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Crafting Philanthropic Identities

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Abstract

A salient if under-researched feature of the new age of global inequalities is the rise to prominence of entrepreneurial philanthropy, the pursuit of social goals through philanthropic investment in projects animated by entrepreneurial principles. This chapter proposes a typology of the philanthropic identities that wealthy individuals craft during their philanthropic journeys. The scale of philanthropic ambition is closely linked to the type of identity assumed, allied to the dominant philanthropic orientation adopted, whether institutional or transformational. Some philanthropists, who assume a localized perspective, seek to re-embed disadvantaged communities to which they feel allegiance. Others, desiring social transformation, aspire to re-set current systems through the scale of their endeavours. Four generic philanthropic identities are explored, labelled 'local hero', 'pillar of society', 'social crusader' and 'game changer' respectively. In making sense of philanthropic identities, this chapter extends theoretical approaches to the study of contemporary entrepreneurial philanthropy, still at a pre-paradigmatic, embryonic stage.

Keywords: entrepreneurial philanthropy; generativity; inequality; philanthropic identities; philanthropic orientation; social innovation.

Introduction

A salient if under-researched feature of the new age of global inequalities is the rise to prominence of entrepreneurial philanthropy, the pursuit of transformational social goals through philanthropic investment in projects animated by entrepreneurial principles. The work of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation in striving to eradicate diseases like malaria and polio is emblematic of a much wider social movement of super-wealthy entrepreneurs to combat poverty and other manifestations of injustice prevalent in developed and developing countries. The doctrine of entrepreneurial philanthropy, first articulated by Andrew Carnegie in what became known as *The Gospel of Wealth* (1889), is argued to matter more now than ever because it offers the potential to mitigate the worst excesses of 'winner takes all' capitalism (Acs, 2013). In re-cycling large fortunes in their own lifetimes, philanthropic entrepreneurs bring capital and expertise to bear in tackling deep-seated social problems; helping disadvantaged others help themselves while – potentially at least – arresting the politics of envy and healing social divisions (Harvey, Maclean, Gordon & Shaw, 2011).

This chapter explores the philanthropic identities that wealthy entrepreneurs craft as they extend their reach beyond business into wider society. In making sense of philanthropic identities, about which little is known (Paul, Hollenberg & Hodges, 2017), this chapter advances new theory as a platform for future research in contemporary entrepreneurial philanthropy, still at a pre-paradigmatic, embryonic stage (Nicholls, 2010; Taylor, Strom & Renz, 2014). Philanthropic identities are embedded in wider canonical discourses that exhort entrepreneurs to assume particular moralities, and shed light on the construction of desirable past and, more importantly, future selves (Pratt, Rockmann & Kaufmann, 2006; Watson, 2008; Ybema, 2010). Given the pressure emanating from wider society for wealthy individuals to assume a philanthropic disposition, philanthropy arguably 'no longer constitutes a personal or

private goal but rather a form of social duty' (Villadsen, 2007: 320). Following Dutton, Roberts and Bednar (2010: 266), we adopt the view that identity comprises the meanings that individuals assign to themselves, often presented in narrative form and in interchange with others, over time. We pose two main research questions. First, how might the identities that wealthy entrepreneurs assume in becoming philanthropic be categorised and defined? Second, related to this, how do these philanthropic identities come to be formed dispositionally?

This chapter is organized as follows. The next section explores the notion of identity construction in the context of entrepreneurial philanthropy. We then propose a typology of the principal identities that philanthropists assume through their charitable endeavours, dependent on the scale of giving in which they engage, whether small- or large-scale, and the orientation they adopt, institutional or transformational. Building on these ideas, we next propose a process model of philanthropic identity formation, demonstrating the importance of positive feedback from engagement in philanthropy. We then reflect on the importance of philanthropic identity work to the legitimacy and continuing authority of business elites across the world. In conclusion, we briefly consider the implications of our theoretical models for future research on entrepreneurial philanthropy.

Identity, entrepreneurship and philanthropy

This chapter is located in the context of a wider investigation into the nature of contemporary entrepreneurial philanthropy, within what Acs and Phillips (2002: 201) term the 'entrepreneurship-philanthropy nexus' (Anheier & Leat, 2006; Bishop & Green, 2008; Dees, 2008). Our conceptualization of generic philanthropic identities delineated in what follows draws on a body of research conducted over the past decade (Harvey et al., 2011; Maclean & Harvey, 2016; Maclean, Harvey & Gordon, 2013; Maclean, Harvey, Gordon & Shaw, 2015;

Shaw, Gordon, Harvey & Maclean, 2013). We define entrepreneurial philanthropy as *the pursuit by entrepreneurs on a not-for-profit basis of social objectives through active investment of their economic, cultural, social and symbolic resources* (Harvey et al., 2011: 428). Entrepreneurial philanthropists are characterized by their drive to accumulate personal fortunes, allied to a concomitant impulse to deploy a portion of their wealth in pursuit of philanthropic ventures over which they retain control (Bandura, 1997; Ostrander, 2007). Hence, their focus is on the (entrepreneurial) creation of wealth and the (philanthropic) redistribution of that wealth to serve specified social goals (Acs & Phillips, 2002). Entrepreneurial philanthropy, however, in directly pursuing solutions to complex social problems, inevitably extends the suzerainty of wealthy entrepreneurs from the domain of the economic to the domains of the social and political (Ball, 2008; Bosworth, 2011), widening the 'empowerment gap' between themselves and ordinary citizens who 'already feel shoved aside by elites and the wealthy' (Callaghan, 2017: 9). That this process is encouraged by generous tax relief on charitable giving is felt by critics to add insult to injury (Maclean & Harvey, 2016; Reich, 2011), increasing the power of private foundations, described by Reich (2016) as 'the most unaccountable, non-transparent institutional form' in democratic societies. This leads Horvath and Powell (2016: 116) to question the role of entrepreneurial philanthropy in 'reshaping government by inserting itself as a preferred provider of public goods', eroding democracy and creating 'a tension between philanthropy and the ideal of equality' on which it rests (Pevnick, 2016: 227).

Considered thus, philanthropy allows wealthy individuals, almost by sleight of hand, to amplify their influence and connections in such a way that it is they, not elected politicians, who determine the direction of change. As Bosworth (2011: 385) bluntly puts it: 'The public still pays most of the bills, but it is the philanthrocapitalist who, increasingly, sets the agenda'. All

great personal fortunes are made through the ability to extract economic rents from broad swathes of the population over a prolonged period of time. The admiration that wealthy entrepreneurs inspire in society, however, has led to their being cast in the light of 'social prophets' (Bosworth, 2011: 386), 'supermen' capable of curing social ills rather than extractors of supernormal economic rents, deflecting public criticism and scrutiny (Swalwell & Apple, 2011). Unlike politicians, however, they are unelected and therefore unsackable.

Elsewhere, we have explored the acquisition of a philanthropic identity as experienced and narrated in terms of a journey (Maclean et al., 2015), which is essentially a quest for meaning (Gregg, 2006; Hyttu, 2005). The journey metaphor highlights the notion of identity acquisition in terms of *becoming* (Brown, 2006), illuminating processes of identity building accomplished in the course of entrepreneurial careers, forming 'a *trajectory* across the different institutional settings of modernity over the *durée* of what used to be called the "life cycle"' (Giddens, 1991: 14). The journey motif casts light on the nature of professional identities as processes of discovery, unfolding over time in ways that are often meandering, discontinuous and difficult to predict. This casts light on identities as evolving through a process of wayfinding in response to role changes, setbacks and turning-points (Ingold, 2000), as actors 'make sense of and "enact" their environments' (Pratt et al., 2006: 235; Weick, 1995). Philanthropic journeys enacted by wealthy entrepreneurs may be informed by the notion of generativity (Erikson, 1950; Giacalone, Jurkiewicz & Deckop, 2008; McAdams, 1988; 1993), defined as 'purposeful action for the well-being of future generations, and the emergence of individual purpose and agency' (Creed et al., 2014: 113); through which philanthropists fashion a legacy of the self, producing 'generativity scripts' which animate their capacity for agency. Generativity scripts constitute action outlines for 'chapters yet to be lived' that 'perform something worthy to be remembered' (McAdams, 1988: 252). As such, they play a pivotal role in 'individuals' self-

construction of generative selves' (Creed et al., 2014: 113). Our purpose in this chapter is to build upon this work by delineating more clearly the nature of the philanthropic identities that philanthropists assume in constructing generative selves. As such, our chapter fits within the category of papers on self-identity in organizing that focus on 'identity conceptualization, construction and types' (Brown, 2018: 2).

Identity is bound up with a sense of place, past and present, and with engaging in activities which help to anchor individuals within that place and endow it with meaning (Bauman, 2004). Gatens and Lloyd (1999: 80, cited in Massey, 2005: 191) observe that 'the determining of identities is at the same time the constitution of new sites of responsibility'. These new sites of responsibility may entail social investment in localized, targeted communities to which philanthropists feel allegiance (Maclean et al., 2013); where social innovation can play a developmental role in regenerating deprived local communities (Johnstone & Lionais, 2004; Perrini, Vurro & Constanzo, 2010). Investment in a specific community recalls Candide's insight from Voltaire's (1759/1997) satire of the same name, which ends with the 'hero' discerning 'we must cultivate our garden' as a pragmatic response to seemingly intractable issues. Alternatively, philanthropists may aspire to have global reach; confirming Giddens' (1991: 32) observation that 'the level of time-space distanciation introduced by high modernity is so extensive that, for the first time in human history, 'self' and 'society' are interrelated in a global milieu'.

Emblematic of the latter, a banner on the Gates Foundation website proclaims that 'all lives have equal value' and that it is led by 'impatient optimists working to reduce inequity' (Gates Foundation, 2018). In similar fashion, Priscilla Chan and Mark Zuckerberg declare that there can be a 'future for everyone' by applying technology to 'help remove systemic barriers that

limit individual progress' (Chan Zuckerberg Initiative, 2018). Jamie Cooper and Christopher Hohn likewise promote 'bold solutions to seemingly intractable challenges for children and adolescents in developing countries' because 'every child deserves to survive and thrive today and in the future' (CIFF, 2018).

Inspirational statements such as these, expressive of the global ambitions of some entrepreneurial philanthropists, are ethically highly charged. The assertion that all lives have equal value is foundational to much ethical thinking (Nagel, 1970: 14; Rawls, 2001: 15; Singer, 2011: 10), while the notion of working practically to redress injustice likewise finds support in recent influential literature on social justice (Sandel, 2009: 265-8; Sen, 2010: 400-14). Central to such universalising statements, however, is the solidarity they express with less fortunate others. The emphasis on all lives having equal value promoted by Bill and Melinda Gates emphasizes commonalities shared with other human beings, rather than the elephant in the room, their inordinate wealth that sets them apart and reinforces inequity. Such legitimating accounts are bound-up with the fashioning of social identities that are deemed desirable, designed to legitimate 'an account maker's… set of claims' (Creed, Scully & Austin, 2002: 475). Virtue is demanded of today's wealthy entrepreneurs, whom society expects to behave in a morally and ethically upright manner (Rego, Cunha & Clegg, 2012; Turner, Barling, Epitropaki, Butcher & Milner, 2002). Kornberger and Brown (2007) have shown that ethics represent a crucial resource for identity work, on which individuals draw in their attempts to author preferred versions of the self.

To command influence, purveyors of accounts must be able to present themselves as living or having lived a responsible life (Habermas & Bluck, 2000: 751; Tams & Marshall, 2011). In this way, quasi-hegemonic societal discourses exhort wealthy entrepreneurs to embrace

particular moralities by assuming 'publicly available "personas" or social-identities' (Watson, 2008: 127), urging them to 'align with… societally prescribed selves' by crafting an ostensibly philanthropic identity (Brown, 2015: 29-30). These discourses underline the obligation for the rich *to do their 'bit'* to assist the needy, with whom they are required to show a degree of solidarity, thereby demonstrating that *we are all in the same boat*. This involves the construction of a positive identity whereby the self is presented as worthy and hence deserving of high esteem (Dutton et al., 2010).

This raises a further question: namely, to what extent are the philanthropic identities assumed by super-wealthy individuals *authentic*? To what extent might the self-myths they fashion and propagate amount to self-deception or be in 'bad faith' (Bruner, 1990; Sartre, 1943)? Creed et al. (2014) contend that generative action scripts that are quintessentially redemptive often conceal a tension between authenticity and inauthenticity. An alternative viewpoint is that philanthropists are simply putting on a guise, assuming particular moralities like new clothes, masquerading as philanthropic to deflect resentment at their wealth, which might otherwise be deemed excessive; reminiscent of the way in which rich individuals once purchased indulgences to smooth their passage into paradise (McAdams, 1988). Viewed in this light, philanthropic engagement might be the price of addressing the politics of envy to maintain the status quo, rather than to effect radical change by tackling social injustice and inequity. In this regard, former British Prime Minister Tony Blair asserted that philanthropy was necessary 'to lessen hostility to the rich', considering it a better option than state intervention to alleviate the harmful effects of rising inequalities (Mail Online, 2013).

Conceptualizing philanthropic identities

Fundamental to our conception of generic philanthropic identities is the distinction between two main philanthropic orientations, institutional and transformational, consistent with the distinction between 'contributory' and 'disruptive' philanthropy made by Horvath and Powell (2016: 87). These are summarized in Table 1. On the one hand, *thinking institutionally* disposes philanthropists to support organizations and institutions they hold dear, which they believe to be especially valuable to society, established causes that might be nurtured through the investment of philanthropic funds (Heclo, 2008: 81-128). Support for schools, universities, healthcare organizations, community groups and cultural institutions typically follows the socially conservative orientation of institutional philanthropy. On the other hand, *thinking transformationally* disposes philanthropists to invest in social innovation, in causes intended to solve deep-seated social problems at home or abroad, which cannot be tackled adequately simply by investing more in established organizations and institutions. Support for projects and initiatives designed to overcome economic and social inequalities typically follows the more socially radical orientation of transformational philanthropy.

The institutional model is that of responsive-mode foundations that nurture the not-for-profit sector by dispensing funds to applicants within the scope of their charitable purpose. They respond to opportunities presented to them and in general make judgements subjectively both with respect to funding levels and outcomes. They prize their independence as grant-makers. The transformational model, in contrast, seeks to transform rather than nurture society, aiming proactively to solve social problems through concentrated investment behind a radical theory-of-change (Rogers, 2014), often in conjunction with partners, including private companies and government agencies. Investment decisions are made and outcomes measured using quantitative data consistent with private-sector practices (Shaw et al., 2013). We hold that both philanthropic orientations – institutional and transformational – co-exist and are not mutually

exclusive, but rather that philanthropists typically are swayed more by one philanthropic orientation than the other.

[Insert Table 1 about here]

A second important distinction in differentiating philanthropic identities is scale, donating on a small or large scale within a given social context (Bloom & Chatterji, 2009; Perrini et al., 2010; Smith & Stevens, 2010). Philanthropists of relatively modest means or with substantial means and a low proclivity for generosity tend to focus their giving on local or specific causes, institutional or transformational. Their gifts are geographically embedded in areas that hold particular significance to them as donors (Marshall, Dawley, Pike & Pollard, 2018). Those of substantial means and a relatively high propensity to give operate across a wider geographic area and often involve themselves in more than one philanthropic cause (Chell, Nicolopoulou & Özkan-Karataş, 2010; Steyaert & Katz, 2004). When this distinction is juxtaposed with that made between philanthropic orientations, four generic philanthropic identities emerge, as shown in Figure 1, labelled 'local hero', 'pillar of society', 'social crusader' and 'game changer' respectively.

Local heroes are institutionally-minded individuals who have prior experience of the institutions and organization they support, typically their Alma Mater, their local hospital, community groups, faith communities and cultural organizations. They believe in giving back to those who once nurtured them and toward whom they feel a deep sense of gratitude and devotion (Maclean, Harvey & Chia, 2012). Their generosity is a matter of record, symbolized by appointment to governing bodies, celebrated in local media, and commended by other members of the local elite. The identities crafted by local heroes are intended to speak of

loyalty, selflessness and dependability, regionally inscribed, and hence worthy of a place of honour within the local community (Marshall et al., 2018). Many of these self-projected virtues might apply equally to pillars of society, but with important distinctions stemming from the elevated scale and scope of their philanthropic operations.

Pillars of society typically have their own foundations, inviting non-profits to apply for funding within published spheres of interest. They are on the go-to list of professional fundraisers. When they make headline gifts, running into tens of millions of pounds or dollars, it is for establishment causes of special interest, often favouring the most prestigious universities, medical researchers, hospitals, community organizations and cultural institutions such as museums, art galleries, symphony orchestras, ballet companies and operatic societies (Ostrower, 2002; Schervish, 2005). Naming gifts on this scale lends a veneer of permanence to projected identities through attachment to auditoria, buildings, departments and research institutes. Pillars of society are esteemed in elite circles for their munificence and acclaimed in the media as 'philanthropists', differentiating them from many of the super-wealthy who, in fact, give little back to society (Maclean & Harvey, 2016; Philanthropy Review, 2011). The identities they craft are expressive of foresight, virtue and commitment.

[Insert Figure 1 about here]

Transformational philanthropists, small and large, distinguish themselves from their more conservative, institutionally-minded counterparts by their identification with the cause of social justice (Dietlin, 2009; Sandel, 2009). They are sensitive to institutional failings that result in chronic social problems such as long-term unemployment, enduring poverty, malnutrition, high rates of infant mortality and illiteracy, and pursue innovative, systemic solutions. Many

are entrepreneurs who seek to develop and implement new models of social practice based on an innovative theory of change, i.e. a fundamental solution to a deep-seated social problem (Rogers, 2014). Metaphorically, the approach taken by transformationally-minded philanthropists is to combat hunger 'not by providing fish but a fishing rod'. The emphasis is on tackling problems at source rather than treating symptoms. Social crusaders identify problems on the ground in their localities and invest philanthropically in favoured solutions, often following the lead taken by philanthropists facing similar challenges elsewhere. In effect, they become embroiled in mimetic social movements, whereby innovations spread from one locality to another in pursuit of similar goals. Alliances between philanthropists, politicians and local government are commonplace (Kahler, 2009; King, 2004). In this way, social crusaders are pivotal to the creation of new institutional and organizational forms, their identities expressive of entrepreneurialism, reforming zeal and social solidarity.

Game changers likewise pursue reform in the name of social justice, but on a grander scale (Juris, 2004). Here the emphasis is on scalability, on implementing theories of change simultaneously in multiple locations in tandem with local partners. Game changers are leaders of social movements who invest substantial philanthropic resource in pursuit of goals such as the elimination of diseases, employment creation in developing countries, increasing literacy rates and decreasing infant mortality (Keck & Sikkink, 1998; Noakes & Johnston, 2005). The philanthropic identities they craft speak of vision, leadership and love of humanity. In constituting 'idealized identities' to which wealthy individuals aspire (Thornborrow & Brown, 2009: 356), all four philanthropic types arguably foster 'a form of reflexivity that is self-confirmatory and self-satisfied' (Brown, 2006: 738) by focusing on personal strengths and positive qualities (Luthans, Luthans & Luthans, 2004).

Modelling philanthropic identify formation

Classifying philanthropists by generic identity is easier in theory than in practice for three reasons. First, as suggested, the philanthropic orientations identified – institutional and transformational – are not mutually exclusive. Certainly, the vast majority of philanthropists subscribe predominantly to one orientation or the other, but it is observable that transformationalists at times support existing institutions and that institutionalists at times support radical change. Second, a philanthropic identity does not appear fully formed the moment an individual embarks on his or her philanthropic journey. Rather, we argue, identities are crafted dynamically through engagement in the philanthropic field. Third, the resources available to an individual for investment in philanthropic ventures vary over time, as does the propensity to give, suggesting that some philanthropists might transition from one identity to another. These complications are accommodated in Figure 2, which charts how identities are crafted over time through engagement in philanthropy.

[Insert Figure 2 about here]

The notion of the philanthropic journey is helpful here (Maclean et al., 2015). We observe that the impulse voluntarily to give to charitable causes varies considerably between individuals, quantitatively and qualitatively. For many people, no matter how wealthy initially or how sharp the growth in their net worth, the charitable impulse remains weak throughout their lives. The social pressure to 'give back' and 'make a difference' to society beyond one's self and one's family may vary between communities and cultural configurations at different periods of time, but nonetheless big differences can be observed between people exposed to similar social conditions in all historic eras. Put simply, philanthropy appears to be a minority pursuit, conspicuously so in the present age of inequality (Boulding, 1962; Piketty, 2014). However, a minority in society is disposed to invest in causes that promise collective betterment without

material advantage to themselves (Benkler, 2011). Some are induced to support institutions and organizations they revere, likely because they or members of their family have benefited from them in the past. Schools, universities and hospitals are magnetic in this regard. Others, offended by evident social ills, are drawn to causes that promise social transformation by innovative means. The dashed arrows in Figure 2 suggest that these impulses are not inimical to one another, but at the outset of a philanthropic journey, when the would-be philanthropist has the means, one route will likely be favoured over the other.

Having the means to engage in philanthropy, positioned at the heart of Figure 2, is crucial to what follows. Enjoyment of a large salary or significant bonuses might be sufficient to trigger engagement in philanthropy. However, for many, it is the occurrence of what philanthropy professionals call a 'liquidity event', such as receipt of an inheritance or the sale of part or the whole of a company built up from scratch, which really kickstarts the process. Suddenly, from feeling relatively cash poor, the nascent philanthropist feels positively cash rich. With the means to turn words into deeds, thoughts into actions, they become serious givers, recognized philanthropists, whether on a local, national or international scale. The process of crafting a philanthropic identity thus commences, always contingent on the availability of means. Whatever the scale and path assumed, the imperative is to put in place the mechanisms and acquire the capabilities needed to make sound philanthropic decisions. Those operating on a small scale often lodge funds with a community foundation, invest in a donor-advised fund or set up a private family-run foundation (Jung, Harrow & Phillips, 2013). They often seek professional advice from lawyers, accountants or philanthropy professionals. Those operating on a larger scale invest in more complex organizations, independent foundations, with considerable in-house strategic and operational capabilities, which may or may not accept funding applications from non-profits within their sphere of interest. Generally speaking,

institutionally minded philanthropists are content to operate in responsive mode, making grants to organizations to which they feel a strong sense of allegiance, whereas transformationally minded philanthropists prefer to set the strategic agenda, defining problems, identifying solutions and implementing plans (Dietlin, 2009).

Critical to the processes of philanthropic identity formation are the satisfactions and rewards of philanthropic engagement, depicted in Figure 2 as positive feedback loops. Satisfactions and rewards are not coterminous, but operate distinctively to increase commitment and speed the emergence of the crafted philanthropic identities of local heroes, pillars of society, social crusaders and game changers; individuals within each category uniquely differentiated by scale of giving, causes and *modus operandi*. Satisfactions are variously cognitive and emotional. Institutionalists can readily discern the difference they have made – perhaps a building that might not exist, an event that would not have occurred or a young person having the benefit of college education – and are lionized, in person and in the media, for the contributions they make. The transformational road is almost invariably rockier, but the satisfactions often compelling as interventions save lives and create brighter, more hopeful futures for at-risk children, young adults and families, at home and abroad (Duncan, 2004). Identities are developed 'in and through relationships' (Ibarra, 1999; Petriglieri & Obodaru, 2018: 2), and it is frequently the personal experience of meeting those who have been helped and experiencing their gratitude at first hand that intensifies commitment and confirms the desired philanthropic identity.

Rewards operate on a different level, as prior theorizing indicates (Harvey et al., 2011). Philanthropy necessarily involves a voluntary reduction in the economic capital of the donor, but philanthropic investments yield returns in the form of cultural, social and symbolic capital.

Cultural capital accrues as philanthropists enter new life-worlds, as when institutionalists sponsor the arts and when transformationalists invest in medical research and mass vaccination programmes. Social capital accrues as philanthropists extend their social networks beyond the realm of business into fields such as academia, social enterprise and government. Symbolic capital accumulates as philanthropists are honoured variously by governments, universities and learned societies, setting them apart – on a higher moral plane – than their less generous counterparts. These forms of capital, valuable in their own right, can in turn be translated, when skilfully directed and in the right circumstances, into fresh economic capital, sometimes on a prodigious scale (Harvey & Maclean, 2008). In other words, philanthropy is far from being a one-way street.

Philanthropic identities, legitimacy and elite power

There is growing recognition of the power over society now wielded by the philanthropic elite, but the undemocratic 'right to rule' conferred by the ability to lavish resources on personally selected charitable causes has yet to be seriously challenged. Callahan (2017) arguably comes closest to expressing what is at stake. On the one hand, he is admiring of those who have pledged to spend a large portion of their fortunes on philanthropic causes during their lifetime, potentially improving the health, education, welfare and living standards of billions of people. On the other hand, he is wary of local, national and international political agendas being set by unelected entrepreneurial philanthropists, circumventing democratic processes. He is left with decidedly ambiguous feelings: thankful that the wealthy are 'giving back' voluntarily at scale, but fearful of the resulting concentration of power (Bosworth, 2011). This is the uncomfortable assessment we share.

The crafting of philanthropic identities assumes special significance in this context. If the dominant neo-liberal economic order is to continue without serious challenge, those in commanding positions must be accepted as worthy by those whose fates they control (Piff, Stancato, Côté, Mendoza-Denton & Keltner, 2012). Such acceptance, in part at least, depends on how men and women of fortune engage with less fortunate others. A well-crafted philanthropic identity is valuable in this regard, as exemplified by the formulation we call the 'golden couple', life-partners who commit to philanthropy as a joint venture. Dual-career couples form an integral part of the *Zeitgeist* prevalent in today's professional world (Petriglieri & Obodaru, 2018). In philanthropy, the joint identity of a golden couple may be that of local hero, pillar of society, social crusader or game changer. They are ubiquitous in the United States where Bill and Melinda Gates, Priscilla Chan and Mark Zuckerberg and Eli and Edythe Broad are prominent examples, authoring a new cultural identity script for other super-wealthy duos to emulate (Gergen, 1994; Ibarra & Barbulescu, 2010). While one half of the duo may have accumulated most of the money, in philanthropy there is opportunity for a partnership to which each might contribute equally.

A common, albeit stereotypical theme is that one half of the duo brings analytical and organizational skills and the other half brings intuition and compassion. Together the couple has point and purpose, striving, at whatever level and in whatever ways, to make the world a better place. The fused identities of a golden couple speak of equality, solidarity and love at the personal level and by projection with humanity as a whole, which message the media broadcasts to the world at large, fostering the cult of philanthropic celebrity. Golden couples and their philanthropic deeds make good copy, underscoring the message that much good can come from enlightened generosity, helping to legitimize inequality and contain negative reactions to people of excessive means.

Considered thus, individual philanthropists and golden couples perform voluntarily a crucial role in maintaining the economic, social and political hegemony of wealth holders globally. The philanthropic identities they craft variously – as local heroes, pillars of society, social crusaders and game changers – deflect attention from the socially undesirable aspects of getting and remaining rich. Ordinary citizens know little of how the wealthy maximize tax advantages or exercise power to ensure that legal and regulatory frameworks operate in their favour (Maclean and Harvey, 2016; Maclean, Harvey & Press, 2006). Nor do they recognise that philanthropy is part of a wider game of neo-liberal ideological control supported by an army of legal and financial advisors working to keep people of means in pole position in society (Bosworth, 2011; Villadsen, 2007). Philanthropic identities are ideologically charged, being 'authored and promulgated by those who are hierarchically privileged' (Brown, Humphreys & Gurney, 2005: 323), in ways designed to legitimate the huge inequalities of wealth in society which philanthropy ostensibly purports to address. The manner in which philanthropy is presented, as investment in good causes that promise collective betterment without material gain for the donor, belies a more fundamental but obscured role as shoring up the *status quo* and consolidating current gains, according to which the super-wealthy emerge as the 'bearers of a new accumulation strategy' (Ball, 2008: 753; Jessop, 2002).

While disadvantaged identities are geographically inscribed, for example, so too are the identities of the 'materially rich metropolitan and globally-oriented class', as evinced by the ongoing encroachment of the super-wealthy on prized neighbourhoods in global cities like London, where many of the world's billionaires reside; contributing to a 'spatialization of social class' (Burrows, 2013: 1). Only occasionally, when the mask slips, do people outside the upper tiers of society gain insights into how the wealthy, including wealthy philanthropists, typically conduct their financial affairs. The protracted squabble over assets accompanying the

divorce of former golden couple Christopher Hohn and Jamie Cooper, resulting in the world's largest-ever divorce settlement, is a case in point. More dramatic is the case of Leona Helmsley, jailed for tax evasion, who donated the bulk of her fortune to the Leona M. and Harry B. Helmsley Charitable Trust. Known as the 'Queen of Mean', Helmsley is best remembered for the reported utterance to her housekeeper: 'We don't pay taxes. Only the little people pay taxes.' Recalling Marie Antoinette's apocryphal saying, 'Let them eat cake', this statement hammers home the enormous gulf separating wealthy billionaires from ordinary citizens, despite the former's universalising statements to the contrary (Chan Zuckerberg Initiative, 2018; CIFF, 2018; Gates Foundation, 2018).

Do these critical reflections mean that the identities crafted by philanthropic entrepreneurs and their life partners are inauthentic or insincere? Notwithstanding the tension which palpably exists between authenticity and inauthenticity in human existence (Sartre, 1943), we do not believe so. Philanthropy may serve to legitimize inequality, but the sincerity and good intentions of the majority of protagonists is not in question for the simple reason that those who choose voluntarily to use a substantial part of their resources to help others constitute *a minority* of the wealthy, even when philanthropy is institutionalized, woven into the fabric of society. They are dispositionally attuned, for one reason or another, to 'give back' to society and strive to 'make a difference' for the benefit of others (Maclean et al., 2015). Our analysis suggests that the satisfactions and rewards of philanthropy serve to build commitment and refine philanthropic identities as individuals and couples come to play a special role in their communities. Regular positive feedback leads to escalating commitment and the authoring of generativity scripts focused on practically caring for the fate of others and leading ethically responsible lives (McAdams, 1988; Singer, 2009; 2015). In the process, philanthropy plays a

role in helping to assuage the guilt that some super-affluent experience at having, and holding onto, inordinate wealth, for which it offers an element of redemption (Creed et al., 2014).

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have sought to advance thinking on the definition, crafting and significance of philanthropic identities. The contribution we make to the literature on entrepreneurial philanthropy is threefold. First, we present a new typology (Figure 1) of the engaged philanthropist, identifying 'local heroes', 'pillars of society', 'social crusaders' and 'game changers' as four generic types of philanthropic identity. Our typology is founded on scale and orientation. Scale – small or large – is necessarily a governing parameter in determining prominence. Orientation – institutional or transformational – is a more subtle but equally compelling distinction in determining favoured causes. The juxtaposition of scale and orientation yields empirically recognizable generic types without needing to delve into contested matters such as motivation, ethnicity or donor origins, creating a robust framework for future empirical research.

Secondly, we derive a dynamic model of philanthropic identity formation (Figure 2) consistent with our typology. This highlights the importance of positive feedback loops in the crafting of specific philanthropic identities and articulates the systemic relations that exist between identity, formative dispositions, philanthropic means, modes of engagement and philanthropic practices. The model is an example of what Bourdieu (1989: 18) terms a 'structuring structure', wherein philanthropic identities are crafted systemically in response to positive feedback loops, while being conditioned and mediated by philanthropic choices relating to scale and orientation. The value of the model lies in explaining how philanthropic identities become refined as commitment increases in response to rewards and satisfactions, as a sense of self-

identity is strengthened through philanthropic endeavours that help overcome a putative, existential sense of lack and give meaning to existence (Driver, 2009; Lacan, 1977). Thirdly, we show that philanthropic identities are matters of consequence. Each of the four generic types – with respect to both individuals and golden couples – is expressive of socially and ethically desirable qualities and commitment on the part of the rich to make common cause with the poor in pursuit of social betterment. This, we suggest, is necessary to defend the neo-liberal global economic order (Jessop, 2002). Whether it is sufficient remains to be seen.

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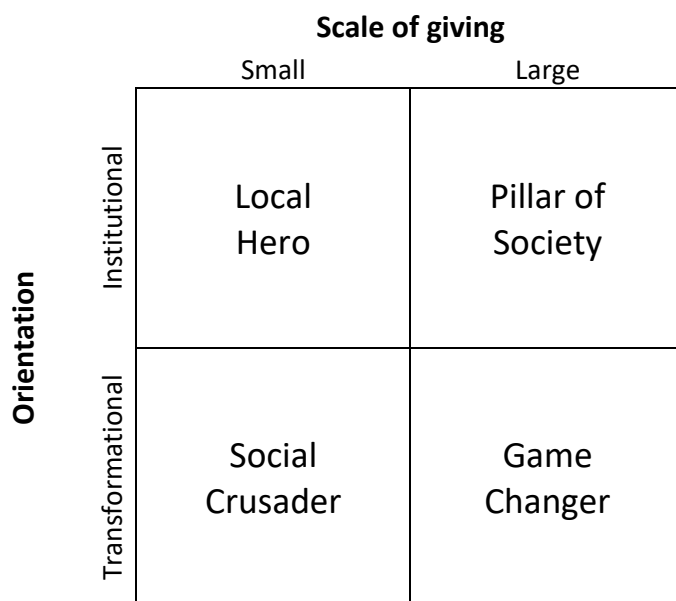
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Table 1: Logics of distinctive philanthropic orientations

Distinguishing features	Philanthropic orientation	
	Institutional	**Transformational**
Objective	Capacity building	Social innovation
Strategy	Opportunity driven	Theory-of-change driven
Project selection	Responsive	Proactive
Investment decisions	Subjective	Objective
Project management	Arm's length	Hands-on
Network orientation	Functional	Strategic
Project evaluation	Qualitative	Quantitative

Figure 1: Typology of philanthropic identities

Scale of giving

	Small	Large
Institutional	Local Hero	Pillar of Society
Transformational	Social Crusader	Game Changer

Orientation

Figure 2: Crafting philanthropic identities

Formative dispositions   Philanthropic engagement   Philanthropic practice

Rewards and satisfactions

Institutional logic

| Impulse to support valued institutions and organizations |

| Identifying with established philanthropic causes |

| Allocating resources between chosen causes |

Philanthropic means

Philanthropic identity

Transformational logic

| Impulse to find solutions to pressing social problems |

| Identifying with transformational ideas and social movements |

| Championing innovative social change initiatives |

Rewards and satisfactions