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ATTITUDES  
*Toward* GIVING

by F. EMERSON ANDREWS

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## 1. *Changing Attitudes*

What is happening to the motives and attitudes of givers? Patterns of giving are changing. Shifts are occurring in givers' choices among the three chief almoners—the church, government, and voluntary agencies. Religion, the mother of charities, has not suffered the eclipse predicted by some earlier observers, but how much is giving now affected by religious sanctions or the hope of heaven? Do givers approve the expansion of governmental welfare services? Is their interest in voluntary giving falling off because giving goes now to service agencies, or to a fundraising agency for service agencies, with fewer and remoter contacts with the people who need help?

### *The Changing Picture*

Present stratospheric taxes reduce the fortunes from which large individual gifts used to come, and shrink the spendable income of all givers; but they make giving nearly costless in the upper-income brackets within the 20 per cent deductibility limit. Declining interest rates lower the investment incomes of potential givers and at the same time increase the needs of agencies that had depended on fixed endowments.

Corporations have suddenly entered the giving picture in a substantial way, but this new philanthropist gives in patterns suited to his own special situation. Tax-supported welfare programs reduce the need for giving in some

fields, but our new position of world leadership has made the economic and social welfare of other peoples a factor in our own welfare, and possibly our survival. Philanthropy has been expanding toward this planetary economy.

Also, contributors are being besieged by vast numbers of new drives, especially in the health field. A struggle goes on, particularly in plants and industrial communities, between some of these independent agencies and the forces that would combine them, for fund-raising purposes, into community chests or united funds. The bitterness of this struggle in some communities has alienated givers.

An earlier study endeavored to document many of these changes as to direction and amount.<sup>1</sup> But we did not arrive at any conclusions as to the effect of these changes on givers, except to note that it left many of them uncertain and confused.

#### *An Attempt to Find Answers*

What are the present motives of givers? Does giving spring from sympathy for a suffering fellowman, or from a desire to feel superior? Do people deeply wish to leave the world a better place, or just want to escape being thought a piker? How do givers feel about solicitation at their place of employment, street-corner tag days, home visits, collections from their children at school? How far does the social group determine the giving pattern? What sorts of people give, and how much, and why?

Where motives are concerned, the techniques of science falter. We can seldom know all the complex factors that move another person to action, and he himself, with every

<sup>1</sup> Andrews, F. Emerson, *Philanthropic Giving*. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1950.

attempt at honesty, may be quite mistaken. But the matter is of great importance to philanthropy. If voluntary agencies are to flourish, or even to survive, we need to know much more about givers' attitudes in today's changing world.

In the hope of providing answers to some of these questions Russell Sage Foundation commissioned National Opinion Research Center to experiment with extended interviews among people of various income and other groupings. The severe difficulties of discovering people's motives by this or any other available technique were recognized in advance; but the rewards for even partial success seemed to make the experiment worth attempting.

The interview schedule (see Appendix) was long, requiring usually about an hour and a half to complete; this permitted a leisurely and friendly approach. Motive was seldom directly asked, but special interests were carefully probed, opinions were sought on hypothetical givers, and many of the questions had secondary purposes. Specific data were sought on contributions and on family income.

A pile of manuscript nearly two feet tall reported 91 test interviews with a wide variety of persons in several localities. Individually, the records are fascinating reading, presenting case studies of giving startlingly varied, with sudden insights into givers' attitudes toward particular agencies and toward giving in general. Collectively, they do not add up to scientific conclusions. The data are sometimes dubious, based on memory which in several instances changed within the single interview, and tinted occasionally with the desire to impress. Motivation was affected by so many variables that there seemed little possibility of statistical validity, however the sample

might be enlarged or controlled. This method, or at least this schedule, did not promise sufficiently conclusive evidence on the motives of givers; plans for extended interviews on controlled samples were abandoned.

However, the test interviews already collected, though statistically unreliable, constituted a revealing commentary on attitudes of some givers toward welfare agencies, problems, and fund-raising methods. It seemed that persons experienced in this field could build on them useful hypotheses, for later testing by perhaps other methods.

The pages that follow present material selected for its significance from these interviews, usually in the form of direct quotation. Some 380 quotations in all are included, representing all but six of the respondents. In seven cases, respondents made remarks of such broad interest that they are represented by ten or more comments. In all such cases, and indeed wherever personal background illuminates the comment, significant data such as the respondent's income, occupation, family relationships, and social group are given, often with an identifying (but fictitious) name.

Comments have been selected for their thought content, and to represent variety of opinion. Tabulations have usually been avoided, lest generalizations be assumed from a sample wholly inadequate for such purposes. The chapters that follow do not present final conclusions on the motives of modern givers; they do reflect, colorfully and authentically, the attitudes of some givers on a wide variety of subjects. They are meant to stimulate study, not to conclude it.

## 2. Who Gives?

Giving, in this study, follows the definitions of the United States Treasury Department for "allowable contributions" for income-tax purposes. Emphasis was placed on contributions to health, welfare, and education rather than to religion, since it was already known that churches receive about one-half of all philanthropic contributions of individuals; but, as will later appear, in this attempted separation the investigators were not always successful.

### *The Nongivers*

Not all people are givers, however broad the definition of philanthropy. This has long been known, but statistics on a nationwide scale have been lacking. The Bureau of Internal Revenue does publish tables on tax returns with deductions itemized, including contributions, but these tables do not show on how many individual returns no deductions were claimed for contributions to charity. However, the Bureau has made available for this study manuscript tables showing this item for the years 1947 through 1949, by adjusted gross income class. Table 1 presents these data for 1949; the other years were closely comparable.

For 1949, among the 7.9 million taxpayers who itemized their deductions, the nongivers ranged from 15 per cent of those with gross income below \$1,000 to exactly one person among the 120 with income of over \$1,000,000 in



TABLE 1. INDIVIDUAL INCOME-TAX RETURNS FOR 1949, BY ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME CLASS, SHOWING ALL RETURNS, ITEMIZED RETURNS, AND ITEMIZED RETURNS WITH NO CONTRIBUTIONS

Adjusted gross income class (thousands of dollars)	Total returns (thousands)	Returns itemizing deductions			
		Number (thousands)	Per cent of all returns	Not claiming contribution	
				Number (thousands)	Per cent of itemized returns
<i>Taxable returns</i>					
Under 1	1,539	86	5.6	13	15.2
1 under 5	28,102	5,605	19.9	269	4.8
5 under 10	4,838	1,592	32.9	47	3.0
10 under 20	802	350	43.7	9	2.5
20 under 50	288	210	73.1	5	2.2
50 under 100	46	42	91.0	1	2.0
100 under 500	13	13	96.8	.174	1.3
500 under 1,000	.379	.377	99.5	.012	3.2
Over 1,000	.120	.120	100.0	.001	0.8
Total taxable	35,628	7,899	22.2	343	4.3
<i>Nontaxable</i>					
No gross income	512	512	100.0	498	97.3
Some gross income	15,674	1,280	8.2	211	16.5
Total nontaxable	16,186	1,792	11.1	709	39.6
Grand total	51,814	9,691	18.7	1,052	10.9

Source: Bureau of Internal Revenue release and manuscript table. Percentages calculated from nonrounded figures.

that year. The nontaxable returns, even where itemized, should not be considered since on most of these, large deductions, such as those for dependents, more than offset income. There is reason to believe that many nontaxed persons would not bother to list contributions, even if made.

For the wealthy, with incomes of \$50,000 or better, the record is substantially complete. Nearly all of them itemized deductions, and the nongivers proved to be fewer than 2 per cent. For income groups below this level the record is progressively less complete, but among those reporting in detail, the proportion of nongivers increases with declining income; it probably would be still higher if the "standard deduction" taxpayers could be included. On the basis of the table we can say only that among nearly eight million taxpayers who itemized their deductions, 4.3 per cent had no contributions to philanthropy to record.

Our interviews disclosed eleven persons who gave such trifling amounts (under \$10) that they may be regarded as nongivers, and one, Fanny Green,<sup>1</sup> whose claim to this title is absolute:

Mrs. Green, a woman in her middle forties, is the wife of a farmer-miner who receives \$15 a day when he works in the mine, and varying income from a 50-acre farm. Two nearly grown sons live at home. She left school at the fourth grade, and does not attend church.

"I just stay at home, don't mix and mingle with the world, and don't know what is going on," said Mrs. Green. "I never give to anything, not even the church. I just take care of my home and family, that's enough. Charity starts at home, I say."

<sup>1</sup> Names of persons, local agencies, and communities are fictitious in this and all other reports of interviews.

[Does charity do something to the giver?] "It may, but I ain't had no experience." [How do you feel about getting Christmas or Easter seals in the mail?] "I just stick them in the stove."

### *Income as a Factor*

We have pointed out in other studies that although big individual gifts come necessarily only from the wealthy, a surprisingly large proportion of total giving comes from families of modest income.<sup>1</sup> In 1943, 60.4 per cent of the total reported contributions came from families with a net income of less than \$3,000; 81.8 per cent from families with net income under \$5,000. Translated into terms of today, of course, the \$3,000 family would be about a \$6,000 family. It is not possible to check whether the same ratios hold, however, for taxpayers have been permitted to take a standard deduction since 1944, and fewer than one tax report in five has itemized deductions in recent years.

The interviews were too few and the data too indefinite to permit statistical handling, but some significant comments were made on income as a factor in determining either a gift at a particular time or the general level for the year. Said Donald Grimes, filling station attendant, "All depends on my pocketbook at the time I am asked"; another respondent, "We have no budget. Just whether we have the money or not"; and a widow with substantial income, "I like to wait until after the 15th of March, and see where I stand." Clearly, in many cases actual cash in hand at the moment the gift is requested is a decisive factor.

Seven persons in the survey reported gifts totaling

<sup>1</sup> *Philanthropic Giving*, p. 59.

\$1,000 or more during the year. Their incomes ranged from \$20,000 to above \$100,000. Said Edward Trask, who gave the top dollar amount, \$8,000, out of an income of \$100,000:

I like to give money. But just because you are born with a silver spoon in your mouth doesn't mean helter-skelter giving. I want to know just who, why, and what they do. . . . [My favorite is] the community chest. If there were no such fund, you'd be solicited by 100 or 150 organizations, and maybe 25 Jewish, Catholic, Protestant schools, et cetera, and other organizations of every type, one by one. . . . I worked with the chest for 8 months as a zero-dollars-a-year man and they are as fair as men can be.

The gifts next highest in amount were \$5,000 from an income of \$34,000; one of \$4,208 from \$100,000; two of \$3,000 from incomes of \$25,000 and \$20,000 respectively; one of \$2,000 from an income of \$50,000; and one of \$1,350 from "over \$25,000." Two of these seven gifts, it will be observed, represented the full 15 per cent deductible from income tax in the year the survey was made. Said Mrs. Grace Sargent, who with her husband gave \$5,000 out of a \$34,000 income, "Ten per cent should be the minimum; our joint return was about 15 per cent." All of these wealthy givers distributed their gifts widely, among welfare agencies of various types and their churches.

Generosity measured by income was by no means confined to the wealthy samples. Though the investigation centered on giving to agencies other than the church, the influence of the religious tithes was prominent. Five respondents reported giving their full tenth to the church, one indicating that this constituted his total giving, the others showing minor amounts for other agencies. None

of these five tithers had an income as large as \$10,000, and four were below \$5,000.

Small income is not the primary cause of nongiving. Many families with low incomes gave liberally percentage-wise, and of the eleven respondents noted above who gave nothing or less than \$10, two admitted to incomes between \$5,000 and \$10,000, and the nongiving Green family may have been well above \$5,000 with inclusion of their unstated farm income. Distress over giving seems most voluble from those who give least. One woman complained that "Most people feel about giving as I do. It goes through so many hands it is spent before it reaches the office." Few intermediaries grew fat on her gifts, however; they totaled \$1.25 for the year.

Gertrude Dawson, whose husband owns a strip mine and has an income "over \$5,000," protests: "When you are in business you are expected to give. It seems everyone asks you and expects you to give. I do try to keep up as much as possible." To this multitude of beseeching agencies she gave a total of \$2.00 for the year.

The contrasting cases of Arthur Ackerman and the Reverend Daniel Ernst suggest that not income, but attitude toward it, is the decisive factor:

Arthur Ackerman is an executive in a large paper company. His salary is \$45,000 and he has \$5,000 additional income. He does make substantial contributions—\$1,000 to Boy Scouts where he is a board member, and about \$1,000 to a wide variety of other agencies—but under considerable protest.

"Too much pressure, too many campaigns," says Mr. Ackerman. As to the community chest: "You are made to feel unpatriotic if you don't give. I appreciate their problem, but I get — — — mad at them."

Mr. Ackerman did not come from a wealthy family, and during the depression was getting only \$40 a week. But his living standard has already risen to the limit of his salary. He says, "We can get along on \$45,000 but it's often tough going, though you might not believe it."

And here is another portrait:

Daniel Ernst, now a minister, was formerly in business where he "made much more." His present income, on which he supports a wife, a girl of twelve, and a three-year-old boy, is \$3,800, and a parsonage is provided. Asked the standard question whether he thought his pay good, fair, or inadequate, he was the only one of our respondents who replied, "All I am worth."

On giving: "I tithe my income; all over that is free-will offering, and I cannot do much." On what one's share should be, he replied: "No one does more than their share. Our share is all we can do. In these lush days if we save our souls we have to be generous with our money."

### *Some Age Patterns*

It has sometimes been alleged that the young have never learned to give and private welfare may find few resources when the present older generation passes from the scene. Our cases were too few for valid comparison between age groups, but the individual cases support no such sweeping conclusion. In addition to evidence of widespread, and sometimes intelligent, training in giving in the schools (which will be treated in a separate section), we found examples of nearly all degrees of generosity and parsimony among the young as well as among the aged. A few examples may be illuminating.

James Brown is twenty years young, and in his case no habit of giving has been developed and his ideas on the subject are callow:

James Brown, aged twenty, lives at home with his father and mother. He left college when half way through his second year, and now works full time for a rapid transit company.

Earning \$3,200 and with no responsibilities, he gives \$1.50 a year. He says, "I never give more than a quarter; but not merely a penny. At least a dime. I feel funny if I give only a nickel."

He gives to the Red Cross, because: "I see it in the papers, during floods bringing first aid, blankets, and so forth." He does not give for heart disease: "That's for old people. I prefer to contribute for kids." Last year he gave 50 cents for infantile paralysis, remarking, "What I like is that it helps children rather than old people, who are almost dead anyway."

Ira Barnes and his wife do not yet give much, but they are thoughtful and the pricks of conscience promise a more generous future:

Ira Barnes is twenty-six, his wife the same age, and they have no children. Out of an income of \$5,200 they could account for gifts of \$59—about 1.1 per cent.

His favorite charity is a church organization with a non-sectarian international program. He finds it "irritating to be approached by women waving a can at you," feels that his contributions to Red Cross and the community chest at the plant are "part conscience and part not wanting to be considered a piker," and recognizes that his giving is regulated "usually by the amount of money I have on hand."

Twice during the interview he expressed dissatisfaction with the present level of his giving: "My conscience bothers me, for I feel I am giving too little in terms of my pay," and again, remembering a vacation trip to Europe, "I feel guilty after luxury spending."

Three of the "under thirty-five" group already have

achieved incomes of \$20,000 or more, all of whom give at a rate of at least 5 per cent. One of them is the Edward Trask already mentioned, who gave \$8,000, declaring, "I like to give money."

Mr. Trask's spirit, though not the dollar amount of his gift, is matched by senior citizen Benjamin Bailey, who proves that substantial giving need not stop with retirement:

Mr. Bailey is a retired steel worker, past sixty-five. His wife and daughter have died, but he supports an older sister. His income is \$400 a month, on which he gets along "very well; I could live on \$300." Although he has to "cut down" on his giving, the total last year, including church, was \$566—well above the 10 per cent at which he aims. He never feels pressured; instead, these are some of his spontaneous comments:

"I get a big kick out of giving \$4.00 a year to T.B. because my daughter died with T.B. And I get a big kick out of giving \$10 a year to Boys' Town. They do so much for homeless boys. . . . I like children—anything that helps children go over the road." [What would you call your favorite charity?] "I wouldn't have no favorite. I just want to do so much good in the world, that's all. Sometimes you're sorry you can't do more."

Many of the respondents were also volunteer solicitors, and some of these felt older people were easier to approach. Said one young woman, "Older people are easier to ask for money. I hate to ask an older person, but they seem more friendly."

### *Big Town, Small Town*

Since living patterns differ markedly between the big city and the small town or rural community, one might expect patterns of giving to vary. Our investigators ob-

tained interviews in one large city and in several much smaller communities. They encountered major differences.

In the large city much giving was done at the place of employment, often through wage deductions. Welfare needs were usually met by large, impersonal agencies, financed sometimes by government, sometimes by private funds collected either through the community chest or by the individual agency.

In the small community the church was likely to be a much greater factor. Some philanthropies—for example, an art museum—might not exist at all. In really rural areas, tag days and house solicitation were infrequent or unknown. The answer to begging was a sandwich, not a dime. Personal, neighborly aid did occur in the big city, but it was much more characteristic of the small town, and may be said to constitute the chief difference.

Farmer George Allen, who gave only \$6.00 for tax-deductible charities, would have missed his biggest charitable thrill in a large city:

In this neighborhood we have a custom for five or six miles around for someone to collect for flowers when someone dies. The other day I gave \$3.25 to finish up the offering. . . .

But the biggest thrill I ever got was for a widow with six children, when I got out and raised a wagonload of food and some money for them when they were hungry. I really got a blessing out of doing that.

Ellen Buttrick, a widow who used to live in a small town, was much concerned over the loss of the personal element in the larger community:

I have given to people I knew, friends, who were down. My parents did, too. But this kind of giving is not practical

the way we live nowadays. You should live in a pretty small town to act that way.

It is a big problem. I know the organizations feel that the poor people, the "needy," may be embarrassed by somebody descending on them. But a lot of people are discouraged from giving at all, at Christmas time, by the fact that it is so impersonal.

I am not convinced that needy families would be embarrassed if they knew it sprang from friendship, as it would at Christmas time. It all depends on neighborhood relationships.

At that time you could take your children and get them very interested in giving their toys and time and effort to make the children of a family happy. My son would feel a grudge if I explained we have no cake because I sent a check, but if it was to take the cake to Jimmy it would be all right.

You would end up by spending a lot more money, maybe more than you can afford. Also the interest for the family would continue, and might lead to all sorts of things—a job for the father, extra jobs for the mother, it could be a year-round thing before you got through.

Charity when it gets personalized to that point is not "charity" any more, but a real human interest in the family. Americans need the personal touch. A great many people who will turn down an appeal for a charity would respond generously to an appeal for a family.

In a very small community many of the drives are omitted through lack of organization. "I'm not asked much out here; I miss a lot of the drives," admits one respondent. But also, when there is a drive, neighbors take a lively interest in what you do, says Harriet Carr, a student nurse training to be a medical missionary:

In a small place everyone asks about your tag. If you lose

it, you'd buy another. They'd think you hadn't done your duty to the community. They have nothing else to talk about, anyway. But too much is going on in St. Louis for that attitude.

### Former Clients

An unexpectedly large number of interviews disclosed the gratitude of previous clients as a chief motive in present giving. The service may have been to the giver himself, or to a close family member; it might be slight, or it might involve life itself, but in either case it stimulated interest in the agency and usually resulted in a long series of gifts. Obviously, the established agency which through the years has rendered useful service has in its grateful former clients a substantial asset. Out of many examples a few "gratitude gifts" are cited to illustrate the depth and variety of this sentiment:

Beth Campbell is a schoolteacher. Her list of otherwise modest contributions included a gift of \$185 to a hospital in a small town away off in Michigan. This was her explanation:

"I was in a very serious traffic accident last year, and was not expected to live; or, if I lived, never to walk again. A small hospital near the scene of the accident took care of me, keeping me for several months, the doctors and nurses doing everything in their power. While there, I promised myself that if ever I got well enough to work again, I would send my first paycheck to that hospital.

"I am perfectly all right again, and working. That check gave me more satisfaction than any other contribution I ever made—partly gratitude for being alive and well, partly because of all that particular hospital did for me."

Nearly all contributions to colleges come from former stu-

dent "clients," but sometimes the circumstances are unusual:

I had to borrow from Alma Mater College to go, and it took me so long to pay it back they cut down the amount of the loan. So now I have more than paid back that debt in the form of donations. I don't think Alma Mater College realizes that I have more than made it up—but it is a great satisfaction to me to give.

A mother contributes regularly to the Girl Scouts because "My girl was raised in the Girl Scouts, and they have done much for her in health and character building." A widow explains her contribution to the American Heart Association: "I lost my husband a year ago; had heart trouble for four years. They did all they possibly could for him. They make wonderful strides in research." Many hospital contributions come from former patients who echo this report: "I was in as patient. I got interested when I was ill there; I had splendid care." Sometimes a single dramatic service inspires lifelong contributions—in this case from a man who gives to only one other agency:

During the flood the Salvation Army took care of us and everyone that needed help. They don't ask you a lot of questions; they see the need and go to work.

In one instance the usual sequence was reversed, long-time contributor Fred Janowitz becoming suddenly a client:

I went myself to Nightingale Hospital for treatment. They wouldn't let me pay anything because of my donations. But I made it up to them. [Contribution \$200 in the year recorded.]

*Volunteer Work as a Stimulus to Giving*

Friends are won, not merely by doing something useful for them, but even more surely by having them do something useful for us. Of this, social agencies desiring to collect funds are well aware. The sweater-and-sock-knitting craze during both world wars was more useful for its effect on the knitters than as a means of producing wearing apparel for the armed forces, which machines could have made more efficiently. When a single community chest uses "more than 35,000" volunteer solicitors, one suspects it is sacrificing efficiency for the values of widespread participation, with increased contributions from at least the army of collectors.

The interviews revealed that many of the larger contributors were, or had been, volunteer workers for the agencies which fared best in their giving. Types of work varied from fund-raising and titular board membership to responsible, directing assignments which made heavy inroads on the time of these contributors of both money and effort.

It would be easy to give false emphasis to the obvious relationships between voluntary work and contributions. Undoubtedly the boards of some welfare and educational institutions are swollen to sizes ludicrous from any managerial viewpoint, and programs of "made work" are invented, with a chief concern for stimulating gifts of money. But American welfare and educational agencies owe much to kinds of giving that escape statistical summaries—the giving of time, thought, care; the giving of life-blood (actually, in the Red Cross program, and metaphorically in others); the giving of skilled service. This study, however, is concerned with monetary gifts, and the superior values of gifts of life itself receive mention only incidentally, chiefly in this section.

In nearly every case of an outstandingly large gift we found a record of volunteer work, or personal benefit from the agency, or both. The contribution of \$1,000 to the Boy Scouts by Arthur Ackerman, an otherwise reluctant giver who finds it difficult to live within his ample income, has already been noted. Here are Mr. Ackerman's relations with the Scout movement:

I was one myself, and loved it. I became interested mostly because I read books about it. The books were exciting; the *Boy Scouts of the Eagle Patrol* and others influenced my young mind.

Looking back, it was a great influence on me, and I see many, many times that it is true of many other boys. I know the Scouts intimately. It is a magnificent organization that deserves all possible help. Boys (and girls) are our most important product—more than atom bombs and guns.

I take an active interest now. I give money and work actively in it—solicit for them, by letter and personally, and have served on boards in the case of both Boy and Girl Scouts. My wife is a Girl Scout counselor, so we give to it; time and money. I am to be Boy Scouts' chairman of the Southwest Region. I volunteer time and can deduct my trips to its meetings from income. But what I give to Scouts grows each year; it was over \$1,000 last year.

Mrs. Saul King, wife of a physician, emphasized her husband's service contribution to a certain hospital—"My husband gives thousands of dollars in his time, two mornings a week. That's quite a lot of charity as far as we're concerned." But they also listed the same hospital as one of the chief charities to which they contribute money.

Mrs. Edwin Carey stresses volunteer work, and her case is worth recording in some detail:

The Careys are a family of five, all three children being under ten years of age. They have a family income of \$3,600.

"We make ends meet. Of course [with a laugh] we could spend an awful lot more than we do; but we don't! I do all the work in the house. We don't have a car. We need very little when health is good."

[What contribution gave you the most satisfaction? "Monetary?" [Not necessarily.] "Not the monetary ones, with the exception of once helping a Roman Catholic father [she is Protestant]. . . . The others have been personal, voluntary work, such as contributing blood to the Red Cross, working as a nurse's aid at the hospital during the war practically all Saturday nights, and in a clinic in Philadelphia treating, for free, children in the slums. . . .

"Philanthropies are good, but often too impersonal—just a question of taking money out of your pocket. It would be better for people, often, to do something physically, like helping in a hospital. The personal factor of helping people, although often a hit or miss, is more helpful for those who give than reaching in their pocket and giving a \$5 bill or something."

In spite of their small family income and their volunteer contributions, the Careys do give substantial monetary sums—a large but unstated amount for church support, plus \$150 to health and welfare agencies.

Many of the volunteers are chiefly fund-raisers. Charlotte Engel performs a variety of such tasks: "At Mercy Hospital I acknowledge gifts and send out folders asking for money. I get up the cotillion for Mercy. For the Orphanage, I send out to a list to ask for money." Her success as a collector is abetted by the \$3,000 she herself contributed that year.

Although most of these fund-raisers are amateurs, wealthy Harriet Janeway, who contributes to more organizations than our investigator could list on three pages, came close to being a professional when she was younger:

When I was young and first got interested, the National Board of the YW sent someone to teach me. She took me with her on money-raising. I might have asked for \$5; but she'd say, "\$500." I watched her, and got so I'd come home with \$500 or \$1,000, too.

People are always most generous. They live up to pledges 100 per cent. In the depression years I raised money for the YW, by pledges, and we had only one man who reneged.

To show you how fine people are: A friend interested in the YWCA wanted to give money for a building. She said she wanted to give us \$250,000 (I had expected \$200, and nearly dropped dead). By the time the lot was picked the depression had come, their stock dropped, and it cost them three times this verbal pledge, but they kept it.

Once a board member, a member of many boards. Where respondents volunteered for work with one agency, and were not tied down by home responsibilities, they were likely to be involved with an expanding program of board membership, fund-collecting, and other activities in a variety of agencies. Grace Sargent, already mentioned as a liberal giver of money, is an example:

Mrs. Sargent is a woman in her fifties, whose three children are now grown and away from home. She and her husband have an income of \$34,000, of which they give 15 per cent. In addition, she does much volunteer work for a variety of agencies.

"The Woman's Exchange helps women to work at home and keep their families together. It is my most active interest at the moment; I'm president. I like it because it is more than a charity; it's a business. The Exchange sells the cakes, baby clothes, etc., which these women make under our direction.

"Red Cross—I had been active for years in it, but not now.



. . . I raise most funds for the Children's Aid; my husband is president, and so naturally I take an interest.

"I did settlement work for the Browning Settlement until it folded up. I had classes in dramatics and play for children, and put on children's parties.

"In the war I worked five days a week on packages for prisoners, and in the Canteen. In the USO I did executive work, helped with parties, raised money, etc. I've collected for the community chest.

"But I intensely dislike asking people for money. Some women—more than men—like it; it's their life. They meet people, go out, have contacts, and love it. I'd rather give than ask. But the world is badly in need of the money-raisers.

"I have no favorite charity—I'm active in at least ten things. . . . Part of life is sharing, in family group and the community at large. It's part of life to give of your time or your means."

Volunteer work has a higher correlation with large gifts than any other factor we have isolated. Of the seven persons in the survey whose gifts amounted to more than \$1,000, all but one had also records of volunteer work, usually for more than one agency. There is more question as to which is cause, and which is effect. Did large gifts, or hope for such gifts, result in invitations to board membership and other activities? Or did work with the agency sharpen interest and result in increasingly generous giving? Either may have been true in particular cases, and possibly both; but it is certain that the volunteer seldom fails to be, within his means, a generous giver.

### 3. *Attitudes Toward Social Welfare*

Social agencies, under today's conditions, usually stand between the donor and recipients of his kindness. Farmer George Allen did manage to load his wagon with food and deliver it to the widow with her six children, and Ladies Bountiful still distribute Christmas baskets, but such instances are few, and it may be doubted whether that method ever was as satisfying for the recipient as it was for the donor. So now we have highly specialized agencies, manned by professional, salaried personnel.

The multiplicity of agencies, national and local, is confusing. The latest listing, now in preparation, will include some 387 national agencies alone.<sup>1</sup> To these must be added the local agencies. The Greater New York Fund campaigned for 423 agencies in 1953; this is the extreme case, but even in small communities a dozen or more local agencies and a mounting number of nationals are almost continuously seeking the donor's dollars.

It has been alleged that donors are confused by this multitude, are doubtful or merely uninterested in social welfare in its present agency forms, are suspicious of salaries and overhead, and are chilled by social work's professionalization. Evidence with respect to multiple appeals will be

<sup>1</sup> *Social Work Year Book, 1954*, edited by Russell H. Kurtz. American Association of Social Workers, New York. In preparation.

presented in Chapter 5, Federated Fund-Raising; other general attitudes toward today's welfare scene are presented here.

### Information About Agencies

Our interviews support the opinion that relatively few donors know much about the agencies to which they contribute. The exceptions are likely to be board members or volunteer workers for the agencies. For instance, Edward Trask, whose pace-setting gifts have been noted, is often a fund collector himself and in one community chest drive served as "senior accountant, in charge of 85 people." He learned the dangers of uninformed giving the hard way:

I loved those pathetic letters to Santa Claus in the paper. I checked with Child Welfare and picked out 30 cute letters, planning to give to the 20 most pitiful. But most were registered on agency files as *professional beggars*. I had to get more letters to find 20 really needy ones. . . .

[Now] I ask three questions about an agency: (1) What is it doing for what type of client? (2) Where else does it get income? (3) How beneficial is it to those it helps?

Corporation president Harold Butts gives \$4,208 out of an income of about \$100,000, is a board member and an active solicitor for several agencies, and uses a business channel for information about social agencies:

I want to know what they do and who's behind it, to be sure it's reputable. For company or personal appeals we have a man who checks with the Better Business Bureau, etc.

Charlotte Engel, a board member herself for twenty years,

looks to the composition of the board, and if that is all right, feels confidence in agency operation:

[I rely] on the names of the Board. If they are solid citizens, who are not interested in anything that isn't good, I sometimes give. . . . You don't want to give to an organization if you don't know what it is for or who's running it.

Agencies have background and know what should be done. They aren't hard-hearted. I've done it [given relief directly] and made an idiot of myself. It's a personal satisfaction, true; but it's better done by those who know.

Deborah Talbot is an elderly lady, now in reduced circumstances. She is better informed than most contributors about social agencies, since long ago she knew Jane Addams at Hull House and her daughter is a social worker. She says:

Agencies are important. They work things out. I have heard so much of unwise people giving on their own, who haven't lived up to certain standards. You must not have a feeling against organizations; you can't accomplish much without them.

[But, reporting an agency-sponsored meeting to help the aged:] One man said that won't work. Their main need is to be needed. Social workers are too cold-blooded. He wanted to feel that they like him, think he is fun, want to talk to him—so that he may not feel that he is through. It's a horrible thing to be old.

Most of the other contributors appear to have obtained their impressions of agencies from newspaper accounts, agency literature, and word of mouth. In many cases this information was slight. "I don't know how agencies work," admitted one respondent, "except those swindling people. You do not hear about the good ones."

Several share Mrs. Talbot's opinion about the coldness of social workers and agency procedures. Says Dorothy Kern:

I knew a welfare worker, but her dealings with me were cold, hard, dictatorial. I can imagine how they'd put families through paces. They are used to dictating—too many of them. Organize, and what have you got? Formality. Thoreau said if he saw someone coming to do him good, he'd start running.

And Alma Clay, Negro, sometime relief client, and mother of ten:

These agencies, they get money, but they don't give it as it is needed. Once I tried to get on relief. It took a month and a half. I sure would have appreciated to get one basket of food. A lot of rich people give to relief, but . . . I have heard and read of a lot of agencies. The big shots get money, the little shots don't. And what they give is not enough to take care of you.

Says still another, a woman who wants to do her giving "direct," "They are working for self-honor and pay, not so much for the down-and-out." But Beth Campbell, the schoolteacher so severely injured in an auto accident, has seen the other side:

A lot of people resent individuals' giving them things but will not resent it from an agency. I worked in a vocational school where there were a lot of court cases and I know the resentment the girls had against people giving them cast-off clothes, but they didn't resent Children's Aid.

### *Salaries and Overhead*

Contributors often assume that the essence of wise giving is seeing to it that the whole of their gift reaches the person or persons in need, avoiding charges for "over-

head," service, and any but a minimum of staff salaries. Under present conditions, when voluntary welfare agencies are for the most part not granting simple relief but performing services that tax even the skills of highly trained persons, this concept is false and dangerous. We have said elsewhere:

It might seem a commendable act (and would show up irreproachably on the annual report) for an agency to give a breadwinner who has lost his arm \$20 a week toward support of his needy family. Instead, this agency may interview the man, his friends, his former employer; take the facts discovered to a specialist in employment for the handicapped; and send him to a school to be fitted for a job where his handicap will not seriously interfere with his ability to earn. Soon he may again be supporting his family, with self-respect and interest in living revived. All of this is service and "overhead," but in the end it will cost vastly less even in cold cash than continuing weekly aid, and do vastly more for the man and his family.<sup>1</sup>

Overhead does need to be examined, and agencies that are substandard, have inordinate salaries, or may be outright rackets, should be eliminated. But the interviews give evidence that a long task remains in convincing contributors that true economy in welfare agencies consists in adequately paid skilled service. The old concept of little or no pay for persons who devote their lives to helping others too widely prevails. The public accepts a very high income level in the profession of medicine; it looks askance at even modest pay in welfare agencies.

In appraising the critical comments it should be noted, however, that the questionnaire invited complaint with Question 17 and part of Question 28:

<sup>1</sup> *Philanthropic Giving*, p. 119.

17. People sometimes criticize organizations either fairly or unfairly. Have you ever happened to hear any criticism of "X," either fair or unfair? [IF YES] What for instance have you heard? Do you suppose there's any truth in it?

28B. Do you think he has a point about agencies sometimes wasting money?

Not all the comments that follow grew out of Questions 17 or 28, however. Some were general comments, which the respondent expressed without urging.

The professional social workers give only part of the money to the needy people. Too much money goes into salaries. This is my opinion in general.

So many of them have high-salaried men; they get most of the money. People should give their time, and then people would give more to the organization.

They don't use all the dollars for what it's to be used for, research. They have a good time.

Even Mrs. Edwin Carey, whose energetic volunteer work has been noted, is concerned about publicity overhead:

For instance, TB we gave to, and still give. But a friend said, years ago, that much went to their organization's administration. That's the reason why we have leaned toward church giving. I have a good idea of how much these publicity campaigns cost. I've done some work in the field.

But waste may be largely the public's fault, says Ruth Reynolds, housewife and college graduate:

If you helped the agencies you know and other people did too, the crazy things that gyp the public would not get ahead. Many unworthy things get donations.

Then there were several intermediate opinions on wasting money:

I don't suppose they do intentionally. Probably they are just not as well governed or controlled as they should be. Don't suppose anything ever was run perfectly.

[Benjamin Bailey] There is a certain amount wasted, but I always say that even if only 75 per cent of it goes to the cause, there's some good being done. And it isn't really wasted; it goes to high salaries, that's all.

And Mr. Butts, who checks his charities with the Better Business Bureau, says this about wasting:

They do sometimes, but not as much as is generally supposed. Those I know don't—not as much as the public believes.

Newspapers and gossip are partly responsible for these opinions:

Once the papers told about how the collectors of funds get a lot of it, and the percentage going to the original purpose is very small. I have friends who do the printing for a charity. I don't know if it's true or not; they say it is.

But not all the comment is adverse; some of the respondents are convinced that welfare agencies are run at least as well as business, and others see no faults whatever. Denials on wasting money range from board member Charlotte Engel's "I've never seen it happen," to the judicious statement of Arthur Ackerman, whose Scout activities have been noted:

My observation is that charities don't knowingly waste money. There's always a difference of opinion on how to spend money—in a family or a charity. Our charities are run by good citizens trying to act wisely. I might disagree, but they don't consciously waste money.

Deborah Talbot, the old lady whose daughter is a social worker, makes this pithy comment:

We have different ideas of what is waste. Not going to a cheap dressmaker is a saving.

On balance, it appears that particular agencies have often won complete confidence from persons close to their programs, and there is considerable faith (amounting sometimes to gullibility) among part of the general public. But a strong undertone of distrust and criticism exists. Welfare agencies need to keep their finances strictly in order, and they and their friends must improve their efforts at interpreting overhead and services to prospective donors.

#### Expressing Gratitude

How do givers feel about "thank you" letters? Do they expect them? Do such letters help toward an understanding of welfare needs and promoting further contributions? Or are they regarded as a waste of time and another element in undesirable overhead costs? Opinions differed widely, as is apparent from a sampling of the responses to our question: "Do you think most organizations really show they appreciate what you give them?"

[Dan Ippolito, retired undertaker] I don't know of any way they could express their appreciation. If they wrote to everyone, that would take money.

[Dora Lehman] Do they have to? I don't see the point in that. It's a waste of time. I'm annoyed at the community fund; they must have spent \$2.00 on booster postcards for me last year.

But tardiness is resented:

Lots are slow to send an acknowledgment. I have got printed acknowledgments for something given six weeks before. I have to go to my checkbook to see what it was, it's so long in the past.

Grace Sargent, in the higher-income brackets, introduces a tax reason:

Yes, they do acknowledge gifts. The income tax has made people demand acknowledgments.

A manufacturer likes his acknowledgments in practically negotiable form:

Big advertisers and shopkeepers want recognition, which advertises them. You get your top man and give him evidence of your need, then you show what you'll do in return and how his company will get credit for its donation, and he'll want to know how much circulation his ad will reach.

Father Flanagan's Boys' Home was commended oftener than any other agency for making acknowledgments. Says one contributor, a widow who earns but \$40 a week:

When we started giving to Father Flanagan, they sent a lovely letter and a certificate. I thought that was a *lovely* letter.

Edward Trask, whose gifts totaling \$8,000 in one year have already been celebrated, feels very strongly about highly personalized acknowledgment:

A lot of agencies could show appreciation and encourage people to give next year by a personal letter instead of a folded-in printed form. My father started that; he wrote over two thousand letters, personal ones, for Child Welfare, each one a little different, to the men by name. It got far more response than form letters ever got. And he thanked each by letter, too. A heck of a lot of trouble, but it means a

lot to a person to say, "If that guy writes me a personal letter, busy as he is, then he's all right, and the charity's all right, and I'll give again." It means a lot to me to get a personal letter of thanks.

Several donors reversed the usual attitude, insisting that gratitude was due chiefly from the donor, who through the opportunity to give was meeting a deep personal need. Dorothy Kern, despite sharp words about dictatorial welfare workers, was almost lyrical on this subject:

We need to give. The Dead Sea is dead because it has no outlet. We can't hoard good within us. Where would the sun be if it didn't reflect? You need help, and I need to help you. One half the world helps the other half; it balances out. We need someone who needs us.

### The "Undeserving" Needy

In an earlier day when much "charity" was dispensed personally, givers often tried to confine their gifts to the "deserving." The drunkard, the unmarried mother, the lazy and the shiftless were passed by; it was assumed that helping them would merely confirm and spread bad habits. It is now widely believed that antisocial conduct is the outward manifestation of deeper maladjustments. Severe need is therefore met without reference to moral qualities of the recipient, and an effort is then made to discover and remove the deeper causes of his unhappy condition.

Not all donors accept this position, or are even aware of it. Agencies that serve the "undeserving" find themselves unpopular with some donors, and their funds cut off. Several of our questions were framed to discover whether this attitude toward the "undeserving" persisted, and how strong it was. Question 25 asked whether the donor would prefer to give to "a day nursery where work-

ing mothers could leave their children," or to a "home that took care of *unmarried* mothers and their babies." Question 26 asked for a choice between "a clinic for people with *venereal disease*, or research on public health." On a different level, Question 23 asked for a decision between helping "*handicapped children*" as against "very *gifted children*."

The responses were in many respects surprising. They are given in Table 2, though the reader is warned that this sample is neither large enough nor adequately selected for purposes of wide generalization.

TABLE 2. RESPONSES OF 91 PERSONS TO QUESTIONS BEARING ON INFLUENCE OF "WORTHINESS" OF RECIPIENTS OF CHARITABLE GIFTS

Gift preference	Men		Women		Total	
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
<i>Working or unmarried mothers</i>						
Working mothers	7	21	15	26	22	24
Unmarried mothers	19	56	29	51	48	53
Can't decide; both good	7	20	12	21	19	21
Would give to neither	1	3	1	2	2	2
<i>Venereal disease clinic or public health research</i>						
Venereal disease clinic	10	29	20	35	30	33
Public health research	17	50	20	35	37	41
Can't decide; both good	4	12	12	21	16	18
Would give to neither	2	6	3	5	5	5
No clear answer	1	3	2	4	3	3
<i>Handicapped or gifted children</i>						
Handicapped children	33	97	54	94	87	96
Gifted children	0	0	1	2	1	1
Can't decide; both good	1	3	2	4	3	3
Total	34	100	57	100	91	100

SOURCE: Questionnaire survey.

Little prejudice existed against helping the unmarried mother. Indeed, day nurseries for working mothers won less than half as many supporters as homes for unmarried mothers, with the unmarried being championed only slightly more strongly by men than by women. But comments of some of the respondents showed that old attitudes toward the "undeserving" are not extinct:

[Woman schoolteacher] I'd say the working mothers. I suppose just my good old moral background that I was brought up on.

[Woman] Unmarried mothers would be encouraged to go on if you helped them. I would rather help the decent woman than the other kind.

[Gordon Zwinger] There shouldn't be any unmarried mothers. I'd help working mothers because they had their baby honest, the way the Lord expects them to.

And too much is too much—

[Bella Wilson, Negro great-grandmother] Too much of that, unmarried mothers. I would help the working mothers. Around here, girls have babies every year without any husband. First time it happens to her you feel sorry, but not afterwards!

But extenuating circumstances—

[Dan Ippolito, retired undertaker] Maybe they couldn't help it—had one drink too much. And they need help most.

An unexpected factor (male resistance to women working outside the home) affected the choice several times, as with Calvin Limbert, a married elevator operator:

Unmarried mothers—not always their fault. But I'd choose them first out because I don't believe in a woman working

after they're married, unless they absolutely have to. I've been brought up the old-fashioned way; I think woman's place is in the home.

The children are the important consideration, says Earl Astor, an elderly business executive with an M.A. degree:

It does not make any difference whether the parents are wed or unwed. What is important is the *children* there.

And Mrs. Edwin Carey, whose carefully considered opinions on other subjects we have already quoted, sums up this aspect:

On purely personal grounds, I'd give to unmarried mothers because there you have involved the lives of two people, in a tremendously difficult situation for which they are not completely to blame (and certainly the child not at all), with many people unsympathetic. Neighbors and friends can help the working mother.

Dora Lehman, daughter of a missionary and now a self-styled atheist, sniffed at the moral implication:

Moral implication! Naturally, I would pick unmarried mothers, because fewer people are interested in them. As far as I'm concerned, there's no stigma; everybody gets pregnant in the same way.

Venereal disease is a subject that could not even be mentioned in respectable newspapers or magazines until a very few years ago. That battle has evidently been won. The investigators reported relatively little embarrassment among respondents over this question. While more people chose public health research than support for a venereal disease clinic, this may have been partly a result of balancing the benefits of research against those of a treat-

ment program. In only a few responses was any moral overtone prominent, as for example:

[Woman] I guess I'm kind of unsympathetic with people with venereal diseases.

Before we proceed to the slightly different topic of the needy and presumably deserving versus the specially gifted, it may be well to close the discussion of giving to the "undeserving" with two pertinent comments:

[Ralph Anderson, architect] If anyone says, give to the "deserving" poor, I'd say the "undeserving" need it more!

[Alice Irwin, wife of a streetcar conductor] I wouldn't think less of the unmarried mother than the other; that isn't for me to judge. Where the greatest need was, would be the determining factor.

### *Aiding the Gifted*

In choosing between the handicapped and the gifted there was no contest whatever. Ninety-six per cent of those interviewed prefer giving to the handicapped—many of them expressing wonder that the question was ever raised, since obviously the gifted could get along well without help. Only 1 per cent preferred giving to the gifted and 3 per cent acknowledged merits in both groups. On this question the decision is so nearly unanimous that it must represent a general attitude of the giving public.

Clearly, very few of these people have ever thought about the various levels of giving, and their respective values. Expressed simply, we may do one of three things. We may help people in trouble (relief). Or we may help people out of trouble (cure, rehabilitation). Or we may help people to avoid trouble (prevention). If the last level

is broadened to include removal of the causes of trouble, the general search for knowledge, and helping people to realize their own full capacities for creative work, play, and growth, physical, mental, and spiritual, then the opportunities of philanthropy are well covered.

Most of past philanthropy was prompted by pity, or else by a desire to serve one's own interests or even salvation. Little of it proceeded from thoughtful efforts to prevent the ills from which men suffer, or to promote the conditions of health and creative living. It was natural and perhaps necessary that past giving should have gone chiefly to people in need. While men starve in the streets and the cries of the suffering are sharp in our ears, few can spare time or thought for any but immediate needs.

Now government is taking care of most of the elementary needs. Nevertheless, if our sample is at all representative, few people are able to look beyond the old pattern of helping the needy to the possibilities of "placing ladders upon which the aspiring can rise," to use Andrew Carnegie's expressive phrase. Only four of the 91 respondents would at all consider such a program as against helping the handicapped; but the dissenting comments are worth quoting.

[Edith Drake, college graduate with two young sons] I'd rather give to help the gifted child. The handicapped child is properly an obligation of the state and will be taken care of in some way by the state. But there is not, nor can there be, any program for the gifted child.

[Widow, one year college] I might be tempted to divide it. There can be just as many problems with the gifted child, like not being able to afford private schools and having a child too fast for the public schools.

[Woman, high school plus one year art institute] A gifted



child who doesn't have a chance is a loss for everyone; but it is terrific to start with a handicap.

[Esther Isenstein, one year college, two teen-age daughters] Theoretically I can see that the gifted should be helped "to save the world."

### Government in Welfare

The greatest change in the auspices of health and welfare activities in our generation is the increased operation of government in these fields. The longest single stride in this direction came with the Social Security Act, passed in 1935 but broadened by later amendment. It touches most closely the traditional fields of "charity" in its provisions, in which the states participate, for the needy aged, dependent children, the needy blind, and the permanently and totally disabled. Expenditures by government in these four categories, and for general assistance (in which the federal government does not now participate) amounted to \$2.3 billion in 1952. At least five million persons were benefited from state and federal funds in these programs.

In view of these vast and recent changes, our respondents were asked the following battery of questions on government control:

36. Suppose the government took over the private agencies. How would you feel about that?

37. In general, do you think public, tax-supported agencies do a *better* job for the money, or a *worse* job for the money, than private agencies?

38A. If the government took over the social agencies, and ran them out of taxes, what difference do you suppose it would make to the taxpayers?

B. Do you suppose that *your* extra taxes would come to more than you now *give* to the private agencies?

39. If the government took over the social agencies, what difference do you suppose it would make to the *people who use them*?

These questions, it should be noted, were asked toward the close of the Truman administration. In some cases the answers reflect a violent opinion upon the party in power rather than a considered judgment upon the place of government. It would be instructive to seek in 1955 the answers of these same persons.

Government control of welfare agencies was not popular. Of the 91 respondents, 19 approved; 60 disapproved, and 12 were neutral, or had no opinion at all. Women were somewhat less opposed to government control than men. Fourteen of the 57 women (25 per cent) approved, 35 disapproved, 8 were in doubt. Of the 34 men, only 5 approved (15 per cent), 25 disapproved, and 4 were neutral.

We examined these opinions in the light of family income. In the highest bracket, none of the 9 persons with income of \$25,000 or more approved expansion of government in the welfare field. Seven disapproved, many of them vigorously, and 2 were doubtful. In the \$10,000 under \$25,000 bracket there were 10 respondents; 7 disapproved, and 3—all women—approved of the government taking over social agencies. In the \$5,000 under \$10,000 bracket a substantial minority (31 per cent) registered approval. Unexpectedly, the ratio of approvals dropped for the under \$5,000 bracket, totaling only 8 approvals against 31 disapprovals and 7 doubtful.

The forceful, varied, and numerous comments which these questions elicited are suggested by these selections:

No! No! There's too much government in everything now. England's trying that. Socialized medicine and doctors—absolutely no! It would lead to increase in taxes, no question

about it. Government never has proved its efficiency in spending money.

[Wealthy Grace Sargent] They'd be run as badly as most things the government runs—probably worse. If the present people now running things did it, it would be catastrophic. . . . I am violently opposed to the welfare state.

A post-office clerk gives an insider's view:

I don't think they do as good a job as private agencies. In government agencies a lot of people get salaries for hardly any service. But extra taxes would probably be less than what I now give; they would reach a lot of people who give nothing to charities.

A number emphasized graft and chiseling:

It's no good. There'd be too much graft and crookedness if they took over. The politicians would get half of it.

[Charles Duffy, bookkeeper] I'm very much against the government taking over private agencies. Did you follow the Kefauver investigation? Do you want some more stuff like that? Grafting and chiseling! I don't believe in socialized government. Lots of people would go for their handout who ordinarily wouldn't go to a private agency. There'd be more chiseling and cheating by the people who are getting the help as well as those who run the agencies. Anything run by government is too susceptible to chiseling and cheating.

And people might starve:

They have taken over so much now. If they keep their nose out of some things, then maybe others can live and get by. . . . Probably there'd be so much red tape that people would starve to death before they could cut the tape.

But it would be nice to get something for our taxes, thinks Ruth Reynolds.

I don't want any more government in anything. But if they are going to take such high taxes, let's get something out of it.

[Negro] The government should support the essential social services. There's taxes on everything, so at least you'd know where some of your tax money was being used. Something supported by the government is more efficient for the simple reason that it has more financial backing.

Though the clear approvals were few in number, the reasons put forward need the careful consideration of voluntary welfare agencies. They reflect little genuine enthusiasm for government operation, but chiefly complaints about private agencies or needs they fail to meet. These minority comments are therefore presented with more completeness than their relative numbers would warrant.

[Esther Isenstein, wife of prosperous lawyer] Somebody's going to yell about more taxes, but I suppose it would be more efficient in the end. I imagine a government agency would be very efficient, handling funds, handling problems, personal contacts with people.

[Wife of salesman] It would be nice if the government took over private agencies. The government could combine agencies and not allow one to work against the others. Our contribution would be one general one, as a tax. Public agencies are just as good. I have friends working in them, and they try just as hard and have the same training. It would make no difference to people who use them, except people might feel they were cold-hearted; it depends on the individual social workers.

[Harriet Carr, student nurse] It would be like a large community chest. Sitting here, it sounds like a fine idea. Your money would be divided according to need, and would go where needed most. But the government mixes everything in

red tape, and would make a business of giving; you'd lose self-satisfaction. Final results of public agencies are probably more efficient in the end. They are staffed with trained people. The people who use them would feel it was coming to them as citizens, or rather as taxpayers. But ignorant people . . . would lie down and just receive the benefits, instead of trying to be self-sufficient.

It would help level out the giving burden:

Of course there'd be plenty of people yipping about the welfare state; and it would depend upon whether it can be kept out of politics. For some people the taxes would come to more, because they don't give at all; but for very large givers it would come to less. I'd like to see some people taxed—those that pay \$40 for a hat and then won't give to community projects.

Recipients would benefit:

[Ira Barnes] Government definitely should support the essential social services. That would make the thing more impersonal—take away the feeling of inferiority for those that receive under a private system.

And government is better than charity doctors:

Government can check better. It would be very good for the people. They'd have their own government-supported doctors, and not charity doctors, and they'd give them more time and care.

And the dissatisfied taxpayer could put on pressure:

Public agencies would do a better job. They know that if the public is not pleased, they'll yelp.

There might be less sponging:

I believe I would approve of government taking over

the private agencies. The government might be more strict, and people would be investigated more carefully. There wouldn't be so many sponging off these agencies.

High salaries in voluntary agencies are a red flag:

In some cases it would be much better if government took over the private agencies. It would cut down so many big guys, big heads; more money for needs. The tax-supported agencies do a pretty good job!

Needs must be met, insists Alice Irwin, who gets along without complaint on a family income of \$3,700:

I feel if there is a need for relief, and it isn't met through a private agency or church group, then the government must do it. The *need* must be met some way. Some people say there is too much socialization, but if no one else will do it, the government must. I feel the same way about socialized medicine. Nothing should stand in the way of physical relief.

Perhaps the final word may be given to Ellen Buttrick, the widow who spoke so eloquently about the need for the personal touch:

I suspect that private agencies do a better job. But that's just in the nature of things; private ones are more personalized, and you know how I feel about that. Also, I'm thoroughly convinced that anything which is run by the government is run wastefully. And people would do the way they do in England—expect an awful lot more than is right. It would discourage their initiative, and encourage their depending on agencies.

## 4. Fund-Raising Techniques

Methods in fund-raising are legion, being the inventions of thousands of experienced full-time professionals and resourceful part-time amateurs. Doorbell pushing, mail appeals, collection plates in church, tag days, opportunity sales, benefit bridges, minstrel shows, carnivals, musicales, barn dances, style shows, television talkathons, seals, cookies, bazaars, engraved pencils, canisters in stores, collections in school, wage deductions in plants, solicitation by friends, sweepstakes, selling shoestrings, open begging in the streets—these are only a few of the ways in which philanthropic funds are garnered. What does the donor think about some of these techniques?

### *Door-to-Door Canvassing*

We had fewer comments on door-to-door canvassing than anticipated. The general attitude is boredom and mild dislike. But usually the sheer nuisance value of the call results in some giving, though its amount depends on the change in hand or the mood of the moment, with little relation to any estimate of the worthiness of the cause.

[Dan Ippolito, retired] I don't care for people coming to the house to solicit. If they catch me in the right mood, I give; if not, I don't.

Beth Campbell, schoolteacher, wants more time to think:

I much prefer having an envelope sent to me so I can

enclose whatever I feel I'm able to give them. You can do it at your convenience then. If they come, I may not have the time, or I don't have the right change. Maybe I have only a \$5.00 bill and only want to give them \$1.00, but I wouldn't ask them for change; so I'd either give more than I can afford, or else less.

Keeping at it brings in some money, but little understanding:

This morning a colored preacher was at the door. He comes once a year. I didn't give, because he was here last week and I gave him 50 cents. The preacher said he missed houses, and was merely picking them up by going back down the line. He always gives me a little thing telling about his mission, but I didn't read it. I don't know what the mission is, but I know him when he comes along every year.

One is resentful:

I don't like it. It makes you feel forced into it, shamed into contributing. You feel like a heel if you refuse.

Several are merely tolerant:

We have people collecting at the door so often I'm used to it. I don't mind.

It's all right. I have done it, and I know it has to be done.

If I know them, I don't mind, and we always give. If I don't know them, I would hesitate and maybe would not. A personal request we always give to.

They might be robbers—

I don't mind it, if it is a charitable organization that I know about. But a stranger, it is different—he might use it as a front to get in and steal your money.

Telephone plus personal call is a suspicious circumstance, says Arthur Ackerman:

So many just call you up, and say they will send someone right over. And what comes is obviously a professional organizer who handles lots of appeals and takes a stiff percentage. If I recognize them as professional fund-raisers, I don't give at all.

Be sure to send a known person, advises Harriet Janeway, whose amateur soliciting for the YWCA we have noted:

It's not a bad idea, coming to the home—personal. I used to do it. If you phone to make an appointment, they can always say, No. I don't know if I'd want a stranger to come. It's a poor organization that sends a stranger. They can always find a contact to send.

It may even result in a better contribution, says Sam Eckman:

If I know them, it is the proper way to do it. They know your circumstances. They won't expect or ask you to contribute more than you are able. But they won't let you get away with giving \$2.00 when you can afford \$10.

Mrs. Carey, a volunteer worker herself and interested in the personal approach, really enjoys these visits:

I think it is one of the best ways of doing it, provided they make an effort not to come at an inconvenient time—when you are preparing supper. Usually people who do come have a very agreeable personality. Personal contact comes in.

### *Mail Appeals*

In sheer bulk, mail appeals outnumber all others, and frequently the mail is used to "soften up" the prospect for

approach personally or in other ways. Liberal contributors, whose names are sometimes traded between welfare agencies and sometimes accumulated and sold by unethical lettershops, find themselves bombarded by literally hundreds of appeals in a year.

The mailings are of various types. Most common is the appeal complete in one mailing. Usually a letter outlines the urgent need; a handsomely illustrated folder describes the agency and its work; and a return envelope, often stamped, pointedly invites a reply. Sometimes merchandise is enclosed, varying from Christmas seals to pens with one's name engraved, or personalized auto-license key-chain tags. Seals, hallowed by long tradition, will be discussed later. The sending of unauthorized merchandise, particularly when it is personalized so that it cannot even be returned, is frowned upon by reputable agencies. Some mailings may make little or no attempt at immediate collections. They explain the purposes and activities of the agency, or perhaps they are the "thank you" letters we have already noticed.

Corporation president Harold Butts, who clears his appeals through the Better Business Bureau and usually gives only on solicitation from persons he knows, likes some letters:

Father Flanagan—I liked the idea from their literature. In this case it was strictly the literature, no appeal from a friend. For the United Negro College Fund, a good letter got my money.

Harriet Carr (aged twenty) is impressed by sheer repetition and bulk:

I give to the one with the greatest advertising, and the

one that makes it easy to give—theater collecting, bottles in stores, letters with coupons and self-addressed envelopes.

Senior citizen Benjamin Bailey, who gets “a big kick out of giving” to certain agencies, resists new appeals:

I get a lot of letters, and I don't take on any new ones any more. I just keep what I had.

The postal flood is wasted on retired undertaker Dan Ippolito:

We have a stack of mail, all pleas for money. There are so many demands for money; everyone is begging for money. I don't like it. I gave \$166 to my church last year; I feel that is enough. [Respondent gave \$6.00 to all other causes.]

Most of the complaints about mail appeals are included in the long comment of Esther Fisher, a widow of ample income who is evidently on many lists:

I resent very much getting things through the mail. I think I'm on every sucker list. And being on the third floor, I resent going downstairs and finding nothing but something from Father Flanagan's Boys' Town. I resent this particularly because they send year after year, whether you respond or not. Many of them depend on volunteer help to get the mail out. I've written to the Heart Association, telling them that I was sure my contribution would do no more than just about cover the cost of the mail they get out, and if they didn't do something about it, I'd stop contributing. I resent it when they keep on sending even when I write and tell them to take me off their lists.

The increasing flood of mail appeals is one of the chief goads toward federated giving, as a later chapter points out. But the very fact that such mailings continue indi-

cates that these mail appeals are often welcomed, and on the whole are effective as a fund-raising technique.

### *Friends as Solicitors*

The method used in soliciting—mail, door-to-door, radio, television, benefit, or any of the hundred others—may be less important than the person. A remarkable number of the contributions recorded in these interviews came through the influence of friends, whether by visit to home or office, by letter, or simply through the fact that the friend was a board member of the agency. A friend or neighbor could even collect for agencies which were not themselves liked. Arthur Ackerman makes the general confession:

It is an awful thing to say, but the best way to approach people is chiefly by having friends act as solicitors. You have to give to friends, if they ask you.

A lady echoes him:

A personal call you can't say “No” to, and so I always give if a friend asks it.

Ralph Anderson is an architect with a substantial income. In running over his contributions he chanced to make these enlightening comments on the influence of friends:

YMCA—personal appeal of a neighbor. I don't particularly like it. A lot of gifts are secured like that, a friend's appeal. . . . Mercy Hospital—we go there if there is any trouble in the family; also, the president of my Company is chairman of the Board. . . . Methodist Hospital—our children's doctor is on the Board. He has asked me to go to their meetings and sponsor their drives. We think very highly of him, so I do. . . . I usually say “No” to most appeals. I give to the groups I know, and additional ones are usually a personal friend's appeal.

Famous acquaintances are particularly persuasive; this businessman still contributes to a certain agency because, years ago, Henry Ford asked him to:

I give to [a certain interfaith organization]. I'd known Henry Ford, played golf with him. He asked me to give \$500, and to ask a number of friends for \$500. I also give to [a religious education organization]. That was a direct appeal from Eddie Rickenbacker, who is a close business and personal friend of mine.

And Edward Trask, who solicits as well as gives, admits the values of the personal approach:

Because of my name, I can get into a lot of offices; it's just true, I may as well admit it. It gets me into practically everywhere, but it also gets resistance. I can see people, but they don't *have* to give me the money. I know from personal experience, it works both ways.

Esther Fisher, who so bitterly resents appeals by mail, herself does some collecting from friends, though she believes in the low-pressure approach:

When they give me names of people I know, I go and say, "Don't give because I'm asking. If you're not interested, don't give." They tell me I shouldn't do that, but that has brought good results for me.

Grace Sargent, indefatigable board member and liberal contributor, is troubled by friends' solicitations, but usually gives:

Most of us give to what interests us, plus what friends solicit for. A personal appeal is hard to deal with, if for something that doesn't particularly interest me. You naturally help your friends' causes, but if you do, you take from those you are interested in yourself. . . . So much of giving

is on the basis of friendship; often it is easier to give than to say "No." If a friend asked me for money for something whose value I questioned, I'd accept it on faith but would give the minimum amount.

### *Publishing Names of Contributors*

With a view to stimulating giving, and perhaps shaming nongivers, many welfare agencies, colleges, and even churches publish the names of contributors. This may be done in the milder forms of alphabetical lists of sponsors, patrons, sustaining members, and the like, or it may be a forthright list of names with amounts given. Very large gifts are often further publicized in the press. The New Testament admonition to "take heed that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen of them; otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven," is an ethical concept more admired than followed, at least by agencies desiring to put maximum pressure on givers. How do givers feel about it?

Respondents were almost unanimously opposed to publication of names of givers, especially if amounts were included. Their opinions varied from the absolute "Anonymous giving is the only way" to observations on the dangers of comparison. Dorothy Kern, who supports herself on an income of less than \$2,000 and reports "Since 5, I've taken it on the chin," feels this way:

Giving is a private and personal affair. John Jones, a millionaire, gives \$250; I give \$5.00. It means more to me to give \$5.00 than for him to give \$250. Publishing amounts is rather unfair; it is catering to money.

Or it may improperly influence the gift:

[A working mother] Publishing amounts is distinctly a

bad idea. People either refuse to give at all because they are ashamed that they can't give more, or they give 'way over their heads to make an impression. Either way, it is not the right attitude.

There is less objection, however, if the names are published without the amounts. But one donor threatened action if his name was published in a list of large contributors:

In this area the community chest published the names of people who gave \$100 or more. I had a friend who gave \$99.99, so furious he was, and threatened not to give any more, if they continued publishing. The chest no longer does it.

Corporation president Harold Butts had "no great objection," and a young housewife saw no problem beyond the giver's own choice:

If he wants his name made public, okay; anonymous, okay. It depends on the giver.

Ira Barnes objected personally, but saw the advantage to the agency:

My college lists people who give \$100 or more. That's bad because it appeals to the prestige-minded. But good for the organization, possibly.

Benjamin Bailey, the senior citizen who gets such a kick out of giving, sees positive advantages, at least in his church:

[Pointing to his name and amount in a church list] That's a good thing, because it stops bickering in the parish about who gives and who doesn't.

Agencies know that substantial contributions can be obtained from "the prestige-minded" by personal publicity on gifts, including such devices as program lists of sponsors and the like. Such contributions, however, should probably be balanced against the effects of apparent widespread disapproval of other givers.

### *School Solicitation*

For a number of years most schools have permitted drives for funds among school children. The American National Red Cross, for example, began its Junior memberships in 1917; in World War II such memberships rose to a high mark of just under 20 million; for 1952 they stood at 19 million. Substantially all these memberships were the result of classroom drives. In most schools such collections are limited to a few drives a year, including usually the Red Cross, perhaps two or three other national health agencies, the community chest, and possibly a special fund for aid of children in this or other schools. In church-related schools drives may be held for various religious causes.

Soliciting in schools is advocated on the principle that children should become acquainted with community needs and agencies and should be trained in giving money for such purposes. In many schools the children themselves have a substantial part in organizing and conducting the drives. A factor less frankly expressed is the very substantial sums often collected by this means.

When our respondents were asked, "How do you feel about the fund-raising campaigns for children in the schools?" their replies varied widely. Some felt this was just another way of gouging father:



Parents are hounded enough; it comes out of them. It is a left-handed way of gouging father. Sometimes if kids can earn the money, this is good.

It isn't right. Why do they hit us twice? We can't get out of giving at work, and then we've got to give through the schools. We don't even bother to ask anymore what it is. The kids tell us they have to give; okay, we give it to them.

Beth Campbell has naturally the teacher's slant on this whole question:

I don't like them, frankly. It's bound to take time away from classes, and after all the children are going to school to learn. And it does put some children in an embarrassing situation. We try not to let it, but it can't be helped at times. They're a big source of income, though, for those funds.

In our school it's really done by the students, but of course the teachers have to help. Red Cross, Crippled Children, March of Dimes, community chest, I'm not sure about Heart. . . . You run into a few who say, "My parents have to give; why should I?" And one who says, "My mother doesn't like your high pressure salesmanship." That's an exception, of course. And then you get some that really just can't afford it. But we never make an example of somebody who doesn't contribute.

Several were concerned about unfair comparisons, and embarrassment to the children:

[Benjamin Bailey] There might be some real poor children who couldn't afford to give with the rest. It would embarrass them. I think if they get the parents to give, that's enough.

[An editor] I wouldn't like it if it embarrasses any child among his classmates, or is made a prestige question among children.

Some object because of actual or potential compulsion.

Mrs. Edwin Carey, whose willingness to work as a volunteer we have recorded, stresses this point:

It is good for children to feel they are helping if they can. On the other hand, children whose families have not much money to spend are sometimes put in embarrassing positions. I am against the 100 per cent idea; or stressing size of the contribution. My children come and say, "We *have* to give to so-and-so." There is room for improvement in that situation. In my school days, it was entirely voluntary, and working together—putting on an amateur circus, or the like.

So also says Harold Butts:

They shouldn't do much fund-raising in schools. Children don't have judgment. It would just all be pressure; they'd be made ashamed if they couldn't give.

Even "voluntary" giving, when the sympathies of children are played upon, amounts to exploitation, says this mother, citing her ten-year-old son:

They spoke about a Mission at school. He was so enthusiastic about it that, several days in a row, he dropped in the missions box the \$1.25 for his lunches, and took his lunches on credit. I discovered that after a while, and went to one of the nuns to protest, saying that it was all right to ask the children to give part of their allowance, but not to induce them to put in an amount of money they could not afford themselves. The nun said she did not like these fund-raising campaigns; the children should be let alone, she thought. But the head of the school is of another opinion.

It uses up their excess money—

Fund-raising in schools? Oh, I don't know. Our kids need to be taught to share. It's good for them to give, for most of them have too much money for their own good, nowadays.

It is useful training, say several parents:

Giving in schools is a very good idea. It gives the children a chance to realize the importance of contributing, and gets them started on their own track. It is at least started as a habit, and later on they realize what it is all about.

I favor children getting used to helping less fortunate people at an early age. Of course when they solicit children, it's the parents that are giving. But I think it's wise to get the children used to it—once a year, of course.

Martha Urban, mother of four, points out that for real educational value the gift must be the child's own money:

Children should be told to give what they save themselves, not just something they get from a parent to give. That is good for children; it teaches them charity, gets them used to the idea of giving.

Not only their own money is important, but the spirit of giving:

It's good training in giving to ask the children to give from their own allowance. But there should be no embarrassment involved as far as amount is concerned. It should be put very carefully so that no matter what they give, it will be considered a legitimate contribution. Like the woman who came to church with her offering, saying, "My box is very light, but it is full of prayer"—they should emphasize that with a child.

#### Shop Solicitation

A fascinating study could be made of changes in the places of charitable solicitation. Church, home, school, shop, street-corner, theater—all are involved. In recent years the proportion of welfare contributions that have been sought and obtained in the place of work has mark-

edly increased. Such contributions may be from the company itself—corporation giving—or from the workers—employee giving. We have discussed corporation giving elsewhere in considerable detail.<sup>1</sup> But our present questionnaires reached several corporation executives or retail proprietors, and two of the comments are worth recording. The first is from Arthur Ackerman, executive in a large paper company:

Vets, Gold Star mothers, firemen, et cetera. The office gets 20 tickets to a picnic, or something like that, and I have to pay for them. We give the tickets to the employees; nobody knows if they are ever used. For the plant here, if we gave \$100 to the Red Cross last year, then we have to this year. It has to be a big appeal for a *new* charity to break into that picture.

The picture is quite different in this bicycle repair shop:

There were twelve in yesterday, coming right in like panhandling. It should be combined into one fund; then you wouldn't mind. You get a store full of people, and give money without asking what for. That's a bad thing. They all come into the store, and I just give to anyone to get rid of them, especially if we are busy right then. You want to keep them happy; and if a customer, we have to do it.

In our study of corporations we found that 65 per cent of all the companies sampled—and 100 per cent of the large ones—permitted employee solicitations in the plant. In some cases these were limited to one or two a year, in others there were few limitations. About half the companies permitted payroll deductions for charitable con-

<sup>1</sup> Andrews, F. Emerson, *Corporation Giving*. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1952. See also *Manual of Corporate Giving*, edited by Ruml and Geiger, National Planning Association, Washington, 1952.

tributions. Wage and salaried workers are now contributing large amounts to welfare funds from their work places.

In this survey the final questionnaire asked no direct opinions on shop solicitation, but questions about Mark, who chose to pay his debts rather than support his shop's 100 per cent contribution record, and several general questions, inspired comments on this subject.

Not one respondent expressed enthusiasm for payroll deductions or collections in the office and workshop. A few recognized the advantages for the agencies, or "never got mad" about being asked to contribute. Others were shamed into giving. Still others felt that undue pressures were being exerted, amounting sometimes to absolute compulsion; they particularly resented the "100 per cent" type of drive.

Sam Eckman raised no great objection:

You catch a lot that way that you wouldn't otherwise. I have never heard anyone quibble when asked to make a contribution. I have had fellows come up and say, "How about a fin? [\$5.00] We are trying to make a record for the office." I never got mad at that.

A policeman, supporting a family of four on \$3,000, "gives" \$5.00 to each of two drives, Red Cross and community chest, in the office. His wife says:

We just give to the two he had to give to at his work. We have too hard a time just buying groceries. It comes, I think, right out of his pay, and he is not even asked how much he wants to give. If I were boss, I'd think it should be voluntary. But many would not give then at all. Maybe they have to do it that way.

The persuasions may be social:

Red Cross, you have to sign up at work. That's the way they do it. If you don't sign up, they laugh at you.

[Ira Barnes] In Red Cross and community chest, there is social pressure through the office. In this campaign a number at the office did not give, and I felt like a fool, giving. In the back of my mind I feel they do some good, but I don't know how effective they are. In the office it is not direct pressure, it is something that is felt. It is part conscience, and part not wanting to be considered a piker.

One employee thinks the company is stealing credit:

My company puts ads in the paper about charity. But who gives? The employees. They feel great—the company gets the credit. It's a hold up.

Employers are sometimes ashamed of pressure methods, as is Arthur Ackerman:

I'm irritated with the sales-chart method. It persists because people at the top know those tactics are successful. An old professor of mine taught public speaking and had a course in persuasion. He spoke of "dynamic epithets" like "You're a slacker!" or "You're yellow!" and "Come on, don't let the gang down!" I've used the words, but I dislike it. . . . You want people to give openheartedly—not use persuasion on them.

But the pressures come, say these two respondents:

My husband worked some place where they told him how much to give—didn't ask him what he wanted to give. I don't think that's very nice. A person should give what they can afford. Where I worked, you could give what you wanted; that was okay.

[Clifford Foster, unconventional businessman] They're victims of that idiotic "let's set a record" business! Who cares about it? It's just the childishness of our system. You do

that with kids in grammar school! That's one of the reasons I prefer to give privately rather than through such a "record" campaign, which irritates me.

Ellen Buttrick, from her small-town background, resents the pressures and impersonal yardsticks of shop solicitation:

I disapprove violently of the fact that businessmen are pressured in their office where their salaries are known, and I gather they are expected to pay a certain per cent. That is not voluntary giving, certainly not. It is not a gift. It is a business requirement, holding him up at the point of a pistol. Also, no one knows what the man's real obligations are. He may be supporting a whole family . . . a parent in an institution where money runs out like water; he may not be willing to tell his boss that he has an insane brother. He may be giving much to his church, or have sent 100 CARE packages, and is not going to boast about it.

Employee giving, with its present frequent characteristics of united drives, payroll deductions, and semi-compulsory quotas, bears many resemblances to a tax for community welfare. It is not surprising that one of these resemblances is the almost universal complaint of the taxpayers, who nevertheless have not suggested a better system, and will sometimes acknowledge that the money is needed and must be raised. This is no excuse, however, for permitting abuses to rise or failing to exert every possible effort to individualize, explain, and personalize the causes for which gifts are sought, so that willing generosity rather than duty, or fear of being "considered a piker," shall be the motive.

#### *The Use of Seals*

For many years the sale of seals as a fund-raising device was limited to tuberculosis drives. Tuberculosis Christmas

seals were sponsored by the Red Cross from 1907 to 1919, and since 1919 by the National Tuberculosis Association. In recent years several health, conservation, and other organizations have adopted this same device, usually at different seasons. To sound out present giver attitudes toward seals our respondents were asked, "How do you feel about getting Christmas or Easter seals in the mail? Do you like to use the seals? If you don't want them, do you send them back?"

Responses varied from the already noted Fanny Green, who reported, "I just stick them in the stove," to enthusiastic endorsement. Some, including businessmen Arthur Ackerman and Harold Butts, buy, but deplore:

When I get them I feel put upon—but I usually send the dollar. But I don't like it. You feel the obligation; if you keep them and don't pay, it's like stealing. I think it's effective, though.

I don't send them back, and I don't use them, either. It makes me mad to be sent something I'll have to pay for or send back—even for a very worthy cause. I send a check, but I don't like it.

And some buy, but scorn to use:

Seals are a waste. If they send you \$2.00 worth, you send them at least \$1.00 and throw the rest away, but you'd feel guilty if you didn't send something. I don't even use the stamps, because I don't like them. I don't believe in doing things flamboyantly, shouting that you've given to TB by using stamps all over the place.

Still others are unalterably opposed, for a variety of reasons:

[Clifford Foster] I dislike any imposition on my privacy like sending me something that I must either buy or send back. It's a business proposition. I guess I am very English

in this way: my house is my home, and I don't want to have business there.

[Charles Duffy, bookkeeper] Seals are a waste of time, money, material. I doubt if there's much response; people are busy with Christmas preparations. You forget until after Christmas, then it's too late, and it goes into the wastepaper basket. I never respond at all.

[Dorothy Kern] It is presumptuous to send something to a person—it is holding them up. A good cause but a bad principle; necktie firms run on the same basis.

[Gordon Zwinger, a religious tither] I can throw them away quick. Never use them.

Here, however, are some favorable comments:

[Alice Irwin] I like to use seals very much. Very fine, very intelligent way to collect money. They express the spirit of giving at Christmas, particularly.

[Edward Trask] Seals are a necessity in the mail. I give \$25 for them. If I didn't get the seals in the mail, I'd forget at Christmas. Even better at Easter, as it is not the busy gift time. I like to use seals. I don't send them back; we put them on cards and on gifts under our tree.

You get something for your money:

It's good, because you use the seals. It would be just like any other ordinary seals that you would buy at Christmas time.

Seals are fine. You get them and you use them. You get something for your money besides giving to somebody who needs help.

However, payment may be forgotten:

I use seals. I haven't sent the money in yet [interview in May!] but I will. I keep forgetting it.

In some cases the purchaser does not know what he is benefiting. One man declared that the work he most liked to support was Easter seals. Asked about the tuberculosis seals at Christmas, he said he thought Easter seals were for tuberculosis. When his wife told him they were for crippled children, it was still the Easter seals that he liked. Others go along with the traditional tuberculosis seals, but not the new campaigns:

[Benjamin Bailey] I feel that's got to be a racket now, because there are so many of them. I get around six kinds at Christmas time, but I only give to the TB institute.

[Catherine Hall] I don't mind seals. It's a very good way to get money. But when too many people use the same method—first only Christmas seals, then Valentine, Easter—you become a little careless. Too many makes a blunting effect on your sensibilities.

The verdict is divided. But it is evident that the multiplication of such campaigns is becoming a nuisance and rousing resentment. A device that was widely accepted so long as it was unique is being damaged, and may be ruined, by its imitators.

### *Tag Days*

The selling of tags on the streets—poppies for veterans' causes and various symbols for other agencies—is a common fund-raising technique. For a popular cause, considerable social pressure is developed both by the omnipresent taggers and the example of others. The "taggers" are usually volunteers, though sometimes crews of professionals go from city to city, profiting handsomely from a percentage of their receipts or "buying" the tags at a certain standard price and keeping for themselves their

additional take. Cities that supervise solicitations through licensing and similar procedures often limit the number of tag days and try to enforce some controls.

We asked our respondents, "How do you feel about tag days?" and sometimes also inquired, "If you lose your tag, do you buy another?" The second question was primarily an attempt to discover whether purchase of the tag was dictated by a genuine interest in the cause or chiefly social pressure to be wearing a tag. Too few persons had lost their tags, or could convincingly put themselves in that position, for significant conclusions on that score. The first question elicited the usual wide variety of replies, breaking about evenly between approval of tagging in general and opposition to the practice.

Approvals included these statements:

Tags reach a lot of people who are happy to give a little. Hard on the taggers—but an inoffensive and economical way to raise money.

They don't ask for a definite amount of money. They appreciate what you give, either a penny or a dollar—wonderful.

[Wealthy Arthur Ackerman] Irritating, but fundamentally all right. You get away cheap. Yet tag days get more money than big overall campaigns and from more people.

The benefit of a tag is to stop people from asking after you've contributed.

Consider, also, the personality of the tagger—

I have never turned a tagger down; as a matter of fact, I have a lot of fun with them. They're donating their own time, but in other organizations half your money goes to other things, salaries, office work, et cetera. I like an organization with a personal approach.

[Man, aged thirty] It is generally kids out selling. I don't mind. I get a kick out of it. I buy if I have a dime; if not, I don't.

[Man, aged forty-six] A pain in the neck. I look around for a beautiful girl, and get tagged by an ugly old woman.

There may be too much:

Heart not so bad, poppy okay. But Jewish relief! They always stick them under your nose and even chase you half a block.

When not too many, tag days are very good. But there shouldn't be more than two or three a year.

The objectors were numerous, and some of them felt quite strongly:

I will not buy a tag. A woman forced one on me once; I had no money. It's a kind of blackmail.

[Dan Ippolito] I stay off the street on tag day. I don't buy the first tag if I can help it.

[Business executive Earl Astor] I dislike tag days very much. In the first place, the per cent which goes to the charity is comparatively small. In the second place, I don't like to carry a tag on me just so I don't get solicited at every corner. There's no selectivity—just the desire of not being conspicuous; I don't like this position.

Mrs. Edwin Carey would have more thoughtful giving:

People will pick small change and put it in to get rid of solicitors, while if they had time to think of the purpose of the thing, they would give more.

Mrs. Fred Culp, an inexperienced and superstitious tagger, says:

Yes, I tagged. Went out on the wrong day, and almost got sent to jail. I had good luck after tagging.

While an experienced tagger reports both sides:

I think it is an appalling waste of time for the amount of money collected. It does bring money from sources which wouldn't be touched in any other way. I have tagged a lot. Preparing the lists of people, replacements in case of emergency, the spots, everything, may take a whole summer—a terrible job. The actual day of tagging is the least of it. Of course in one day, involving 52 agencies, they got over \$100,000. Yet that is not economically rewarding when you count all the hours spent. But the head of the organization does not agree with me.

### **Street Begging**

Social agencies have for many years been preaching the un wisdom of giving to street beggars, pointing out that many are professionals who make handsome incomes, that these persons could usually find jobs, that in cases of real need social agencies will take care of them, and that the money so gained is often spent for drink or other dubious purposes. These preachments have reached the public, if our respondents are at all representative. Seven out of every eight respondents thoroughly disapproved of street begging, often in the very terms the agencies have been using.

But intellectual opinion and emotional action are not the same thing. Many of the disapproving continue to give. And if the street solicitor carries pencils or shoe-strings, he becomes a reputable salesman, and our respondents approved of him by a majority of nearly two to one.

The people speak, first disapprovingly:

I just had a bad personal experience. On the streetcar a bum—he was drunk—bragged that he could bum more money than others could earn. They do, too.

[Benjamin Bailey] Giving to beggars on the street is a bad idea, because most of that money goes for whiskey.

I don't believe in giving to street beggars. I've stood on corners and given out dimes and then watched them beat it to the nearest saloon. An able-bodied man today can find some kind of work if he doesn't want to mooch his way.

[A filling-station attendant] It's a bad idea, for most anyone can get work if they wish. I can't get anyone even to mow the lawn, and I don't have time.

And here are some varied experiences:

There was a couple that came to the office where I worked. The woman was pregnant. I collected clothes, including baby clothes, for them personally. Then I discovered they were joining churches all over the city and getting help. I was a sucker.

[Sam Eckman] I won't give to beggars. You want to know why? A long time ago, around 1925, I was working for a new office building downtown. One day, after having a few, I saw a beggar and he gave me the old song and dance. I said, "Do you want a job? The building where I work has two very long stairways and I can get you a job washing them. You will get janitor's pay which is around \$68 every two weeks." He said, "Okay." So I took him and put him on the payroll. . . . He kept those stairways clean for three months and then one day he didn't show up. I then got a call from the police. I went down to the station and found he was a "hoppy." [On dope.] I told him I would give him another chance. He said begging was easier.

The lame walk in this modern miracle—

Every Sunday a beggar sat there at my church. I watched

him. When his hat was full of money he stood up and walked away; nothing was wrong with him. He may die and leave a couple of thousand dollars.

A good story appeals to tolerant Clifford Foster:

It depends. There are occasions when they come along with a good story. . . . I gave quite a lot to a man who told me he wanted to have a clean bed; I thought it was a good story! I gave a lot another time to another man who told me he wanted to drink; I thought that was a good story, too—a true one!

The spirit of Christmas intervenes for Mrs. Edwin Carey:

Many people have told me it is a bad idea to give to beggars. But there have been times when I have felt impelled to give something to someone, sometimes not even beggars. On Christmas Day I was going to church. I saw a man with only one leg. I gave him a part of the money that I was going to give to the church, and asked him to get a good dinner for himself.

Many felt that the offer of pencils or shoestrings took the curse away, and was even legitimate merchandising:

[Martha Urban] It's a good idea to buy from men who sell pencils or shoestrings. At least they're trying to earn an honest living. More power to them! [But for ordinary street beggars] Bad idea. A lot will hit the nearest tavern and drink it down.

There's an elderly woman who comes around with an assortment. I don't think that's charity; she's actually working, and I find it very handy to have her stop because we don't have a dime store in the neighborhood.

But some pencil-sellers are "moochers":

Patronizing pencil-sellers is not so good. They are

moochers in most, and don't like it if you do take their pencils or shoestrings.

And these respondents give for a variety of reasons:

[Ruth Reynolds, housewife and college graduate] I usually do give; maybe I'm funny.

[Ralph Anderson, well-to-do architect] Not a good idea, but I usually do it. I don't know when he may be bona fide. I feel, "There, but for the grace of God, go I."

[Catherine Hall] People in social work have said it's a bad idea. And yet at times you do it. Many times they are impostors. Yet if anyone came to my door and asked for food, I don't think I could refuse them.

[Ben Irvin, Negro post-office clerk] I'm more or less neutral on giving to beggars. I always give them something, though. It is usually a pretty worthless person, and what you give or don't give is not going to make them any better. When I was 17 I went away from home. I was robbed by two strong men. I had to ask strangers for money. So I know what it means!

I always do, I don't know why; it's a habit I have. I feel sorry for them, I can't pass them up. . . . I think I give more to them than anything else.

Personal satisfaction for the giver is perhaps the real answer to the continuance of giving to beggars. Witness Arthur Ackerman's frank confession:

I don't like giving so much as I seem to have to. But sometimes I feel more saintly if I give. I feel better giving 25 cents to a beggar. I feel sorry for him. I feel more uplifted giving him 25 cents than giving 25 dollars to some impersonal organization.



## 5. *Federated Fund-Raising*

During World War I the multiplication of appeals of all sorts, including those for relief of sufferers in Europe, induced some 400 communities to organize war chests for joint solicitation of funds. After the war most of these disbanded, but the chest idea had been firmly planted; in the early 1920's permanent chests, usually known as community chests, began to increase in number. There are now some 1,500, covering substantially every large community in the United States. Other financial federations exist—notably in the religious field—but chests are the outstanding examples.

The community chest ("fund," "federation," and "united fund" are alternative names) is a contributor-and-agency-controlled organization whose principal duties are acquiring and spreading information on welfare needs, coordinating the work and reviewing budgets for the participating agencies, campaigning for contributions to meet the chest's accepted share of these budgets, and disbursing these funds to the agencies. The public is chiefly aware of the fund-collecting activities, and in these a substantial part of this public shares as volunteers.

Chest executives believe that programs of participating agencies are favorably affected by the chest's requirement of annual review and a degree of budgetary control. Duplications with other agencies are often eliminated, economies in operation effected, and sometimes needed extensions of service suggested. In addition, less agency

staff time is needed for fund-raising. The contributor is presumed to favor this putting of "all begs in one ask-it," saving him from the nuisance of numerous appeals.

Many independent agencies feel differently. Their objections include resistance to this degree of supervision, the conviction that by independent campaigning they can raise more than the chest will assign them, the feeling that federated financing becomes impersonal with loss of touch—and interest—between agency and contributor, and an overriding doubt that any single-fund technique can collect as much from the public as numerous, spaced appeals.

The struggle between the groups favoring greater federation in fund-collecting and the agencies desiring to run independent campaigns sharpened in recent years into what might almost be called a welfare war. In this war the contributing public will be the final arbiter. Both sides have conducted surveys which seem to show that the public is overwhelmingly in favor of its methods. We have elsewhere discussed these issues at more length.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps quite different decisions are appropriate for communities differing in traditions and character. In any event the small sample here examined cannot be generalized into conclusions on this complicated question; it expresses simply "some attitudes." These are presented with the hope that they will shed light on both positions; for the long goal of both sides is the common one of adequate income for needed social services.

### *Are There Too Many Appeals?*

In recent years charitable appeals, particularly from health agencies, have again been increasing in numbers. How do people feel about this today?

<sup>1</sup> See *Philanthropic Giving*, pp. 138-159.

The first question our investigators asked—the “door opener”—was, “Some people think there are too many campaigns for money nowadays—too much pressure on the public to give money to social agencies and health agencies and other worthy causes. How do *you* feel?” This was in the nature of a leading question, asked more to get people talking than as a means of obtaining reliable information. The complaining replies must therefore be somewhat discounted. They included:

I’ve been waiting for someone to come and hear my gripes. It’s getting to be a pain. I don’t mind donating to a worthy cause, but it’s getting so that every time you turn around you find somebody asking for something. It’s a nuisance.

Every mail is filled with appeals. But I don’t know what we can do about that, because I feel that it is quite important that private charity be not superseded by government benevolence.

I have a friend that said, “I don’t know what to turn down. We get all these appeals, and by the time you put a dollar in each you are ready for relief yourself.”

[Ralph Anderson] There are too many small separate funds for this and that disease, and new ones springing up all the time. I get that impression from my doctor friends.

Even Grace Sargent, liberal giver and active volunteer, says:

There are too many kinds of charity. . . . Every day there’s a benefit or an appeal. You get fed up and people get indifferent and think, “Why be bothered? I’ll do what I want to do for those who need help, and let it go at that.” I’m sure with intelligent people working on it, some charities in the community chest could be merged.

There is also confusion about “immunity” from further drives<sup>1</sup> where there is a chest:

[Charles Duffy, bookkeeper] I think they lose a lot through the fact that they have so many. They should have one concentrated drive that takes in all organizations; it would get more results than all those they have, once a month at least. People get tired of being asked to give. They tell us the chest is for everything, and then follow it up with half a dozen others.

[Ruth Reynolds] There are many too many. I thought the community chest would do it all—twenty years ago it was so set up. But how many drives and tag days now? Hundreds, maybe thousands. Of course the needs have increased now greatly. . . . They don’t do a good job of saying where the money goes in the community chest here.

However, the really startling finding was that in spite of a question inviting complaint, a substantial proportion of the people questioned felt that many drives were necessary, and in some cases that even more pressure should be exerted. Here are a few of these comments:

I don’t think there are too many. Of course one person can’t give to all of them, but eventually all benefit from the over-all point of view, and they are all worthy.

[Negro mother] My husband gives to all of them. If you get sick, it returns to you. If you get cancer or tuberculosis, and cannot pay for it, they take care of you.

[Young housewife] Salesmen are a bother, not solicitors for worthy causes. I like to help out people.

<sup>1</sup> In connection with this criticism it needs to be said that some of the interviews were conducted in a large city where the federated appeal does not attempt to collect enough to meet full agency deficits and does not, therefore, promise immunity from further solicitation by even the included agencies.

[Mrs. Fred Culp] Agencies are very helpful to the poor. They need pressure in order to get from people what they can afford. I give from my heart.

Calvin Limbert is even regretful that the summer lacks its quota of drives:

Drives are spaced so that you *can* give a little to almost everything. But why are there more drives during the winter than during the summer? It would be better to space it even more evenly, and have at least as many in summer, because winter expenses—fuel and the like—are higher, and people might be able to give more in summer.

Martha Urban, who also thinks the community chest is "wonderful," likes the selectivity independent drives permit:

No, I don't think there are too many campaigns. There's such a variety it's an opportunity for every one to give wherever they feel like giving.

#### *Opinions About Community Chests*

Community chests were not the subject of a direct question, but comments about them, and about federated giving in general, sprang naturally from the discussion of multiple drives, questions about preferred agencies, and one concerning a hypothetical Mark who spoiled the 100 per cent record of his shop in chest contributions. Many respondents were highly favorable toward the chest idea, some approved in general but criticized its impersonality or some of its operations, some wished it were more inclusive, and several were openly hostile. We quote, beginning with approvals:

[Dora Lehman] It's a positive necessity. . . . We are responsible for people in our neighborhoods. I don't ever give

individually; I believe in organized charity. The community chest is the best organized thing there is; it wastes less money, its investigations are adequate.

There should be one united campaign. If ten or fifteen demands are made, you shy away. If one demand is made, you donate readily. Donating to one would solve all problems.

Martha Urban, who also liked the individual agencies, is lyrical:

As far as the community chest goes, I think there's nothing like it. That's because I've had personal contact with it. I think it's wonderful. My husband had a stroke, very sudden. There were small children, no extra money. Our doctor referred him to the best hospital, told him the community chest would pay for it. They gave him every possible kind of care, treatment; other patients never knew the fund was paying. . . . I know everything they do is worthy, but I don't know too much about what else they do, except that it goes to different agencies. I don't know which.

Ellen Buttrick, for all her earlier noted concern for personalized giving, regards the chest as her citizenship duty:

The Red Cross and community chest are "musts." You can't skip those. The community fund covers my citizenship duty.

Busy Edward Trask lists the chest first among his subscriptions, and is grateful for the trouble it saves him:

It's a bit hard to say which I like to support most, but I like the community chest more than any. It hits so many agencies I'm spared reading all their stuff. It covers a lot of others that would get me otherwise. . . . But there ought to be more agencies under the chest or some sort of central fund which could encompass more charities that you want

to give to. I would give more to it than to all those I give to now, combined.

Businessman Sam Eckman has a novel reason for supporting federated giving—it permits him to concentrate on a favorite agency!

I would sooner have these charities get right in a bunch for me to give to as one. Then I could concentrate more on a favorite as well.

Several gave, but under a feeling of compulsion, or unwillingly:

The community chest is one I'm a little confused about. I give to it—you feel you have to, more or less.

[Harriet Carr, student nurse] I don't know why I give to it. It's a composite of all the organizations; it's your effort in the community. A big drive. It is easy to contribute to in the movies, and so on.

The community chest is about compulsory, whether you approve of them or not, if you have to live at peace with your neighbors.

This respondent lives in one of the two big cities where chests do not give immunity, and complains of this aspect:

I don't always want to give. In smaller cities the chest is wonderful. In a place as big as Blank, there have to be so many appeals. But it does reach corporations and businesses that might not be reached otherwise, and it puts the obligation on them—on their honor, and they are ashamed not to give. But many are annoyed as they think they give to all those agencies, and the moment the drive is over, they all start their own drives. But I have not got the solution, myself.

Esther Fisher supports her chest, but thinks its collection methods inefficient:

What kind of community are we going to have if those of us who can give don't support the chest? All the agencies supported by it are necessary, so it must be supported. . . . But it is very inefficient. The woman who solicited me didn't know how much I gave the previous year, and asked for half that amount for the current year. So I sent the rest somewhere else. I consider that bad soliciting. No wonder they don't meet their quota!

Arthur Ackerman, the Scout enthusiast,<sup>1</sup> gives to the chest, but is not uncritical:

The chest? Pressure! I like the Ford plan in Detroit for the philanthropies. . . . The Scout counselors down-state report difficulties with community chests. Won't let them have their own campaign, but don't give enough to keep them going from the community chest.

Calvin Limbert, elevator operator, is a former more liberal contributor who had a bad experience:

We used to give a day's pay to the community chest. I got out of work in '32 and asked them for help. They kept saying, "Come back tomorrow." Finally, after a dozen times they gave me 50 cents. I couldn't take that. I still give, but the feeling isn't there any more.

One example of race prejudice came up:

I don't contribute to the community chest. [Why?] I've heard there's a lot of . . . Well, I shouldn't say this. [We're interested in everything you'd like to say.] Well, there's a lot of colored people in it.

<sup>1</sup> See also p. 14.

This man thoroughly approves of chests, but—

I haven't given to them for two or three years. No one has solicited for it, and so I didn't go out looking for someone to make my contribution to.

### *Actual Giving to Chests*

Federated giving can be successful only if contributors generally give substantial amounts to the chest or united fund, recognizing that this is not "just another drive," but a combined drive to which their contribution should be many times the usual gift for a single cause. Edward Trask recognized this responsibility, and in the quotation above promised that to a central fund he would "give more to it than to all those I give to now combined." But many people, we have seen, give according to the state of their pocketbooks at the moment, rather than the nature of the drive. What do our interview schedules show as to dollar amounts? For professions and actions, sometimes, have little correlation.

Not all of our respondents were in communities where a chest existed, and not all of the schedules resulted in usable statistics on contributions to individual agencies. We found 41 replies which itemized contributions both to chests and to other agencies. In nine of these cases the community chest contribution was in fact larger than that to any separate agency. In five others it was exactly the same as the contribution to at least one other favored agency, usually American National Red Cross. In all others it was actually less than the contribution to at least one favored individual agency.

The highest chest contribution came from Fred Janowitz, foreign-born high-school graduate whose income as head of a produce market is \$20,000 a year. He gave the

chest \$150; but the same year he gave United Jewish Appeal \$500, Catholic Charities—"because of my Italian friends"—\$450, the American Cancer Society \$300, and a certain hospital \$200.

The second highest chest contribution was \$100. But again the contribution was exceeded by gifts to a home for the aged, the United Jewish Appeal, and "the heart fund"; it was exactly on a par with this family's contribution to Red Cross, polio, cancer, and overseas relief.

The lowest recorded gifts were two of 50 cents each. One of these came from Ben Irvin, a Negro who gave elsewhere relatively generously, but favored agencies dealing with race problems:

I hardly say "No" to any. If it's something like the community chest and others, we usually give 50 cents or one dollar. Five dollars each to NAACP [National Association for the Advancement of Colored People] and to Christians and Jews each year. The NAACP has an educational program of trying to make people tolerant of different races . . .

Total chest contributions of these 41 donors were \$515.25, or an average of \$12.57 each. The median gift was \$5.00. The gifts of these same persons to welfare agencies exclusive of chests amounted to \$5,732, or roughly eleven times their chest contributions.

Enthusiasm for the combined drive idea was by no means assurance that the chest contribution would also be a combined contribution. Words versus practice of one modest giver is illustrative:

The chest covers more than one agency. Giving should be this type—one contribution covers the whole thing. I was impressed with the number of things they did and the seemingly tremendous accomplishments. [To what organization did you give the most money?] All equal. [This person

gave \$1.00 only to the community chest, and exactly the same amount to crippled children, heart, polio, and TB.]

The total evidence is too small for generalization, but it suggests these probabilities: Multiple campaigns have become a nuisance, but people are more tolerant of them than might have been expected. The idea of united campaigns of the chest type is widely approved by givers. However, few givers proportion their chest gift to their reasonable responsibility toward the number of included agencies.

## 6. *Religious Giving*

Religion is the mother of philanthropy. About half of all individual giving goes to the churches, for church support and for the numerous welfare and educational agencies which function under religious auspices. The focus of this study, however, was voluntary support for welfare and health agencies, not support for religion as such. The investigators, therefore, attempted to eliminate church support from their data; for example, Question 33 was framed in this form:

Not counting what you gave to your church, how much did your contributions come to in 1950?

They were instructed, however, to include contributions to church-supported colleges, orphanages, hospitals, and other welfare activities; but it is doubtful whether this distinction was clear either to the investigators or to the respondents.

This proved a serious defect in the exploratory interview schedule, and one that should be corrected in any similar attempts. Giving to and through the churches is so large a portion of the philanthropy of most individuals that attempts to excise it distort the whole picture. Granted the desired emphasis on welfare and health agencies, a better procedure would have been to ask for all contributions of a tax-deductible character, and then among the church contributions distinguish between those

that went for (a) support of the church itself, or (b) specific welfare or educational activities under church auspices. Indeed, enough material on religious contributions was gathered by the investigators in spite of themselves that a brief section on religious giving seems warranted.

Elsewhere we have presented estimates on total religious giving and considerable detail on its various aspects.<sup>1</sup> Many church bodies supply annual statistics, and consolidated figures for most Protestant denominations, together with much other useful information, are available from the Joint Department of Stewardship and Benevolence of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America. Evidence this study presents on the strength of religious motivation in giving is necessarily incomplete in view of the effort to exclude that aspect, but for that same reason the substantial amount gathered is impressive.

#### Some General Attitudes

The appeal that giving to the church has for many individuals was variously expressed:

[Widow, aged seventy] My church giving is my greatest joy. I give \$1.00 every Sunday.

[Catherine Hall, wife of business executive] This is a life of great uncertainty. During the depression I cut off all other charities, and gave the little that I could give to the church.

Mrs. Edwin Carey points out the personal element:

<sup>1</sup> *Philanthropic Giving*, pp. 172-187. See also Jenkins, Edward C., *Philanthropy in America*, Association Press, New York, 1950, and Marts, Arnaud C., *Philanthropy's Role in Civilization*, Harper and Bros., New York, 1953.

I prefer to give to church charities, and I'll tell you why. At the beginning, hospitals, care of orphans, all these originated in the church, then they were taken by secular organizations. But still these don't take care of all the needs. Child care in other countries, medical care in other countries, our secular organizations don't reach. . . . Also in church charities there is more personal contact and more spiritual feeling, which is extremely important to everybody, especially in our civilization, where people tend to be treated as a mass, and not as individuals.

Economy also may be a factor, suggests Alice Irwin:

I feel that the church is one source that is trying to meet the need. Child welfare, old people's homes, missionary service, orphanages, all are taken care of by them. I have also been active in neighborhood sales for the church to help people who are less fortunate. . . . If we had to limit our giving very much, the church would be the first we'd give to. They can do it for less money than organizations that need money for executives—and there's the human interest that is a little bit stronger.

But approval is not unanimous:

[Bella Wilson, Negro great-grandmother] Nobody wants more money than the churches, and they don't do too much good! Beg, beg, beg, beg, and you hardly see the preacher until you go over there.

#### Jewish Giving

Evidence from this and other studies suggests that both Jewish and Catholic giving are higher with respect to income than Protestant giving. In the case of Jewish philanthropy, it has always been difficult to draw a clear line between religious and secular giving, and it has become more so since many large contributions are being made to welfare agencies, often of a semi-religious character,

in Israel, the new Jewish State. Giving is regarded as a duty, with each member of the group expected to bear his fair share in this self-taxation.

For the reluctant, pressures are substantial:

[Esther Isenstein, wife of prosperous lawyer] We give to a number of the Jewish agencies. [Any particular ones?] Wherever the pressure is put on. Whenever they ask and I have the money. My husband doesn't always like to give to them, but he has to. There's no end of pressure.

Mrs. Saul King also feels pressures:

I give to the combined Jewish Appeal because I have to. They call up and bother me, and I just give because I have to. I really like to give to [three individual agencies, two of which are Jewish], but the combined Jewish Appeal, there's so much literature, and I—Well, anyway, that's the truth.

This young Jewish woman and her husband give to a wide variety of agencies; as to the Jewish ones, she expresses these opinions:

United Jewish Appeal—we are expected to, and they do good work. B'nai B'rith—Anti-defamation, and does wonderful youth work. Brandeis University—Someone I knew asked me to give, but I don't know much about it. Hadassah—every Jewish woman should, but I have no real interest; my conscience makes me. Nobody puts any pressure on me. Ten per cent for a total is about right for me.

Esther Fisher, who has a "strong feeling about the Jewish religion" but attends no religious services, makes her first choice the Jewish Federation of Social Agencies in her city, and gives it enthusiastic endorsement:

The Jewish Federation—naturally first, because I'm Jewish, and because they do excellent work and are better

organized than most. They include family agencies, and health and welfare. In other towns, combined Jewish drives include aid for Palestine and local welfare, but here we are lucky enough to have it separated. I'm not interested in giving to foreign governments; I'm Jewish by religion, but American by nationality, and want to give only to social welfare. So many people don't realize how much of these combined drives goes overseas, and into Zionist propaganda, and to Jewish education. I don't believe in parochial schools, so I feel strongly about that, too.

Many Jews give generously to nonsectarian charities, and sometimes to religions other than their own:

[A Jewish respondent who goes to the synagogue "on the big holidays"] We give to all the different churches around here. They give to ours, too, so we give to them. My wife runs around selling tickets, and so on. We most like to support that fund for Palestine, but really all of them. There were so many millions of Jewish sufferers slaughtered during the war, and we like to do whatever we can. We take care of our own. Who else would give to the Jews in Palestine? Here in the United States we help everybody.

[Jewish businessman] I gave most to Catholic Charities, which was for an ad in their paper. Maybe you don't call that a contribution, but it was. The colored churches began coming every week, selling all sorts of stuff. Necessarily I told them to stop coming.

Says Fred Janowitz, who runs a produce market:

I give almost the same to all churches. I have a lot of Catholic friends. We're Jewish.

### Catholic Giving

For the Roman Catholic, almsgiving is closely associated with the Church and its doctrine. Members support not only the local churches and international ecclesiastical



activities of this Church with its center in Rome, but a large variety of philanthropies, including a complete school system, hospitals, and a wide range of social services under Catholic Charities organized in all the larger cities. Giving is not giving up anything, but conducting an exchange—temporal wealth for spiritual wealth. Most of the Catholics in our sample were both generous and intensely loyal to their church:

[Mrs. Fred Culp] I'm 100 per cent Catholic, I go every day. They collect in church. [Asked about Mrs. Smith—Question 27.] She should give three times more. The person who doesn't help is committing a mortal sin. People should give from their heart.

My favorite is Catholic Charities. I'm Catholic. After all, Catholics take care of charities. They help seminaries—don't get money from the government. Upkeep of the church is a duty of a Catholic. We are not taxed, we give of our own free will. We have envelopes; you can sign your name or not, as you wish. We have collections for missions, for the Pope who takes care of the poor all over the world. Catholic charities do more for their orphans, old people, care of the poor. Most of the work is done by priests and nuns, who don't expect payment. Catholic funds can do more with less. They do far more than they're called on to do. St. Vincent's orphanage doesn't ask the religion of the child, or color, or anything. But Protestants won't take a Catholic child for a bus ride.

[Ralph Anderson, architect] I give to the Catholic school in my parish out of a sense of duty; my daughter doesn't go to it! But I go to the church there, and feel I should support it; it's badly needed.

There are rewards for giving:

I belong to four Catholic organizations. My favorite is Catholic Charities. They help out missionaries, boys who

study to be priests, and help the poor. They do a lot of work. In this house we are all for Catholic organizations—they pray for you and prayer is a lot.

Economy and religious loyalty combine for Charles Duffy, bookkeeper:

I am Catholic, and like to help my own. I have confidence in Catholic Charities, and know they take care of things—the aged, orphan asylums, destitute, the sick. And they don't spend a lot of money for salaries; it goes to the people who benefit.

#### *Some Protestant Examples*

The Protestant feels a deep concern for the welfare of his fellowman, but is often content to have that responsibility discharged through a secular agency which he supports, or even by government. The contribution to his church may be substantial, but the church is seldom the channel for general philanthropy, as it frequently is for the Roman Catholic. Here are scattered comments from Protestant givers:

[Ira Barnes] My first preference is the Unitarian Service Committee, just on its reputation for having done nonsectarian and nondiscriminating relief work all over the world as well as the United States. Second is the United Unitarian Appeal, doing a very similar work in the United States. It is the denominational community chest, as far as I have been able to find out. They also support settlement houses. We don't give to Catholic or Jewish organizations as they are too sectarian. The organization that would exclude someone, that would be a major basis for not giving.

Sam Eckman, a "garden variety Presbyterian," finds it a "good deal."

We are United Presbyterians. Our church contribution is cut up [between church support and benevolences] according to the percentage a person indicates on the pledge. I go to the Catholic Church with my brother-in-law every once in a while. I put something in the box there. But there are two or three I can say "No" to awful easy. . . . I don't believe too much in foreign missions, but more in local missions. Our minister is an ex-G.I. He's a hell of a good guy. A guy who doesn't belong to a church is a louse. Might be religious as hell, but you can't go to church over the radio. . . . I was a garden variety Presbyterian when a child. My mother got me to church every Sunday. When I left home my church-going lagged. Then I married a minister's daughter, and she was the stenographer to [a church executive.] I started back to church, and I think it is a good deal.

This man, formerly Lutheran and now a regular attendant at a Christian Science church, tries to forget what he gives as a matter of religious principle, but suspects it is about 10 per cent; for him religion has many uses:

The church is something for community improvement. If we didn't have any churches, it would be like it is over in Russia.

The church strides over color lines:

[Alma Clay, the Negro mother of ten] I like to go to church. Many other organizations, even if they had to help the colored, they would not. I'm a Baptist, and I go about twice a month. I give not less than a dollar every time I go.

[Nurse Carr, white, Episcopalian] I give to Negro churches because they're Negro. They were all once very poor. And the cleaning women (they make more money than anybody else, charging \$1.50 an hour to clean for you!) they ask you to buy tickets to church teas, and so forth. I buy. I'd like to go to them, but somehow I never do.

### *The Tithers*

Tithing—usually meaning the giving of a tenth—was common among many ancient peoples but frequently it was a general tax, rather than a religiously sanctioned gift to God and the poor. The principle of the religious tithe was firmly established among the Hebrews, beginning with Abram's gift of the tithe to priestly Melchizedek, and is today urged upon the memberships of many Christian churches as their reasonable duty.

Although an effort was made in this study to exclude contributions for church support, at least five of the respondents reported giving a full tenth of their incomes to the church; it is possible still others may have done so. All these persons had incomes of less than \$10,000, and four of them less than \$5,000. Except for Benjamin Bailey who gets a "kick out of giving," no other person in the study with income below \$10,000 (and only three with incomes above that) reported giving as much as a tenth to all philanthropies combined. The great influence of religious motivation on liberal giving, particularly in the lower-income group, is obvious.

How do these tithers regard their giving? The views of one of them, the Reverend Daniel Ernst,<sup>1</sup> we have already given in detail. Here are a few facts about the others, beginning with the tither who had an income above \$5,000:

Donald Grimes has a filling station, and he makes above \$5,000 a year. He finished two years of high school. He and his wife, both now 55 years old, live alone, their three sons having all moved on. A Methodist, he goes to church every Sunday.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 15.

"I give one tenth to my church; outside of church, just as we are solicited." These outside gifts totaled \$13; most of this amount (\$10) was to the Salvation Army, and was also religiously motivated:

"They help oftentimes when the church fails. They have religious services for those who don't go and might not be welcome in a lot of our churches. And I like them for what they meant to my boys in service."

Some firm opinions on tithing come from Mrs. Hayes:

Mr. and Mrs. Zachary Hayes live just outside a small mining town, with Mr. Hayes working in the mine at \$15 a day when it is open, on his farm when it is not. They are in their fifties, and have no children. They attend regularly a small mission church, nondenominational. Mrs. Hayes, who completed the eighth grade, does the talking.

"I don't believe in giving to charities. I give one tenth or over to my church but not a dime to anything else. You don't give anything to your church until you give over one tenth."

They do not report their giving for income-tax purposes, for a reason that will amaze the Bureau of Internal Revenue: "I feel when you deduct money for your church giving, you are trying to get some back."

She severely criticizes Mr. Wheeler [Question 28] who gives 15 per cent, but only to two organizations on whose boards he serves: "He had better get right with the Lord, and give to other things. He will have to learn to trust other people. He is not giving enough, because, being a lawyer, he has money and he could share more."

A brief record:

Gordon Zwinger completed the sixth grade. He is a machinist getting \$70 a week, married and has two children, and is a regular attendant of the Church of God.

"I give one tenth of my income to my church, and less to these other things. The Red Cross is the only other one I gave to." [\$2.00]

He thinks Mr. Wheeler's 15 per cent is "not much for a lawyer," and opposes publication of hard-luck cases in the newspapers because "I don't see any use putting them in the paper. Everything is possible with the Lord."

And finally Mrs. Appleton, whose church is her almoner:

Janet Appleton is twenty-eight, and is working in spite of having to care for a four-months-old baby boy; her husband is overseas. She is a high-school graduate, a Baptist, and attends church regularly.

"Now that I am working, I am trying to tithe as much as possible. I have my own allowance, and work it on that basis. It's not too easy, because my husband is a Catholic and I am a Baptist.

"If you tithe in church it is pretty hard to give to other organizations. Giving to the church is just like giving to the organizations, it takes care of the needy—orphans' homes, missionaries, and so forth."

Mrs. Appleton, tithing her own and not the family income, gave \$60 to her church, \$10 to Red Cross, \$5 to the community chest, \$2.00 to Father Flanagan's Boys' Town, \$1.00 each to five health organizations.

Although some of the most generous givers confine their philanthropy to the church and church-related causes, it is clear that a very substantial portion of present giving to all causes springs from religious motivation.

## 7. Attitudes Toward Individual Agencies

NOTE TO READER: *Because of the nature of the material in this chapter, no part of it may be quoted without specific permission of both publisher and the agency involved.*

Our interviewees were asked a number of questions which led to comments about individual agencies. Some of these invited favorable responses:

Are there organizations that you specially like to give money to when you can? What makes you like to give to (A)?

Of all the organizations that you might contribute to, which one do you most like to support? In the last year, what organization did you give the most money to?

What would you call your favorite charity?

Others invited adverse comment:

People sometimes criticize organizations either fairly or unfairly. Have you ever happened to hear any criticism of "X," either fair or unfair? What for instance have you heard? Do you suppose there's any truth in it?

Do you think Mr. Wheeler has a point about agencies sometimes wasting money?

As a result, candid comments were obtained about a wide range of social agencies. Many praised organizations

and their work, often in terms beyond any claims the agency might make for itself. But also biting criticisms were uttered, and unfounded rumors were sometimes repeated as facts.

Use of this material presents a delicate problem. Such uninhibited statements would be serviceable to executives of the agencies and have other values. But once in print, grave danger exists of quotation out of context, possibly attributed to publisher or author. In fairness both to the public and to the organizations mentioned, unguarded quotation of either unjust criticism or unbridled praise should not be permitted.

We decided on two safeguards. First, copyright prohibitions would be stressed (as at the beginning of this chapter) and permission to quote would not be granted except under controlled circumstances. Second, any organization adversely criticized would be shown the pertinent portions of this chapter and its name would be disguised, if requested. We hoped, however, that under the first safeguard we would be permitted to use actual names of substantially all organizations. This has been true with two exceptions.

The comments that follow are arranged alphabetically by the name of the agency or the cause. Of course, no attempt has been made to set down each mention of every organization; only those comments are included which evaluate agency programs, or show unusual understanding—or misunderstanding—of them. Finally, the comments originated in casual interviews; they are spur-of-the-moment reactions, not considered judgments.

### *The Aged*

Without mention of any agency, the aged, or homes

for the old, were mentioned several times, with this comment typical:

I guess I have a tender spot in my heart for the old folks who have no one to care for them or love them. So many times they have been forgotten, and some day we all will be old.

#### *American Cancer Society and Cancer Treatment*

Cancer, and agencies dealing with it, were mentioned often. The preface was usually the death of a relative from that cause. In three successive interviews, and as it happened all among high-income families, the same reason for interest was given: "My father died of it." Other comments:

Cancer is my first choice. You hear so much that they do. They have clinics that they take these people in, and research where they're trying to find a cure. And I had an aunt that died of it.

[Business executive Earl Astor] Cancer is getting a big break now, so I give to arthritis. They have not yet got enough competent researchers on cancer to use all the money that is given them now.

Cancer's been one long malady not conquered, perhaps largely because of lack of funds for research. I noticed considerable comment in the newspapers that there has been a prevalent idea that it cannot be conquered, but there has been considerable progress toward cure, at least when caught at an early stage. The Damon Runyon Cancer Fund is my third choice. His name caught with the public, also so many people knew of Damon Runyon, and read his articles.

#### *American Heart Association*

Heart campaigns have only recently become extensive,

but numerous interviewees had comments, including these:<sup>1</sup>

Heart is my second choice, and another nice organization. I know people who didn't have too much money and they had a heart ailment, and they were helped. And I had a brother-in-law that died so fast of it, within an hour, never sick or anything.

[Nurse Harriet Carr] Heart and cancer drives I just skipped; too close together. I have just a small amount to give. I wish they'd limit drives to alternate years, and each take their turn.

The heart fund I most like to support. I don't know too much, but everybody should do what they can to help the scientists find a cure. I think everybody should go to a doctor and have their heart checked. The heart is a very important part of the body; when it gives up, the whole body is wrecked. There are so many different heart diseases.

#### *American National Red Cross*

The Red Cross was by a large margin the most frequently mentioned individual agency. If only two contributions were listed, as was occasionally the case, they were usually to the Red Cross and the community chest—and sometimes the contribution to Red Cross was larger than to the chest. Numerous references to the Red Cross have already been made.<sup>2</sup> Specific comments vary from high praise to resounding knocks:

[Catherine Hall] What do I most like to support? Dear me, I suppose the Red Cross, outside of the churches. My husband worked with the Red Cross during World War I, so I know a little about their work. And they were splendid with the boys in World War II. Good home service, too, with

<sup>1</sup> And a complaint about mailing-wastes appears on p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> See especially pp. 16, 22, 24, 57, 62, 63, 79.

veterans' families getting the men back home in case of crisis. In time of disaster they are always there—flood, fire, and so on.

The Red Cross is bad. My husband was in service. The Red Cross made them pay for everything; didn't give money to soldiers if they were down and out while on furlough.

Many people give because it's a drive, traditional. Even people who don't like the Red Cross, give; they tell you the criticisms, but hand you the check. My husband even collects for them, without believing in them at all.

[Sam Eckman] The Red Cross was stinking in World War I.

[Dora Lehman, "atheist"] The Red Cross is another well-organized group. I believe in giving to well-organized groups, anything using a system of social service rather than dripping with sentimentality. I'm not interested in the Salvation Army, for example. Of course I believe in Red Cross; it follows the Army and everything.

And on the matter of racial discrimination two Negro women report:

During the War I was working. There was some discrimination in the Red Cross, so I didn't give to them. But my husband gives to them now.

Red Cross is first choice. It's a national organization that helps everybody regardless of race, creed, or color. Everybody benefits from them.

About salaries, expenses, and fund collecting:

[Donald Grimes] I feel that some, especially the Red Cross, spend too much for large salaries.

They do so doggone much good, you feel you like to help out. You know where your money goes.

[Esther Fisher] Golly, there are so many things I don't

like about the Red Cross, too! But I certainly think that when there's an emergency, they come through, and that's why I like to support them. I don't give them as much now as I used to during the War. . . . They have too much red tape—their name should be changed from Red Cross to Red Tape. I worked on their 1943 war drive, and know.

And still they disagree:

[Harold Butts] The Red Cross is my pet antipathy. I only give because it's traditional. Their local work is good, but they did an awful job around the airports of the Southwest Pacific in the War, where I was a second lieutenant.

The Red Cross does a very good job, particularly during war times. Everyone connected with it works hard and does the job well. And it's so far-reaching, it stretches all across the world.

#### *America's Town Meeting of the Air*

[Deborah Talbot] Town Meeting over the radio does good work. Everyone says what he thinks; I am quite enthusiastic about that. I got ten people each to give \$50. I sent money for their trip around the world; they wrote back a personal letter of thanks. They show a wonderful spirit.

[Student nurse Carr] Town Meeting of the Air gives me satisfaction. It's to improve international relations.

#### *Arthritis and Rheumatism Foundation*

See the second quotation under cancer, page 98.

#### *Boy Scouts of America*

The best Scout testimony is Arthur Ackerman's, already given.<sup>1</sup> Says Ellen Buttrick:

<sup>1</sup> See p. 23.

I always give to boys' associations, because my son got in trouble.

And Grace Sargent:

I feel the same about Boy as about Girl Scouts. It's a great need filled for city children—group life, outdoor life. Most young people are gregarious, and a worthy Scout-master can teach principles of social living, and so aid their development for civic living, as well as the fun of seeing nature in the raw. My two boys and one girl were Scouts. It was fun, and a good influence on them, too.

And Harriet Janeway:

All organizations for youth, doing their job, are doing one of the most constructive things possible.

#### CARE. (*Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe*)

In my family we all send to an old German nurse; she was my nurse as a child. It was not CARE advertising that did it; she wrote and asked for CARE packages. It's nonprofit, and appeals for funds for better international understanding.

#### Catholic Charities

Discussed extensively in Chapter 6, Religious Giving.

#### Children's Aid

In addition to certain national agencies working with children, some of which appear separately in this list, many local organizations for children attracted the interest and dollars of our respondents. A few comments follow:

[Nurse in her sixties, living alone] My first choice is the Milk Fund in the Lying-In Hospital. Milk for newborn

babies would do maximum of good for minimum of dollars. Next is orphanages. Children are a hobby of mine; at home I have small children around all the time.

[Clifford Foster] I give money for kids' camps. Every time I receive an appeal from one of these camps I think that I sent my son to one, and I feel: Well, I should do something for them. A kind of guilt feeling, you know.

[Teacher] Children's aid in schools, that's my pet. I think it is most teachers' favorite. All the money goes to charity, we know definitely that it doesn't go to salaries.

[The Reverend Daniel Ernst] The B—— Children's Aid Society does a good work with children; they are reputable, too, and dependable. I always have a soft spot in my heart for underprivileged children.

[Corporation president Harold Butts] The Boys' Club is my pet; I'm a director. . . . Their objective is to improve conditions of boys and girls in slum families. If these get organized recreational facilities, it combats juvenile delinquency and big-city problems. They salvage a lot of citizens who would otherwise be lost in a large industrial community like ours. The whole future of our community is tied up with the moral equilibrium of our future citizens.

[Grace Sargent, liberal giver and volunteer] First on my list is the B—— Children's Aid, an adoption organization. No other charity handles their problem, or there are not enough others to help children who are the victims of negligent or incompetent parents. To care for these children keeps them from prison, delinquency, and the like later on. It follows them, and many become wonderful citizens. I also help Overseas Children's Relief. Aside from humanitarian feeling for any child that suffers from its ancestors' mistakes, the most reasonable hope for peace is if they get a good, healthy start. If everyone were fed enough, we'd have less misery and perhaps less hate and anarchy.

**Churches**

Chapter 6 discusses religious giving in some detail.

**Colleges**

Nearly all the college contributions echo in one way or another Princetonian Ralph Anderson's, "I'm a grad; naturally I do." Gratitude for an education not fully paid for at the time seems a strong motive. Purposes of the contribution may vary:

[Salesman] You can give money to the Achievement Fund and say what it goes for; we say, to medical research.

[Editor] My college alumni fund is my first choice. It's for the general fund of the university, for unassigned purposes. The university needs unassigned funds. So often the large gifts are for specific purposes, while here they can spread it as they wish without strings.

[Student nurse Harriet Carr] B—— School won't last long, it's going down hill rapidly. It's an old loyalty of mine. [Gave \$60]

**Community Chests**

These are extensively discussed in Chapter 5, Federated Fund-Raising.

**Father Flanagan's Boys' Home**

Commonly known as Boys' Town, this organization conducts extensive mail solicitations. We have already mentioned the "kick" Benjamin Bailey gets out of his contribution, Esther Fisher's distress at finding nothing in her mail but a Boys' Town solicitation, and other evidences of effects of this campaign.<sup>1</sup> We might add Ruth Reynolds' comment:

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 17, 35, 51, 52, 95.

Father Flanagan does a beautiful job with boys, for all religions and colors. I visited it one time while they were building Boys' Town. I'm not a Catholic.

**Florence Crittenton Homes Association**

They take unmarried mothers in before their babies are born, keep them, take care of them, let them recuperate, not only physically but psychologically. They work through regular social agencies with the girls. Their director, who is a social worker, works with agencies who take care of adoption, if the girls don't want the babies, or helps them if they want to keep them.

**Girl Scouts of the United States of America**

Frequently both Boy and Girl Scouts are supported by the same contributors, and for similar reasons. The following comments, however, apply specifically to Girl Scouts.

A very fine idea, an organization of that type. And they only ask for money once a year, except of course the dime the children take to every meeting. I like the idea of having a group of girls get together and teaching them good standards and to do things. I guess "creative" isn't exactly the word I mean, but sort of.

I guess I feel closer to them because of what they have done for my own girl, and so I try to help them in helping other girls.

Girl Scouts? It is my hobby. As a Girl Scout leader I'm not supposed to give money out of my pocket for my troop. The Girl Scouts have a drive once a year; I help raise money for that. I do make a contribution here. . . . My girls go to camp, and we pay their way.

**Hospitals**

Contributions to hospitals have already had many mentions, from Beth Campbell's gratitude gift to volunteer



services. Praise has so far been the mood; a few jarring notes need to be added:

[Businessman Clifford Foster] I won't give a nickel to the B—— Hospital or the St. S—— Hospital until they admit Negroes.

[Liberal contributor Grace Sargent] There are too many hospitals; there should be more unity. If there were only two or three hospital centers, it would cut down on the number of drives.

[Harriet Carr, student nurse] The hospital Fashion Show—they sell tickets to us nurses. I didn't go. It's mostly run by Gold Coasters, and the nurses aren't of them. Mostly the nurses have a chip on their shoulder.

#### *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People*

Our only comments on this organization were from Negroes, and they show quite different interpretations of its program:<sup>1</sup>

All I know about NAACP is most colored people go to them when their sons or daughters are in trouble. They mostly send money South. Did you hear of the case where a Negro fellow was supposed to be hung? They sent a lot of money there to get him lawyers and things.

The NAACP has an educational program of trying to make people tolerant of different races. . . . It attempts to secure all the civil rights for Negroes under the Constitution. They fight any kind of discrimination. They have secured the right for Negroes, who are taxed as much as any citizen, to attend the state universities in the South. They fought for and won the right for Negroes to vote in Democratic primaries in the South.

<sup>1</sup> See also p. 83.

#### *National Conference of Christians and Jews*

[Ben Irvin, Negro post-office clerk] It maintains experimental classes in universities, quite a few throughout the country, where they attempt to train the teachers to be tolerant of different racial groups, so they may train the children to be tolerant. A friend of mine invited me to a banquet about five years ago, a mixed meeting with people of every creed and every race. When I listened to the lecturers and what they were doing, I decided it was a worthwhile organization.

#### *National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis*

The National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis engages in mass solicitation, concentrating, not on large gifts, but on small gifts from everyone. Its campaign is still called the March of Dimes, though dollars are preferred. The 1953 campaign raised \$51.5 million, the largest amount for any health or welfare agency except the Red Cross. Most of our respondents mentioned some contribution for "polio"—the agency was seldom named, and there is another in the field. A few comments follow:

[The Reverend Daniel Ernst] I give my tithe through my church and have little else to spare. I give a little to the Polio Fund because when I was a struggling student my little daughter had polio and they were very good to us, taking all the expense when I had nothing.

[Edward Trask] I give to polio. No, they didn't help me when I had it, but every year I'd send to Roosevelt's Birthday Fund. He always thanked me by personal letter—also wrote me a letter of encouragement when I had it and was in the hospital.

[Mother of three, whose non-church gifts total \$6.00] Polio, \$2.00. I'm so afraid. I keep the children out of water during the summer. It's a terrible disease. After you have

kids, it makes such an impression. We should know more about it; the agency should tell us about it.

[Martha Urban] Wonderful that anyone with polio can have treatment without worrying about it and your station of life doesn't matter.

[Mother of two] This is much overdone. This disease is glamorized. But the medical agencies are good.

[Retired man] March of Dimes has apparently been a wonderful thing, wonderful success. Probably they've made more rapid progress in treating and overcoming that than anything that's been considered incurable in the past. That idea of the March of Dimes seems to have appeal—everybody seems to feel they can give a dime, at least. There again, ten cents from 150 million people would mean a lot.

#### *National Society for Crippled Children and Adults*

Again, collections for children strike responsive chords:

[Mother of three] It appeals. It's children, and I have little ones myself.

[Mother of five] Crippled Children. I have a warm spot in my heart for children, and also the less fortunate, and just like to give to all I can.

[Alma Clay, Negro, mother of ten] My favorite is Crippled Children. I don't know about it too much, but they are not prejudiced. When I went to visit, I saw so many white children and so many colored, all treated alike. Buses take them to school, and they take both white and colored. They use their money for children, for medical care.

#### *National Travelers Aid Association*

Their work is just splendid for people coming into the city. I came from New York on a plane with a German woman; she didn't know what to do. Her daughter had not met her, and she spoke no English. We took her to Travelers

Aid; they looked after her. We could leave the airport feeling she was taken care of properly.

#### *National Tuberculosis Association*

Reactions to this agency's fund-raising, particularly the Christmas seals campaigns, have already been given.<sup>1</sup>

#### *National Urban League*

[Wife of retail jeweler] My husband's business is in a colored district. He feels they do good work and enjoys the association with the men, and wants to help conditions there.

#### *Planned Parenthood Federation of America*

[Grace Sargent] I give to Planned Parenthood because friends of mine are active in it. Never gave it much thought, but I think it's sound. Obviously the wrong people have the most children. But maybe this organization is not the way. Anyone can get the knowledge who wants it, and I don't know how valuable this organization is.

#### *Salvation Army*

Praise for the Salvation Army was enthusiastic and nearly universal. The only exceptions were one person, already quoted,<sup>2</sup> who complained of sentimentality and another who thinks "it's time they took off their bonnets and tambourines." Among the many warm comments, particularly from the lower-income givers, are these:

[Calvin Limbert] The Salvation Army is the one I most like to contribute to. A wonderful outfit! . . . I've still got to see any organization that will do as much as they will. They'll take anybody on, not counting race, color, creed.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 12, 17, 32, 64-67.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 100.

They have a lot of people who take girls and young fellows off the street and give them a home. I know quite a few of the young girls in that, and they say, "If it hadn't been for that, I'd have been a bum."

[Post-office clerk] The only one that I know that gives all help, and their means are meager, is the Salvation Army. I don't hesitate to contribute to them. I was the beneficiary of their help when I was in France during World War I.

[Wife of brakeman on railroad] Salvation Army is the only one that's any darn good. I know more about them. All the fellows in service said they were so much better than the Red Cross. In Germany, the Red Cross charged for cigarettes and coffee; Salvation Army didn't, and were ousted by Red Cross.

[Bella Wilson, Negro great-grandmother] When I was a little girl in Peoria, I saw them singing, marching. The most beautiful song I ever heard in my life, it was on Pine Street, they were singing it. I admired them, and always liked them. They stay there in the cold, and when they come they do good. Every time I go down town I give them something. I never had to go to them, but if I had to, I wouldn't be afraid. They take people drunk, and try to make somebody of them; others wouldn't touch these people, would feel superior. . . . They would come, singing, they would kneel in the snow, go out in the rain—nothing would stop them.

### *Seeing Eye, Inc.*

[Edward Trask] Seeing Eye is my special charity. Since I was a child at school, I liked it. (I have sixty dogs of my own!) It's the only charity I know that requires students and members to pay for their dogs—\$100, but the dog costs \$1,700 to train.<sup>1</sup> It gives them a feeling of responsibility to pay \$100 out of the first salary earned. They have become as you and I. Only one tenth of one per cent of students ever with Seeing Eye are now on public relief.

<sup>1</sup> Current figures are \$150 and \$1,900.

### *Settlement houses*

[Deborah Talbot] B—— House I can't resist. It started certain things which were later taken over by the city as a public responsibility. They did what had to be done.

[Grace Sargent] Mrs. Jones, my friend, is head of B—— House now. There has been a strong feeling that it may foster communism. I never investigated, which is unintelligent; but I'm busy. People will tell you that they permit radical meetings, and the like. But that would be a bleaker neighborhood without B—— House.

### *United Cerebral Palsy*

I figure whenever children are concerned, you're especially touched. You want to help children less fortunate than your own.

### *United Jewish Appeal*

See comments in Chapter 6, Religious Giving.

### *United World Federalists*

[Editor] I got the most satisfaction from my first contribution to the World Federalist group. It was a young organization, just starting. I had a greater feeling of responsibility and satisfaction for a worthwhile organization to be launched: pioneering.

[Clifford Foster] I suppose World Federalists is the one I most like to support. I object to giving money to things that are specific charities of specific groups—Catholic group, Jewish group, Lutheran hospital, and so on. I like to give to the whole idea of mankind. If there's a special disaster for one of these groups, that's another story indeed. But when a group separates itself as a group, it becomes outlaw for me. I believe in "joining the human race."

**Veterans' organizations**

Many of the approvals and objections concerning tag days in general<sup>1</sup> apply to the veterans' poppy drives. Here are additional observations:

I have a leaning toward the Veterans because my son was a veteran.

[Retired undertaker Dan Ippolito] Veterans, and war mothers, are my first choice because they need it. They are asking for money, but they are worthy. When I see our boys in the veterans' hospital, I could cry.

I like to give money for Poppy Day, for wounded, disabled veterans. They gave up a lot for their country. If everybody gave a quarter, it would be a great help to them. I have a tremendous feeling and sympathy for boys who will never be able to walk again. They must give them some pleasure, and I know people want to contribute. I wasn't in either one of the wars, and that's about the only way I can contribute to the effort that was made at those times. A lot of fighting was done where poppies grow, and a lot of the men fell in those poppy fields in Flanders. I read a great deal about it at the time.

**Woman's Exchange**

Grace Sargent's championing of this organization has already been described.<sup>2</sup>

**Young Men's Christian Associations**

It's wonderful that they make facilities of that type available for such a low cost—swimming, dancing, handicraft, gym, different games, clubs that any member can be in; that gives a little social side to it. I think they offer quite a bit for such a small charge.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 67-70.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 25.

[Grace Sargent] YMCA and YWCA—they've outworn their former usefulness, I think.

[Esther Isenstein, Jewish] The contribution that gave me the greatest satisfaction was probably the one I made the smallest amount to, the Y. If you see things in action, see it directly, you get more satisfaction. I've seen so many underprivileged children get help there—they do wonderful things at the Y. Of course I can't get my own children to go there, at least they didn't go for very long. They're lazy.

**Young Women's Christian Association**

See Harriet Janeway's experience as a fund-raiser on page 25.

## 8. *Concluding Comment*

These visits with 91 persons, even in the formidable guise of more than 3,000 manuscript pages, proved enlightening to the writer, and he hopes these selections may have general value. They are not presented as measuring precisely how giving is done or what all givers think. The only secure generalization is that great variety exists. Persons experienced in this field may come upon nothing wholly new in these selections. But they will find pithy, human confirmation of attitudes long suspected, searing denunciation of some practices long deplored, flashes of insight that may modify earlier views in some areas, and the clothing of many abstract ideas in the convincing garb of warm personal experience.

Quotations so far have largely reflected attitudes toward specific agencies, policies, techniques; a fragmentation of the givers. But out of total interviews a general attitude toward giving often emerged, implicit in the sum of the comments, or expressed in specific words.

### *Asking Is Necessary*

One of the first principles of fund-raising—to get money you have to ask for it—is abundantly confirmed in most of these interviews. “I give if I have money in my purse,” “No one has solicited for it, and so I didn’t go out looking for someone to make my contribution to”—these are typical comments.

Of course, the manner of the asking matters. Friends are effective solicitors. Asking for too little in one case halved the previous year’s gift. Some techniques are better liked than others, though givers show little unanimity in their pets and peeves. Christmas seals give “a big kick” to some; others hate them, or use them to help heat the home.

Some of the very agencies that make much ado about concealing the names of their clients out of a tender regard for their sensibilities appear to have little regard for the sensibilities of their contributors; they publish names and amounts, and with the connivance of friends or mere neighbors put upon the reluctant giver pressures little short of blackmail. Givers proved more tolerant of various forms of pressure and of multiple appeals than had been anticipated, but this is an area that needs continuing study.

### *The Social Group*

Sheer habit and imitation of others are the basis for much giving. As one woman put it, “I probably give to the ones that are most organized in their appeals. You sort of get so you expect to give to certain ones every year.” Said Esther Fisher, who has solicited for four organizations:

Maybe some people give because they’re ashamed not to. And I’ve heard of people who give to organizations because that way they won’t be giving to government. Others give just so they can be on boards, or because it gives them a certain social standing.

Esther Isenstein, who gives to just three welfare agencies, confesses:

I give to them automatically, just because they come around every year. I think all these agencies need help, and those are the three that I give to. I guess I do everything the lazy way. And I really don't know which ones need help more than others.

Those Joneses are a part of it:

Maybe giving is a desire to do something, or a social custom that you keep to because you have to keep up to the Joneses.

Probably no other factor has so great an influence in determining the character and amount of giving as the social group. People's giving habits vary widely with the religious communion to which they belong, their income bracket, their local community, the persons with whom they daily associate. Each specific gift is a personal decision, but patterns of giving are largely built up by community practices, social pressures, the mores of the groups to which the individual belongs.

#### *Self-Protection and Fear*

Sheer self-protection appears as a strong motive in a few cases. Harold Butts gives with one eye on preventing delinquency and crime which may spread "danger in the streets, maybe to my own family." Says Charles Duffy, a forty-seven-year-old bookkeeper, "Some day I'll be old myself; I suppose that's what compels me to give to any aged charity."

Particularly in giving to health agencies, it was apparent that many donors were taking out insurance. Either their contribution might aid research so that the disease would be banished before they fell before it, or the agency would take care of them or their children. A mother of three,

aside from her church, gives only to cancer, crippled children, heart disease, infantile paralysis, and tuberculosis, remarking, "You never know when we'll be needing help."

Mrs. Edwin Carey recognizes the fear motivation in many current drives, and mildly protests:

It creates an uneasiness in the people to be reminded that their children might catch this or that. Too much fear is impressed on you; I think it is psychologically unwise. I wish there would be some other way than frightening people into giving. Americans are generous, and they are willing to give to conquer these things.

#### *Pull on the Heartstrings*

A tremendous amount of giving obviously proceeds from direct sympathy, without any reward to the giver except the satisfaction of helping meet an immediate, and usually elementary, need. These are the impulsive givers. They do not look to such ultimates as whether the dollar so spent might do more if invested in research or prevention, or whether it will be a final solution to even this person's problem. The direct need of some individual, particularly if that person is a child, brings their immediate, warm-hearted response. One young mother of three expresses this preference for taking care of elementary needs:

Some would seem more worthy to me than others. I'd be more inclined to give where people need food, clothing, or shelter rather than things like the Y or Girl Scouts—maybe even more than to the Cancer and the other ones like that.

And, of course, children first, says another mother:

I'd most like to support crippled children or infantile paralysis, because I am primarily a mother. And anything that can help them one time or another, I want to favorize.

Ellen Buttrick, who has already emphasized the personal element,<sup>1</sup> puts it succinctly:

I am always amazed to see the response that a personalized case arouses in the public. Personalized giving arouses our interest; others only arouse our resignation.

One of our respondents was a carpenter who supports a mother, an older brother, a daughter, and a nephew. His brief answers to a part of our catechism are worth pondering:

"What sort of people are easy to ask for money?"

"The poor give."

"What makes people give?"

"Hardship."

#### *Person-to-Person Giving*

Direct person-to-person giving is a further extension of the heartstrings motivation. Such giving escapes the statistics based on tax-deductible philanthropy, and in some cases it may be done unwisely; but it is widespread, often timely, always appealing, and deserves notice in the total picture. Reports Sam Eckman, the "garden variety" Presbyterian:

The contribution that gave me the most satisfaction was one to the wife of a truck driver who was killed the day before. I gave everything I had on me and I got the rest of the guys to pitch in. There was a case of personal need. It never could have been handled through an organization in time.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 18-19.

Besides, says Alice Irwin, the wife of a streetcar conductor:

There is something much more Christian in a personal contact. I mean, just somebody to say they care. Maybe even just a smile. There's something about the human touch. . . .

An elderly Lutheran nurse supplies an example:

He was a stationary engineer, taken to a Catholic home for the poor. I kept him in tobacco the rest of his life, and gave him a meal every week. He was so appreciative—nearly 90.

We should do both kinds of giving, thinks Ruth Reynolds:

We should go back to taking care of our own. As a child, I remember at least two cousins brought in and sent to high school, and two brought in and sent to college. I believe that's better than organized charity. All these funds are very worthwhile things, but people are refusing to do what they should do, and giving money only.

#### *Intimate Contact with the Problem*

Donors may be kindly disposed toward welfare organizations, read their literature, and take seriously their own community responsibilities, but generous giving proceeds usually from personal contact with the problem. Much evidence in this direction has already been presented. Edward Trask gives liberally to many organizations, but:

My mother died of cancer last summer. I gave just a nominal \$10 or \$20 before that. Since I saw what cancer could do to a person I've cut down on others and increased my cancer gift a lot. If I can save anyone from going through what Mom did, it would be the best thing I could do.

Alice Irwin even doubts whether the wealthy can understand many needs:

I think you get greater response, more sympathetic understanding of needs, in the lower-income bracket. People that are very wealthy may not understand the need so much. There is less compassion.

Here we come to grips with one of the fundamental dilemmas of fund-raising. Personal contact with problems—and this may mean persons—is the most effective stimulant toward liberal giving. But problems in today's society are complicated; not many of them lend themselves as happily to personal solution as the engineer being kept in tobacco by a benevolent nurse. Skilled, trained service is often required. While this service may be rendered by a professional who is also warmly human, it has usually to be paid for by others. These cannot get close to the persons in need; an organization intervenes. The organization's literature, written however skilfully, lacks the warmth of a personal contact and often is lost in the flood of competing literature, written equally skilfully. The logical solution to this competition is federated fund-raising, which promises other important advantages; but this interposes still another organization between giver and need.

### *Criticisms*

Many of the comments quoted in this book have been severely critical of organizations, their methods, and of givers and giving itself. Such negative reports should be partially discounted. The fund-raiser is somewhat like the tax-collector, a natural enemy who is nevertheless reelected regularly and his program usually approved.

Also, the dubious practices in agencies one knows or hears about are exciting gossip, while goodness is dull.

On balance, voluntary giving is approved among these donors. They have complaints, and so far as these are not mere rumor or sheer excuse for not giving at all, these complaints should be seriously considered. Changes are needed, some techniques should be discarded, more understanding is required, but private philanthropy is generally accepted.

### *Effects on Givers*

Giving is not only worthwhile for the benefiting agencies, say many of these donors, but it also does something for the giver himself. What it does is variously appraised. Mrs. Fred Culp sees it as bringing good luck, and hope of heaven:

A neighbor gave to Father Flanagan; after she gave she had lots of good luck, both with money and at home. I feel like a million dollars when I give from my heart. Charity covers a multitude of sins; we are working for heaven.

Alice Irwin would share her blessings:

I like to give for the love of giving, and out of gratitude for all the blessings that I've had. And because I'm anxious for others to have some of the blessings I enjoy.

It helps your self-respect, says Catherine Hall:

It helps the person who gives; gives him the sense of sharing in the life of his community. It's more blessed to give than to receive. Even if it is not much, it helps your self-respect.

Mrs. Edwin Carey sees giving as necessary for the giver:



It's a mutual affair, which comes from the giver in part and from the receiver in part. Gratitude should not enter in it too much; the person who *does* the giving should be grateful. It is impossible to imagine people as a whole not giving to each other. We would have to give something. We are built that way. We would be psychological wrecks, lost souls, no love left in us.

Motives could be argued endlessly. Are these expressions of motive honest, or intended to impress the interviewer? Even if honest, is the person perhaps mistaken? Does true altruism exist, or are all our acts dictated by ultimate self-satisfactions? Psychological problems aside, the feelings of many of these givers were most simply expressed by a widow, struggling with the laundry when our interviewer reached her:

"When I give, I feel good."

### *Wider Concepts*

But effective giving must go deeper than surface satisfactions for givers. Little relation exists between "heart-appeal" and constructive value. The ultimate causes of personal and social catastrophe, and the forces that could build resistance to these disasters by making men more healthful, able, and creative, these are seldom even comprehended by givers, and garner few of their dollars. The fence of prevention at the top of the dangerous cliff is less appealing than the ambulance at its base.

No easy solution is at hand. A very few of the respondents had broad conceptions of philanthropy. Clifford Foster, we have already noted, desired to "join the human race." Dora Lehman, daughter of a missionary and self-styled atheist, says:

I give out of a sense of social obligation to the community, rather than personal satisfaction. I don't have the Puritan urge to buy myself out of Hell. But this must be the motive for a lot of people; either that, or showing off.

Grace Sargent, the generous giver to many causes who admits that "Most of us give to what interests us, plus what friends solicit for," sets up as her own ideal, though evidently not always her practice, this principle:

I want to give to charities that prevent charity, that teach people to live so they won't need charity.

Edward C. Jenkins once called philanthropy "our freest enterprise."<sup>1</sup> It is "free" in several senses; it is supported by gifts, and it is free to choose its own directions without severe governmental control. The value of this freedom has been amply demonstrated. All our social services, even those now taken over by government, were pioneered with funds given voluntarily. The American genius for discovery and invention under free enterprise has been applied in the field of social discovery no less than in inventions useful to business. Now that government has taken over many of the primary "needs" that were first calls upon the sympathies of givers, voluntary philanthropy can move further into the more rewarding areas of prevention, of building health and happy living, of true creativity—if it can continue to get funds.

Today, the giver must do more than look about with a keen eye and a sympathetic heart and give to meet the needs he sees. He must also look ahead with an informed mind and a warm imagination, and give to build the world that is to be. Hope for such a broader-based phi-

<sup>1</sup> *Philanthropy in America*. Association Press, New York, 1950, p. 5.

lanthropy lies chiefly in continuing education of givers. Such education must begin with givers where they now are; it has been a chief purpose of this book to add to present understanding of givers, how they think and what they do. If the new philanthropy is to flourish, givers must be made understanding partners.

## *Appendix*

## The Interview Schedule

[Presented here is the third of three experimental interview schedules used in this survey. For eliciting information of statistical value it did not prove successful. It is offered, not as an example recommended for further use without change, but to put in the record the nature of the questions the interviewers asked.]

1. Some people think there are too many campaigns for money nowadays—too much pressure on the public to give money to social agencies and health agencies and other worthy causes. How do you feel?  
(PROBE)
2. Are there some (other) organizations that you especially like to give money to when you can? (I mean social agencies and health agencies or schools or other worthy causes.)

NAME OF ORGANIZATION	CONTRIBUTION FOR LAST YEAR		
	Fam.	Resp.	Amount
(A) _____	F	R	\$ _____
(B) _____	F	R	\$ _____
And so on, through (F)			
(LIST ANY OTHERS ON PAGE 4)	TOTAL		\$ _____

3. COMMENTS ON (A): PROBE: What makes you like to give to (A)?  
COMMENTS ON (B): PROBE AS ABOVE.  
And so on, through (F)
4. Are there other organizations that you or your (husband, wife) gave to in the last year? RECORD NAMES IN TABLE; AND COMMENTS ON NEXT PAGE.

NAME OF ORGANIZATION	CONTRIBUTIONS LAST YEAR		
	Fam.	Resp.	Amount
(G) _____	F	R	\$ _____
And so on, through (V)	TOTAL \$ _____		

5. It's hard to remember all the organizations. I have a list here of some well-known ones in case we forgot some. In the last year did you or anyone in your family happen to give to...? ASK ONLY ABOUT THOSE NOT ALREADY COVERED, BUT CIRCLE "YES" OR "NO" IN EVERY CASE.

		CONTRIBUTIONS LAST YEAR		
		Fam.	Resp.	Amount*
(a) Community Fund (Red Feather)	Yes No	F	R	\$ _____
(b) Red Cross	Yes No	F	R	\$ _____
(c) Salvation Army	Yes No	F	R	\$ _____
(d) Catholic Charities	Yes No	F	R	\$ _____
(e) United Jewish Appeal	Yes No	F	R	\$ _____
(f) Scouts	Yes No	F	R	\$ _____
(g) Y M, Y W	Yes No	F	R	\$ _____
(h) Father Flanagan's Boys Town	Yes No	F	R	\$ _____
(i) Any schools?	Yes No	F	R	\$ _____
(j) Cancer Society	Yes No	F	R	\$ _____
(k) Crippled Children	Yes No	F	R	\$ _____
(l) Heart Association	Yes No	F	R	\$ _____
(m) March of Dimes, Polio	Yes No	F	R	\$ _____
(n) TB Association, Xmas Seals	Yes No	F	R	\$ _____
(o) Any hospitals?	Yes No	F	R	\$ _____
(p) Any Negro organizations?	Yes No	F	R	\$ _____
(q) CARE packages, or foreign relief?	Yes No	F	R	\$ _____
(r) Any others?	Yes No	F	R	\$ _____

\*DO NOT ASK AMOUNT UNTIL AFTER QUESTION 33  
ASK 33B NEXT.

TOTAL \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
PAGE 2 TOTAL \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
PAGE 4 TOTAL \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
GRAND TOTAL \$ \_\_\_\_\_

6. Do you sometimes find it hard to decide which organizations to give to, and which ones to say "No" to? (RECORD IN FULL: THEN CODE)

- Give to first ones that come along.. 8-1
- Give whenever I have money ..... 2
- Give something to them all ..... 3
- Have no choice; am expected to give. 4\*
- Have a definite plan or budget ..... 5\*
- Sometimes hard to decide ..... 6\*\*
- Other (EXPLAIN) \_\_\_\_\_ R

\*IF EITHER "NO CHOICE" OR "DEFINITE PLAN": PROBE: How do you mean? etc.

\*\*IF SOMETIMES HARD, ASK A, B, AND C:

- A. How do you decide?
- B. What do you want to know about an agency in order to decide?
- C. What would be an example of a hard decision?

7. Do you sometimes find it hard to decide how much money to give? (RECORD IN FULL, THEN CODE)

- Give what I can spare at the moment... 9-2
- Give same to them all ..... 3
- No choice; am told how much to give .. 4
- Have a definite plan or budget ..... 5\*
- Sometimes hard to decide ..... 6\*
- Other (EXPLAIN) \_\_\_\_\_ R

\*IF EITHER SOMETIMES HARD, OR BUDGET:

- A. How do you (decide?, make out your budget?)
- B. What do you want to know about an organization in order to decide how much to give it?

8. Of all the organizations that you might contribute to, which one do you most like to support?

- Community Fund ..... A\*
- Catholic Charities ..... B\*
- United Jewish Appeal .... C\*
- Other United campaign ... D\*
- Single agency WHAT? ..... E

\*IF ANY UNITED APPEAL: Is there any particular single agency that you specially like to support?

9. In the last year, what organization did you give the most money to?

- Same as answer to Q.8 10-1
- Different WHAT? \_\_\_\_\_ 2\*

\*IF DIFFERENT: How did you happen to give so much to (it)?

10. IF YOU ARE NOT SURE ABOUT RESPONDENT'S FAVORITE: What would you call your favorite (charity, philanthropy)?

11. IF YOU ARE STILL NOT SURE: Suppose you had some money to give away. What one organization would you most like to give it to?

12. RECORD HERE THE NAME OF "X", THE RESPONDENT'S FAVORITE. QUESTIONS 13 TO 19 REFER TO THIS "X".

\_\_\_\_\_ 11-R  
Has no special interest in any. X\*

\*IF NO FAVORITE: SKIP TO QUESTION 20

13. Would you tell me a little more about (the local) "X"?
14. So far as you know, what (else) does "X" actually do with the money people give it?
15. What else is there about "X" that especially appeals to you?
16. Is there any other organization that could do the work that "X" does? (RECORD IN FULL: THEN CODE)
- Yes ..... 13-1\*  
No; don't think so.. 2  
No idea, DK ..... X

\*IF YES: How does "X" differ from (the other(s))? (PROBE: What is special about "X"?)

17. People sometimes criticize organizations either fairly or unfairly. Have you ever happened to hear any criticism of "X", either fair or unfair?

Yes ..... R\*  
No ..... R\*\*

\*IF YES, ASK A AND B:

- A. What for instance have you heard?  
B. Do you suppose there's any truth in it?

\*\*IF NO: Very few human organizations are perfect. Do you have any ideas at all about how "X" could be run better?  
Yes (EXPLAIN) .. R  
No ..... 14-1

18. Do you remember how you first happened to get interested in "X"? (RECORD IN FULL: THEN CODE)

"X" helped family member ..... 15-1\*  
"X" " someone else ..... 2\*  
Family member had same problem ..... 3  
Someone else " " " ..... 4  
Through club, lodge, etc. .... 5  
" church ..... 6  
" publicity, papers, radio, etc. ... 7\*\*  
" friend, acquaintance ..... 8\*\*\*

\*IF "X" HELPED SOMEONE: What did "X" do for ....?

\*\*IF THROUGH PUBLICITY: What was there about (it) that specially appealed to you?

\*\*\*IF THROUGH FRIEND: How did (he, she) get you interested?

19. Of all the contributions you have ever made in your whole life, which one, would you say, gave you the most satisfaction?

Helping some individual or family ..... 16-1  
"X", the favorite ..... 2  
Other organization WHAT? ..... R\*  
DK ..... X

\*IF NOT "X" BUT SOME ORGANIZATION: What was there about it that gave you satisfaction?

20. Do you think most organizations really show they appreciate what you give them? (PROBE FOR EXAMPLES)

21. Have you ever done any social work, or been active in any of these organizations that ask the public for money? (RECORD IN FULL: THEN CODE)

Yes ..... 18-R\*  
No ..... 2

\*IF YES: A. WHAT ORGANIZATIONS?

B. Was that a paid job or volunteer work?  
Paid only ..... 3  
Volunteer only .... 4  
Both ..... 5

C. What did you do?

22. Have you ever had any experience at all raising money for some worthy cause?

Yes ..... 19-1\*\*  
No ..... 2\*

\*IF NO: How do you think you would feel about asking people for money for some worthy cause? (PROBE)

\*\*IF YES: A. FOR WHAT ORGANIZATIONS?

B. How do people feel about being asked to give?  
C. What is the best way to approach people?  
D. What sort of people are easy to ask for money?  
E. So far as you can tell, what makes people give?  
F. How do you feel about asking people for money?

23. Sometimes we just can't give to everything, even if it's worthy. I'd like to ask which you would choose, if you had to choose between giving to help handicapped children, and giving to help very gifted children. (RECORD IN FULL: THEN CODE)

Handicapped ..... 20-1\*  
Gifted ..... 2\*  
Can't decide; both good ... 3\*  
Would not give to either .. 4\*

\*WHATEVER THE ANSWER, PROBE: Why do you say that?

Handicapped need help more 21-5  
Gifted are neglected ..... 6  
Gifted will contribute more 7  
Other (EXPLAIN) ..... R

24. If you had to choose between giving to make cancer patients as comfortable as possible, and giving for research on cancer? (RECORD IN FULL: THEN CODE)

Make them comfortable ..... 22-1\*  
Research ..... 2\*  
Can't decide; both good ... 3\*  
Would not give to either .. 4\*

\*WHATEVER THE ANSWER, PROBE: Why do you say that?

Suffering is terrible ..... 23-5  
Research will prevent it .. 6  
Other (EXPLAIN) ..... R

25. If you had to choose between a day nursery where working mothers could leave their children, and a home that took care of unmarried mothers and their babies? (RECORD IN FULL: THEN CODE)

Working mothers .....	24-1*
Unmarried mothers .....	2*
Can't decide; both good ...	3*
Would not give to either ..	4*

\*WHATEVER THE ANSWER, PROBE: Why do you say that?

26. A clinic for people with venereal disease, or research on public health? (RECORD IN FULL, THEN CODE)

V.D. ....	26-1*
Research .....	2*
Can't decide; both good ...	3*
Would not give to either ..	4*

\*WHATEVER THE ANSWER, PROBE: Why do you say that?

27. Now I would like to get your opinion of a woman we'll call Mrs. Smith. Mrs. Smith is a wealthy widow who lives in a run-down neighborhood. She visits the poor people in her neighborhood when they are sick, and takes them baskets of food, and buys them things they need. She doesn't give any money at all to organized social agencies. She says the agencies are too heartless and cold; Mrs. Smith says you should give with your heart.

- A. What do you think of her way of giving?  
 B. You know she gives to families but not to organized charities. Do you think she is doing more than her share, or less than her share, of giving?  
 C. Have you ever known somebody at all like Mrs. Smith?
- |           |       |
|-----------|-------|
| Yes ..... | 30-R* |
| No .....  | 2     |

\*IF YES: PROBE FOR RESPONDENT'S ATTITUDE

28. Here's another case about a Mr. Wheeler, who is a lawyer. Mr. Wheeler is on the board of a hospital, and he's on the board of a boy's club. He takes an interest in these two organizations, and gives them money. In fact, he gives 15% of his income to these two organizations. But he refuses to give at all to anything else. He says, "A lot of agencies waste money, but I know where the money goes when I'm on the board."

- A. What do you think of his attitude?  
 B. Do you think he has a point about agencies sometimes wasting money?  
 C. If he gives 15% of his income to these 2 organizations, but refuses to give to anything else, do you think he is doing more than his share, or less than his share, of giving?  
 D. Have you ever known somebody at all like Mr. Wheeler?
- |           |       |
|-----------|-------|
| Yes ..... | 33-R* |
| No .....  | 2     |

\*IF YES: FIND OUT RESPONDENT'S ATTITUDE

29. IF RESPONDENT HAS NOT EXPRESSED DEFINITE PREFERENCE FOR MRS. SMITH OR MR. WHEELER, ASK: Which way of giving do you personally prefer, Mrs. Smith's or Mr. Wheeler's?

Mrs. Smith's .....	34-1
Mr. Wheeler's .....	2
Can't decide; both good ...	3
Doesn't like either way ...	4

30. Mark is a skilled worker in a small factory. His wife's been ill so Mark has hospital bills and doctors' bills to pay. Mark was the only man in his factory who didn't give something to the Community Fund drive. He said he wasn't going to give anything until he had paid his debts. The other men were sore because he spoiled the shop's record for 100% giving.

- A. Do you think Mark was right to pay his debts first, or do you think he should have given something to the Community Fund?  
 B. What do you think of the other men for getting sore about it?

31. In your own family, do you have any kind of plan or budget for giving?

Yes .....	37-1
No .....	2

(OMIT QUESTION 32 IF RESPONDENT HAS SAID SHE LIVES ALONE)

32. A. Do you usually talk over your contributions with your family, or do you each give separately?

Not applicable .....	38-4
Usually talk them over ...	5
Sometimes " " " ...	6
Never " " " ...	7

B. IF RESPONDENT HAS SPOUSE: Who takes more interest in giving -- you or your (husband, wife)?

Man .....	X
Woman .....	Y

33. When you figured your 1950 income tax, did you make a list of your contributions and deduct them?

Yes .....	39-1*
No .....	2**
DK .....	3**

\*IF YES: Not counting what you gave to your church, how much did your contributions come to in 1950?  
 \*\*IF NO OR DK, ASK A AND B

A. Thinking now of the last year, I mean since this time last year, can you tell me how much you gave to some of these organizations, for instance....TURN BACK TO PAGE 6, THEN TO PAGES 2 AND 4 AND RECORD ANSWERS IN SPACES PROVIDED THERE.

B. AFTER YOU HAVE GOTTEN THE TOTAL FOR ALL 3 PAGES: If my arithmetic is right, that makes about \$\_\_\_\_\_ for the last 12 months. Does that sound right to you, or what would your contributions for the last year come to?  
 \$\_\_\_\_\_

34. Suppose a family like yours gave 1% of its income to worthy causes and charities. (That's about 2½ days' pay per year). Would you call that very generous, or reasonably generous, or not so generous?

- Very generous ..... A\*
- Reasonably ..... B\*\*
- Not so generous ..... C\*\*

\*IF VERY GENEROUS: How about one day's pay a year -- For a family like yours, would that be very generous, or reasonably generous, or not so generous?

- Very ..... A
- Reasonably ..... B
- Not so generous ..... C

\*\*IF 1% IS NOT VERY GENEROUS: How about 5%? For a family like yours, would that be very generous, reasonably generous, or not so generous?

- Very ..... A
- Reasonably ..... B#
- Not so generous ..... C#

#IF 5% IS NOT VERY GENEROUS: How about 10%

- Very ..... A
- Reasonably ..... B\$
- Not so generous ..... C\$

\$IF 10% NOT VERY GENEROUS: What % would be very generous? \_\_\_\_\_%

35. Suppose a lot of social agencies had to cut down their programs drastically. Do you suppose it would make any difference at all to you, either directly or indirectly?

- Yes ..... 42-8\*
- Not now ..... 9\*
- Not directly ... 0\*
- No ..... y

\*IF YES OR QUALIFIED: How do you mean?

36. Suppose the government took over the private agencies. How would you feel about that?

37. In general, do you think public, tax-supported agencies do a better job for the money, or a worse job for the money, than private agencies?

- Public do better .... 44-8
- No difference ..... 9
- Public do worse ..... 0
- DK ..... y

38. A. If the government took over the social agencies, and ran them out of taxes, what difference do you suppose it would make to the taxpayers?

B. Do you suppose that your extra taxes would come to more than you now give to the private agencies?

39. If the government took over the social agencies, what difference do you suppose it would make to the people who use them?

40. Do you think the patients who use clinics should always pay something for the service if they can, or do we need some clinics that are free to everyone? (PROBE FOR REASONS)

- Should pay; for own self-respect ..... 47-7
- Should pay — to prevent abuse of service .... 8
- Should pay, to help support clinic ..... 9
- Need free clinics to encourage prevention ... 0
- Other (EXPLAIN) ..... R

41. Do you think that giving to charity does something to the giver?

42. Suppose we all did get out of the habit of giving, do you suppose it would change us in any way? (PROBE)

43. There are a lot of different ways of raising money — and I'd like to ask which ones you like, and which ones you don't like so well. For instance, how do you feel about getting Christmas or Easter seals in the mail? (PROBES: Do you like to use the seals? If you don't want them, do you send them back?)

44. How do you feel about tag days? (PROBE: If you lose your tag, do you buy another?)

45. How do you feel about people coming to your home to solicit money for charity?

46. How do you feel about the fund-raising campaigns for children in the schools?

47. Do you happen to know of any organizations that publish the names of people who contribute and also publish how much each person gives?

- Yes ..... 52-7
- No ..... 8

48. Do you think it's a good idea or a bad idea to publish how much each person gives?

- Good idea ..... 53-9
- Qualified .... 0
- Bad idea ..... y

49. Do you think it's a good idea or a bad idea to give to beggars on the street? (RECORD IN FULL)

- Good ..... 54-1
- Bad; they could get work now ..... 2
- " ; they could go to an agency .... 3
- " ; some are frauds ..... 4
- " ; other reasons ..... R

50. Do you think it's a good idea or a bad idea to buy from the men who sell pencils or shoestrings or things like that? (RECORD IN FULL)

Good; they are trying to work ..... 55-1  
 " ; they have self-respect ..... 2  
 " ; if they are handicapped ..... 3  
 " ; other reasons ..... R  
 Bad ; they could get regular job ... 4  
 " ; other reasons ..... R

51. Do you think it's a good idea or a bad idea to send money to the hard luck cases the newspapers sometimes write up? (PROBE: Why?)

52. Now we come to the easy part that goes very fast. How many are there in your family? \_\_\_\_\_ That's you and your .....? RECORD IN THE TABLE.

RELATIONSHIP TO RESPONDENT	SEX	AGE
(1) Respondent	_____	_____
(2) _____	_____	_____
And so on, through (6)	_____	_____

53. Do you people have any other dependents? Yes..... R\*  
 No..... 0

\*IF YES: How many others? \_\_\_\_\_

54. Who is the main breadwinner in your family?

Respondent ..... 61-1  
 Someone else: (WHO?) \_\_\_\_\_ R\*  
 No one works ..... R\*\*

\*IF SOMEONE ELSE: Do you have a job, or what do you do?

Respondent works full-time ..... 2  
 Respondent works part-time ..... 3  
 Respondent does not work, but seeks work ..... 4  
 Respondent does not work; housewife ..... 5  
 Respondent does not work; student ..... 6  
 Respondent does not work; retired, disabled .. 7

\*\*IF NO ONE WORKS: Do you have to live on a fixed income or does your income depend on business conditions?

Fixed income ..... 8#  
 Depends on business ..... 9#  
 Other (EXPLAIN) \_\_\_\_\_ 0#

#IF NO ONE WORKS SKIP TO QUESTION 62.

	MAIN BREADWINNER	RESP — IF WORKING BUT NOT MAIN BREADWINNER
55. What kind of work? (OCCUPATION)		
56. Own boss, or working for someone else?	Own boss .... 1 For someone else ..... 2	
57. (INDUSTRY — NOT NAME OF COMPANY)		
58. How much chance of being unemployed someday?	No chance ... 64-0 Little; don't worry 1 Some ..... 2 Good chance. 3	
59. Do you feel that (his, your) pay is good, or fair, or (does he, do you) deserve more?	Good ..... 65-1 Fair ..... 2 Deserves more ..... 3*	Good ..... 65-5 Fair ..... 6 Deserves more ..... 7*
*IF DESERVES MORE: How much do you feel that (you, he) deserve(s)?	\$ _____ per _____	\$ _____ per _____
60. How much (is he, are you) making now?	\$ _____ per _____	\$ _____ per _____

IF RESP. WORKS BUT IS NOT THE MAIN BREADWINNER, FILL IN PART OF THE SECOND COLUMN ABOVE, AS INDICATED

61. IF ANYONE WORKS, ASK: Does anyone else in the family work, or do you have any other income at all, like pensions or rents or dividends?

Yes ..... 1  
 No ..... 2

62. ASK EVERYONE: With prices and taxes so high, can your family get along pretty well, or do you have a hard time now making ends meet?

Get along all right ..... 66-7  
 Qualified ..... 8\*  
 Hard time — not desperate... 9\*  
 Desperate, terrible, etc. ... 0\*

\*IF NOT ALL RIGHT: How much does a family like yours really need nowadays?

\$ \_\_\_\_\_ per \_\_\_\_\_



63. Counting everything, how much does your family have to live on now?

\$ \_\_\_\_\_ per \_\_\_\_\_

IF NO ANSWER, HAND RESP. CARD: I just have to put down some letter — A or B or something?

- Under \$2,000 ..... A
- \$2,000 but under \$5,000 ..... B
- \$5,000 but under \$10,000 ..... C
- \$10,000 but under \$25,000 .... D
- \$25,000 or over ..... E

64. Have you personally ever been through a time of real hardship, like unemployment, or have you always been comfortably off?

- Has known hardship ..... A
- Qualified ..... B
- Always comfortably off ..... C

65. Have you ever been much better off than you are now?

- Yes ..... A
- Qualified .... B
- No ..... C

66. As a child, where did you live? (How big a place was that?)

- Here, this community ..... 68-1\*
- USA: somewhere else, under 2,500 ..... 2
- USA: somewhere else, 2,500 to 50,000 .... 3
- USA: somewhere else, over 50,000 ..... 4
- USA: different places of various sizes ... 5

\*IF HERE, OMIT QUESTION 67

67. How long have you lived around here?

- Over 10 years ..... 69-1
- 1-10 years ..... 2
- Less than a year ... 3

68. Do you think of this area as your permanent home?

- Yes ..... 70-4
- Qualified ..... 5
- No ..... 6

69. A. In what country was your father born? \_\_\_\_\_  
 B. Your mother? \_\_\_\_\_

70. When you were a child what did your father do for a living?

71. How many years of schooling did your father have?

72. Did you have a chance to get as much education as you wanted?

- Yes, got plenty ..... 1
- Had a chance, but ..... 2
- No, did not have chance .... 3

73. What grade were you in when you quit school?

74. Did you finish that grade?

- Yes ..... 1
- No ..... 2

75. How much education do you feel a boy needs nowadays?

76. IF MAN OF FAMILY IS RETIRED OR DECEASED, ASK HIS FORMER OCCUPATION:

77. How would you feel about a son of yours going into (your, your husband's) line of work?

78. As a child, did you get any religious training of any kind?  
 Yes ..... 77-R\*  
 No ..... 0

\*IF YES: Was it Protestant, Jewish, or Catholic? Or what?

- Protestant ..... 1
- Jewish ..... 2
- Catholic ..... 3
- Other ..... 4

79. What denomination do you consider yourself now?

80. Do you ever go to religious services?

- Yes ..... 78-R\*
- No ..... 5

\*IF YES: About how often?

- 1-3 times /yr. .... 6
- 4-39 " /yr. .... 7
- 40 or more times .... 8

END INTERVIEW HERE: RECORD TIME \_\_\_\_\_

81. RECORD RACE:

- White ..... 9
- Negro ..... 0
- Other ..... y

82. ADDRESS IN FULL

83. Length of interview in minutes \_\_\_\_\_

84. Date \_\_\_\_\_

85. Interviewer: \_\_\_\_\_

ADD BELOW OR IN MARGINS ANY COMMENTS THAT WILL MAKE CLEAR TO THE READER THE EMOTIONAL REACTIONS THAT YOU SENSED.

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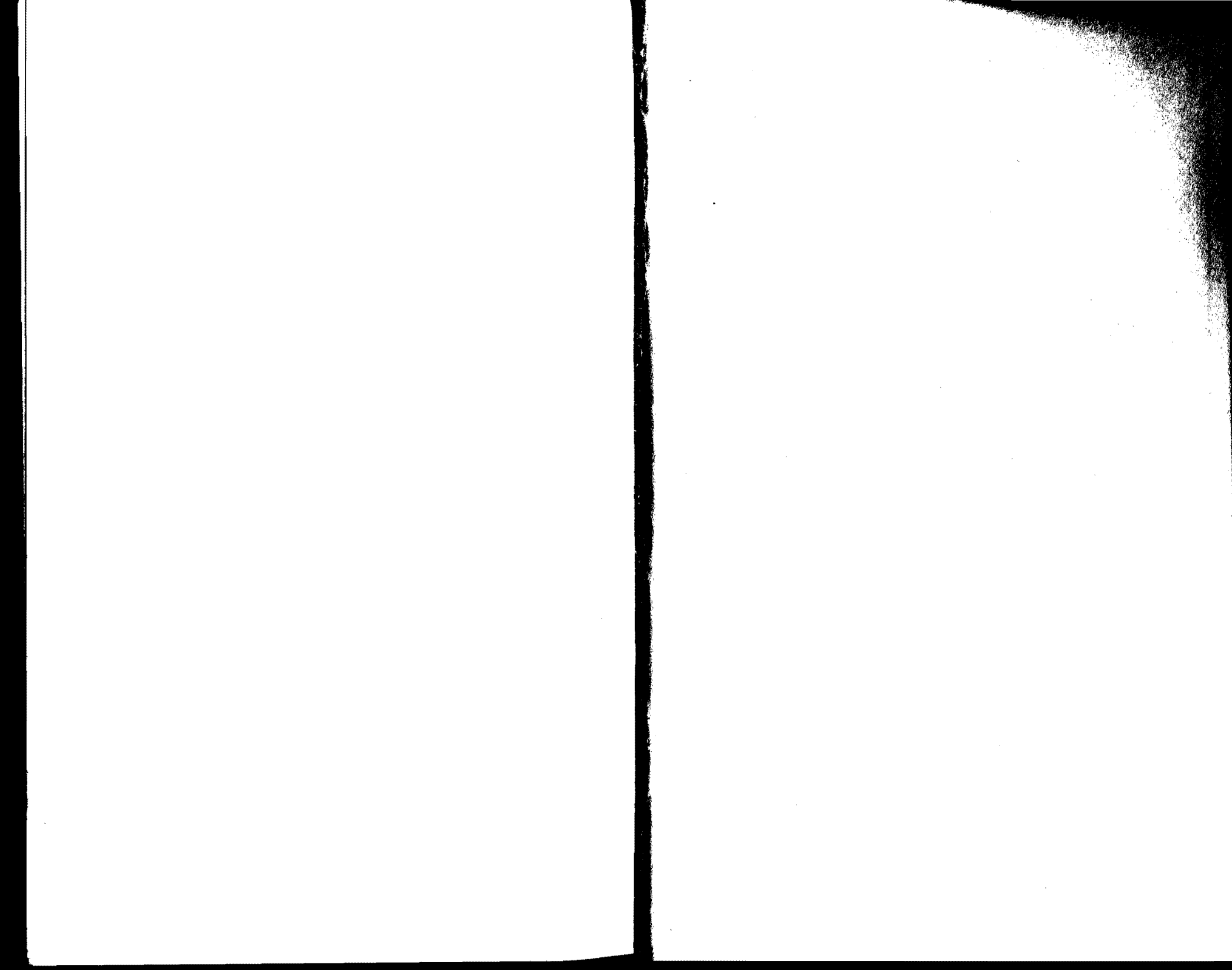
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