The Act of Giving

An Anthropological Study on the Motivations & Practices of Indian Philanthropists in the Context of Social Inequality in Indian Society

Dedicated to:
My eternal friend and well-wisher Sri Krsna

“It’s not how much we give but how much love we put into giving.”

Mother Teresa
Acknowledgements

My sincere gratitude goes out to my supervisor Dr. Ellen Bal who has pushed me to the limits and beyond. You have offered me a ton of advice, new insights, guidance and constructive criticism. Your faith in me and my work really established the confidence I needed to write this thesis. Thank you for always trying to bring out the best in me especially when I could not do it myself at times.

I wish to express my deepest appreciation for my second assessor Professor Dr. Theo Schuyt, head of philanthropic studies at VU University. Your insightful contributions to the academic debates surrounding philanthropy have always kept me motivated to do my master's research on this topic. With your expert judgments and moreover your authority in this discourse you have made this thesis more valuable to me and probably also to others interested in the field of philanthropy.

I wish to acknowledge the essential help provided by my research informants, all the philanthropists, social entrepreneurs and people in Bangalore. Without your input this thesis could not have been created. I am particularly grateful to Sudha Kidao, an amazing person who has helped throughout the fieldwork period.

My special thanks are extended to my guest family in Sanjay Nagar including Auntie and Uncle, their family members and my two roommates Ashwini and Jyothi who resembled a home away from home.

I wish to thank my loving family who continue to have solid faith in me and keep supporting me in any way imaginable. Thank you mom (Gisela Mohanlal), dad (Boyke Baldeusin) and sister (Kiran Baldeusin) for helping me realise my dream of doing fieldwork in India and this way allowing me to connect with my roots.

Being that this is the third thesis in the last three years we have been together, I wish to give a big applause to my partner Imor for being so patient with me and surviving my mood swings and panic attacks again! I love you dear friend.

Finally I offer my respectful obeisances to the following divine personalities who remain the eternal source of inspiration and pure love;

Sri - Krsna - Chaitanya, Prabhu Nityananda, Sri Advaita Gadadhara, Srivasadi - Gaura -Bhakta - Vrnda!
Preface

Two years ago in the summer of 2011 my sister left The Netherlands to live in India as she was offered a teacher job in Mayapur, West Bengal. Soon afterwards my father and I planned to visit her to see how she was doing but more importantly we both wished to visit India for the first time. India has always been on my mind as our roots can be traced back there from the 1900s when my forefathers from both my mother and father’s side went by boat to Surinam where they worked as contract workers and settled there before going to The Netherlands in the 1970s with my parents. Although I am born and raised in The Netherlands I always felt connected to India, the land of my forefathers, especially my religious beliefs, foodstuffs even Bollywood drama have made me feel connected to India. When I visited India for the first time in the Christmas break of 2011-2012 I just knew I had to go back because the country and its cultural ideologies fascinated and shocked me. I could not process all the things I had seen there, the poverty, the dirt, the misery, the richness, the diversity, the colours, the hard working lower class, the despair, the faith, the love, the temples and all those people!

Never would I have imagined living there and experiencing India the way I have during my fieldwork research from January – April 2013. As soon as I got interested in the topic of philanthropy which flowed from previous interests in development economics, micro-finance, international development and equal distribution, I knew I wanted to do this research in India but I felt afraid as well because how would I possibly be living in India alone for three months! Looking back on this research I am thrilled to have gained such a life altering experience from which I have learned that India is a country full of contrasts and philanthropy in India is a practice with increased popularity because it offers a good alternative for government’s lacking social services. However by having done this study I now know that philanthropy in India is very much related to the context of imbedded social inequality and that this connection really needs to be highlighted more.

Personally I support philanthropic giving as long as it serves the goal which should be to help others in a selfless way meaning that it should benefit the recipient in all ways and ultimately it would be great if philanthropy would be effectively used to overcome social issues in India but also that it would serve as a social bridge between rich and poor whom I believe should be more in dialogue and interaction with each other in equal ways of respect.
Figures

Figure 1. States and Union Territories, Map of India 05
Figure 2. Rural and Urban Bangalore 06
Figure 3. Localities in Bangalore 07
Figure 4. My Guest family’s house in Sanjay Nagar 23
Figure 5. My Room shared with roommates 23
Figure 6. Auntie in the kitchen 23
Figure 7. Pooja room (religious room) 23
Figure 8. Mrs. Shenoi’s collection of world masks 24
Figure 9. Tejaswini’s Mangalsutra, her bridal necklace 24
Figure 10. A servant girl of 13 in front of house in the Hadonahalli 26
Figure 11. Inside her house with her sisters 26
Figure 12. A village woman who went to the MDS health clinic 26
Figure 13. Visiting an orphanage in Bangalore 26
Figure 14. Trafficked woman learning how to sow at a VEDS center 26
Figure 15. Orphan boys and trafficked woman at VEDS shelter 26
Figure 16. Me, Ashwini my roommate and her friend at a wedding 28
Figure 17. Jyothi my other roommate and me at ISKCON mandir 28
Figure 18. A gated community 34
Figure 19. One of the houses in the gated community 34
Figure 20. Strategic philanthropy leaflets 45
Figure 21. Dasra Impact Investment Forum 46
Figure 22. Lobby of Dasra Impact Investment Forum 46
Figure 23. Group of women singing about the abuse 56
Figure 24. Women dancing and celebrating One Billion Rising 56
Figure 25. Young traditional dancers support the event 56
Figure 26. Men staring at the women 56
Figure 27. FFE students sitting in the student seats 58
Figure 28. Facilitators and other important guests sitting in front 58

Abbreviations

BoP - Bottom of the Pyramid
CBS - Community Services of Bangalore
CSR - Corporate Social Responsibility
FDI - Foreign Direct Investment
ICT - Information & Communication Technology
IIMA - Indian Institute of Management Ahmedabad
IT - Information Technology
FFE - Foundation For Excellence
HNWI - High-Net-Worth Individuals
MDS - Mahila Dakshata Samiti
NGO - Non-governmental Organization
PG - Paying Guest Accommodation
SGBS - Sree Guruvayurappan Bhajan Samaj Trust
STP - Software Technology Parks
VEDS - Vidyaranya Education and Development Society

**Glossary**

Ahimsa - Non-violence
Dan - Donation
Halli - Village
Karma - The cause and effect of certain actions
Kshatriya - Upper caste referring to ruling and military elite
Kurta - A small dress till the knees, worn with suited pants
Maharaja - King
Mandir - Temple
Mangalsutra - Traditional bridal necklace, especially worn in South India
Moksha - Liberation
Pooja - performing religious rituals combined with prayers
Samsara - Cycle of birth and death
Sangha - Association
Sari - Women’s dress made of one cloth
Seva - Service
Sindoor - Vermillion, a red powder which women use as a sign of marriage
## Contents

Acknowledgements ........................................................................................................... II

Preface ............................................................................................................................... III

Figures ................................................................................................................................ IV

Abbreviations .................................................................................................................... IV

Glossary ............................................................................................................................. V

Introduction ....................................................................................................................... 1

Research Questions .......................................................................................................... 2

Chapter Outline ................................................................................................................. 3

Chapter 1. Philanthropists in Bangalore City ................................................................. 4

1.1 Booming Bangalore ........................................................................................................ 4

1.2 Introducing the Indian Philanthropist ........................................................................ 8

1.3 Chapter Summary ........................................................................................................ 11

Chapter 2. Theoretical Framework .................................................................................. 12

2.1 Philanthropy .................................................................................................................. 12

2.2 Civic Engagement ......................................................................................................... 14

2.3 Globalization ............................................................................................................... 15

2.4 Social Inequality .......................................................................................................... 18

2.5 Chapter Summary ........................................................................................................ 20

Chapter 3. Methodology .................................................................................................. 21

3.1 Gaining Access to the Field .......................................................................................... 21

3.2 Methods ...................................................................................................................... 24

3.3 Switching Between Insider-Outsider .......................................................................... 27

3.4 Chapter Summary ........................................................................................................ 29

Chapter 4. Narratives of Indian Philanthropy ................................................................. 30

4.1 Four Narratives ............................................................................................................ 30

4.2 Selective Impulse versus Selective Strategy ............................................................... 36

4.3 What Triggers the Act of Giving ................................................................................. 40

4.4 Chapter Summary ........................................................................................................ 43

Chapter 5. Social Inequality in the Daily Lives of Philanthropists ......................... 44

5.1 Daily Settings .............................................................................................................. 44

5.2 Daily Projects and Activities ...................................................................................... 47

5.3 Daily Interactions ......................................................................................................... 49

5.4 Chapter Summary ........................................................................................................ 58

Chapter 6. Conclusions .................................................................................................... 50
Executive Summary ................................................................. 64
References .................................................................................. 66
Appendix 1. Economic Growth Rates Bangalore ........................................... 72
Appendix 2. Interview Topic List ................................................................ 73
Appendix 3. Edited Quotes ..................................................................... 75
Appendix 4. Data Overview .................................................................... 76
Appendix 5. Philanthropic Giving in India .................................................. 79
Introduction

This anthropological study is about the motivations and reflections of Indian philanthropists in the socio-economic setting of a rapidly modernizing Bangalore and its people. The practices and behaviours of these Indian philanthropists reveal an interesting relation between philanthropy and the context in which it is practiced. This context is characterized by social, political and economic inequality which is present in India to a great extent.

The societal relevance of this anthropological research is that it offers insights into the perceptions and attitudes of Indian philanthropists in a globalizing and therefore rapidly changing context. Studying the actual practices of these philanthropists is often overlooked and thus can reveal new insights on the practice of philanthropy especially when taking into account how this relates to the context of inequality in India. Particularly now with India’s growing economy and booming capital investments in ICT, Bio-technology and pharmaceutics, a new class of wealthy individuals emerges widening the gap between the rich and the poor. Influenced by globalization trends these middle and upper class citizens imitate and participate in consumerist westernized lifestyles. According to Glick-Schiller, Darieva & Gruner-Domeric (2011) this leads to a ‘cosmopolitan sociability’, or a sense of inclusiveness, among rich citizens in cosmopolitan cities like Bangalore but also this attitude is resonated in Indian Diasporic communities. Within these groups of local Indian philanthropists and Indian return migrant philanthropists differences are also pertinent. Contrasts between them are outlined in their opinions and attitudes towards social inequality. The return migrant philanthropist tends to be more cautious and critical of the power discrepancies displayed in Indian society and therefore seem to be more reflexive of his own practices and behaviour.

This research makes a scientific contribution to the study of philanthropy because it reveals not only the motivation and reflection on Indian philanthropy but in addition it reveals how it is actually practiced and how this practice relates to the context of inequality in India. This research offers qualitative data on the subject of philanthropy in India which has mostly been studied in a quantitative manner with the purpose of generating more philanthropic contributions. These studies tend to focus on the rather abstract and economic level of giving, neglecting other important social and cultural factors. Another point is that most social studies on philanthropy have not yet focused so much on India or Asia but more on the US.
and Europe which have completely different contexts than India and are based on
different philanthropic ideologies. Interesting about studying Indian philanthropy is
that it directly linked to traditional religious Hindu scriptures. Anthropologist
Bornstein (2011) did study some of these religious giving practices and reveals how
giving patterns are resonated in the concept of *dan* (donation) and *seva* (service)
which are crucial duties for most Hindus as this leads to the highest purpose in life
which is achieving *moksha* (liberation) from material suffering and *samsara* (the
cycle of birth and death). Traditional giving in India was based on impulse and
spontaneity, however nowadays giving has become more controlled by emphasizing
accountability, neediness instead of worthiness of the recipient, and transparency
which all challenge the impulsive character of traditional giving. This again relates
to the globalization effects that India is facing and has its impact on philanthropy.

Indian philanthropy is however not restricted to Indian borders, also outside
of India many members of Indian Diasporic communities show their support
through enormous amounts of remittances. According to Dhesi (2010), Sidel (2010)
and Upadhya & Rutten (2012), among others, these transnational communities
should not be ignored in the philanthropy debate. Diasporic communities tend to
experience a close connection to India through transnational social fields and even
find a sense of belonging by engaging in charity and philanthropy (Glick-Schiller et
al, 2011). Not only monetary remittances but also ‘social remittances’, the transfer
of ideas, norms, practices and beliefs, flow multi-directional through these
transnational social fields (Levitt & Lamba-Nieves, 2011:3). This touches upon the
idea of civic engagement where social responsibility is central and not limited to the
geographical position someone is in, but suggests a more global focus. As these
individuals, corporations and communities engage in philanthropy, they also alter
and merge somewhat traditional forms of giving with more modern types
of philanthropy in India, resulting in hybrid forms of philanthropy (Bornstein, 2009).
The paradox that is highlighted in this thesis is that philanthropy is becoming more
strategic. This strategic approach is also less personal and actually widens the gap
between philanthropist and recipient instead of reaching more equal terms which is
the goal of philanthropic giving: to help others in need.

**Research Questions**

I have formulated my main research question and the sub research questions that
are more operationalized and thus bridge the gap between theory and practice.
How do Indian philanthropists reflect on their philanthropic activities and civic engagements in cosmopolitan Bangalore, and how are their daily practices related to the context of social inequality in India?

1. How do Indian philanthropists reflect on their philanthropic activities?

2. How do Indian philanthropists practice philanthropy in their daily lives?

3. How do these daily practices of Indian philanthropists relate to the context of social inequality?

Chapter Outline
In the first chapter I contextualize my research site Bangalore. I also elaborate on the philanthropists and their projects and activities. I end with a brief portrayal of the historical events in India that contributed to the practice of philanthropy.

In the second chapter I introduce the main theoretical concepts and perspectives which I have chosen to help answer the research questions. I discuss the concept of philanthropy and look at the discrepancy between traditional and modern philanthropy and the civic engagements of philanthropists in Bangalore. I further discuss the theory of globalization as Bangalore and its citizens are rapidly modernizing and are influenced by their interactions with transnational (family) ties. Furthermore I look into the concept of social inequality as this characterizes the context in which philanthropy in India is taking place.

In the third chapter I discuss how I gained access to the field, my research methods and finally how I switched between insider-outsider perspectives.

Then two ethnographic chapters follow in which empirical data is presented that showcase interesting facets of philanthropy in India. Chapter four demonstrates different narratives, the reflections, motivations and ideologies of the philanthropists themselves. Chapter five looks into who these philanthropists are and how they practice philanthropy while relating this to the context of social inequality. I demonstrate this inequality by pointing to the unequal hierarchical relations between employee and servant, male and female and philanthropist – recipient. In chapter six I offer my conclusions by answering the main research question and point to the relevance of the outcomes of this research. The executive summary is the final part of my thesis and shortly summarizes the main highlights of this master’s research.
Chapter 1. Philanthropists in Bangalore City

“Droughts and floods stalk the land at the same time; information technology and illiteracy walk hand in hand. Of the population of over 1 billion, 75 percent live in rural areas, while the rest live in highly concentrated urban conglomerates; a minority live in magnificent luxury, while most dwellings lack basic necessities. Limited access to potable drinking water, rudimentary sanitation, frequent epidemics, and the fear of natural disasters are a part of the larger picture of this land” (Viswanath & Dadrawala 2005:259).

In the passage above, Viswanath & Dadrawala demonstrate complexities in India. An increasing number of people are living in poverty yet a few people indulge in extreme wealth and luxurious lifestyles. On the one hand there is the booming economy, the rise of metropolitan cities and a pool of IT knowledge workers but on the other hand there is poor education, diseases and no access to basic needs for the poor. During my fieldwork in Bangalore I came to understand that these obvious differences between the richer and poorer socio-economic segments are deeply embedded in Indian society. People have been confronted with inequality, hierarchical power imbalances based on caste and class all their lives and have seemed to accept the way things are. In this chapter I focus of describing my research site, Bangalore city. I will then talk about the philanthropists in Bangalore whom I met and will discuss their general backgrounds and life histories. I offer a brief historical overview of philanthropy before ending this chapter with a summary.

1.1 Booming Bangalore
Bangalore, officially referred to as Bengaluru, is the capital city of Karnataka which is one of the four South Indian States in India. Bangalore is ideally located in the geographic centre of South India. The state Karnataka itself had a population of 51 million in 2001 which increased to 60 million ten years later and in 2012 it was up to 70 million. Bangalore district is divided into rural Bangalore and urban Bangalore which is where I have conducted most of my fieldwork. Bangalore district covers an area of 2,196 square kilometres and has a population density of 4,381

---

1 “The hype over the IT industry is underlain by Bangalore having about 30% of all IT workforce in the country” (Ramachandra & Mujumdar, 2009:12).
2 The statistics used in this section have been collected from Karnataka Census 2012 and Bangalore Census 2011 which are publically available online.
people per square meter in 2011 compared to 2,985 people in 2001. From 1991 until 2001 the population has increased by 35 per cent from 2001 until 2011. In 2001 it had 6.5 million inhabitants which has increased by 47 per cent in the last decade to 9.6 million in 2011. The official language in Bangalore and Karnataka is Kannada. India and its 28 states are presented in figure 1. underneath.

![States and Union Territories, Map of India](image)

Bangalore had a tag of ‘garden city’ or ‘pensioner’s paradise’ but after the introduction of IT parks in 1986 and the India’s liberalization reforms in 1991 Bangalore experienced rapid economic growth and an influx of people. Ramachandra and Mujumdar (2009) show concern about challenging task of

---

3 Source: Census of India 2001
providing governance and infrastructure to all stakeholders in Bangalore because: “The thriving economy of the city has resulted with a net district income of Rs. 262,592 million (approx. US $ 5.8 billion) and a per capita income of Rs. 39,420, a little more than twice the State’s average per capita income of Rs. 18,360 (Government of Karnataka, 2005). Despite higher per capita income within the urban district than in the rest of the State, and with significant migrant population, the number of urban poor has been on the rise and the slum settlements in the city have not been contained” (Ramachandra and Mujumdar, 2009:13). Economist Narayana (2011) did an economic study on the economic effects of globalization on urban economic growth and used Bangalore as a city for evidence. In Appendix one Narayana’s table on economic growth of Bangalore from 1980 – 2005 is exhibited.

As an upcoming metropolitan city with an influx of people Bangalore is quite a chaotic, unstructured and polluted city with the occasional exception of bright tech parks and beautifully luxurious gated communities scattered all over the city. Because urban Bangalore covers such a huge area it has been divided into smaller localities each having their own typical characteristics. Underneath in figure 2. urban Bangalore and parts of rural Bangalore are illustrated. In figure 3. the localities of urban Bangalore are shown.4

4 Both figures 2 and 3 are collected from google maps.
The area where I lived with my Indian guest family was in Sanjay Nagar which is on the top right side of Hebbal which is primarily a Muslim area. No foreigners could be found here, only lower class and middle class local Indians. I lived in a suburban housing area with small parks where children used to play after school, or they got lunch in one of the two busy shopping streets. New B.E.L. Road and Sanjay Nagar Main road were filled with small wooden convenience shops, big Bata shoe shops, KFCs, foods, flowers and vegetables vendors, beautifully coloured temples and it was always crowded. Most of the localities are similar to Sanjay Nagar; a combination of tradition and modernity, east and west, poverty and luxury. Some of the modern localities can be found in the heart of the city near Ulsoor Lake which is right in the middle of Shivaji Nagar and Indira Nagar which are two other residential and commercial areas. UB City and the famous MG road are popular places also near Ulsoor Lake, with the newly built metro stations, the huge shopping malls and the many restaurants and bistros these parts of town really resemble a metropolitan city with more expats and business people roaming around. Another area which is quite popular is Jayanagar which is a big residential and commercial neighbourhood. Whitefield on the west side of Bangalore city, is one of the suburban areas quite popular amongst expats, return migrants and rich Indians who preferred to live in gated communities. One of my informants recently moved into one of these communities and the following vignette offers a description:
The driver drove us into the closed off housing area which was guarded by three gates men. Although it was literally in the middle of nowhere I saw row upon row of villa-type houses with beautifully landscaped gardens and ceramic patios which were being maintained by elderly men and women workers who wore dusty blue worker vests. The community had playgrounds for community children and a big community club which had a swimming pool, gym and other facilities.

She explained that the gated community was really comfortable to live in as it was secure so she would not have to worry about her daughter’s safety. Because she was a return migrant she said that gated communities made the transition from the American suburban lifestyle to the unalloyed chaos of living in Bangalore much easier. Apart from these lavish residential areas, Bangalore’s outskirts are characterized with more village type of living and less modern facilities. Many of the charitable shelters, orphanages and schools are located in these outskirts of urban Bangalore.

1.2 Introducing the Indian Philanthropist

Even though I interacted with many different philanthropists and social entrepreneurs in Bangalore they shared a somewhat common background. Most of the philanthropists I have spoken to are between the ages of 40-75 and often have enjoyed proper higher education at college and university level. Their socio-economic background is important as often they come from well off families that are positioned within society at an upper caste scale. Thus on a social, political and economic scale they are quite privileged compared to lower class, average middle class Indians. Some have been born and raised in Bangalore district whilst others have a history of migration within Indian borders. This is related to their association and belonging to a specific community. For instance the Bunts community claim Kshatriya descent, and have been associated with nobility and feudatory which one of my informants proudly explained to me. I observed that elderly people were very open and proud in discussing their heritage of caste, class and wealth whilst the younger philanthropists shunned these topics and did not want to associate themselves with it. The elderly philanthropists were often women whilst the younger and mostly more modern and strategic philanthropists were males. Another clear distinction was observed between local philanthropists and return migrant philanthropists. My key return migrant informants Sudha and Mr. Prasanna have both lived in the US for over twenty years. They do not associate so
much with their own community but have established their own US community which comprises of Indians and Americans. They have been heavily influenced by their experiences abroad and have incorporated western culture in their food habits, their clothing but more importantly their way of working and thinking. They are very strategic, long term thinkers and focus on scaling, transparency and other western business models. Even more interesting is their reflexive and critical attitude towards social inequalities and injustices exhibited in India which I elaborate on in Chapter five. In relation to their philanthropic activities most of the people I spoke to were financial donors of development projects of their own foundations or chosen NGOs. They often also invested their time and skills to the organisation although the frequency differed. The elderly people often volunteered on a less regular basis. There were three retired female doctors who volunteered their Sundays in which they set up village health clinics and thus offered their time and expertise. Two other elderly women Mrs. Hegde and Mrs. Bose have dedicated their lives to their organisations. Mrs Hegde is the president of Mahila Dakshata Samiti (MDS) and Mrs. Bose is the founder of Parikrma Foundation, they both volunteer their time by running the organisations on a daily basis. Sudha a much younger philanthropist dedicates her time by managing the Foundation For Excellence (FFE) on a daily basis. Mr. Swamy (from Unnati) and Mr. Prasanna (from Sikshana Foundation) also are the main trustees like Sudha and offer their knowledge, expertise and managing skills. The way of living was quite divers but there were common grounds in relation to having maids in the house that cooked and cleaned and also most of them had chauffeurs. The houses differed amongst philanthropists but the majority lived in gated communities or at least gated flats. My house for instance was not gated at all as there was no guard securing the house. The offices of the philanthropists were often very plain with only the basic facilities but definitely did not have the allure that some of the more established people in The Netherlands have which also has to do with the level of development the country has undergone through.

History of Philanthropy in India
In India, philanthropy, civic engagements and social responsibility are associated with wealth. In classical Hinduism civic engagement was portrayed as the duty of the wealthy individual instead of institutions and the government, to help the needy. Bornstein (2012:34) states that modern institutions of philanthropy in India stem from reform movements and voluntary organizations that emerged in the
context of colonialism and nationalism in the late 1800s. Throughout the struggle for independence, prominent leader of Indian nationalism, Mahatma Gandhi, launched mass voluntary *ahimsa* (non-violence) civil rights movements against the colonial rule. In the 1920s he called for voluntary development efforts in education, sanitation and protection of local culture. “*Gandhi made dan (donations) and seva (service) into social obligations*” (Bornstein, 2012:34-35). On 15 August 1947 Independence was declared and national reconstruction followed. Despite the government development initiatives, the 1960s left large segments of India’s population in poverty. “*As bilateral and multilateral development organizations began to influence national policy, less formal forms of voluntary action continued, including individual, community-based, and small-scale welfare provision*” (Bornstein, 2012:36). The last two decades are characterized by economic liberalization policies and reforms resulting in newer forms of social welfare provision relying on corporate social responsibility efforts and the wealthy private funders. Over the last 22 years more and more private initiatives have flourished also in the NGO sector. Earlier on many social welfare programs used to be government regulated but after the opening up of the Indian economy, NGOs have mushroomed. Since the government called on NGOs to help with social issues, they have been mistrusted by the public as many of these NGOs supported by the government were not credible or reliable as they misused funds. In the beginning of the 21st century more and more (business) professionals joined the social welfare sector as CSR initiatives made social work interesting for corporates as well. With increased corporate and international influence in 2004-2005 social auditing became a must. NGOs had to clean up their act or leave. Still to this day there are many NGOs considered to be untrustworthy but quality regulations are getting stricter. More modern philanthropists make sure to run their foundations in such a way that it accounts for transparency, strategic business modelling, accountability and often having an exit strategy in which sustainability of the foundation remains secured.

Focussing specifically on the Bangalore district reveals that after Independence, the national and regional government started investing heavily in Bangalore due to its strategic positioning within the country (Basant, 2006). National governments wanted to promote the electronic sector in Bangalore and this sector has been blossoming ever since. Especially with the 1990s liberalization and opening up of India’s market, IT centres and companies have contributed to the establishment of Bangalore’s Electronics City, one of India’s biggest Software
Technology Parks (STP) located in the heart of Bangalore. Not only big IT and Bio-Tech businesses are located here but there are also many universities and educational institutions. Nevertheless, there is still a huge amount of people living in poverty and the need for private givers is pertinent.

1.3 Chapter Summary
In this regional background I have described the setting of my research areas in order to convey a deeper understanding of the importance of the context in which my research took place. In the second section I elaborate on who the philanthropists are and what their backgrounds are: mostly they are from wealthy upper class/caste families and thus are able to engage in giving practices. The last section presents a short historical overview of philanthropy in India. It highlights the major historical events like the 1947’s India’s independence and 1991 economic liberal reforms which have affected philanthropic giving in India.
Chapter 2. Theoretical Framework

This framework assesses the theoretical debates surrounding the key concepts of philanthropy, civic engagements, globalization and social inequality and offers working definitions that assist in the analysis of the ethnographic data derived from the field research. The plan of this chapter is as follows. Section one outlines theories on philanthropy in India and analyses the paradigmatic shift from traditional to modern philanthropy, while reflecting on the linkages it shares with civic engagement in India which is discussed in section two. Section three discusses globalization effects on philanthropy in India. The last section outlines factors of inequality and zooms in on social inequality. The chapter ends with a summary of the main perspectives used for this research.

2.1 Philanthropy

One of the great classical thinkers in sociology and anthropology, Marcel Mauss set the foundations for the studies on reciprocity and gift exchange in his classic work ‘The Gift’ (1925) and argued that there is no gift without reciprocity as every gift demands a return. Later on however, scholars studying gift giving practices in India found that this statement is contested through the concept of dan (donation). The gift represents social relations and obligations in Mauss’s theory, but dan is not meant to be reciprocated or relational. In relation to philanthropy in India, anthropologist Bornstein (2009, 2011, 2012) suggests that the ideal form of philanthropy is in essence actually dan, as it also is an act of giving without expecting anything in return. Dan should not be reciprocated or relational as it serves as a spiritual mechanism of liberation from social relations and ultimately material suffering (Bornstein, 2009:625). Traditionally philanthropy in the form of dan was impulse based rather than carefully planned. She builds her theory on Max Weber’s (1978) notions of giving. Weber placed giving in a broader spectrum of four kinds of social actions and accompanied reasoning. These social actions are spread across the continuum of instrumental rationality – being very calculated and full of expectations, and affectual actions – which is based on purely emotions and impulse. Interesting about his distinction is that it resonates clearly in the paradigmatic shift of philanthropy observed by many scholars.

Copeman (201) Meijs (2010), Russell (2011), Sulak (2010) and Bornstein (2012) all recognize and emphasize that philanthropy has gone through significant
changes and has become more modernized, strategic and rationalized. “Governance, accountability and organizational effectiveness are essential for management and boards of individual organizations and for the philanthropic sector as a whole” (Meijs, 2010:5). Also in India this trend of shifting from traditional to modern philanthropy forms has been observed by Sheth (2010 - 2013) and Blake et al (2009) in their research studies on the topic of philanthropic giving in India. Another important shift for philanthropy in India is the increasing demand from philanthropists for accountable and transparent workflows, communication and overall measurement within the Indian NGO sector. As this may be a good solution to regain trust in this sector which has been under scrutiny over the last twenty years, states are nevertheless trying to regulate and control and streamline civic initiatives with the result of losing impulsive and conventional forms of philanthropy in the process. “Perhaps dan is a Weberian “ideal type” of philanthropy. Yet once secularized and translated into the rational mechanics of capitalism (accountability, governance, credibility, transparency), it becomes – like the Derridian gift – an impossibility” (Bornstein, 2012:56). Bornstein (2012) argues that forcing people into regulated forms of giving, disregards their freedom and on the other hand, giving purely on impulse reinforces social inequalities as only some will benefit and not the public good. Therefore she suggests that the only solution is to let the two coexist and build structures that encourage both forms.

In his theory of impact philanthropy, economist Duncan (2004) distinguishes between three models of philanthropic motivations. The public goods model emphasises how donors give motivated by what their gifts accomplish whilst with the second model, the private consumption model, the emphasis is more on how donors give motivated by how it makes them feel. He introduces the third model which he called impact philanthropy. In this model donors are driven by their desire to personally ‘make a difference’. His argument suggests that in the public goods model the philanthropists benefit from the increase in supply of the public good whilst in the private model one only benefits from the personal experience of giving. The consequences for the impact philanthropist is however related to the impact so he cannot enjoy the increase in the supply of the public good, or the private giving of someone else as this takes away his chance of making a difference in other words “an impact philanthropist cannot enjoy saving children if other philanthropists save them first” (Duncan, 2004:2160).

Another theoretical distinction is made by Dheshi (2010:703) between philanthropists and social entrepreneurs, suggesting that “philanthropists are
defined by the fact that they only invest money, whereas the social entrepreneurs invest their activities as well”. Social entrepreneurs create social capital as they invest in social resources (skills, determination, participation, communication, discipline). I argue that philanthropists in practice can be social entrepreneurs as well, investing more than just monetary resources or financial remittances.

All in all, theories on philanthropy focus on different aspects and according to Sulek (2010:203), scholars have been in debate about constructing an academic working term for the practice of philanthropy. Firstly, they doubt whether it is voluntary practice or compelled by moral and social obligations. Secondly, they wonder whether it serves the public good without any expectations or thirdly that it simply benefits the giver. I believe one should not exclude the other and therefore choose to make use of the overarching yet forward definition offered by Schuyt (2012:15): a selfless act of private giving in the form of either money, time, skills, knowledge or other resources with the general purpose of serving the public good. To what extent the act is selfless or is serving the public good is something to be observed within ethnographic data analysis. I argue that in the reflections of Indian philanthropists there are more hybrid forms of philanthropy, resulting in the mix of traditional (religious, obligatory, impulsive) philanthropy with more modern (rational, strategic, long-term) philanthropy. The question what triggers philanthropy has a lot to do with the next concept of civic engagements especially in the context of India.

2.2 Civic Engagement
Before moving on to the concept of civic engagement I want to briefly discuss the notion of civil society as these form the players who are civically engaged and I want to demonstrate how philanthropists in India are a part of the global civil society. Hochstetler (2012:364) suggests that civil society encompasses diverse voluntary associations that are distinct from both the state and market but are interlinked and can be formal or informal. They are connected through common interests and values. Anheier, Glasius & Kaldor (2001:17) adopted an empirical definition of global civil society: “the sphere of ideas, values, institutions, organisations, networks, and individuals located between the family, the state, and the market and operating beyond the confines of national societies, polities, and economies”, which fits well with the transnational character of return migrant Indian philanthropists and their global networks. The concept of civil society indicates the diversity amongst philanthropists and therefore also the wide range of motives that correspond with
them. Schuyt et al. (2010) argue that civic duty and social responsibility play vital roles in the motivation of philanthropists. Philanthropy depends on feelings of civic duty, stewardship and social responsibility for the well-being of society as a whole. Philanthropists also hold decision power related to these civic engagements. Ekman & Amna (2012) discuss civic engagements through individual and collective platforms. At the individual level, civic engagement translates into “activities based on personal interest in and attention to politics and societal issues” and on the collective level it is about “voluntary work to improve conditions in the local community, for charity, or to help others outside the own family and circle of friends” (Ekman & Amna, 2012:292). I claim that Indian philanthropists have feelings of both individual and collective civic engagements and that their involvements shed lights on the divide in social inequalities within Indian society. Smitha and Sangita (2008:25) point to studies in New Delhi by Chandhoke (2005) and Harris (2005) that both observed how “the citizens repose little faith on civil society institutions as saviour of their problems and prefer the government (state) for solutions” (Smitha & Sangita, 2012:25). This idea that citizens do not have much trust in civil society in India especially has to do with the mistrust people experience towards NGOs as I have mentioned in the previous chapter. Still it raises the question why philanthropists continue being civically engaged? I argue that there is a divide between philanthropists in India that reflects traditional and more modern ways of civic engagements and the latter represent a more elitist intellectual part of Indian society as opposed to the former category. I assume that in the field civic engagements are expressed in different levels relating to the character and background of the philanthropists. What also is important is the relation between philanthropy, the motivation of civic engagement in the wider context of globalization but also in India which is characterized by extreme socio-economic inequalities. In the next sections I will analyse these two concepts.

2.3 Globalization
There is a huge discrepancy between globalization theorists on the notion of globalization. Anheier, Kaldor & Glasius (2012:18) distinguishes between: “supporters (those who considered all forms of globalisation as positive), rejectionists (those who opposed all forms of globalisation), regressives (those who favoured globalisation as long as it benefited their group) and reformers (those who favoured globalisation as long as it benefited the majority)”. Fukuda-Parr (2003:170) stresses
how the effects of globalization differ greatly amongst developed and developing countries but also the states, cities, communities and individuals. Disagreement exists on whether globalization brings people closer together or creates wider gaps between the rich and poor. I consider that both scenarios occur simultaneously. Looking at the context of social inequality India I argue that more people are able to access global networks but that with the neoliberal agenda that spurs from globalization, the richer progress whilst the poorest stay behind. Improved global transportation systems, telecommunications and technology made it easier for Indian philanthropists to be closely connected with the rest of the world relating to the notion of transnational social fields. Indians are scattered all over the world, however they often remain in close contact with India through social relations and cultural factors such as religion. Through transnational philanthropic networks, members of the Indian Diaspora can contribute to huge social changes in India but they are often characterised by giving sporadically and inconsistently (Bornstein, 2011:3) These transnational social fields work in multiple directions and all actors (donor, recipient, states etc.) can influence perceptions, values and even identities. Especially interesting for this research is the discrepancy between return migrants and local Indian philanthropists and how return migrants socially transmit ideas across borders and even fundamentally change their culturally established behaviour when confronting with extremely different settings (in this research I look at return-migrants from the US who have moved back to India).

Several authors like Levitt & Lamba-Nieves (2011:2), Rahman & Lian, (2012:689), Markley (2012:366) and Goldring (2003:3) have raised their concerns about the dominance of economic factors in studies on remittances and have stressed the importance of including other crucial aspects like social, cultural and political factors. They state that focussing on “primarily economic outcomes fails to take into account the cultural meanings, political motivations, or social implications of resource transfers” (Upadhya & Rutten, 2012:55). I agree that this is highly problematic especially when the migrating contexts are so vastly different. Levitt and Lamba-Nieves (2011) describe how migrants bring labour, skills and know-how to the country of settlement while staying in contact with their country of origin. They send remittances, investments and introduce new skills and knowledge systems there. Social remittances refer to norms, practices, identities and social capital that are transferred in multidirectional flows (Levitt & Lamba-Nieves, 2011:3). Remittances in India are very important as Guha (2011:2) made the observation of India being the top remittance receiving country in world standards.
However she also mentioned that there is still a huge lack of information and claims more micro-localized research is needed on this topic. In this light my research can make a trivial contribution in this field as it touches upon social remittances from the return-migrant’s perspective.

Bauman (2000) uses liquidity and solidness as metaphors to describe how social mobility and power flow to capitalist elites while poorer segments remain (solid) in their marginal position as a result of globalization which he refers to as liquid modernity. In Bangalore liquid modernity is observed through increased mobility for the new middle class who participate in mass consumption enjoy exclusiveness through gated communities, shopping malls and housing areas. Falzon (2004) studied how upper and middle class in Mumbai seek security, serenity and luxury by living in gated communities which are “privatized, close-off, monitored spaces for residence, consumption, leisure, and work” (2004:146). Abrahamson (2004) suggest that elites rather live in a utopia, or a luxurious bubble, were the poor do not exist, which is increasingly evident in Indian megacities like New Delhi, Mumbai and increasingly in Bangalore. Bangalore is considered a fast growing city with lots of entrepreneurial opportunities which lead increased choice in goods, services and luxuries. For the cosmopolitan new middle class of New Delhi “imported ‘foreign’ commodities, are crucial for upholding the exclusiveness of the new middle class” (Brosius, 2008:177).

As a result of these globalization effects, the meagre contact and dialogue between the privileged and underprivileged are deteriorating even more which is crucial for combating social inequalities. This perspective on globalization effects in India is especially relevant in the lives of Indian philanthropists who are often in this privileged position therefore feelings of civic engagements emerge as a result of civic guilt. But by living their closed of lifestyles and becoming more modernized and strategized in their way of practicing philanthropy the distance between them and the others become wider and less easily bridged. Glick-Schiller et al. (2011) translate this dilemma in the: “simultaneity of openness and boundary maintenance” (Glick-Schiller et al, 2011:410). The cosmopolitan attitude of Indian philanthropists reveals simultaneous imbeddedness of cultural traditions yet a desire for western lifestyles which often leads to internal conflict. Interesting about this research is that it looks at the tension in which Indian philanthropists set out to help less fortunate, but also shun them from their elitist lifestyles. I assume that for return-migrants it is even more complex as their migration experiences have affected their perceptions on social inequality and severe poverty and made them
more critical. Nevertheless they do move to gated communities to indulge in luxurious living conditions and inherently gain social status by doing so contributing to the preservation of the context of social inequalities in India.

2.4 Social Inequality
Philanthropy is an increasingly hot topic in India because with the new upcoming middle class, it has been identified as an excellent solution to tackle social problems that India is facing still, like poverty which leads to the lack of adequate healthcare, education and living conditions for a vast population in India. Even though India is losing its tag as a developing nation with its growing economic rates, huge numbers of foreign direct investments (FDI) and entrepreneurial talents, Indian state governments are failing to tackle basic social problems but also market solutions are limited in their scope as they have difficulty in adjusting their services to the poorest or the Bottom of the Pyramid (BoP)\(^5\). Blake et al, (2009) argue that “despite its scale and its potential role in tackling Indian social problems, philanthropy in India does not appear to be working to full effect” (Blake et al. 2009:6). One of the reasons that my thesis will highlight as to why this has not worked out is that Indian society is very much based on social, political and economic inequalities. This hierarchal mind-set based on caste systems, communities, socio-economic classes, wealth or creed is so dominant in India that it serves as the context in which philanthropists navigate.

So what is social inequality and how do scholars define it? Price and Feinman (1995) suggest that inequality operates in all societies along different dimensions and that “the institutionalization of status, i.e., the inheritance of wealth and position, represents a major threshold in the evolution of inequality” (Price & Feinman, 1995:10). Lammertyn and Verhoeven (1991) base their sociological theory on the works of Dahrendhof (1968) and begin by focussing on the origins of inequality. Their theoretical perspective builds on the basic assumption that there are natural and social differences. Another distinction is to be made in equality which relates to the order of ranking or certain levels of hierarchies. People differ in terms of natural attributes and capacities like height, or capacity to run fast. The latter is a natural difference but also has a natural order of ranking in which one person can run faster than the other. The same principles can be applied to social differentiation which relate to certain social roles like a father and a child. “In all

\(^5\) BoP is a concept used by professor C.K. Prahalad who referred to the poorest socio-economic group as a resilient, entrepreneurial group who should be treated like value-demanding consumers rather than victims.
societies there are different tasks and responsibilities that are assigned to different social positions without the implication of that these differences are socially stratified” (Lammertyn and Verhoeven, 1991, 259). Thus social stratification is social differentiation but with the evaluation of social status, reputation or wealth. In social stratification your social position within society is based on the hierarchical level of status, reputation and wealth which your class, caste, job and background represents. So social stratification is what social inequality entails and the relative ease with which one can transcend his social position to a higher position within that society refers to social mobility which in India remains quite low as Indian society believes still in the rigid structure of the caste system which determines that your position is given to you by karma accumulation. The caste system served the upper castes as it impeded social upward mobility making it difficult for underprivileged to uplift their marginal positions. Often economic, political and social inequalities in India are highly interlinked. People from lower castes tend to fulfil the poorest paying occupations with low income, politically they are often excluded by not having much decision power which relates to their poor levels of education and moreover they are marginalized and excluded on a socially in society.

Studying philanthropy and civic engagement in India is interesting because of the context social inequality. Moreover Jha (2000) points to the relation between rapid economic growth, which resulted from the liberalization reform in India in 1991 stimulated by the globalization agenda, and inequality in India: “If rapid growth is achieved at the expense of a worsening in the distribution of resources, it ultimately becomes unsustainable, since it engenders social tensions. Indeed, it is possible to imagine a situation in which economic growth leads to such exacerbation of inequality that poverty actually rises” (Jha, 2000:1).

Although philanthropy is known as private giving for the public good, there is a flipside to philanthropy. Schuyt et al. (2010) focus on social inequality in terms of level of education and income. They question how social inequality is linked with philanthropy and point to social status that is related to being a philanthropist as opposed the underprivileged who can only receive. In addition Bornstein (2012) suggests that philanthropy has “a focus on the kindly desire to end misery and suffering – yet it does not offer any rights to its recipients, who can make no claim on donors.” (2012:23). She only highlights one point where inequality comes into play between donor and recipient but there are many other ways in which inequalities

---

6 This quote has been translated from Dutch to English. The original quote is: “In alle maatschappijen zijn er verschillende taken en verantwoordelijkheden die worden toebedeeld aan de verschillende sociale posities zonder dat deze differentiatie noodzakerlijkertwijze een sociale stratificatie impliceert” (1991:259).
dominate the context of Indian society. Raheja (1988) observed how philanthropic giving to rural north Indian villages only reaffirmed inequalities by privileging some over others. Gifts were being distributed according to caste or community which reinforced caste hierarchies and social segregation.. I suggest that some of these Indian philanthropists maintain a similar paternalistic relationship with their recipients contributing to the reproduction of social inequality under the guise of social responsibility and civic engagements. Another way in which inequalities become painstakingly visible in India is through often exclusive gated communities. Powerful elites have the private means to build closed-off communities for their own usage by which they can segregate themselves from poverty-stricken people whom they claim to want to help.

2.5 Chapter Summary
In this chapter I have discussed the theoretical notions of philanthropy, civic engagement, globalization and social inequality. Bundled together they form the backbone of this thesis and with the chosen theoretical perspectives they help validate the main argument immediately outlines the interconnectedness between these concepts. The main argument rests upon the idea that globalization and modernity have contributed to the shift from traditional impulsive giving towards strategic giving. This latter may turn out to be the answer to some India’s social issues, but I argue that at the same time this shift represents the widening of the gap between philanthropist and recipient thus impeding the needed dialogue and interaction between them which is needed to overcome the imbedded social inequalities that are found in India and characterize the problematic context of Indian philanthropy.
Chapter 3. Methodology

As I stood in the bus squeezed together tightly in the small pathway, with all types of women and girls in (who looked like me) dressed in the bright colours similar to my Indian attire, I felt this strong sense belonging. Maybe I felt connected to the women as the local Bangalore busses force men and women to sit segregated. Or maybe it was the recognition of that funny Bollywood tune that blasted loudly from rusty speakers in the bus. It could well be the religious pictures and symbols that are attached to the dashboards in all the Indian busses and rickshaws. I was even getting used to the unfriendly ticket conductors who only yell, push and count money. Managing to go around Bangalore by using the chaotic bus network, felt like a personal victory. I realized I was starting to feel like local. This daydreaming was brutally interrupted when I tried jumping out of the bus like the locals are used to doing, and instead fell on the concrete highway with the crazy traffic rushing past me. I was not wearing my glasses anymore as they were thrown five meters ahead but ironically I could see clearly now; I was not local at all, in that moment I felt like a completely outsider and a fool.

This personal passage reveals the struggles of being an insider and outsider which is one of the elements discussed in this chapter. I focus on accessing the field, the research methods and switching between the insider-outsider perspectives.

3.1 Gaining Access to the Field

Two months prior to my fieldwork in Bangalore I actively planned my research and used the internet to establish contacts before arrival. I did not know anyone in Bangalore at the time and it was only my second visit to India. In Holland I reached out to my network for help and this way I came into contact with Mrs. Rao. She is an elderly woman in her late seventies and has lived as an expat in Leiden for 28 years before re-migrating to Bangalore, India after her three children graduated from university. She knew my aunt who attended the same university as one of her daughters so I could retrieve her contact details through the daughter who now lives in the US. Mrs. Rao was so kind to search an appropriate place for me to stay at during my time in Bangalore and urged me to stay in a Paying Guest Accommodation (PG) because this would be safest option for a foreign young
woman. She reached out to her own Konkani community\(^7\) who are scattered all over Bangalore. She found a place close to one of the organisations I had contacted in Sanjay Nagar. Later I had found out that Auntie, she ran the PG, took me in under the condition that I would be a proper and respectful Indian girl and not some disobedient westerner who would cause her headaches.

In total I had established prior contact with five development organisations which I considered interesting for the research as the personal backgrounds of the founders seemed relevantly related to philanthropy. I was invited to come and spend time with the organisations since I offered to help them with activities in return for time with the philanthropists, main trustees or directors of the organisations. These organisations were all located in different areas or localities of Bangalore and are: 1) MDS, 2) Unnati, 3) FFE, 4) Sikshana Foundation and 5) Unnati. Here I did most of my research as I got immediately access to them.

The first day of my fieldwork, January 7\(^{th}\) 2013 I was picked up by Mrs. Rao from the airport and she brought me to my guest family. Mrs. Rao was a member of the Community Services of Bangalore (from here on CSB) and introduced me to several of the women that were active in volunteering at social services. Although my guest family was not philanthropically involved, staying with a middle class Indian family was a great way to learn about Indian society, mentality, behaviours, and cultural customs and beliefs. On the next page in figures\(^8\) 4. until 7. I have presented my guest family’s house, my rooftop room shared with two other girls, auntie in her domain (the kitchen) and the pooja room decorated with seasonal crops like sugarcanes and bananas for the cultural festival Sankranti to illustrate my life there.\(^9\)

---

\(^7\) In India there is a huge number of communities based on ancestral geography and history and still play significant roles in lives of community members today. The Konkani people are mainly found in the Konkan Coast of western India where they speak the Konkani language.

\(^8\) These images belong to the author.

\(^9\) Makar Sankranti is the religious harvest festival which marks the arrival of spring. It is a big festival in Southern Indian states.
With the help of Mrs. Rao and my previously established contacts it was relatively easy for me to gain access and with help of my guest family I could quickly navigate through Bangalore myself and this way I physically gained access to the field. I used the snowball technique in order to get into contact with more people and everywhere I went I used to talk about my research. In conclusion, gaining access to the research field and my informants was relatively easy as I was welcomed throughout the research.
3.2 Methods
For this anthropological research I made use of two main qualitative research methods. The first was (participatory) observations and the second method was semi-structured in-depth interviewing. I used the semi structured in-depth interviewing technique since it proved to be the best way to reconstruct the life histories and the reflections and motivations of my informants which were crucial in reconstructing narratives of philanthropy in India (see empirical chapter 4). Asking the philanthropists about their life histories allowed me to determine in what ways their backgrounds might have influenced their decision for engaging in philanthropy. I could adapt my questions to the individual situations, asking certain questions to some when they deemed irrelevant to others. I used the probing technique to find out the deeper meanings behind certain explanations. Often when visiting someone’s house I asked if they could explain what certain objects meant to them like their temple rooms or gifts from abroad. They would really open up when I asked them to show me family pictures which proved to be useful enabling technique and helped to understand the bibliography of my informants. In the figures\(^{10}\) underneath I have presented some of these enabling objects.

For the interviews I used a topic list which can be found in Appendix two. In total I conducted 24 recorded interviews and two unrecorded interviews of which all were conducted in English. All my informants spoke English but the level differed greatly especially amongst the elderly people and the return migrant philanthropists. I have decided to keep the real names of my informants as I have asked for their consent in the participation of my research and I feel that this research will not harm their credibility or integrity in any way. The quotes used throughout this thesis have

\(^{10}\) These images belong to the author.
been adjusted according to spelling and use of grammar to safeguard the readability of this thesis. An example of how I altered quotes can be found in Appendix three.

I had many unrecorded informal chats with people at bus stops, in busses, in restaurants during lunch, with my guest family whom I had supper with every night or with my two female roommates whom I spend hours talking to about the contrasts between Holland and India. These informal interactions proved extremely valuable as it allowed me to understand this unfamiliar place and its people better.

The participant observations method was crucial for documenting the research sites, the interactions and the daily practices of these philanthropists. In addition the context in which the philanthropists and I navigated in, was recorded and showed how embedded this social, economic and political inequality was. I collected my observations and snapshots in my notebook because no one minded that I was writing things down. At night or the next morning I would type out my field notes. Although most observations took places in offices I also had the chance to visit philanthropists at their homes which was good because it offered me a different perspective by seeing the interaction with the family or the household. I observed during car rides because most of them would have a driver as a result of the chaotic traffic in Bangalore. I observed and participated in project events, like FFE’s alumni and donor event in Ahmedabad. Also there were fieldtrips to villages, network events organized by the philanthropists or philanthropic networks like Dasra’s Philanthropy Forum and I visited the project sites to observe what the beneficiaries were receiving and in what conditions they were living. On the next page are figures that illustrate some of the fieldtrips to the project sites I visited. First is the village trip to Hadonahalli with the MDS Sunday mobile health clinics team which consisted of three retired women doctors who volunteered their time and expertise to help villagers with health issues and donation of free medicines. Another figure displays a children’s orphanage which was set up by VEDS and another VEDS center providing shelter for abused and trafficked women and orphaned boys.¹¹

¹¹ These images belong to the author.
As a reflexive research technique I kept a diary throughout the research period in which I recorded the most emotionally exciting and shocking happenings. These
diary notes showed me how I switched between insider-outsider perspectives which are dealt with in the next section. In Appendix four an overview of my data is provided including my key informants, methods used, the locations, the frequency of interactions and the covered topics.

3.3 Switching Between Insider - Outsider

My subjective and fixed positions (Sunstein & Chiseri-Strater, 2002:119-120) have played a crucial role in how I perceived my informants and the research field but also influenced how they perceived me. I am a relatively young (23) unmarried Dutch citizen and female master student anthropology with a Bachelor in business administration and a wide interest in development cooperation. I was born and raised in The Hague by my parents who were born in Surinam and migrated to The Netherlands when they were youngsters. I come from a Hindustani community background as my forefathers left India at the beginning of the 20th century by boat to work as contract labourers in Surinam which was a Dutch colony. Surinamese Indians have established what is called the Hindustani community encompassing a Hindustani identity, language, and culture. This is a mixture of Hindu belief systems, Hindi and Dutch as a mixed language and specific foods stuffs. During my time in the field I met another Dutch Hindustani woman with a similar background and she told me that we are “fourth generation Indians”. Although this makes sense, my only real connections to India are my religious beliefs, my love for Bollywood movies and Indian food and dresses, but further than that I would not be considered Indian. I might look Indian but I have been brought up in a western cultural setting, I do not speak any Indian language and I have visited the country only once. From the moment I first met my guest family it became clear to me that I was an insider and was perceived as such. I positioned myself as a researcher foremost but also as someone who was willing to learn as much from them about the Indian culture. Also my roommates used to criticize me without any shame when I was doing things differently. It would be the simplest things like not bathing my hair with coconut oil, not being able to eat with my hands, not being able to eat so much spices, not knowing how to wear a sari, not being used to showering with a bucket of water and a small cup or not being able to understand the TV programs which were on all the time in our room. On the other hand I did feel a strong sense of belonging with India as I was interested in the religious aspects which they commended me for even to the point that they would say I was definitely more Indian than them when it came to religion.
During my research I often shifted between being an insider and an outsider. Sometimes the people assumed I was used to the cultural customs but then when I explained I was from Holland they were really interested in me. Especially the elderly people were intrigued by my presence and I was invited to have lunch at many elderly people’s houses in my street. In hence sight I believe this switching between insider – outsider actually helped me to reflect on my own western perspective. For instance I was always shocked to see how many people had maids but the more shocking part was the way the significantly lower class was treated in a degrading way by the upper class. As my outsider position I was able to question these hierarchical differences because I would be the ignorant foreigner. I was happy that they did want to teach me about Indian customs and at moments I felt they really involved me in their world especially when taking me to cultural events like weddings or even funeral services. In the figures\textsuperscript{12} underneath I have illustrated some of the moments I experienced being an insider with my two roommates.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.4\textwidth]{figure16.png} \hspace{0.05\textwidth} \includegraphics[width=0.4\textwidth]{figure17.png}
\caption{Figure 16. Me, Ashwini my roommate and her friend at a wedding  \hspace{0.05\textwidth}  Figure 17. Jyothi my other roommate and me at ISKCON mandir}
\end{figure}

Reading my field diary covering the three month fieldwork made me reflect better on my research on a personal and emotional level. I feel this anthropological research in India has helped me grow as a person tremendously. Being in the country of my ‘roots’ yet experiencing it through my conditioned, cultured and probably western mind set I have learned so much about myself and the country. For instance I saw how poverty, pollution, corruption and inequality were daily factors in the lives of (downtrodden) Indians which difficult to witness as it seemed so unfair. On the other hand I have been amazed by the eagerness of some people to help others. I saw beauty in their efforts, cultural norms and values and also the country itself with its diversified landscape both naturally and culturally.

\textsuperscript{12}These images belong to the author.
I did however also face challenges during my research which I had not foreseen beforehand. A big challenge was the difficult and unreliable transportation system in Bangalore. Traffic jams were unavoidable and many people would argue that the economy might have experienced a boom but the infrastructure was not there to support the influx of job seekers from other states. Another challenge in relation to the transportation was that it was not considered safe for women to be travelling alone after dark (after around 20.00 o'clock). Because of the traffic jams often a bus trip that normally took half an hour would easily take two hours to three hours during peak hour. As a young unmarried woman (which was noticeable as I was not wearing sindoor a red powder worn by married women) I always had to leave two hours in advance so I could be home in time which negatively affected my relationship building with informants. The busy agenda of my informants proved to be another constraint to the research. As professionals they did not have too much time to spend with me as they would always be busy working behind the computer.

3.4 Chapter Summary

In this methodological chapter I firstly demonstrated how I gained access to the field sites and my informants which happened relatively easy due to the prior contacts establishments. I then discussed the main research methods which were participatory observations and semi-structured interviews and I ended this chapter with a reflexive description of how I shifted between the insider-outsider perspectives.
Chapter 4. Narratives of Indian Philanthropy

For the fieldwork I interacted with a wide range of people in Bangalore who were involved in philanthropic activities; from elderly women who volunteer as an alternative for spending time at home to business people who view philanthropy as the strategic solution to eradicate poverty. During our close interactions in either formal settings like their offices or informal places like their homes, they openly reflected on philanthropy and their motivations for it. By having the people themselves define philanthropy it becomes clear how theoretical notions on philanthropy might not correspond with the individual perspectives brought in by Indian philanthropists. Moreover by looking at the narratives of Indian philanthropists we can begin to see how the subject of philanthropy relates to the context of inequality in India. The ethnographic data collected in the field resulted in a compilation of different reflections on philanthropy but I reconstructed four narratives of Indian philanthropy that set the range from impulse based giving to strategic giving, with short term and long term perspectives. In addition philanthropy is considered to be a selfless service or on the other hand an activity performed out of self-interestedness. These narratives tell us something about Indian philanthropists’ philosophical grounds but also the differences between the local Indian philanthropist and the return migrant philanthropist. Examining the motivations and inspirations for engaging in the practice of philanthropy sheds light on the often privileged socio-economic positions that these philanthropists fulfil which in turn highlight the discrepancy between philanthropist and recipient.

4.1 Four Narratives

Increasingly philanthropy in India is viewed as a way to tackle India’s social problems like the huge poverty divide (Sheth 2013, Blake et al. 2009). By reconstructing the narratives of Indian philanthropists we can understand how these reflections relate to the concept of inequality and how well this fits with the notion of philanthropy as a solution to ending poverty. These narratives clearly demonstrate different ranges within philanthropy in India and provide insights into the deeper meanings of hierarchical positions within philanthropy in India. Firstly, philanthropy is something that primarily the ‘privileged’ are able to engage in as I noticed a clear pattern amongst all my informants; they were well positioned economically and socially within Indian society. Their socio-economic backgrounds
were quite similar like belonging to the upper caste\(^\text{13}\), being quite wealthy and highly educated. However their reflections on philanthropy clearly differentiated amongst these individuals. I will now turn to the four broad perspectives on philanthropy based on personal reflections of philanthropists themselves. What we will see it that the definitions and reflections are based on a mixture of traditional forms of giving with modern types of philanthropy in India, on which new forms of philanthropic activities and civic engagements are established (Bornstein, 2009).

\textbf{1) Narrating Self-interested Philanthropy}

One of the most common ideas of philanthropy was that doing good for others leads to happiness for oneself. Mr. Swamy, a local Indian philanthropist around his fifties who has lived in Bangalore for almost his entire live, defined himself as a philanthropist who invests his time, money, resources and his skills. Unnati, of which Mr. Swamy is the main trustee, offers three-month vocational training programs for underprivileged youth and the unique part is that they have a hundred per cent job guarantees after completion of the program. He was extremely active and always busy with Unnati which he referred to as his ‘baby’ as he was initiated the organisation’s inception. During our meetings in the office or at his home he loved to talk about the philosophy of having love for god and seeing god in everyone. Although he would argue that everyone in India knows about this he critically reflected on the lack of practice of philanthropy and love of mankind. In relation to philanthropy he clearly reflects on the personal benefits philanthropy brings to the philanthropist and thus argues that philanthropy is self-interested:

“For me I do not know how to put it but philanthropy for me is not just selfless giving. It is a very selfish activity. Because I find I am doing this not thinking it is a selfless service, I am doing this because I get happiness out of it. So there is a difference. Tomorrow if I am not happy, I may not do it. So for me it is making me happy so I keep doing it and that gives me energy” (Mr Swamy, 16 January 2013).

Mr. Swamy often mentioned the term impact when he reflected on philanthropy. He talked about how he would not be happy if there was no transformation seen with the people he wanted to help which is also mentioned in Duncan’s (2004) theory on impact philanthropists. He needed the impact or the transformation to happen. In his case this meant providing the students with vocational training with the

\(^{13}\) Most of my informants were from the Brahminical caste which is considered the highest rank in the Indian caste system.
perspective of offering them jobs to ignite their economic independence. In order for Mr. Swamy to be satisfied and happy he needed philanthropy to be ‘wholesome’ which meant the integration of love for mankind with the expected (social) return or the impact to happen at the same time otherwise he would not be happy.

2) Narrating Strategic Impact Philanthropy

Mr. Prasanna, a return migrant around forty from the US, Texas who has lived in Bangalore for the past five years with his wife and daughter, was very critical about local Indians philanthropists and philanthropy in India in general. He claimed that they are more compassionate than passionate, often losing sight of important decision making and lack of strategic thinking by thinking with their hearts rather than with their brains. He criticised local NGOs and philanthropists for being too impulsive, less rational and less strategic which this development sector in India clearly needed according to him. He attributed this way of thinking to his work experiences in the US where accountability, transparency, efficiency and long-term solutions dominate the way of thinking. For him philanthropy is:

“For me I look at it from an outcome perspective, you know, impact. Philanthropy is not about giving, it is about impact that will come out of it. [...] You have to be aware of what you are making, otherwise it will be like giving. Anybody can give. My thing is that people who give should be very aware the impact, otherwise it is disservice to the ones who are receiving”. (Mr. Prasanna, 11 February 2013).

Mr. Swamy reached a state of happiness when he achieved a certain level of impact. Although Mr. Prasanna is talking about the same impact, he tries to distance himself from the personal return or the happiness. He claims philanthropists should not expect something for themselves but they should expect something to happen with the people they are giving to. The idea should not be to gain happiness or good *karma*. He believes that becoming emotionally attached might result in inefficiency therefore he rather approaches philanthropy as a business investment with the return being social impact which is a quantifiable target to be achieved.

Mrs. Bose, a local Indian philanthropist/social entrepreneur around fifty, a business woman with extensive business experience and furthermore the founder of Parikrama Foundation, views philanthropy in the same way. Although she realized how difficult it is to insert corporate practices in the development sector she perfectly illustrates this by arguing that:
“You have to look at some things with a certain sense of logic and you have got to make sure that you look at the greater good rather than a particular case. And I have to say if I have to make a hard decision with one child is it because I have 1375 that will benefit from that. If that is so, I will do it” (Mrs. Bose, 28 February 2013).

Philanthropic networks like the well-established Dasra in Mumbai, have a similar ideology about philanthropy which resonates in their target group for giving circles. Dasra targets wealthy business people with careers in financial services and private equity who are familiar with the business language and who would rather invest money than spend time somewhere. They rather read about the impact in a report than measure the impact themselves in the field. Dasra thus has built a community of likeminded philanthropic investors:

“So for Dasra philanthropy means an approach to addressing social issues. So it is not volunteering it is making long term financial commitments to scale organizations because that is how we frame philanthropy; to help scale high impact non-profit organizations” (Ms. Radhika – Dasra representative, 23 January 2013).

3) Narrating Philanthropy as a Social Obligation

A different perspective on philanthropy is offered by people like Mrs. Kidao whom I prefer to refer to as Sudha as she was one of my close informants. She is a return migrant philanthropist in her early forties who has lived in the US for almost twenty years and has worked as an academic for a long time. She now is the managing trustee at FFE which she performs on a voluntary basis. Her energetic charisma is contagious. Our interactions were very fruitful as she understood the importance of the research and expressed genuine and interest and involvement throughout my research. For her philanthropy is more a social obligation towards the underprivileged segments in society. One day I was sitting with her in the backseat of her car; her driver took us for a long drive to her newly purchased house. Located in Whitefield these gated communities are very popular amongst wealthy Indians, return migrants and expats. I was amazed about the contrasting scenery between the chaotic outside and the structured and clean inside of the gated community. In the following figures, I have illustrated one of more high-class the gated communities which I have visited and according to Sudha these were contemporary.

---

14 These images belong to the author.
It is exactly this obvious privileged position that makes her have feelings of social responsibility and civic engagements however this is not shared by many others in this privileged position. Sudha’s perspective is that:

“What you need to feel is that you have some privileges. And if you recognize that than you feel there is a huge disparity between what you have and what the average person has. […] When you feel like you are in a privileged position, it also comes with a responsibility. I just feel like philanthropy to me is just an ability to reach out and make a difference. Whatever it is, to whoever it is. You know? If you can do that and if you think you can be effective, but there is no good time to do that I think it is very easy for people with privileged positions to just enjoy their lives, and that is the easy way out. And they are not obligated to do anything for anybody. You know, there is no such requirement. So you can keep increasing your bank balance, you can live a good life and you can feel good about it. There is no doubt about it, and that is all right. But at some point when you start to question it like; are you meant to do something more because you are in a privileged position and you are in a position to make a difference?” (Sudha, 6 March 2013).

Sudha reflects on her privileged position and how she has questioned this position or more importantly she questions the unequal divide between socio-economic groupings within Indian society. The phenomenon she later discusses is that Indians in privileged positions take for granted their privileges and as a result become desensitized towards the suffering of the underprivileged probably because the scale of poverty in India is so enormous and they rather invest in their own happiness which refers to this as “the easy way out”. Interesting is that she touches upon a turning point in one’s life, a moment in which you realize you are obligated, responsible even, to give back to the community which translates into Ekman &
Amna’s (2012) notions of civic engagement that pinpoints civil actors that try to improve conditions of others outside the own family and circle of friends. Sudha, like Mr. Prasanna, seem to be critical of Indian society and especially the inequality present. Also in our chats and in our interactions I observed how she is deliberately is very friendly towards servants, waiters and many others from a lower socio-economic position and both of them without knowing each other mentioned being ashamed of their friends and family’s condescending behaviour towards Indian lower class. Interesting is how their experience as migrants in the US have truly contributed to their critical opinions on inequality and unequal treatments in Indian society and has led them to be more reflexive of their own behaviour.

4) Narrating Selfless Philanthropy

The last perspective on philanthropy offered considers those who believe that philanthropy is a completely selfless activity where one should not focus on personal benefits but focus more on how the act of giving can benefit others. Mr. Ramana is a retired business consultant who worked his entire life in the same company. He inherited the managing position from his father after his father did not allow him to fulfil his dream job which was to become a pilot. He now volunteers some hours a week at Unnati as an instructor in the marketing and sales training. In our interview at his home, a beautiful penthouse apartment in a gated flat, where he owns the entire top floor which gives him an incredible view of Bangalore Ulsoor Lake, he reflects on philanthropy in the following way:

"Philanthropy is a subject, in simply language it means that: you have to give without being selfish. You don’t only look at yourself but you also try to look at others and see what their needs are. Have a thought in that direction. [...] Consciousness is the fundamental thing. See, god has given you time, money, health, energy everything. Put that into a productive area. Do something constructive and productive and carry on with your life. Whatever you want to do you do, but please look at others and spend some time, some money or some interest. So if you can manage your day and have some time for others to help them then life is good” (Mr, Ramana, 1 March 2013).

Interesting about this person is that further on in the interview he opens up more and reveals how he negotiates selfless philanthropy with practicalities and self-interestedness. He explained to me that volunteering for an NGO does not cost him
much time which would be the case if he were to invest his skills by training company management. He enjoys the freedom he has at Unnati as he can plan his own agenda to his liking. He visits his children in the US for a period of three months each year and in addition he holds important positions at the Bangalore Prestige club and his Forty-oners club so he needs that freedom. The Bangalore Prestige club, as the name already indicates, is a member based club where the more upper class people from Bangalore interact with each other. In the next section I will reflect on the paradigmatic shift from impulsive to strategic giving and will demonstrate how this relates to inequality in India.

4.2 Selective Impulse versus Selective Strategy
What the narratives demonstrated, among others, is the distinction within philanthropy which I label as selective impulsive philanthropy and selective strategic philanthropy. Impulsive giving is connected to the idea of traditional giving which is based on religiosity and spontaneity. Nowadays new forms of giving are dominated by the emphasis on accountability, transparency, results and most importantly achieving and measuring impact. Often impulsive giving is focussed on short term impact while strategic philanthropy is focussed on sustainable long term commitments. Sheth (2013) verifies this in his latest research on philanthropy as he distinguishes between conventional and sophisticated donors: “Across both donors and NGOs, there is a continuum of participants that ranges from those who are motivated purely by emotional and personal reasons to those who bring sophisticated professional rigour to the field of giving […] Conventional donors invest in philanthropy for personal, emotional and sometimes religious reasons, while sophisticated donors have clear mandates for creating sustainable and meaningful change in a chosen sector” (Sheth, 2013:7). Most of my informants were critical of the conventional ways most Indians engage in philanthropy and even question whether they do so at all pointing to the misconception of India having a culture of giving. The main frustrations arise from the idea that Indians tend to selectively, yet sporadically, give to their own communities, temples or house maids. This results in benefits for themselves through achievement of prestige and status, good karma and the trust of the servants.

The Selective Impulsive Giver
Throughout my research the negative representation of the impulsive giver was portrayed by my informants. The selective impulsive giver is portrayed as the
selfish, non-reflexive and non-strategic giver. For instance, one Friday morning I was sitting next to Vikash in his shiny golden BMW. He had just picked me up near my house in Sanjay Nagar and we carooled to his work at FFE. The first time I met him I did not know anything about him but soon as we carooled I learned He is return migrant who had lived in Germany for some time where his interest for German beers arose. He and I instantly clicked because of our shared experiences with “The West”. I could critically reflect on typical cultural customs which were strange to me. This I could not really do with local Indians who demonstrated to be extremely proud people. Vikash lived in Bangalore with his wife and kids. He had his own communication design business and volunteered as donor relations manager for a few hours a week at FFE. During our drives we would have revealing informal conversations and in one of these he told me about impulsive giving in India:

“*The act of giving is very much present in Indian society; even the poorest beggar would give his last rupee in his pocket when he enters a temple. It is because India is a god-fearing society. They have to keep god happy in order to be happy themselves. People often give to their own communities and temples*” (Vikash, 11 January 2013).

As an atheist Vikash was very sceptical of the importance of god in Indian society and the way people select temples to give their money to than education for the underprivileged. That same day I met Sudha. During our first conversation she told me about a FFE event in Gujarat to increase donor funding because it is not present so much. When I asked her why the Gujarati community was not supportive of FFE she said:

“*They will all say we do not have the culture of giving. But I am not willing to accept this answer! They are very well willing to give to their own communities. [...] All these wealthy communities give to their own communities; they give to the temples while all we ask is to give to the kids in their state*” (Sudha, 11 January 2013).

Mr. Prasanna shared the perception on the selective impulsive giver. In the following conversation he expresses his frustration regarding the selfishness that is intertwined with selective impulsive giving to temples and maids. He told me how ashamed he was about his friends and relatives when they disrespected the maids.
One time he was having dinner with his wife and his friends but he and his wife became completely embarrassed by the disrespectful way their friends treated the staff. They wanted to leave the restaurant instantly. What is interesting is that clearly their experiences in the US have contributed to the idea of the inequalities that resonate within Indian society:

“No, I don’t know if they actually help or not. I have not really seen this over the past five years since I am back in India. I didn’t see any of them giving the maid a day off for instance. It is not just about money. This is where I get into a lot of difficulties with understanding the people. They negotiate the salary and tie down to the last paisa and then they say they help the maid with the education. But they get upset when the maid wants to take a day of or something! […] But there is a necessity because we have to give some jobs to these people otherwise they cannot manage their household. But this is an easy way out! During festival time people donate a sari or a thousand Rupees in a year to the maid and then claim that they don’t want to help anyone else because they are more worried about the maid or the driver. But I don’t really think that this is true. They might be giving some money once in a while but for me it is not complete. You have to treat them as your own; giving them a day off, time with their family. I haven’t seen many people do that” (Mr. Prasanna, 14 February 2013).

The portrayal of the selective impulsive giver thus reverberates how the culture of giving might be accurate but that it might not serve to be really effective in solving social issues in India especially not the social inequalities. Nevertheless, a trend has been presented in research reports on philanthropic giving in India. The trend entails a shift from impulsive giving to strategic giving. Although this trend is intended to solve social issues in India related to the context of social, political and economic inequality there are also some implications that this shift conveys.

Towards Strategic Giving
Giving in India is at its crossroads according to Blake et al. (2009:8). Philanthropy is already a hot issue (see Appendix five for a numerical overview) but Blake et al. (2009) and Sheth (2013) encourage a shift towards a strategic way of thinking about and practicing philanthropy in India. Strategic philanthropy is associated with being innovative, effective, accountable, transparent but also exclusive as opposed to selective impulsive giving. During the Impact Investment Forum organized by Dasra this became clear to me. Through the associations at the event but also the
exclusive scenery I observed how strategic philanthropy is meant for a specific target group: namely the High-Net-Worth-Indians and educated top of the class Indians. Strategic philanthropists form a community of exclusive thinkers that distinguishes them the mainstream continuum of Indian givers. The community is based on mostly intellectuals who associate with each other to make strategic investments based on expert opinions with the safeguard of having an institution measure the impact but are also in interaction with each other for benefit of being in a social status community. Directly working in the development sector might not give that same level of respect as being active as a strategic philanthropist who affiliates himself with an exclusive community. Radhika who works at Dasra reflects on the element importance of community for strategic philanthropists:

“I think a big part of it is also to belong to their own community of other philanthropists. So there is like a cache in that, like a social status cache. They like to affiliate themselves with this managing director and that famous person. They like these associations. Also I think they don’t have the time to run their own foundations as they are professionals”. (Radhika, 23 January 2013).

Although these initiatives might be effective tools at combatting poverty-related issues, these philanthropists do keep their beneficiaries at arm’s length which results in a failed dialogue between donor and beneficiary. Radhika also indicated that philanthropists might feel uncomfortable by the association of the poorer segments:

“just because they are not in situations like that where they face someone that has so much less than they do. They would rather read a report or interact with the person leading the organization” (Radhika, 23 January 2013).

Although Mr. Prasanna is not a part of a philanthropic network, he as a return migrant philanthropist does strongly encourage strategic philanthropy and is critical of selective impulsive giving. He agrees that his live, career and experiences in the US have triggered this mind set which he clearly illustrated by comparing himself to a local Indian friend and philanthropist:

“I was not impulsive at all, I was always thinking strategically. Once you start a business you start thinking like that. But also seeing how other NGOs operate and seeing how people give to those NGOs and what negative impact the NGOs had, was
a big turn off for me. That is why we started Pragathi, we didn’t want to support inefficient NGOs. This is something new to this sector. Nobody is talking about strategy and cost efficiency or impact. It is all about activity based, trying out things and just seeing if it works. I mean it is okay that some do it like that but if everyone would be doing it like that than it is pretty difficult to sustain” (Mr. Prasanna, 14 February 2013).

The reflections and ideologies presented above were triggered by different causes of which some I will discuss in the next section.

4.3 What Triggers the Act Giving

The causes for engaging in philanthropy were often related to a critical confrontation in the lives of philanthropists. Some were very tragic confrontations with death, while others were as subtle as just being bored with the daily routine or having time on their hands and not knowing what to do with it. In this section I bring forth some of these events to illustrate how these triggers are related to the socio-economic position of philanthropists in India.

Extreme Confrontations Leading to Philanthropy

During one of our conversations Sudha, told me the emotional story of how the death of her mother-in-law has affected her way of thinking drastically and triggered her to do something for society. We sat in a corner of the office at FFE to have some privacy which is difficult because it is an open office consisting of one room in which seven others are working. This did not stop Sudha from opening up to me as she broke into tears when telling me how her mother-in-law suffered from cancer for three years and died because of it. What struck her so much is that this woman was an amazingly brilliant woman, she was India’s first female neuroscientist and quite ahead of her time in her way of thinking and acting. She formed a role model for Sudha as she was passionate about science and was not concerned with general things that concerned mothers of her age; like how to cook or clean properly. However, the fact that she passed away before she was able to do everything she had wished she had done, really shook Sudha up;

“Her entire life has had a huge impact. So I asked my husband what entitles us to good health, what entitles us the ability to do the things we want to do and to live our dreams. Why do we feel entitled?” (Sudha, 11 January 2013).
Sudha reflects on her socio-economic position and background to which she thanks her good health, education, freedom, opportunities etc. What she actually touches upon is the discrepancy between the privileged and the underprivileged socio-economic positions within Indian society but also she reflects on a sense of obligation or even guilt of being able to do all the things she wants to do, and that live also can throw anyone a curveball and take it all away. So actually this fragment in her life made her think about her actions and how she wanted to give back to society what she had been given, something that she had taken for granted.

Another event that made her question her privileged position was very traumatic as well. She was in the US and went to the doctor after she did not feel well during her pregnancy. When she was there she got to hear her baby would be a premature baby and that she had to deliver right away. The trauma of this experience, but also the one and a half years it took her daughter to get to a healthy condition, opened up Sudha’s eyes;

Because most women in the world, even in the third world have perfectly healthy babies but why should I, because I am educated, live in the first world and read every book there is on pregnancy, why should I have to be entitled to a healthy life and a healthy baby. So it was such a huge wakeup call that I cannot take anything for granted and life is fragile. It was the first time I encountered this and it really was a miserable feeling. (Sudha, 17 January 2013)

These important life experiences contributed to her desire to do something now instead of waiting for retirement to happen and then start giving like most people prefer to do. She wanted to make the best out of her life by contributing to those of others and that is what she tries to do.

Mr. Swamy had a somewhat similar experience that inspired him. He described how the Bhopal gas tragedy\(^{15}\) had triggered his desire to help others. It happened during his college days when he was only 21 years old. He was doing his engineering degree when the college was urging students to provide assistance in the hospitals and slums;

\(^{15}\) This refers to the one of the world’s major gas leakages which happened in a plant in Bhopal, India on 3 December 1984. According to the Hindustan Times (02-12-2012) 15,274 people died instantly.
“In the hospital there were some cases where children died in my hands. I felt so much of death during that time” (Mr. Swamy, 16 January 2013).

He explained how at the time he did not realize this but that later on in life, this event made him realize that he wanted to help others. After moving back to Bangalore and starting his own logistics business he wanted to do something so he joined the social organization Sree Guruvayurappan Bhajan Samaj Trust (SGBS).

For others, it might have been a less tragic trigger but these two cases illustrate how people needs to be shaken up before they engage in something like philanthropy. For Mr. Prasanna it was more of a challenge. Throughout his life people told him he could not do something which would make him more determined to prove them wrong. When the founder of Shikshana Foundation met him in the US and dared him to run the foundation in India he was determined to take on this challenge. The following section highlights a completely different group which completely different motives; I will discuss elderly women engaged in philanthropy.

**Philanthropy to Escape Boredom**

It is 28 February 2013, half past three in the afternoon when I finish up our Indian vegetarian lunch at Ina’s house. Ina is an elderly Dutch woman married to an Indian surgeon whom she met in London. They have been living in Bangalore for the past 12 years. Their children are all grown up and have been raised in The Netherlands, Surinam and eventually India. Her daughter lives in the US while her son lives in Mumbai. We met during one of the “coffee mornings” organized by the CBS in the high class Taj Vivanta hotel in Bangalore city. The coffee mornings are held each Thursday of the month and accommodate women that are interested in social events and social work. However when chatting with me they reveal how some women only attend the social gatherings but are not really interested at all in social work, philanthropy and charity. This phenomenon wherein women of a certain higher standard of living and of a retirement age participate in communities like the CBS, and ultimately philanthropic activities, is quite common in Bangalore. Most middle to high class woman have children and grandchildren living abroad and husbands that are most likely still active in some type of work (may it be for earnings or for the pleasure of working). They have a lot of free time and desire social interaction with a prestigious community. In the field it became painstakingly clear that most of these women are a part of these groups because they get a sense of purpose in life. They negotiate their philanthropic engagements with benefiting from the social interactions they experience as a consequence.
4.4 Chapter Summary
In this chapter I have presented four key narratives extracted from ethnographic data resembling the reflections of Indian philanthropists and thus answer the first sub-research question “How do Indian philanthropists reflect on their philanthropic activities?” I built further on the narratives and zoomed in on the paradigmatic shift from impulsive to strategic philanthropy. I coined the terms selective impulsive giving and selective strategic giving to address the selectiveness of impulsive giving and the selective group present in strategic giving. I have argued that moving towards strategic giving might prove to be an effective solution for India’s major social issues, but will also distance the philanthropist from beneficiaries and thus impede the needed dialogue and interaction between these two in order to transcend the social inequalities that are found in India and characterize the problematic context of Indian philanthropy.
Chapter 5. Social Inequality in the Daily Lives of Philanthropists

The previous chapter offered a representation of key Indian philanthropy narratives. After studying their reflections the question remains: How do they practice philanthropy in their daily lives and more importantly how does this relate to the context of social inequality? I have outlined this chapter into three focus areas. Firstly I will discuss the settings in which philanthropists navigate. Secondly I will zoom in on the projects and the activities of these philanthropists. Thirdly I will look at some daily interactions of philanthropists and will demonstrate how these settings, activities and especially these social interactions relate to and even reproduce social inequalities.

5.1 Daily Settings

The daily settings which include the houses and offices of philanthropists have been described throughout in the thesis. In this section I wish to focus on a case that exemplifies how philanthropists navigate in different settings then the beneficiaries and how these settings relate to social inequalities.

One of the rather exclusive events I attended was Impact Investing Forum organised by in collaboration with Dasra, Omidyar Network and the Rockefeller Foundation at the Whitefield Conventional Centre. I had purchased my ticket online and since it was free of cost I assumed many diverse people would attend this event. When I reached the Conventional Centre by bus, and auto rickshaw I saw the first signs of the Tech Park in which it was located. Shun by all the filth and dirt, the destitute people in the streets and the chaotic traffic, this Conference Hall had a completely different feel to it; it was the feeling of exclusivity. As I walked into the building I felt slightly underdressed with my flip flops, legging and simple kurta. The quite young representatives of Dasra were all dressed in sharp black suits and ties, and the women in shimmery saris and professional suits. I collected my nametag and a map filled with informative leaflets and reports created by Dasra which is seen in figure 20\textsuperscript{16} underneath.

\textsuperscript{16} This image belongs to the author.
I was quite taken away by the formal and for me a bit over the top scene. The stairs were draped with a red velvet carpet and at each step there were flowery centre-pieces with white and yellow roses. The lobby hall was filled with business professionals who were enjoying a cup of coffee or tea which they were offered by the bar personnel. In the right top corner of the room I saw three cleaners standing sluggishly in their blue jumpsuits. I observed how nobody paid any attention to them which seems ironic as the event is targeted at uplifting exactly these underprivileged people out of their poor living circumstances. They seemed quite shocked when I came over and tried to make small talk with them. After my attempt to converse with them they immediately left the lobby hall and continued their work. As I mingled within the crowd I overheard people talking about Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). One man tells me he has his own business and he only feels that now everyone should have some sort of CSR policy or he will be not be taken seriously, so they just have to deal with NGOs. Two ladies in front of me chat about a fancy nightclub which has a rooftop bar and is located on MG Road which is the PC Hoofdstraat of Bangalore. I am also surprised to see so many foreigners present as I had hardly seen one my locality, Sanjay Nagar. When the event finally starts we are asked to move into the conference room. It is a beautiful auditorium with red velvet chairs with an upper and lower wing all pointed towards a big bright stage with an Oprah Winfrey like setting. In figures 21 and 22 the event is illustrated.\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{17} These images belong to the author.
The speakers talk about philanthropy and especially impact investing or the collaboration between the non-profit and the for profit sector. I observe how the audience is filled with business representatives and not so many non-profit representatives. It seems to me that Radhika, a representative from Dasra whom I met two weeks later at Dasra’s head office in Mumbai was right. Dasra targets corporate professionals to establish their philanthropic community which is reflected in their strategic philanthropy discourse:

“Our motto is impact at scale. So it is okay that you help your domestic maids or your driver and his children but is that really changing India? You know, I also think that is the movement, so there is charity and there is strategic philanthropy. Strategic philanthropy is ambitious, it is like were saying we are committed to changing India. We are committed to making it more just and equitable for people here. Whereas charity is; oh I give this to improve my karma or improve my situation.

When I asked her why there are no recipients present as they are an integral part of this movement and deserve to be included in the dialogue, she answers by saying:

Yes, and that is definitely something we should be more conscience about. I mean for our events we thought about inviting beneficiaries instead of these social entrepreneurs. But we felt that the philanthropists might feel uncomfortable, just because they are not in situations like that where they face someone that has so much less than they do. They would rather read a report or interact with the person leading the organization. (Radhika, 24 January 2013).

It is exactly this depersonalization that of the interaction between philanthropist and recipient that seems highly problematic as it re-establishes social inequalities.
5.2 Daily Projects and Activities

Most of the philanthropists demonstrated interest in other social activities besides financial giving. Investing their time, know-how and attained professional skills like managing, maintaining donor relations or accounting were also quite popular philanthropic activities. Another term that was used by philanthropists themselves and fits perfectly to describe the active engagements of philanthropists is social entrepreneurs. Dhesi’s (2010) point to distinguish between philanthropists and social entrepreneurs seems to crude in the context of Bangalore. He suggests that social entrepreneurs create social capital and social action as they are investing social resources (most likely a set of skills, determination, participation, communication, discipline etc.) in addition to monetary resources. Philanthropists invest financially only and are not that engaged in the actual processes of development whereas social entrepreneurs do. With Bornstein’s (2012) case studies and my own observations I point to disagreement that this line between philanthropist and social entrepreneur should be much more nuanced. We both have observed different types of philanthropists with ranging levels of social entrepreneurship. Linking this to the perspectives offered by philanthropists in the field the level of social entrepreneurship or better yet the direct involvement of philanthropists depends on the motives, the more strategic philanthropist talks about numbers rather than individuals whilst the more impulsive philanthropists talks about the effect on an individual level. Mrs. Bose a local Indian philanthropist/social entrepreneur and business woman explains the difference between social entrepreneurship and philanthropy in the following way;

“A philanthropist is interested in doing good by giving either skills or money, mostly resources. A social entrepreneur is someone who looks at doing good as a profession. Not necessarily by taking salary but it is more like a vocation. A philanthropist, could be a business person and be a philanthropist. A social entrepreneur in my world is only doing entrepreneurship work in the social good area.” (Mrs. Bose, 28 February 2013).

The description Mrs. Bose presented actually fit within the Bangalore context more accurately than the crude distinction made Dhesi (2010). They often had other functions or responsibilities within their own companies as well. There were also those who primarily focussed on their entrepreneurial skills within the social sector. Then there were those who only volunteered a few hours as a way of filling time.
What is interesting is that some also had businesses on the side but really dedicated a great portion of their time to helping an organisation or foundation. Dhesi (2010) suggested that social entrepreneurs create social capital and social action but actually many of the people I have spoken to did this as well. They were active in so many ways for instance Sudha, a return migrant philanthropist, volunteered almost every day at FFE but she also presented all the out of state events, she involved herself literally in everything from the most basic things like the layout of an invitation of one of such events or thinking about sponsoring strategies. Mr. Swamy, a local Indian philanthropist, demonstrated the same commitment to Unnati. He had a logistics business on the side but he would be present at Unnati every day for a couple of hours on a voluntary basis. He would be involved with all stakeholder meetings, logistics, marketing and the events organized by Unnati. These people showed extreme dedication to helping others. There were also those who had a much lower level of involvement and that were mostly the elderly people who were retired but did philanthropic activities as leisure time. The motivation these philanthropists had directly interlinked with the efforts they put into it. This relates to the feelings of social responsibility and civic engagements of Ekman and Amna (2012) but also resemble the theory of impact philanthropy of Duncan (2004) who suggests that one really gives according to the motivation, may it be from a private giving, public goods or impact model. I

Interesting is the shift from traditional philanthropic activities to more modern philanthropic activities as they also demonstrate the problematic decay of personal relationships between philanthropist and recipient. Traditional philanthropy was often done on a more local level in the sense that they helped out with the community, their own maids and servants or the drivers. Back in the days they performed their activities in a more impulsive manner, it was just when someone asked for it they would not really stop to think about the consequences but give when they were in the position to do so. In the following story told by return migrant philanthropist, Mr. Prasanna who is has a passion for strategic business type of philanthropy, he tells me about his grandfather’s philanthropic nature;

“One day a man from Mumbai came. He had an auto full of sweets, all different kinds of sweets, and he just walked in the house. So the school was closed for holiday so we were all at home while the boxes were getting unloaded. So we asked what it was and he just said: “your father has been so kind in getting me a loan back in the days and now I am a business man and I wanted to repay him”. So
my grandfather walked in and he smiled. Then the man touched his feet, you know the usual, and then he walked away. So after that my grandmother asked “who is he?” My grandfather said I don’t know. He had totally given it impulsively because he could absolutely not recall this gentleman! He was not even from the community; he was a business guy from Mumbai! So that was definitely very impulsive and he did not even think about it. Many of his giving he kept a secret and it was until his passing that we came to know. So after his passing away many people started to give their condolences and we found out he had actually built a big community hall. We had no idea!” (Mr. Prasanna, 11 February 2013).

5.3 Daily Interactions
Although many Indians might argue that India is becoming less and less caste and class oriented, the Indian Constitution’s promise of greater equality and attempt to put an end to its ancient caste system has not been effectively realized over the last sixty years of independence according to Grinsell (2010:199). By looking at the implementation of Indian Equality Law he demonstrates how caste-based identification and stratification still hinders achievement of overall equality in Indian society. In the daily interactions with my guest family I experienced these social inequalities as well. Every morning one of my roommates used to wake me up by shouting at Mangula, auntie’s maid who was washing the dishes outside at 6.30 and she would make too much noise according to her. Mangula was also responsible for taking out the trash once in a while but was scolded by my roommate when she forgot to do so. In the evenings I would stand outside on the terrace to call people back home in The Netherlands. Every night I would see the downstairs live-in maid use the basic Indian toilet which was outside and when I asked my roommates why she used that one while we all used different Western ones, they explained that maids are from a different social background and tend to be unhygienic and so they need separate toilets. The same reason was used when they did not want to eat Mangula’s meals even though she was given the responsibility to cook for us when auntie and uncle left to the US for three months, “you would not know what she had been doing before cooking” they would argue. Ironically they did complain about how badly the downstairs live-in maid was treated by the second floor neighbours. She had to sit on the ground while the others were sitting on the couch and she was scolded by the children as well. These moments made me realize the imbeddedness of social inequalities in India.
Moving away from my personal reflection and confrontation with social inequalities in the daily life in Bangalore, I now like to shift the focus on how these inequalities are related to daily lives of Indian philanthropists. I demonstrate this by pointing to three social interactions between philanthropists and maids, philanthropists and gendered interactions and finally philanthropists and recipients.

**We treat our Servants like Family**

Before coming to India I had no idea about the abundance of maids and servants working for India’s middle and upper class. Literally everywhere I went people were ‘serving’ other people. In The Netherlands we are also familiar with cleaners who are often characterized by not having enjoyed certain levels of education, wealth and status which Lammertyn and Verhoeven (1991) point to as social inequality once this social position is evaluated in hierarchical terms. The discrepancy between of the lower working class and the middle/ upper middle/ upper classes is extremely visible in terms of social inequality or social stratification as they are treated with a lower level of respect. A common response given by philanthropists when I asked about the abundance of maids was that there were so many people who needed jobs as well. This response was logical considering India’s population of over 1 billion people, most of them centred within the big cosmopolitan cities like Bangalore searching for better job opportunities. Yet the disrespect, the silenced humiliation, being completely dependent upon the generosity of the employer, these were serious issues and concerned the context in which philanthropists navigated.

I met Mrs. Rao several times during my stay because she was the one who arranged my stay in Bangalore and brought me to the CBS women’s club. The first time I met she was wearing a beautiful sari and was accompanied by her driver. While he took my luggage and placed it in the car he addressed me with ‘madam’ which to me seemed quite strange as he was a lot older than me. When we reached Mrs. Rao’s house the driver was not allowed in the house and thus he would wait in front of the door not daring to step one foot in the apartment. He waited there until Mrs. Rao’s husband ordered him to leave. Later when Mrs. Rao was going to drop me off at my guest family I realized that while we were having lunch upstairs, the driver had been sitting in the car in the pitch dark parking lot downstairs in the basement of the gated apartment complex.

Mr. Ramana, voluntary marketing lecturer at Unnati and ex-business man, shared a similar relationship with his driver. He was also living in a gated apartment complex with his wife and also used to let his driver wait downstairs in the dark parking lot. When we talked about this phenomenon of maids and
servants in India he explained that the people needed work and that it is their responsibility as wealthier people to feed the poor. Pointing to his young maid he talks about how she mops and cleans for two hours a day and receives a descent income working for them. In the following passage he explains how he treats her like family but that working class people nowadays want better work opportunities.

“We treat her as a family member so she comes and has a cup of coffee and she has breakfast. Her daughter delivered a baby so she wanted an advance, so we looked after them in that sense. So it is an income for that family. It is an employment opportunity and that is why the servants are still a thing in India. All those people are now also waking up, they don’t want to be working in a house as a servant or a cook, and they’re looking for a factory job or a retail job. There is the income, there is a Saturday and Sunday holidays, there is a bonus, there is medical insurance, there are facilities, there are travel fares, they are looking for all of that” (Mr. Ramana, 1 March 2013).

Mr. Ramana also explains how easily replaceable the driver is because of the huge labour market. Nevertheless he points to the decreasing number of people available as servant classes are trying to better their socio-economic positions. He was quite negative about this change but he knows that nothing can be done to stop it.

“See I have a driver at my age now because I don’t want drive in this chaotic traffic. So he lets me sit in the back and enjoy the ride. If he is not good enough I will sack him and bring in somebody else. [...] All of us are working for somebody. I won’t say he is my servant, I won’t say he is my slave either; he is working for me doing a particular job. But I must also tell you, this is becoming less and less. The supply of servants is not what it was, as it is coming down. Because this servant class is now joining some other vocation in which they have more money, more freedom, and more time on their hands. They are all looking for that” (Mr. Ramana, 1 March 2013).

Auntie who ran my PG, used to love talking about her former maid servant Rani. Rani was the most obedient and loving maid servant there was according to auntie. Rani was only nine years old when she moved into auntie’s house. At such an early age she learned how to cook and clean but at that age her primary task was to take care of auntie’s younger daughter who at that time was two years older than Rani and used her like a personal servant who had to follow her around and clean up
after her. Auntie however created a close bond with the girl and as often said “I love her like she is my own daughter”. At age eighteen Rani was old enough to be engaged and so her parents told her to move back with them. Many times when auntie needs a spare hand she does not hesitate to call her beloved Rani whom I have seen working extremely hard in the kitchen on Saturdays. I felt embarrassed when it was Rani who served me my dinners at days when she was helping auntie. She also sat on the floor like a ‘proper’ maid. I still hear auntie complain about how nowadays it is hard to find such nice maids like Rani, “Nowadays you cannot get young girls like Rani, because they can only start at fourteen and then you cannot really teach them anything, they talk back more easily”.

Mrs. Shenoi, the vice president of MDS, told me something similar when we left her house. While she was locking her door she complained that the maid had not come yet. As I assumed the maid might be coming later she explains me indirectly that the maid cannot be trusted with her stuff because she is too clever and might be stealing things. “No I would never give the key to the maid since she cannot be trusted. She is too clever, very smart. Sometimes when I am missing things I will not accuse her because it is ultimately my own responsibility” (Mrs. Shenoi, 19 January 2013).

Even though the interactions with servant and employer are so different amongst philanthropists, I did observe the rootedness of inequalities. Every time every house or office visits I was addressed with madam by the cleaners, the servants and drivers. The level of respect received in Indian society is based on many things ranging from vocation, social status, caste, class, and even the colour of your skin. Even the fact that there are a dozen of beauty products that claim to make your skin lighter is a sign of this ideal image. Often darker skin is associated with being from a lower caste and the vice versa, is what auntie told me.

Another telling event happened at Mrs. Rao’s place. She is a member of the CSB which strives for women’s rights among others. I observed how her own maid sat on the ground eating a bit of rice while Mrs. Rao’s family and I were feasting in the living room. I walked in the kitchen because I wanted to wash my own plate which was being disapproved by the family but when I did I passed by the maid who was sitting there. Interesting is that most of the return migrants I spoke with had different perspective caused by their experiences abroad. These social remittances like the idea that inequality should be critically reviewed, is something that they took with them from abroad. After having experienced a different way of
living, they came back and were somewhat disappointed with the unequal power structures; they even exhibited embarrassment because of their friends or relatives behaviours towards the servants. Another interesting interaction that clearly differed for the return migrants and the local philanthropists is the male dominance and female sub-ordinance. For return migrants gender roles were less evident whereas in India gender roles are very much present based on social stratification by assigned roles.

**In India Men are treated like ‘Maharajas’**

The divide between men and women might be less obvious than the divide between rich and poor but it is surely there in the form of the patriarchal society. Women in India are the caretakers: they take care of the husband, the children and parts of the household that the maid does not take care of. For instance Mrs. Shenoi even though as the vice president of MDS, and the president of the community waste park she is very dedicated to serving her husband, when she showed me her house she would tell me how the kitchen really is her domain and her husband does not come there often. Another interesting example is Mrs. Hegde who is the president of the women’s shelter and family counselling NGO, MDS. As a philanthropist and concerned women’s rights activist she has dedicated her life to serve and protect women that live in abusive households. She told me narratives of women that came to the organisation for help, and during the inception of the NGO Mrs. Hegde used to host these abused women at her home. One day an angry husband and his sister came to her house and claimed how she had kidnapped his wife. She told them that was incorrect and that the sister was allowed to check the house but the man became violent and she called her husband for help and so the police came. “Although I was scared I will never show this. I teach women to hold their heads high even when they cry when they come here; I want them to lift their heads and smile” (Mrs. Hegde, 10 January 2013). What is interesting is that Mrs. Hegde comes from a wealthy family and community. She belongs to the Bunts community which has a matriarchal lineage meaning that the women in the family own and inherit the land, estates and wealth. Mrs. Hegde’s grandmother was very wealthy and owned huge estates hosting between two hundred to three hundred community members and a fleet of servants. Nevertheless Mrs. Hegde grew up to be a shy girl and not until she married at 22 married to a 33 year old man was she was forced to come

---

18 The Bunts community consist of mostly wealthy landowners and nowadays hotel owners. For more information see page 9.
out of her shell. During marriage she was forced to cook. However she had never been in a kitchen because her father would not allow her arguing that she should focus on school and latter be a proper wife. Even today Mrs. Hegde takes good care of her husband because every day she leaves MDS at 13.00 so she can rush home and serves her husband his lunch the same way Mrs. Shenoi does.

Sudha the younger return migrant and philanthropist has a more egalitarian approach to household affairs. She and her husband both studied and lived in US for a period of almost twenty years. They perform the household chores together and are less traditional in that sense. The same goes for Mr. Prasanna who is also a return migrant and philanthropist and has a wife working at Yahoo as manager. Again both have lived for a long period in the US and share this egalitarian division of household chores.

Radhika, who works at Dasra as the donor manager, is a young psychology and women studies graduate from the US. She reflects on this Indian and Western divide in philanthropy and gender. During our conversation she explains to me how women are more often volunteering as opposed to engaging in strategic philanthropy because they have more time on their hands and also because of the societal expectations that are there.

“So in India, if women are married to a rich guy, women rarely have full time careers so they have the time to volunteer. Men in the social sector, you know men are the breadwinners so they wouldn’t join the social sector because they wouldn’t have time. You know it is still those stereotypes that exist here that are very strong. Even if we have these meetings with philanthropists, those who end up making decisions are still the men. They make the decision of where the money goes, so even in our community of supporters it is often those individual men who are successful and will join but they may not bring their wives along. Their wives may not be a part of their philanthropic decisions. Only in the context of social events will they bring their wives along or not. So it is like that” (Radhika, 24 January 2013).

That is her perception on local Indian philanthropists and their wives but she also mentions the return migrants and expat philanthropists in the Dasra network. Here she suggests that it is more of a team effort, as demonstrated by return migrants Sudha and Mr. Prasanna. “So sometimes you find these Indian Americans or American expats who live here who aren’t of Indian origin who really have sort of a partnership; they come to events together, they make decisions together and are both very vocal” (Radhika, 24 January 2013).
As I lived for three months with the guest family I got a close look into the relationship between auntie and uncle. Auntie was a housewife and uncle did not work that much, sometimes he took care of some business. They had two daughters whom both lived in the US. They were a middle class family in the sense that they had enough money, which was inherited by uncle. They owned a relatively big house with two floors and a rooftop where they build a small room and a bathroom where my roommates and I stayed. The second floor was rented out to another family, a cop his wife, two kids and the live in maid. Interesting about them is that they really were curious about me and asked me a lot about my research and interest in Bangalore. The wife told me that the cop she married was actually her uncle and that she first did not like that at all but that it was arranged like that by her parents. Auntie had a similar experience even though uncle was not a relative but she did not like to be married to him but she was forced by the family. In India still this happens quite often. Both of my roommates will have arranged marriages. Auntie always was busy with cooking and taking care of uncle. She would complain about his laziness and his temper. I still remember how uncle talked to me like he would have all the knowledge in the world and would shut auntie up and claim she did not know anything because she was not educated or she was a woman. This bothered me because these interactions revealed unequal gender relations in the house. Uncle was the boss, the maharaja and life revolved around him. Auntie dedicated her live to him and even though he would curse at her for the silliest things she would be obedient and quiet. Clearly uncle was the one in charge of everything but actually auntie was taking care of him, bringing his food and coffee, medicines, papers, clothes or even having to remind him of his daily schedules.

However in India the social inequality of women has been brought to light recently with the Delhi gang rape case. I visited three short stay homes for abused women during my stay in Bangalore. I also joined a protest on 14 January 2013, called One Billion Rising where all sorts of women were gathered to protest against violence against women in Cubbon Park which are illustrated in the figures underneath.

---

19 The Delhi rape case refers to the brutal gang rape of a young female student in a bus on December 16th 2012. National and international media coverage caused for protests worldwide for the protection of women.

20 These images belong to the author.
During the festival many women were dancing, singing and really enjoying themselves. Men were present also. However I observed their rather different way of participation. They had come to watch these women from the side lines in the literal sense. There were a lot of men standing there, observing the women, and looking quite distressed and annoyed by the abundant way these women celebrated their rights.

**The Patron and the Client**

In this section I focus on the philanthropist and the beneficiary. The patron-client relationship by itself is involves a unequal balance of power with the patron being the one who is the person offering something which the other does not have, making the client depend upon the generosity of the patron which actually sets the foundation of an unequal relationship. One of theoretical perspectives of philanthropy is that it actually reinforces inferiority and superiority positions (Raheja, 1988). In India which has a society based on caste hierarchies, it is not surprising that these patron-client relationships carry strong inequalities as well. Interesting is that most philanthropists claim to have the intention to help the poor and underprivileged. Often in practice due to hierarchical structures in which
philanthropist has decision power and recipient stays in subordinate position, unequal interactions are reproduced.

Sudha (return migrant philanthropist from the US) reflected on the subtle ways in which social inequality is present within Indian philanthropy. She saw philanthropy as the privileged having an obligation to society, a way of giving back all that has been given to them which goes in line with Ekman & Amna’s (2012) idea on civic engagement and Schuyt’s (2010) social responsibility. Like other return migrants Sudha’s experiences abroad have changed her perception of Indian society which is exactly what Levitt & Lamba-Nieves (2011) talk about when discussing the importance of social remittances. Especially when it comes to privileges she is more aware of the inequality in India than her friends and relatives that have been in India for a longer time. She is more critical about the unequal treatment but also what I have observed with her is that she tries to treat her maids and drivers with a certain level of respect, almost as if they were in in equal relationship. Sudha on the other hand looks at it from another perspective and revealed to me the perks of being in this privileged position. When first thinking about going back to India she did not imagine to have such an easy transition because for her the luxuries or even basic necessities in the US would clearly not be there in India which she was fine with in the beginning but since the city of Bangalore has modernized so much she was able to easily migrate because of the facilities and especially the gated communities that are available for wealthier Indians, return migrants and expat communities.

“It was not my idea, but now I’m enjoying my life because some of those conveniences and that we are not worried about safety, I mean those are: the clean drinking water, basic humanities that people take for granted in the West are not a given in India. And I’m saying if those acquirements are met, life is lovely here. Clean drinking water, clean air and reliable help, not so much pollution and then you have a steady source of power supply. Those are the things that are normally not available most of the time.” (Sudha, 6 March 2013).

With the organization FFE, of which Sudha is the main trustee, I went to the very prestigious Indian Institute of Management Ahmedabad in the state of Gujarat. Here I assisted with the organisation of the alumni event where both beneficiaries of the FFE scholarship as well as the donors and the facilitators were present. Most of these underprivileged students had never been to such a prestigious school and
when I interacted with them they seemed shy and a bit overwhelmed. Most of them had a facilitator who had introduced them to FFE but the level of contact with the facilitators ranged from monthly to yearly to almost never. The lecture rooms were also set up without any interaction possibility for the students and the facilitators as the seats were segregated which can be seen in the figures. Even during the break I could not observe close contact between the important facilitators and guests and the underprivileged students, both groups tended to interact with their own group.

![Figure 27. FFE students sitting in the student seats](image1)
![Figure 28. Facilitators and other important guests sitting in front](image2)

This hierarchical, social and economic gap actually causes the philanthropist to believe he should help the other out. Mr. Baskar, a social worker at VEDS and rural development specialist, reflects on his times working for at village development project. He admires the innocence of villagers, he finds this village simplicity very attractive and noteworthy yet he wants to develop them, get them on the right track because they are underdeveloped and do not possess the right resources and knowledge to change their situation themselves. He wants these villages to become more equalized socially but on the other hand he appreciates their simplistic ways based on social hierarchies. The contrasts, the reflections and the daily lives and the interactions within philanthropy in India are clearly interlinked with their context of social inequalities.

### 5.4 Chapter Summary
In this chapter I have attempted to demonstrate how social inequality serves as the problematic context for the practice of philanthropy in India. Especially important to note is the problem of decreased interactions between philanthropists and

---

21 The images belong to the author.
recipients as a result of modernized, strategic, scaled and depersonalized philanthropy. Widening the gap between these two inhibits dialogue and ultimately philanthropists run the risk of missing the target which is to help others uplift themselves out of their poor conditions, and this way achieving equality for all.
Chapter 6. Conclusions

After having analysed the ethnographic data collected in the field as well as having engaged with theoretical notions and perspectives on philanthropy and others concepts used, I will now present my concluding remarks by answering the main research question. I have answered the main research question by focussing on three integral parts which are the reflections and practices of philanthropists as they show the relation between philanthropy and social inequality in India but also I have focussed on the dichotomous relationship between local Indian philanthropist and return migrant philanthropist as this offers another perspective on social inequalities.

**How do Indian philanthropists reflect on their philanthropic activities and civic engagements in cosmopolitan Bangalore, and how are their daily practices related to the context of social inequality in India?**

First I have focussed on the personal reflections and motivations of philanthropists. During this research I came to understand that Indian philanthropists all reflect on their philanthropy and have clear ideas on why and how philanthropy should be practiced. I distinguished four grand narratives amongst philanthropists which resemble a clear mixture of traditional and more modern philanthropic approaches. These approaches also range from a spectrum of on the one hand selfless giving and on the other hand self-interested giving. One of the ideologies or narratives is that philanthropy is a tool for being happy, helping others in need leads to a self-interested happiness, a warm glow effect as Elster (2011) refers to it. This perspective of ambiguous philanthropy, that there are egocentric motives within philanthropy gained from the attention of the external audience, coincides with this narrative. In another narrative, philanthropy is represented as a development tool to end poverty; it is a way to strategically and structurally improve the livelihoods of the underprivileged in India. Often this type of strategic philanthropy is performed by business professionals and organizations that see philanthropy as an extension of their CSR policies. Rutten’s (2001) review of Sundar’s (2000) book suggests that Indian business philanthropy is “spurred partly by the realisation that supporting community development through philanthropic giving is in their own best business interests” (Rutten, 2001:93). Another important narrative is based on the obligations of privileged Indians to give back to the community. This perspective
has a lot to do with the privileged position of the upper middle class in India who are driven by feelings of civic guilt, civic engagements and social responsibility. It is a social obligation many Indians do not give thought to as they often reason that they are in this privileged position as they deserve to be according to the law of karma which says you deserve what is coming to you. Especially return migrants feel uncomfortable with these lines of thought once they have experienced something different abroad. The last narrative I have distinguished is the idea of philanthropy being a completely selfless act or like Bornstein notes is that the ideal form of philanthropy in essence is actually dan, an act of selfless giving without expecting anything in return (2009:625). Even though it might prove to be difficult in practice, there are philanthropists in India who believe to be acting purely out of self-interest, claiming that they could not be bothered if their philanthropic activities are being abused as they do not attach value to their personal belongings.

Despite these four narratives, philanthropy in India and the reflections about philanthropy carry a hybrid nature, meaning that different forms ranging from traditional to modern or impulsive and to strategic philanthropy are mixed. Interesting to conclude is that there is currently a paradigmatic shift going on moving away from traditional to strategic impact philanthropy. Even though this might be an effective way of solving India’s major social issues like poverty, it does also seem to indicate a further depersonalization of philanthropy. The major social and scientific contribution derived from this research is that this depersonalization might result in a widened gap between philanthropist and recipient. This is problematic as it actually contributes to social inequality rather than eradicating it.

The daily practices of philanthropists are seemingly different because of the hybridity of philanthropy. Philanthropy can be strategically executed but at the same time motivated by highly traditional and religious motives. The most confronting way in which the daily life practices of philanthropists resemble unequal relations is in their secluded and exclusive lifestyles. Most philanthropists have wealthy, privileged and superior backgrounds and have enjoyed the perks of this growing Indian economy. Their lifestyles are vastly different from the people they are trying to help which marks a discrepancy between these two groups. In practice I often saw how indeed philanthropists did create or strive to create some sort of impact in the lives of their beneficiaries but I did not observe this drive in their personal lives; in the interactions with the underprivileged in daily life. As India’s social fabric is dominated by the importance of caste, class and hierarchies still, it is not so surprising that this social stratification and segregation is so
evident. Especially the interactions in daily life reveal these social inequalities relating to the underprivileged maids and servants class or the discrepancy between males and females. The most crucial relationship based on inequality is obviously the actual philanthropist-recipient interactions. Both in theory and practice the balance of power is curved towards the philanthropist rather than the beneficiary as the latter is dependent on the generosity of the former. When the philanthropist cannot cross these connotations of being the helper, the controller, the do-gooder and the recipient being the one who needs him, these unequal relations will never disappear. Philanthropists in India need to be aware of these ingrained social inequalities and also about the possible consequences of depersonalized strategic giving. On a whole it may seem that recipients are being helped at scale, but if the mentality translated in the daily life practices do complement this idea of equality, it will be very difficult to establish an equalized Indian society.

Finally I want to point to the dichotomous relationship between the local Indian philanthropists and the return migrant philanthropist. Their commonality is found in the attachment to so called Indian values, like the importance of family and religious rituals. However the same Indian mentality is what most return migrants have a problem with also. They tend to be more critical of Indian caste, class and hierarchy systems once they have experienced something else during their time abroad. They are ashamed of the disrespectful ways with which underprivileged lower working class are treated by their fellow Indian relatives and friends. They also show more reflexivity towards their own behaviour reasoning that they treat their servants in a completely different often respectful manner. Even though they still are quite exclusive by living in gated communities, sending their children to the best (international) schools, shopping for European fashion brands in exclusive shopping malls, they do have experienced a clear change in mind-set. They are less convinced of these unequal hierarchical systems and are disappointed about these notions in India. However by keeping the underprivileged at arm’s length in their daily lives and lifestyles they are actually contributing and reproducing these social inequalities in Indian society.

Finally if strategic philanthropy is to be marked as the way of tackling India’s major social issues, it should include the needed dialogue and interaction between philanthropist and beneficiary in order to really make a difference; in order to end social inequalities which seem to be deeply rooted in Indian society.
On the basis of my research I urge philanthropists, academics and policy makers to not overlook the pestering consequences of maintained or even increased social inequalities that result from the depersonalization of strategic philanthropy. In addition I also wish to address the (global) impact investment representatives and development workers as they are currently not paying the needed attention to the small yet increasing number of philanthropists who have the financial ability to make a change yet might not have the skills or knowhow and therefore would be great collaboration partners when it comes to strategically and effectively tackling poverty and inequality.
Executive Summary

This anthropological master's research is about the motivation and practices of Indian philanthropists in Bangalore and focusses on how philanthropy relates to the context of social inequality. Philanthropy is the practice of private giving of either money, skills, resources or time to serve the public good. It is about helping people in a selfless manner. India is an interesting place to study the act of giving because the practice of selfless giving is traditionally incorporated in the Hindu belief system. Bangalore is interesting as a research site because of the rapid changes it has endured over the last twenty years. With the IT boom Bangalore has had increasing economic growth rates and population wise more people are entering the city for job opportunities and improvements of living conditions. As governments fail to facilitate these changes, responsibility is being downplayed to individuals, corporates and NGOs. These Indian philanthropists aim at improving the livelihoods of underprivileged people yet in their daily lives social inequalities remain pertinent. Thus, this research examines the relation between philanthropy and the context of social inequalities and therefore (a simplified version of) my research question is as follows;

**How do Indian philanthropists reflect on their philanthropic activities in Bangalore, and how are their daily practices related to the context of social inequality in India?**

The most important findings include the slow but pertinent paradigmatic shift from impulsive or traditional philanthropy to more strategic impact philanthropy. This mentality shift can also been found when examining the discrepancies between local philanthropists and return migrant philanthropists. The latter seem to be more reflexive towards their own behaviour, more strategic as they think about long term lasting solutions and are more critical and disappointed even about the social inequalities and power structures in India. This is because of their experiences abroad where they have seen less ‘in your face’ inequality. The central conclusion of my research is that even though such a shift from impulsive towards strategic giving can be seen as an effective way of solving India’s major social issues, it does also marks a further depersonalization of philanthropy. The major social and scientific contribution derived from this research is that this depersonalization might result in a widened gap between philanthropist and recipient. This is
problematic as this distance actually contributes to social inequality rather than eradicates it. I believe that strategic philanthropy and impact investing should include the needed dialogue and interaction between philanthropist and beneficiary in order to really make a difference in Indian society.

The word count of this thesis is: 24941 words
(This excludes the following sections: acknowledgments, figures, abbreviations, glossary, the executive summary, references and appendix one, four and five).
References


Appendix 1. Economic Growth Rates Bangalore

The table underneath has been derived from Narayana’s (2011) of Globalization and Urban Economic Growth: Evidence for Bangalore, India.

### Table 1 Economic growth of Bangalore, 1980/81 to 2004/05

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Growth Indicators</th>
<th>Bangalore Urban District</th>
<th>Karnataka State</th>
<th>All India</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1980/81</td>
<td>1993/94</td>
<td>2004/05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Gross income (Rs in billions)*</td>
<td>36.58</td>
<td>71.72</td>
<td>146.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Bangalore district’s share in state and national income (%)</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Per capita income (Rs)</td>
<td>7,472</td>
<td>14,127</td>
<td>22,970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Sectors’ share in gross income:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Secondary*</td>
<td>42.44</td>
<td>48.92</td>
<td>39.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Tertiary*</td>
<td>47.53</td>
<td>47.96</td>
<td>56.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Growth rates</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1. Gross income</td>
<td>5.32</td>
<td>10.79</td>
<td>9.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2. Per capita income</td>
<td>5.02</td>
<td>7.19</td>
<td>8.07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Gross income is measured by: Gross District Income for Bangalore Urban District; Gross State Domestic Product (GSDP) for Karnataka State; and Gross Domestic Product (GDP) for all India. Both gross income and per capita income are at factor cost and at constant prices (1993/94) prices.

*Sectors’ shares do not add up to 100 due to exclusion of primary sector (includes agriculture, and mining and quarrying)

*Secondary sector includes manufacturing, electricity, gas and water supply, and construction

*Tertiary sector includes rest of the sectors or all services

Appendix 2. Interview Topic List

This list includes topics that can be discussed with my research informants and are closely linked to the operationalization of the theoretical concepts used in this research.

Background
- Family history
- Wealth creation
- Bangalore’s growth in last 20 years
- Work /career

Philanthropy
- Investment of resources
- Types of investment and in what causes
- What expectations regarding investment
- Motivations / what inspires you
- Persons you look up to
- Religion / politics
- Dan?
- Charity or development?
- Impulsive or well thought through giving
- Internet / corporate giving
- Corporate image
- Who is poor /needy?

Civic Engagement / Transnational Social Fields
- Networks membership (lions, rotary etc)
- Alumni clubs
- Sports clubs
- Participation in voluntary activities
- Outside causes
- What most important cause
- Activities and events of foundation
- Ideas on good citizenship
- Skype, LinkedIn, Facebook, Twitter
- Social movements / activism

Social remittances, Ideas on:
- Traditions family and elders,
- Principles of neighbourliness
- expectations of social mobility
- gender, race, and class identity
- values of organizations
- government, politicians, judges and other public figures.
• Behaviour within an organisation
• recruitment, training, welfare, goal setting and leadership roles

Modernity/ transnationalism

• Use of telecommunication devices (laptop, mobile etc) also for contacting abroad
• Shopping behaviour
• Groceries
• Cooking
• Eating out practices
• Clothing brands/ perfumes
• Malls vs. Bazaars
• Transportation methods
• Sports
• Luxury
• Vacations
• Magazines /other literature
• Education
• Other media
• Favourite tv shows
• Movie stars / music preference
• Ideal living situation
• Ideal school location for children
• Typical western ideas
• Mandirs
• Parks and zoos
• Science park

Inequalities

• Relation with recipients
• Decision making
• Items of status
• Caste
• Hierarchies
• Relations with family abroad
• Corporate relations
• Staff
• Father figures
Appendix 3. Edited Quotes

In this appendix I have presented the original quote and the edited version of the quote to indicate I have only edited the quotes on spelling and grammar.

The original quote:
“Philanthropy is a subject, in simply language it means, you have to give without being selfish. You don’t look at yourself only and but also try to look at others and see what are their needs. Have a thought in that direction. [...] Consciousness is the fundamental thing. See god has given you time, money, health, energy everything. Put that into a productive area. Do something constructive and productive and carry on with your life. Whatever you want to do you do, but please look at others and spend some time, some money some interest. So if you can manage your day and have some time there for others, to help them then life is good” (Mr, Ramana, 1 March 2013).

The edited quote:
“Philanthropy is a subject, in simply language it means that: you have to give without being selfish. You don’t only look at yourself but you also try to look at others and see what their needs are. Have a thought in that direction. [...] Consciousness is the fundamental thing. See, god has given you time, money, health, energy everything. Put that into a productive area. Do something constructive and productive and carry on with your life. Whatever you want to do you do, but please look at others and spend some time, some money or some interest. So if you can manage your day and have some time for others to help them then life is good” (Mr, Ramana, 1 March 2013).
# Appendix 4. Data Overview

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Interviews</th>
<th>(Participant) Observation</th>
<th>Other Data</th>
<th>Topics/Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Local Indian Philanthropists</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Swamy</td>
<td>Unnati</td>
<td>3 Recorded interviews</td>
<td>Office &amp; house visit</td>
<td>Photos Unnati Center Flyer, Facebook, newsletter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Hedge</td>
<td>Mahila Dakshata Samiti</td>
<td>2 Recorded interviews</td>
<td>Office &amp; house visit</td>
<td>Flyer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Shenoi</td>
<td>Mahila Dakshata Samiti</td>
<td>1 Recorded interview</td>
<td>Joined health camp &amp; house visit</td>
<td>Photos house &amp; health camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Bose</td>
<td>Parikrama Foundation</td>
<td>1 Recorded interview</td>
<td>Office / school visit</td>
<td>Photos Parikrama, Flyer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Ramana</td>
<td>Unnati</td>
<td>1 Recorded interview</td>
<td>House visit</td>
<td>Photos house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Baksar</td>
<td>VEDS</td>
<td>1 Recorded interview</td>
<td>Office - two VEDS centers</td>
<td>Photos VEDS centers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Kumar</td>
<td>Going to School</td>
<td>2 Recorded interviews</td>
<td>Group session with colleagues</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Zalavadia</td>
<td>Foundation for Excellence</td>
<td></td>
<td>FFE Two day Event, coordinator</td>
<td>Photos FFE event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Return Migrant Philanthropists</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Kidao</td>
<td>Foundation for Excellence</td>
<td>4 Recorded interviews</td>
<td>Office, 2 house visits</td>
<td>Photos house, gated community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Platform</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Prassana</td>
<td>Sikshana Foundation</td>
<td>2 recorded</td>
<td>Office</td>
<td>Facebook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Vikash</td>
<td>Foundation for Excellence</td>
<td>1 recorded</td>
<td>Car drives, Office</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Representatives of the Philanthropy Sector</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suchitra</td>
<td>Dasra</td>
<td>1 recorded</td>
<td>Office</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radhika</td>
<td>Dasra</td>
<td>1 recorded</td>
<td>Office</td>
<td>Facebook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allen</td>
<td>Give India</td>
<td>1 recorded</td>
<td>Office</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mansi</td>
<td>Give India</td>
<td>1 recorded</td>
<td>Office</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tejashvini</td>
<td>Foundation for Excellence</td>
<td></td>
<td>Several: Office, Ahmedabad event</td>
<td>Facebook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nirmala Nayak</td>
<td>Community Services of Bangalore</td>
<td>1 interview</td>
<td>Several: CBS, One billion rising, Coffee Day</td>
<td>Facebook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moxada</td>
<td>Parikrama Foundation</td>
<td>1 recorded</td>
<td>Office</td>
<td>Facebook, Photos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abhishek</td>
<td>Going to School</td>
<td>1 recorded</td>
<td>Office</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asha</td>
<td>VEDS</td>
<td>1 interview</td>
<td>Orphanage</td>
<td>Photos VEDS center, Facebook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anuradha</td>
<td>VEDS</td>
<td>1 interview</td>
<td>Women’s Shelter</td>
<td>Photos VEDS center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Informal Informants</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auntie &amp; Uncle</td>
<td></td>
<td>Several</td>
<td>Indian family</td>
<td>Photos home, neighborhood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>Photos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Rao</td>
<td>Community Service of Bangalore</td>
<td>2 Recorded</td>
<td>3 lunches, CBS, One billion rising</td>
<td>Photos house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashwini &amp; Djoti</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Several</td>
<td>Several</td>
<td>Photos our room, Facebook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nalini</td>
<td>Parikrama Foundation</td>
<td>1 Recorded</td>
<td>Coffee Day</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suwarna</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2 Recorded</td>
<td>Travelling, 2 house visits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijaya</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 interview</td>
<td>Our house</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmin Neighbors</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 recorded interview</td>
<td>Home visit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ina Kewari &amp; husband</td>
<td>Community Services of Bangalore</td>
<td>1 Recorded</td>
<td>House visit &amp; CBS</td>
<td>Photos house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EVENTS</strong></td>
<td><strong>CBS</strong></td>
<td><strong>Recordings</strong></td>
<td><strong>Hotel lobby area</strong></td>
<td><strong>Photos</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Impact Investment Forum</strong></td>
<td><strong>Recordings</strong></td>
<td><strong>Lobby hall &amp; the congress room</strong></td>
<td><strong>Photos</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Wedding</strong></td>
<td><strong>The last day of wedding</strong></td>
<td><strong>Photos</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Funeral</strong></td>
<td><strong>The 14th day of remembrance</strong></td>
<td><strong>Photos</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>One Billion Rising</strong></td>
<td><strong>Recordings</strong></td>
<td><strong>Day event</strong></td>
<td><strong>Photos</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Kitsch Mandi</strong></td>
<td><strong>Day event</strong></td>
<td><strong>Photos</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 5. Overview Philanthropic Giving in India

In the table underneath derived from Blake et al. (2009:7) indicates what is known about giving in India flowing from different segments in a numerical way.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Segment</th>
<th>Scale of giving</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Domestic funding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic corporate and individual donations</td>
<td>In 2004, the domestic Indian fundraising market was measured at US$500m (£300m), excluding religious and untracked donations. 80% of donations were from individuals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic individual donations</td>
<td>A 2006 phone survey of 1,012 people in urban India found that 41.2% of respondents gave in the previous year, with an average contribution of US$11 (£6.70) (excluding religious and family donations).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic corporate donations</td>
<td>In 2000, it was found that domestic corporations gave Rs.2bn (£25m).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign funding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign remittances, from non-resident Indians (NRIs) direct to individuals in India</td>
<td>Unknown. There are over 400,000 Indian-born remittance senders in the UK. A survey of 150 Indians in Washington State in the US found that the average Indian living in the US gives US$900 (£182) a year to social causes in India. If this were true of even half of the 1.7 million Indians in the US, social causes would be getting £157m from Indian migrants in the US alone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registered foreign funding</td>
<td>In 2006/2007, overseas trusts and individuals gave Rs.123bn (£1.6bn).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total foreign funding to voluntary sector</td>
<td>Combined foreign funding flows is unknown, but in 1997/1998 it was estimated at Rs.25.7bn (£326m).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross-cutting segments</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High net worth (HNW) giving</td>
<td>Unknown. Conditions, until recently, were good. India led the world in HNW population growth at 22.7% in 2008. Sunil Mittal, Anil Agarwal, Shiv Nadar and Rishini Nidhikari are Forbes’ 2009 ‘heroes of philanthropy’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total funding to Indian NGOs</td>
<td>Unknown. In 1999/2000, it was estimated at Rs.179bn (£2.3bn).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: these categories are overlapping and therefore not cumulative.