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Philanthropy in the development field:
a typology in the sub-Saharan African context

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Abstract

Notice taken towards the position of philanthropy in sub-Saharan Africa has increased in the last decade. Increasing amounts of private wealth, charity and philanthropy initiatives are changing the landscape earlier characterised by traditional forms of philanthropy that have been practised between people and communities. This study explored the central conversation around philanthropy in sub-Saharan African context, in order to synthesise the literature and create a classification that explores the relationship within philanthropic action. A critical literature review was conducted, and thematic analysis was used to explore the literature. Resulting from the final themes, a typology consisting of 3 global and 3 local types of philanthropic action was created to conceptualise philanthropic action in sub-Saharan Africa.

Key words: Philanthropy, sub-Saharan Africa, typology, donors and recipients

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1 Introduction

1.1 Background

Philanthropy

Private giving and donations are globally on the rise, and private resources are increasingly recognized as an important part of aid and development finance (The Index of Global Philanthropy and Remittances, 2010). Literature on philanthropy is broad and provides many perspectives on the effectiveness, ethics, motivations and classification of philanthropy, among other things. In different contexts, how philanthropy is understood is also slightly different. Western philanthropy is often talked about in more trans-national terms, as a movement of money from the West to the Global South. In contrast, for example in literature that concern China (see Deng, 2015; Barchi, Huang and Deng 2016), the focus is increasingly on charity within the boundaries of the country, and how political change and economic growth has made it possible for civil society to exist and grow.

In the media and in academia, the most visible discussions on philanthropy concern large foundations like Bill and Melinda Gates foundation (Bishop and Green, 2015). The role and influence of rich private sector actors in addressing environmental and social challenges is growing, and solutions are often market-based (ibid.). This is sometimes termed ‘philanthrocapitalism’ and is often seen in a controversial light (Bishop and Green, 2015). A growing private sector role necessarily affects the responsibility of government over society’s problems. In the past, government taxes were expected to bear the lion share of expenses while charity played a small role (Bishop and Green, 2015). In the 21st Century, the role of private wealth and social entrepreneurship in solving big problems has grown; leaving both critique and hope towards many of its issues (ibid.). Private sector approaches to philanthropy, such as Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) initiatives are often seen as no more than a public relations stunts with dishonest intentions; the roots of impact investing (investments made to generate both financial and social/environmental gain) are often seen as arising from an unequal economic system; and the very existence of super-rich individuals is sometimes viewed as a mark of unjust economic inequality. However, other arguments state that philanthropy is misunderstood, and that market-based or private sector methods simply work better (Bishop and Green, 2015). Examples such as the Gates foundations contribution towards tackling of malaria, where cases of the disease have fallen dramatically (Breman, 2009), certainly lend this argument some support.

African philanthropy

With economic growth, the arena of philanthropy has been widening in Africa (Mahomed and Coleman, 2016:5). Africa is world's second fastest growing economy, but the over-all growth (between 2000 and 2017, growth of 4,7% per year) has not resulted in higher well-being or stability (AUC/OECD, 2018:17). Extreme poverty has fallen from 1990, but inequality remains a large problem (ibid.). Regionally, east African economies have grown more than economies in other regions; southern African countries suffer most from economic inequality; and Central African countries struggle with negative employment creation in the formal sector (ibid.). Wealth inequality exists in the sub-Saharan Africa, and so do African high-net-worth individuals: the potential philanthropists. Aliko Dangote, a Nigerian billionaire and the wealthiest African, is an example of the wealthy elite pledging their money to African causes (Baker, 2018). At least 4 Africans have joined the philanthropic organisation the Giving Pledge (Giving Pledge, 2019a), the purpose of which is to “*publicly dedicate the majority of their wealth to philanthropy*” (Giving Pledge, 2019b). Others have created private foundations, such as the Higherlife foundation created by the Zimbabwean billionaire Strive Masiyiwa and his wife Tsitsi (Higherlife Foundation, 2019).

The word and concept of ‘philanthropy’ originates from Europe and the US and is used in different ways in the context of sub-Saharan Africa. In the new context of growing African economy, urbanisation and population growth, aid policies have had to adjust and African independence from the west has started to emerge (Helly 2013). This is the starting point that has led to changes in the role of philanthropy and to the emergence of ‘new African philanthropy’, as well as its increasing share in aid and in development finance (ibid.). The Index of Global Philanthropy and Remittances (2017) provide a break-down of global and trans-national flows of philanthropy are higher than ever at 64 billion US dollars. According to the Index, philanthropy actors donated also from sub-Saharan African countries towards other developing countries: estimates are that at least Kenya (\$38,900), South Africa (\$23 million), Tanzania (\$270,000) and Uganda (\$38,400) all had private philanthropy moving to other developing nations between 2013 and 2014 (The Index of Global Philanthropy and Remittances, 2017).

Helly (2013) proposes that three trends will be prominent in the new African philanthropy, redefining it: increasing visibility, increasing financial backing and innovative risk-taking approach (Helly, 2013). At the same time, philanthropy is not altogether new to Africa. Traditions of help, support and community assistance have long existed in forms of voluntary institutions, but many forms of local philanthropy have been overlooked in development dialogue (Wilkinson-Maposa et

al., 2006). Philanthropy has fostered social cohesion in Africa, where people have gone through oppression and marginalisation (Moyo, 2016:18).

1.2 Purpose and aims

Philanthropy looks different in different parts of the world. In the African context, philanthropic actors – European and otherwise – have an ever-changing place in the civil society as well as in the network of foreign aid that the continent receives. Current literature and understanding of philanthropy is advanced by a multitude of different policy, business and academic actors. Academic efforts to classify aspects of philanthropy exist but are mainly focused on building a theory of foundation (see e.g. Jung, Harlow and Leat, 2018; and Marshall Institute and Rockefeller philanthropy advisors, 2017) and the model of institutional philanthropy that originates from the West. Literature on other aspects of philanthropy (such as the relationship of power between actors; civil society structures; help between the poor; and specific community help structures), and philanthropy in the sub-Saharan Africa exists; however, classifications of the area are limited. The subject is under theorised (see ch. 4 previous studies) especially in the context of sub-Saharan Africa. Therefore, the purpose of this thesis is two-fold: firstly, to create a synthesis of existing literature and concepts for purposes of further conceptualisation of philanthropy in sub-Saharan Africa, and secondly to bring order into the existing discussion by distinguishing different types from the sources, both academic as well as grey literature.

Given this, the central themes to explore are the differences between Western and African philanthropic action; power imbalances inherent to the field and imbedded in the relationships between actors; the differences between grass-roots actors and different types of large philanthropic organisations and foundations. Furthermore, the objective is to explore change in the meaning of philanthropy and advance the understanding of existing philanthropy categories.

1.3 Research Questions

Given the purpose and aims of the research that were described in the previous chapter, two research questions and one sub-question will orient my research:

1 What types of philanthropy operate in Sub-Saharan Africa?

2 What kind of relationships are there between the donors and recipients of philanthropy?

a. Who has the power in the relationship?

2 Conceptual framework

Within this section of the thesis, I will expand on the details on the terminology and conceptualisation central to discussing philanthropy and the analysis of power in philanthropy.

Firstly, I will address the conceptual starting point of the term ‘philanthropy’ that will then be built on in the thesis. Secondly, I will address the concepts of legitimacy and power in philanthropy; and thirdly, include a brief discussion on the theoretical aspects of typologies.

2.1 Broad understanding of philanthropy

Philanthropy as a concept can be approached from many angles, and some of those will be further discussed in this part of the thesis. As a word, philanthropy has a broad meaning: “*Goodwill to fellow members of the human race, especially active effort to promote human welfare*” or “*An act or gift done or made for humanitarian purposes; an organisation distributing or supported by funds set aside for humanitarian purposes*” (Merriam Webster dictionary, 2019) and as discussed before in the background section, as a concept its roots are in the Western world.

Literature on philanthropy often, but not always, makes a distinction between institutional and personal philanthropy (Jung, Harrow and Leat, 2018). Corporate philanthropy and foundations are a form of institutional philanthropy and a subject of studies that seek to discover foundations characteristics (see Jung, Harrow and Leat, 2018), discover strategic paths for influence and effectiveness (see Ostrower, 2006) and examine the moral issues that arise from the presence of institutional philanthropy influence and presence (see Van Cranenburgh and Arenas, 2012).

Personal philanthropy can overlap with the formal structures of institutionalised philanthropy but is overall less discussed and studied in the literature. Many NGOs and civil society actors are funded by personal acts of philanthropy, even if the grant making function is fulfilled by a formal organisation. This thesis will approach the concept of philanthropy by including both institutional and personal philanthropy.

2.2 Legitimacy and power in philanthropy

In the changing landscape of development finance, philanthropy is a way to influence development – an increasingly important way, as I have outlined in the background section of this thesis. Apart from power to influence development, another important aspect of power in philanthropic action exists in the relationship between the donor and the recipient. Concepts of power and legitimacy are central to the discussion and discussed at length in the analysis chapter (ch. 5). In the following section, I will discuss the setting between the state and philanthropic actors.

Philanthropy of all kind can be seen to encroach on the arena of state legitimacy and power, as philanthropic actors can provide many of the public goods that are usually the responsibility of the state (Valente and Crane, 2017). Sub-Saharan African states are different from the global norm, and do not match the classical criteria that Weber and Young have presented for nation states. (Englebert, 2000:74). States were shaped by their history, where institutions and political structures were imposed on the society and enforced by African westernised elites. Englebert (2000) describes African states in the following way:

“their claim to force is rarely effective and much less monopolistic; their governments frequent predatory nature fails the test of legitimate use of force; their territoriality is generally at best hesitant and contested; and their existence as an idea is usually limited to an urbanized and schooled minority. In a nutshell, most African states fall short of the requirements for statehood.” (Englebert, 2000:74)

State-focused political frameworks have limited capacity to interpret some aspects of power in Africa (Chabal, 2016:83). Apart from state power, the power (or lack of power) of civil society should be addressed. While the state has formal political power, civil society also possesses power, but informally (Chabal, 2016:84).

2.3 Theoretical aspects of typologies

McKinney (1969) addresses overlap between sociological theory and typologies as a methodology. He explains that one of the problems of typologies is their relation to sociological theory (McKinney, 1969). Depending on their function and how they were constructed, types can vary: they can be used for classification or as heuristic devices but can also function as theory (ibid.). According to McKinney, *“This capability is built into them, since as composites they are given a structure with functional consequences, and hence types are systems.”* (McKinney, 1969:8). McKinney (1969) also suggests that types are often constructed for pragmatic purposes, and because of this they are sometimes falsely assumed to be ‘antitheoretical’. As McKinney (1969) sees types as structures that are theoretically representing of the phenomena in question, he claims that in the research process the hypothetically formulated type construction changes over time to a theoretical system where the relation to the phenomena is defined (McKinney, 1969). Essentially, the process of creating a typology means that sources and knowledge is organised in a new way: this process, according to McKinney (1969) is a theoretical tool and creates new theoretical insights (McKinney, 1969).

3 Methods and data

This thesis is carried out using secondary data as an empirical foundation to create a typology of philanthropic actors in sub-Saharan Africa. This chapter will consist of a theoretical overview of the methodology that will be used, constructing an abstract outline. In further chapters the outline will be used for the practical purposes of the research.

3.1 Literature and data

The material used is from academic books and articles as well as from reports and websites/online resources published by different philanthropic organisations that operate in the region of sub-Saharan Africa. Using secondary material as the basis of analysis makes it possible to dedicate more time to in-depth analysis and could lead to new insights and further theoretical understanding of the subject. At the same time, this approach has potential obstacles: secondary data is generated by authors and organisations who might not have intended it to be used in this way (Bryman, 2008:296-300). Limitations are examined further in a dedicated section.

This research is my view on this secondary material. Furthermore, it is important to ensure the quality of material by assessing and applying source criticism.

The analysis starts with a literature review that aimed to find material that is significant to the topic (Bryman, 2012:14). Among different types of literature reviews, this paper will use critical literature review (Grant and Booth, 2009). The aim is to compose a synthesis of insight from a variety of different sources, mapping out different opposing schools of thought in the current discussion to come up with a model or a hypothesis (ibid.). While critical reviews are less structured than other review approaches, they aim to identify literature in terms of its conceptual contribution to the topic (Grant and Booth, 2009) which is fitting for the research methodology of typology. The resulting model is not an endpoint of the analysis, but rather a point where further analysis can begin (ibid.). Thematic analysis will then be carried out to identify codes and themes in the literature. This will be the basis for a thematic map (Maguire and Delahunt, 2017).

Box 1 Sampling	
Online academic databases; Search terms: philanthropy; developing countries; sub-Saharan Africa; corporate social responsibility (and associated terms)	18 relevant articles from initial 177 search hits
2 Additional searches for academic sources	3 relevant articles
3 Grey literature through organisations such as African Philanthropy Network; Hudson Institute (Index of Global Philanthropy and Remittances); Africa Philanthropy Network	7 relevant sources

Sample and data collection

Identifying relevant material to the topic was achieved in 3 ways (as seen in Box 1). Firstly, I focused on academic sources available through online databases. The search focused on search terms central to the subject and the context: 1) “philanthropy” (also “giving” or “charity” or “fundraising”); 2) “developing countries” (also “developing nations” or “third world” or “low income countries”); 3) “sub-Saharan Africa” (also “sub Saharan Africa”); and 4) “corporate social responsibility” (or “CSR”). This search yielded thousands of results, so to narrow down the results of the search to a manageable level, search terms 2-4 were set to look for these words in the Subject Terms of the article. Only English language articles accessible with Lund university authority were included in this first search. From the initial pool of 177 search hits, review of titles, abstracts and subject terms I reviewed to narrow down the pool of material to 35 relevant records. Further analysis of the articles narrowed the pool to 18 sources that were most relevant to this study. The critical review approach allows for additional material to be gathered (Grant and Booth, 2009); hence, secondly, I pulled in additional material from further searches: this amounted to additional 3 academic articles. Thirdly, I searched for grey literature, or non-peer reviewed sources, such as reports and conference papers (Bryman 2012:103). These materials were located mainly through organisations such as African Philanthropy Network; Hudson Institute (Index of Global Philanthropy and Remittances); African Philanthropy Forum; Giving Pledge; GiveWell; and Alliance Magazine on African Philanthropy and amounted to 7 sources.

In total, the sample includes 28 articles, reports and online publications that will be a part of the critical review and thematic analysis of the contents.

Analysis of the sample – themes

The sample of sources is analysed using thematic analysis, by identifying patterns and themes in qualitative data (Maguire and Delahunt, 2017). Thematic analysis is a popular but often vaguely defined approach to qualitative content analysis (Bryman 2012:578). It can be utilised in different ways, such as by using the matrix-based Framework method (developed at the UK National Centre for Social Research) (Bryman 2012:579) or by using a step-by-step process such as the one Maguire and Delahunt (2017) present (see Box 2).

By open coding of the literature included in the critical literature review, themes were generated. These themes do not necessarily summarise the data but rather interpret it. Using Braun and Clarke's (2006) guide (see Box 2) I familiarised myself with the data gathered for a critical literature review. After this, I generated initial codes from the contents of the literature, gathering them under initial themes (see appendix B).

3.2 Typology as a methodology

Typologies are organised systems of types and are used in social sciences to perform analytical tasks. They can be used to create and clarify concepts; create measurements and categories; draw on hidden dimensions of data; and to re-order cases (Collier, LaPorte and Seawright, 2012). They are an established tool in social sciences and used in both classical and contemporary research, but also sometimes criticized as an out of date methodology or for the use of categorical variables (ibid.). This criticism will be further addressed in the limitations-section of the paper

BOX 2

Step 1: Become familiar with the data,
Step 2: Generate initial codes,
Step 3: Search for themes,
Step 4: Review themes,
Step 5: Define themes,
Step 6: Write-up.

The above analysis of text-based sources will result in a set of themes that will be written up and expressed as a typology. This is a further dimension of analysis that will provide further conceptualisation and categorisation to the topic.

Analytical goal

Typologies have several different analytical goals and operations. Three main goals of typologies can be defined: descriptive or sometimes also called conceptual; classificatory; and explanatory (Elman, 2005). *Descriptive/conceptual typology* defines types by mapping out its dimensions. These typologies contribute to concept formation in research. (Collier, LaPorte and Seawright, 2012). *Classificatory typologies* aim to assign cases to types (Elman, 2005). In the case of *explanatory typologies*, classifications are based on theory. These typologies can take classificatory and descriptive roles, but only while having a theoretical focus (ibid.)

The goal of this paper is to construct *a conceptual typology of sub-Saharan African philanthropy*. In this process, the paper will explore the dimension of philanthropy and create new concepts. However, while Elman (2005) distinguishes and separates three goals of typologies (conceptual; classificatory; and explanatory), it is worth mentioning that the goals can also overlap (Elman, 2005). Conceptual typologies can include explanatory dimensions without becoming explanatory typologies: they can be a part of different variables in explanations and arrange differences in the

outcomes that are being explained (Collier, LaPorte and Seawright, 2012). Unlike in an explanatory typology, the explanations are not included in the same matrix as the outcomes (ibid.). The conceptual typology that will be constructed in this study will therefore include a classificatory and explanatory dimension in its analytical goal (Elman 2005).

Templates for rigorous construction of typologies

Collier, LaPorte and Seawright (2012) propose a template to improve conceptualisation and measurement and to ensure rigour in typology construction (Collier, LaPorte and Seawright, 2012). According to the template, the concept measured by the typology is identified as the *overarching concept*, and clearly identified in the presentation of the analysis. This concept is separated into several dimensions that constitute the rows and columns in the typology when it is presented in a table form (hence called *row and column variables* by the authors). These dimensions cover the prominent elements of variation in the concept. It is important that the dimensions are coherent and plausible in relation to the overarching concept (ibid.). Collier, LaPorte and Seawright (2012) also encourage the creation of a *matrix*, a cross-tabulation of the categories that are part of the typology. This ensures the organisation of the components and stricter coherence of typology, as well as encourages reflection on the relations that run through the typology components (ibid.). An important use of typologies is to clarify *kind hierarchies* and to assure that the hierarchical structure of the concepts is clear (Collier, LaPorte and Seawright, 2012). A kind hierarchy is “*an ordered relationship among concepts, in which subordinate concepts may be understood as ‘a kind of’ in relation to superordinate concepts*” (Collier, LaPorte and Seawright, 2012:appendix 1). Essentially, concepts and associated terms in a typology are related to the overarching concept through a kind hierarchy (ibid.).

In this paper, the typology will be constructed from dichotomously coded (present/not present) attributes of concepts that define aspects of philanthropy in sub-Saharan Africa. Different combinations of the attributes constitute a ‘compound concept’ that define different philanthropy types. These attributes are normally laid out to rows and columns to provide a property space (Elman, 2005). Dichotomous coding will be used to ensure the usefulness of the typology. Too many variables and categories could create a typology that is too big to be useful. Further, other necessary typological reduction methods (Elman, 2005) will be employed if the property-space is not manageable.

3.3 Limitations

The delimitations of this methodology are described by 3 categories. Firstly, the research design is based on synthesising existing academic and grey literature: the sampling of material gives us a picture of the existing research on the subject, as well as existing conversations within policy and organisation field. The available material simply reflects what academic inquiry has discovered so far and what issues have been researched. Important facets of philanthropy and donor-receiver relationships could still be going undiscovered. Grey literature was used in this thesis to supplement gaps of knowledge in the academic discourse. It should be acknowledged that those sources are used with the understanding that they examine viewpoints that actors want to make public: there is a potential for bias in non-peer reviewed sources such as reports, websites and other publications. In the literature review, this risk has been addressed by when possible, attempting to support claims made by grey sources with research articles; or otherwise using the sources only in the capacity of claims made by the publishing organisation.

Secondly, the limitations of typologies will be addressed. Typologies are sometimes considered old-fashioned or unsophisticated methodologies (Collier, La Porte and Seawright, 2012). However, when rigour is applied in the formation of the categorisation, a typology can be a powerful tool to create insight into dimensions of data (ibid.). Templates for typology construction are outlined above in the typology as a methodology section (3.2) and used in the construction of the analysis to achieve best results.

Finally, limitations exist in relation to the explanatory capacity of the study and the research questions that guide this thesis. While these are related to the potential bias of the sample and typology as a method, they are also related to the position of the study within the scope of existing literature. Research question number one “*What types of philanthropy operate in Sub-Saharan Africa?*” has already been addressed in previous research (see 4.1: Previous classifications of philanthropy). However, the subject remains under-theorised, and new literature on the subject has warrants inclusion to create a broader, more conceptualised typology.

4 Previous studies

The roots of philanthropy, its increasingly globalised nature and current trends in donation flows have been examined in the background section of this paper. However, there remains a discussion within academic literature on classifications of philanthropy. In this section, I will address notable previous efforts made to create typologies of philanthropy and its aspects.

4.1 Previous classifications of philanthropy

Foundation classifications

Jung, Harlow and Leat (2018) locate themselves in a conversation that spans the academic, policy and practice context of philanthropic foundations. Foundations as an organisational form is examined widely, and the authors see a need to build a stronger conceptualisation by utilising a typology: they move the conversation

Box 3	
1. Context	a. legal
	b. socio-political
	c. links and origins
2. Strategy	a. style
	b. approach
	c. span
	d. beneficiaries
3. Organisational characteristics	a. lifespan
	b. governance structure
	c. age
	d. resources
	e. size

towards an international integrative framework of foundation types. As they discuss philanthropic foundations, the text focuses on institutional aspects of philanthropy, rather than individual and personal aspects (Jung, Harlow and Leat, 2018)

Jung, Harlow and Leat (2018) discuss the definition of foundations in their legal, historical and geographical context, as well as presenting the various definitions that policy and academic discussions use. Some definitions exclude groups of foundations, and as such Jung, Harlow and Leat (2018) use the following definition: *“a broad casting of foundations as grant making or operating charities: the former concentrate on the distribution of funds, the latter on running their own programmes to achieve their goals. (Jung, Harlow and Leat 2018:9)”* From this definition, the authors start the discovery of themes that appear throughout research on foundations and serve to differentiate categories in the material (Jung, Harlow and Leat, 2018).

The authors move through the analysis in three steps: firstly, they create a diagram that synthesises prominent themes that they found to be used to differentiate between foundations in the literature- Three broad-level clusters are identified: context, organisational characteristics and strategy. These clusters are again divided thematically. Table 3 gives a simplified overview of Jung, Harlow and Leat’s (2018) full diagram on the themes. Within the cluster of context, themes of legal, socio-political and links and origins were distinguished; within strategy the themes were style, approach, span and beneficiaries. Finally, within the cluster of organisational characteristics the themes were

lifespan, governance structure, age, resources, and size (ibid.). This ‘mapping out’ of concepts and categories from their sources leads the authors to examine the categories within the table.

The second step of their analysis is to move from themes to categories. Jung, Harlow and Leat (2018) conclude that the criteria of rigor for typologies is only partially met by this synthesis of previous literature (Jung, Harlow and Leat, 2018). This synthesis is a base for the construction of integrative framework of potential foundation types.

Finally, the authors present their potential foundation type categories (see appendix A). The categories are formed to further clarify differences and common attributes in foundation forms, and includes 13 categories, three that are contextual, five organisational, and five strategic. The authors abandon legal and socio-political distinctions from the framework based on their changeable quality; they judge them to not offer enough conceptual utility and include them in the frameworks other categories (Jung, Harlow and Leat 2018). Within contextual categories, distinctions are made based on geographic location; organisational root; and link to organisational root. Within Organisational categories the themes are: nature of resources; size of resources; anticipated lifespan; life stage; and organisational size. Lastly, five strategic distinctions are approach; geography; theme; beneficiaries; and criteria.

Previous classifications of philanthropy in sub-Saharan Africa

Previous classifications about philanthropy understood widely (not just in terms of foundations or organisations) are not abundant, and a single classificatory typology is created about philanthropy in African context. In a 2013 RSCAS policy paper by the European University institute, Helly (2013) focuses on the impact of philanthropy on European development policy in Africa. As a tool to discover how philanthropy in Africa affects EU development policies, he creates a typology of three archetypical forms of philanthropy in Africa (Helly, 2013). He highlights the importance of philanthropy and its growing role as a source of diverse development finance, however the typology Helly (2013) creates is not highly conceptualised. Based on some key variables, three relevant categories are created: firstly, foreign philanthropies that operate in Africa; secondly African philanthropy that is modelled to Western example; and thirdly African societal giving (Helly, 2013). These three types capture elements of the concept of philanthropy that are central to the understanding of changing relationship between aid and philanthropy.

The first category of his typology, foreign philanthropies that operate in Africa applies to large, global givers and foundations that operate according to their own agenda. The Second category, African philanthropy modelled to western example, applies to examples where powerful Africans or

members of the African diaspora have created or joined into initiatives that are modelled after Western foundations. The third category, African societal giving, is defined as “numerous African redistribution practices that could be qualified as African philanthropy” (Helly 2013:5). Helly (2013) remarks that there is no clear definitive separation of these categories, however. They can overlap in the philanthropic actions (Helly, 2013).

5 Analysis

This section of the thesis describes the critical literature review of sources that are most relevant to the conceptualisation of philanthropy in sub-Saharan Africa, the ongoing debate, as well as the power structures embedded in philanthropic action. Firstly, the section will start with the thematic analysis of the relevant literature; secondly, it will present the final themes in a thematic map. Finally, these themes will be used as a basis for the construction of the final typology.

5.1 Thematic analysis of the central conversation

Thematic analysis of the conversation around philanthropy in sub-Saharan Africa is the basis of the analytical section of this thesis. The themes identified in the section are used to construct a classification of types in further sections of the analysis. The methodology, sampling and data are further explained and discussed in chapter 3.

Responsibility, legitimacy and effectiveness

Whose responsibility is it to enact development? This question highlights one central argument in the literature around sub-Saharan African philanthropy. Several authors discuss the institutional voids and failures of public actors that exist in sub-Saharan African countries post-independence. Valente and Crane (2010) argue that in developing countries, governments often lack resources to create effective solutions to social problems or to address basic needs of their citizens; governments in developing countries are crippled by corruption, by un-equal access to markets, and arguably by crippling economic policies imposed on them by international actors such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the World Trade Organisation (WTO) (Valente and Crane, 2010). As a result, private enterprise can take advantage of the lack of institutions, an ‘institutional void’, using corporate philanthropy and Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) initiatives to grow their own influence in developing regions (ibid.) While there are many examples of private sector actors such as multinational and local businesses and foundations successfully creating public solutions (e.g. Heineken foundation in HIV/AIDS treatment in South Africa; see Van Cranenburgh and Arenas, 2013), in other cases private solutions have not succeeded much better than private actors have (Valente and Crane, 2010). Businesses often operate with little

regard to regulation and with reckless approach to practices and societal and environmental consequences (ibid.). Valente and Crane (2010) argue that corporate philanthropy and CSR practices are in a situation where “*company executives in developing countries have increasingly seen their firms called upon to play a role more akin to government than a business*” (Valente and Crane 2010:54). In other words, an expectation exists for corporations to fill in and contribute to public responsibilities where local governments are unable to do so.

Ahen and Amankwah-Amoah (2018) seek to problematize the assumption that corporations, foundations and their CSR practices are an answer to these institutional and regulatory voids in an African context. They call into question the existence the concept of institutional void, arguing that there is only a different understanding of institution in the African context, and the West mistakenly regards this difference as a ‘void’ (Ahen and Amankwah-Amoah 2018). The authors argue that if the African context is looked at with understanding towards its complexity, a favourable solution is to engage with countries and attempt to solve their specific demands and issues; rather than to focus on finding and establishing philanthropic responsibility to fix perceived institutional gaps and enable socioeconomic development (ibid.). CSR practises differ greatly between the West and in Africa, and ad hoc philanthropy and hand-outs are characteristically a major part of CSR in Africa, unlike in the West. In communities that are marginalised, CSR and corporate philanthropy initiatives may be viewed as colonisation that hides behind the shroud of benevolent charity (Ahen and Amankwah-Amoah 2018).

African agency: horizontal and vertical approaches to philanthropy

The upwards trend of philanthropy and private wealth in sub-Saharan Africa is well-established (as described previously in the background section of this thesis). There is no shortage of authors who defend the place of philanthropy institutions within development finance and as agents of social change (e.g. Van Cranenburgh and Arenas, 2013), but questioning views also exist.

Institutional philanthropy, such as studies into foundations structures and effectiveness and the giving trends of the world’s wealthy receive a lot of attention in the discussion that surrounds philanthropy, philanthropy exists also between poor people (Wilkinson-Maposa et al. 2006; Moyo 2016; Everatt and Solanki, 2005). Wilkinson-Maposa et al. (2006) conducted a three-year study in four countries in southern Africa: Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe to understand the patterns of ‘horizontal’ help and assistance the poor engage in, terming it the philanthropy of community (Wilkinson-Maposa et al. 2006). They aimed to create more recognition for this often-overlooked dimension of philanthropy (ibid.). They describe the principal features as

exchange of material goods such as food, clothing and money; and non-material support in forms of physical and emotional help and exchange of knowledge. Everatt and Solanki's (2005) findings in South Africa resonate with the notion that the wealthy are not the only ones to engage in philanthropy, but rather that giving is part of the daily lives of South Africans (Everatt and Solanki, 2005). Morvaridi (2016) however notes that we should not romanticise traditional institutions (Morvaridi, 2016). For example, in traditional social and religious systems that underpin philanthropy of community, women are not empowered to the same degree as men, and are often marginalised (Morvaridi, 2016). Studies of social cohesion and participation in volunteering activities support the idea of community help and peer-to-peer support as a vital part of the everyday life of people (see e.g. - Etang, Fielding and Knowles, 2013; Jennings, 2013) and local, informal, and community-based civic service remains an important source of help and development in sub-Saharan Africa (Patel and Wilson, 2004). Diasporas and religiously based communities also take part in philanthropy, sometimes targeted to the country of origin (CoO), but giving norms are also informed by religion and heritage (Brinkerhoff, 2013). Brinkerhoff (2013) suggests that diaspora characteristics (such as how developed organisational sector the diaspora has; Kenyan diaspora for example has seen developments on this) also play a part in the giving motivation and targets of philanthropy (ibid.).

In *Philanthropy in Africa* Moyo (2010) describes philanthropy he terms as “African philanthropy or philanthropy with African features” (Moyo, 2010 :1187). It takes a multitude of forms: foundations, corporate philanthropy, individual giving etc. but is not solely the privilege or responsibility of the wealthy (ibid.). The poor also engage in philanthropy for altruistic and religious reasons, and to support their communities (Moyo 2010 :1191). These indigenous forms of philanthropy (e.g. cooperatives, savings clubs and other communal charity efforts) are often informal in nature (Moyo, 2010 :1187). Formal philanthropy in turn is institutionalised and vertical: affluent people helping the poor via private and public foundations, corporate initiatives etc. Moyo (2010) observes that formal philanthropy has a dimension of disempowerment, as the poor population is therefore placed “*under the mercy of the rich philanthropists*” (Moyo 2010 :1187). At the same time, a trend of emerging African foundations can possibly address the cycle of dependency that dominates the relationship between international philanthropic foundations and the African non-profit sector (Moyo 2010 :1192).

Several organisations and actors in the sub-Saharan African philanthropy sector are working to support the emergence of local brand of African philanthropy (e.g. TrustAfrica; African Philanthropy Forum). One of these is the African Philanthropy Forum (APF), an affiliate of Global

Philanthropy Forum, established in 2014 (African Philanthropy Forum, 2019). The organisation states its goal as follows: “*To transform the culture of giving on the continent to the extent that it exceeds development aid by 2030*” (African Philanthropy Forum, 2019). According to the organisation’s website, they are focused on social investing, strategic philanthropy and inclusive and sustainable growth (ibid.). While African philanthropy is still in the process of growing and developing its position, these types of organisations state their intentions of mobilising high-net-worth individuals in Africa, creating structures to support organised giving and therefore to create sustainable change and development instead of short-term solutions (African Philanthropy Forum, 2016:4-5; (Mahomed, 2016:5). TrustAfrica Foundation is another example of a philanthropy actor supporting pan-African philanthropy (Trustafrica.org, 2019). The foundation expresses itself to have a commitment to solving Africa’s challenges with African solutions by supporting a civil society in its independence and its own solutions – an approach “alternative to the norm” (Mahomed, 2016:3). In the TrustAfrica publication ‘*Claiming Agency: Reflecting on TrustAfrica First Decade*’ (Mahomed and Coleman, 2016) Mahomed reflects on African agency. He poses a question: is it possible to grow African agency when majority of philanthropic funding flows to Africa from outside the continent? Donations don’t often come without strings attached; and while they don’t negate the potential for African agency, local needs and distinctly African agenda should be prioritised (Mahomed, 2016:8).

Morvaridi (2016) presents a questioning viewpoint to the power structures of elite philanthropy: that instead of focusing on the effects of capitalist philanthropy, we should question the motives behind them, as well as the transfer of power that occurs as a result (Morvaridi, 2016). The author summarises several moral concerns that arise from philanthropic initiatives driven by large foundations and capitalist philanthropists: from new legislation to potential environmental harm, local people are not always with the consequences of philanthropy. Philanthropic foundations motives are questioned as it comes to their investment in fossil-fuel companies, as well as potential complicity in human rights abuses (ibid.). Another critique is the ‘quick-fix’ nature of many philanthropic solutions. Investing in long-term solutions for institutional, democratic and developmental building or eradication of inequality is not in the agenda of many philanthropists (Morvaridi, 2016). Indeed the author claims that the very nature of addressing inequality requires means (mainly redistribution) that are not in the interest of the wealthy philanthropists (ibid.) Morvaridi (2016) presents to achieve control, African philanthropy must bet on democracy. Instead of capitalist philanthropy, local agency, local needs and direct responsibility should be prioritised (Morvaridi, 2016).

Edwards (2015) also presents a critique of the direction philanthropy is moving towards. The author sees the transformation of philanthropy – the increasing power of the wealthy elites and focus on technological and market solutions to social issues – as movement to the wrong direction (Edwards, 2015:33). In the ‘new philanthropy’, elites have the money and act as the donors, defining the practice of handing down resources to the recipients who have none. Edwards (2015) argues that in contemporary capitalist societies, where inequality exists, philanthropy creates a division between the haves and the have nots; where philanthropists have the control of deciding what to donate (Edwards, 2015:33).

Motivation for philanthropy is also sometimes explained through consequentialist philosophical frames. Effective altruism is a philosophy and a social movement that encourages to maximise the good that can be done, typically through monetary contributions to most effective philanthropic organisations that highlight perceived results and performance, based on scientific evaluation of facts (Gabriel, 2017). Gabriel (2017) holds that the movement could create new ways in which we can bypass some of the obstacles of giving that direct money to inefficient causes (ibid.). The author also suggests that actors working on the philanthropy field have had an adverse reaction to the emerging movements and ‘meta-organisations’ whose value bases are founded in effective altruism (such as the GiveWell organisation) (Gabriel, 2017). The GiveWell organisation is an influential example of a meta-organisation whose stated principle is to facilitate small donations to the right causes (GiveWell, 2019 a); many of the top charities listed address causes in sub-Saharan Africa (GiveWell, 2019 b).

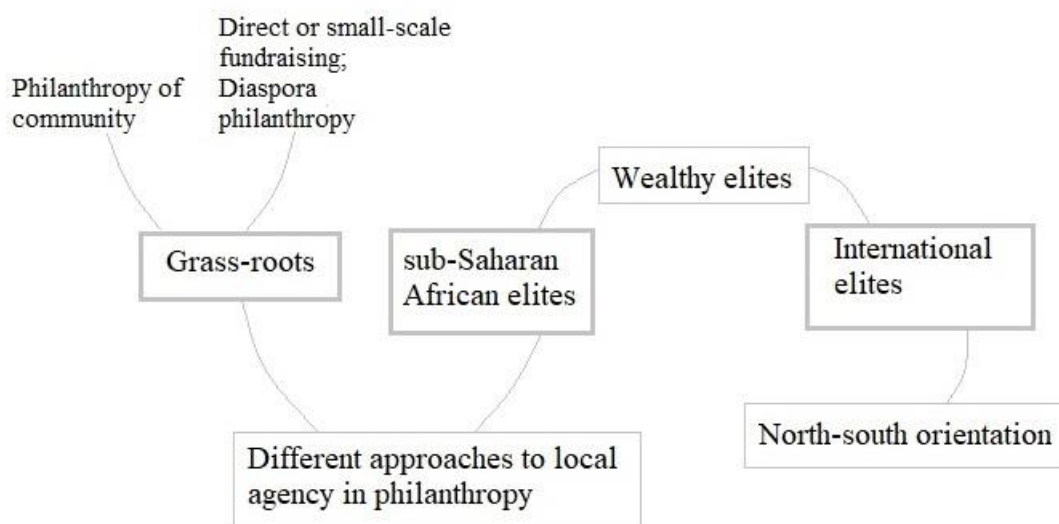
Effective altruism is not without its problems, and some of those come in the form of its capability to make judgements about the impact of intervention. For a movement that puts the priority on the effect of its actions, measuring impact is instrumental. However, in practice it is not always easy or possible to do so (ibid.). Non the less, effective altruism as a social movement facilitates giving that is not dependant on wealthy elites to function but resembles more the giving practices of everyday people. Without data on the specific demographics of the donors who participate in philanthropy through such meta-organisations, much cannot be said about the north-south orientation of the donation flows either.

5.2 Themes and thematic map

From the critical literature analysis above, thematic analysis was carried out. While the analysis provided many potentially interesting ways to approach the subject, the following text will focus on the information most critical to the research question: to identify themes that aid in the classification

of philanthropy in sub-Saharan Africa. As suggested by the framework Maguire and Delahunt (2017) present, work was done step-by-step: firstly, from codes to initial themes (see appendix B). Secondly the work moved beyond the initial description of themes identified in the literature, and towards refining the initial themes that look at the underlying ideas that are shaping literature. As per the suggestion of Maguire and Delahunt (2017) The final themes will be expressed in a thematic map, as seen in table 4. The map exemplifies the relationships between the themes: in sub-Saharan Africa, approaches to philanthropy are both local and global. Within these themes, there are sub-themes: in local approaches, actors make claims of upholding local agency and highlight the importance of it in achieving sustainable development. But there seems to exist two different ways to approach the concept of local agency: horizontal and vertical. Horizontal approaches to agency highlight cultural norms of help and philanthropy of community (e.g Wilkinson-Maniposa et al. 2006), while vertical approaches to agency (such as African Philanthropy Network or local private foundations) advocate for elite philanthropy that local: they justify pan-african locality or the locality of elites philanthropic actions when their philanthropy is addressed towards African causes. This approach is lacking the international or north-south orientation that characterises much of the philanthropy of the global wealthy elites.

Table 4: Global and local approaches to philanthropy in sub-Saharan Africa



Within the theme of global approaches, similar division between approaches exists. These types cannot quite be conceptualised within the same horizontal-vertical divide, although vertical

approaches to philanthropy do exist in the global context. These are the approaches of global, wealthy elites and corporations. The foreign and global philanthropic activities that are characterised by north-south orientation and dominate the philanthropic field (The Index of Global Philanthropy and Remittances, 2010). The second approach to global philanthropy covers those global philanthropic actions that are not necessary dependent on global wealthy elites but that cannot be called horizontal, as they are not based on cultural norms or philanthropy of community: fundraising that facilitates small donations, including meta-organisations; diaspora philanthropy; and network philanthropy based on religious identities.

In summary, the thematic map identifies two broad clusters: local and global philanthropy. Within these clusters 4 themes exists: local horizontal and local vertical orientations; and global horizontal and global social movements. When the themes are examined on their own, as a whole, and in the way they relate to each other, they provide a basis for a classification of sub-Saharan African philanthropy.

5.3 Typology

From the themes presented in the thematic map above, I will move on to categories. Across the range of concepts in the thematic map (see table 4), we can develop a categorisation framework of sub-Saharan African philanthropy. This is defined in table 5. Distinguishing between the geographical scopes (global and local) actors have, 6 categories were identified and included in the framework: 3 global and 3 local, each with their own share of differentiating factors. In the figure bellow, the broad geographical scopes are presented on the left side of the figure, followed by the types, and the main defining characteristics of the types.

Table 5: classification of types

	<i>type of philanthropy</i>	<i>orientation</i>	<i>defining characteristics</i>	<i>cases</i>
L O C A L	social movements	local and national agency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> local actions that are beyond horizontal, informal community help but not dependant on local wealthy elites 	local small NGOs, social movements
	local vertical	African agency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> local African elites large sub-Saharan African foundations and corporations 	African foundations, billionaire philanthropists
	local horizontal	local agency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> community level: shared reciprocity and values 	Wilkinson-Maniposa et al.

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informal help within community 	(2006): philanthropy of community
G L O B A L	global social movements	social and philosophical causes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • giving on a global scale • lack of or less vertical relationship between the donors and the recipients of philanthropy • actions are still typically described by a north-south orientation 	smaller causes and fundraising NGOs, as well as meta-charities such as Give Well organisation.
	global vertical	elite philanthropy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • vertical giving • top-down donor-beneficiary relationship • the orientation follows a north-south model 	Donors are wealthy western elite individuals, foundations and corporations; recipients are poor, marginalised communities in sub-Saharan Africa.
	global network philanthropy	global grassroots	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • philanthropy facilitated by networks • not necessarily oriented north-south, not dependant on wealthy elites 	diaspora philanthropy that is described by Brinkerhoff (2013)

Emerging from the themes in the literature review, the key headings ‘local’ and ‘global’ are used for context. They demonstrate a central conversation in the literature: the push and pull between philanthropy with a north to south orientation and the traditional and new forms of philanthropy that exist within sub-Saharan Africa. The categories themselves do not make a distinction based on organisational forms, nor institutional or personal philanthropy, but rather focus on the geographical reach and the orientation of the donor-benefactor relationship. In the following section, the types and their defining characteristics will be examined in more detail.

Local scope

Within local scope of sub-Saharan African philanthropy, there are 3 main types: local horizontal philanthropy, local vertical philanthropy and social movements. Local horizontal philanthropy is

oriented towards local agency on the community level and based on shared reciprocity and values. It is informal and often not seen as philanthropy or charity, but as every-day help within community. Wilkinson-Maniposa et al.'s (2006) definition of Philanthropy of Community is a good example of philanthropic action that fits into this type (Wilkinson-Maniposa et al. 2006).

The second type, local vertical philanthropy, is oriented towards a broader understanding of agency: African agency. This type includes local actors that function as top-down donors: wealthy local elites, African owned and operating foundations and corporations and their philanthropic actions.

The third and final philanthropy type within the local scope is local social movements. This type includes philanthropic actors that fall between the previous two categories: local NGOs, as well as social and religious movements that function beyond the informal horizontal community structures but do not encompass the top-down structures, wealth or influence that local vertical philanthropy possesses.

Global scope

Encompassed in the heading of global scope of sub-Saharan African philanthropy are 3 types: global vertical philanthropy, global social movements and network philanthropy. Global vertical philanthropy is characterised by a two-fold orientation: on one hand it includes vertical giving, where the donor-beneficiary relationship is top-down and at the same time, the orientation follows a north-south model, where the donors are wealthy Western elite individuals, foundations and corporations, and the recipients are poor, marginalised communities in sub-Saharan Africa. While global vertical philanthropy actors can foster local agency in their initiatives and plans, the type itself is not rooted in locality because its north-south orientation.

Global social movements philanthropy is a category that includes giving that is in the global scale but defined by lack of or less vertical relationship between the donors and the recipients of philanthropy. The donors are not elites in the sense of the previous type, but their philanthropic actions are still often described by a north-south orientation. Philanthropic actions included in this type would be smaller causes and fundraising NGOs, as well as meta-charities such as Give Well organisation.

The third and final type within the global scope is perhaps the most tentative, but still vital to include in the typology as it functions to capture an aspect of sub-Saharan African philanthropy that would otherwise be ignored. This is network philanthropy. It encompasses philanthropy that is

facilitated by networks: such as diaspora philanthropy that is described by Brinkerhoff (2013) or philanthropy based on international religious or ethnic communities.

In summary, within the hierarchy of local and global philanthropic action, the 6 described types encompass dimensions of sub-Saharan African philanthropy that are described in the literature review. Based on this typology, we can form a concept or an idea of philanthropy as different types of actions, rather than to view it as a set of organisations. This conceptualisation includes informal and less structured aspects of philanthropy that could not be included in a classification that only focused in philanthropic organisations. These types are subject to change as the field of philanthropy and civil society in sub-Saharan Africa changes and develops, or as more research is done to the area.

6 Conclusions

This thesis has made a classification of philanthropy types in sub-Saharan Africa in hopes that it will aid in the discussion around the previously under-theorised subject and bring clarity and structure into the discussion that academic and policy actors are having around it. The choice of methodology for this paper allowed for flexibility, and hence an explorative approach to the literature surrounding philanthropy in sub-Saharan African context was possible. However, it could be the case that using material provided by the philanthropic actors themselves is not objective enough source to address the full set of power-dynamics that are in play. Philanthropic actors could feel inclined to tailor their content to fit the expectations of their audiences, or the society at large.

Philanthropy that concerns the rich and powerful has gathered a lot of criticism but justifies its participation and influence in development by highlighting the efficiency of its actions. In China, economic growth and political opening has led to huge rise in the country's philanthropy: Chinese wealthy elites have grown, and their involvement in the philanthropic landscape within the country has grown with it (UNDP, 2015). Would economic growth have a similar effect in sub-Saharan Africa? What would be the consequences? It is important to question the potential power relations that exist in particular when the donor-recipient relationship exists in a highly inequal society.

Currently, local horizontal philanthropy organisations make claims of fostering agency by empowering the giving of local rather than transnational elites; and while this addresses the North-south orientation of the global, vertical elite philanthropy and its underlying implications of power,

the philanthropy still exists within a strict donor-beneficiary relationship where the wealthy elites have influence over the development agenda. North-south orientation of philanthropy exists in much of philanthropy flows, both in the vertical giving of elites to the poor; but also within fundraising structures and meta-charities such as the GiveWell organisation. It is also important to remember that inequality and power relations do not only exist between the rich and the poor, and elite philanthropy does not have monopoly on hierarchies. They exist also within giving that happens within communities, often between members of marginalised and underprivileged communities and individuals. This setting also includes questions of power and influence. Charity within communities is often based on traditional structures, and those structures include hierarchies based on such factors as gender and ethnicity.

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Appendix

Appendix A

C o n t e x t u a l	Geographic location	North America (US)	North America (other)	South America	Europe	Africa	Asia	Australia	
	Organizational root	Governmental	Public Sector Body	Corporate	Third Sector Body	Independent	Hybrid		
	Link to organizational root	Active (engaged)			Active (tangential)		Inactive		
O r g a n i z a t i o n a l	Nature of resources	Fully endowed	Endowed + Allocation Fundraising		Allocation		Fundraising		
	Size of resources	Mega	Large		Medium		Small		
	Anticipated lifespan	Preservation			Open		Limited		
	Life stage	Mature	Established		Emergent		New		
	Organizational size	Large	Medium		Small		Micro		
S t r a t e g i c	Approach	Grantmaking Pure	Grantmaking +	Mixed	Operating +	Operating Pure	Other		
	Geography	Single location				Multiple locations			
		Local	Regional	National	International	Transnational	Global		
	Theme	Single theme				Multiple themes			
	Beneficiaries	Individuals	Organizations		Public		Mixed		
Criteria	Fixed				Flexible				

From Jung, Harrow and Leat (2018)

Appendix B

Initial themes and codes			
Theme: Responsibility <i>Failure of the nation state:</i> states not providing social protection; institutional gaps in the environment;	Theme: Donors and those who are donated to <i>Position of donors:</i> donators have power of choice: where money and effort goes to	Theme: local African charity <i>Dependency on non-African donors & aid:</i> donators have influence <i>African agency:</i> wealthy Africans;	Theme: Diaspora philanthropy <i>Philanthropy within the diaspora:</i> philanthropy by members of diaspora along faith-based/heritage

<p>institutional gaps in the environment.</p> <p><i>Civic society & social cohesion assuming responsibility: trust, social capital – casestudies from some ssa nations; willingness to donate</i></p> <p><i>Multinational corporations filling the institutional voids: ad hoc philanthropy – taking advantage of voids; effectively(?) taking care, filling voids; creating power structures</i></p> <p><i>horizontal and vertical philanthropy</i></p>	<p><i>Position of beneficiaries/recipients:</i></p> <p>at the mercy of the wealthy elites</p>	<p>local philanthropy of community</p>	<p>groups/to the country of origin</p>
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