this project, the anticipated benefits are that you will contribute to our understanding of the role of philanthropy in this area. What we learn from this study may be useful for philanthropic organizations as well as for others who study philanthropy in society.

Participation is strictly voluntary; refusal to participate will involve no prejudice, penalty, or loss of benefits to which you would otherwise be entitled. If you agree to participate and then change your mind, you may withdraw at any time during the study without penalty.

The confidentiality of all data and records associated with your participation in this research, including your identity, will be fully maintained. Data and tapes will be kept in a locked file cabinet in my office; only I will have access to the data. Pseudonyms will be assigned to interviewees before notes are entered into the database and before tapes are transcribed. Public presentation of data will never use identifying information.

If you have any questions about this research project or would like more information before, during, or after the study, you may contact Susan Lord by phone at 603-862-3150 or via email at salord@cisunix.unh.edu. If you have questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact Julie Simpson at the UNH Office of Sponsored Research at 862-2003 to discuss them in confidence.

I will be contacting you by telephone to ascertain your willingness to participate in this research. Thank you for your consideration

Sincerely,

Susan Lord
PhD. Candidate
Sociology Department
University of New Hampshire
(603) 862-3150
salord@cisunix.unh.edu

COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
Department of Sociology
Horton Social Science Center 20 College Road Durham, New Hampshire 03824-3586 603-862-2500

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UNIVERSITY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

Informed Consent

Purpose:
The purpose of this research is to study the practices of philanthropists and their views on philanthropy's role in society.

Description:
Participants in this study will be asked to participate in 1 1/2 to 2 hour interviews in which they will answer questions about their practices and views of philanthropy.

PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS AND RESPOND AS TO WHETHER OR NOT YOU ARE WILLING TO PARTICIPATE:

1. I understand that the use of human subjects in this project has been approved by the UNH Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research.

2. I understand the scope, aims, and purposes of this research project and the procedures to be followed and the expected duration of my participation.

3. I understand that the confidentiality of all data and records associated with my participation in this research, including my identity, will be fully maintained.

4. I understand that my consent to participate in this research is entirely voluntary, and that my refusal to participate will involve no prejudice, penalty or loss of benefits to which I would otherwise be entitled.

5. I further understand that if I consent to participate, I may discontinue my participation at any time without prejudice, penalty, or loss of benefits to which I would otherwise be entitled.

6. I confirm that no coercion of any kind was used in seeking my participation in this research project.

7. I understand that if I have any questions pertaining to the research I can call Susan Lord at 603-862-3150 and be given the opportunity to discuss them in confidence. If I have questions pertaining to my rights as a research subject I can call Julie Simpson at the UNH Office of Sponsored Research, 603-862-2003, to discuss them in confidence.

8. I understand that I will not be provided financial incentive for my participation by the University of New Hampshire.

9. I understand that at the conclusion of this research project, I will be able to see a written report of the findings.

10. I certify that I have read and fully understand the purpose of this research project and its risks and benefits for me as stated above.

I, X _____ CONSENT/AGREE to participate in this research project.
(Print)

I, _____ REFUSE/DO NOT AGREE to participate in this research project.

X _____ _____
Signature of Subject Date

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UNIVERSITY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

Office of Sponsored Research
Service Building
51 College Road
Durham, New Hampshire 03824-3585
(603) 862-3564 FAX

LAST NAME	Lord	FIRST NAME	Susan
DEPT	Sociology Department, Horton SSC	APP'L DATE	5/8/2001
OFF-CAMPUS ADDRESS (if applicable)	393 Cider Hill Road, York, ME 03909	IRB #	2540
		REVIEW LEVEL	EXE
		DATE OF NOTICE	5/11/2001

PROJECT TITLE: Wealth and Social Responsibility: Elite Philanthropy and the State. An Intergenerational Look at the Changing Face of Traditional and Social Movement Philanthropy in Portland, Maine

The Institutional Review Board (IRB) for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research has reviewed the protocol for your project as Exempt as described in Federal Regulations 45 CFR 46, Subsection 46.101 (b) category 2.

The IRB made the following comment(s) or recommendation(s):

As stated in the protocol, investigator will submit the final survey questions for IRB review and approval prior to starting the study

Approval is granted to conduct the project as described in your protocol. **Prior to implementing any changes in your protocol, you must submit them to the IRB for review and receive written, unconditional approval. If you experience any unusual or unanticipated results with regard to the participation of human subjects, please report such events to this office promptly as they occur.** Upon completion of your project, please complete the enclosed pink Exempt Project Final Report form and return it to this office along with a report of your findings.

The protection of human subjects in your study is an ongoing process for which you hold primary responsibility. In receiving IRB approval for your protocol, you agree to conduct the project in accordance with the ethical principles and guidelines for the protection of human subjects in research, as described in the following three reports: Belmont Report; Title 45, Code of Federal Regulations, Part 46; and UNH's Multiple Project Assurance of Compliance. The full text of these documents is available on the OSR information server at http://www.unh.edu/osr/compliance/Regulatory_Compliance.html and by request from the Office of Sponsored Research.

If you have questions or concerns about your project or this approval, please feel free to contact our office at 862-2003. Please refer to the IRB # above in all correspondence related to this project. The IRB wishes you success with your research.

For the IRB,

Julie F. Simpson
Regulatory Compliance Manager
Office of Sponsored Research

cc: File
Sally Ward, Sociology

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UNIVERSITY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

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(603) 862-3564 FAX

PI LAST NAME	*Lord*	PI FIRST NAME	*Susan*
CO-PI or ADVISOR	*Sally Ward, Sociology*	APP'L DATE	*5/8/2001*
DEPT	*Sociology Department, Horton SSC*	IRB #	*2540*
OFF-CAMPUS ADDRESS (if applicable)	*393 Cider Hill Road, York, ME 03909*	REVIEW LEVEL	*EXE*
		TODAY'S DATE	*8/26/2002*

PROJECT TITLE: *Wealth and Social Responsibility: Elite Philanthropy and the State. An Intergenerational Look at the Changing Face of Traditional and Social Movement Philanthropy in Portland, Maine*

MODIFICATON: *Additional sampling procedure*

The Institutional Review Board (IRB) for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research has reviewed and approved yo modificaton and/or addition to this protocol, as indicated above.

The protection of human subjects in your study is an ongoing process for which you hold primary responsibility. **Furth changes in your protocol must be submitted to the IRB for review and approval prior to their implementation. If y experience any unusual or unanticipated results with regard to the participation of human subjects, please report su events to this office promptly as they occur.** If you have questions or concerns about your project or this approval, please f free to contact this office at 862-2003.

Please refer to the IRB # above in all correspondence related to this project. The IRB wishes you success with your research.

For the IRB,

Julie F. Simpson

Julie F. Simpson
Regulatory Compliance Manager

Modificaton entered: *8/20/2002*

cc: File

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