

GIVING AND RED CLOUD INDIAN SCHOOL:
FISCAL YEARS 2007 - 2011

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For my parents, who have been encouraging and supportive through this journey and who are true examples of generosity.

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Matthew P. Ehlman

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This dissertation focuses on the philanthropic partnerships at Red Cloud Indian School, a private-public religious partnership that educates approximately 600 Lakota students on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota, during the worst recession since the Great Depression – 2007 through 2011. Research finds that during this time contributions fell for Native American organizations, educational and religious organizations. Despite these realities, contributions to Red Cloud Indian School increased. Red Cloud Indian School attempted numerous fundraising approaches dating back to the late 1880s with the support from Sister Katherine Drexel. Throughout the decades Red Cloud Indian School relied on contributions from networks, including friends of the Society of Jesus, the Black and Indian Mission, and a national direct mail program. These fundraising efforts fluctuated significantly since the mid-century and plateau in the early 2000s forcing a board directed change to raise additional financial support.

This dissertation examines the research question: “In what ways do high net worth individual supporters understand their relationship to Red Cloud Indian School from Fiscal Years 2007 through 2011 which led to an increase in financial support of forty-four percent (44%) over the five-year period.” This study provides an example of donor relationships with an organization, in particular engaging donors who support educational organizations for indigenous populations. Understanding the donors’ perceptions, desires, and motivations for directing their philanthropic activity specific to Red Cloud

will complement the quantitative research that has been completed regarding high net worth donors.

This study uses an emergent qualitative design, which allows the study to evolve and be as malleable as possible in order to follow the interviewees and explore information uncovered.

Dwight Burlingame, Ph.D., Chair

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Chapter One Introduction and History

For 118 years, Holy Rosary Mission has relied on donors from outside of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation to support its educational, cultural and pastoral efforts. After the buildings were built, the largest annual expense of this organization was the cost of educating hundreds of Lakota students. Historically, these expenses were offset primarily by the service of religious men and women who traveled to the Mission from the East Coast to work. Since the 1960s, these costs have increased exponentially.

Although funding has almost always been a significant concern, the situation worsened considerably over time due to fewer religious being available to teach, increased cost of living, and discontinuing the boarding school. The discontinuation of the boarding school model meant there was now a need to bus children to and from school from across the Reservation, causing a significant increase in transportation costs each year.

By the 1990s, the institution, now called Red Cloud Indian School, threatened to close its second campus in Porcupine, South Dakota, in order to continue to keep its main campus open. Annual deficits were budgeted. The President of Red Cloud Indian School, Fr. Peter Klink, SJ, repeatedly discussed the financial hardship of the organization and described the annual need by saying,

To live hope for the sake of students, families and all others in our circle costs us approximately \$10 million each year. July 1, the beginning of the fiscal calendar, there is the mountain. We have to climb that mountain and raise that \$10 million each year, to continue doing what we do for the sake of others. That is our challenge (P. J. Klink, SJ, personal communication, August 2003).

In 2003, Red Cloud Indian School had a planned operating deficit of \$500,000 (Red Cloud Indian School, 2002-2003).

At that time, Fr. Klink, SJ, had been president since 1998, taking over this role for the second time. He first served as president from 1985-1991, and he returned to Red Cloud Indian School in 1997 to lead the development effort, which was predominately a national direct mail campaign. After the premature death of the then-president, Father William “Bill” McKinney, S.J., at age 39, Fr. Klink, SJ, was once again appointed president and led the development effort with a team of people, including an Executive Vice President and a Vice President for Finance. Members of this team knew that creating a healthy direct mail program was critical to the organization’s survival, and there was a national search for a person to lead this effort from the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation.

One candidate applied but was not offered the job. Instead, the leadership discussed the opportunity with a lawyer from Hot Springs, SD (approximately 60 miles from Red Cloud Indian School) who had long ties to Red Cloud Indian School. She accepted the position and filled the Director for Development role in 1999.

However, building a stronger direct mail effort did not solve the organization’s financial issues, and attempts were made to hire consultants and other development staff. In 2006, Fr. Klink led the organization in a new direction, building on the success of the direct mail efforts and on the strength of his executive team.

This study closely examines the donors’ experiences from Fiscal Years 2007 through 2011, during the heart of the Great Recession, a time when Native American organizations endured a decrease in giving to 0.3% of all philanthropic contributions.

Total dollars contributed by foundations to Native American organizations decreased by 30.8% during this time period. Religious organizations and educational organizations also suffered losses, but these were much less substantial (Lawrence & Mukai, 2011).

In that same period, Red Cloud Indian School increased revenue by 44% over the prior, five-year period, raising over \$70,000,000. As a result, the organization realized surpluses in each of these years (Red Cloud Indian School 2006-2007; Red Cloud Indian School 2007-2008; Red Cloud Indian School, 2008-2009; Red Cloud Indian School, 2009-2010; Red Cloud Indian School, 2010-2011).

Problem Statement

The fact that Native American nonprofits receive such a minuscule percentage of total funds granted is itself reason for understanding the motivations of individuals donating to Native American organizations; additionally, little attention has been paid to this issue in the literature or in academic research. Although a significant amount of data regarding donors' philanthropic activities has been compiled from various surveys, like those conducted every two years by the Philanthropy Panel Study (formerly the Center on Philanthropy Panel Study (COPPS)), this data provides limited understanding of donor motivations (The Center on Philanthropy, 2008). Additionally, in their seminal work, "Empowerment and beneficence: Strategies of living and giving among the wealthy: Final report of the study on wealth and philanthropy," Paul Schervish and Andrew Herman (1988) provide insight into the motivations of high net worth individuals around the United States.

While these understandings of differences among philanthropic activities and expressions of various populations resulting from the years of survey results of high net

worth donors (Bank of America Study of High Net Worth Philanthropy, 2014) adds significantly to the body of knowledge, there is still limited research on donor motivations of individuals who contribute to Native American organizations or organizations on American Indian Reservations. The quantitative research that exists from these decades of surveying donors does not allow the true expression of philanthropy to be heard. Through a series of interviews, this study makes a significant contribution to addressing the gap in research by recording the individual stories of donors to Red Cloud Indian School. Furthermore, it articulates a deeper understanding of the motivations of individuals to donate to an organization that is not in their community, and during the worst recession in the history of the United States since the Great Depression.

Study Purpose

The purpose of this research, then, is to add to the body of knowledge on what motivates giving to Native American causes. Although donor intentions and high net wealth philanthropic activities have been documented and studied (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011; Konrath & Handy, 2017 in press), philanthropic research is not significantly populated by case studies. Nor are there case studies that focus on giving to Native American organizations or indigenous organizations. This bounded case study will add to the body of this research.

The central question for this research is: In what ways do high net worth individual supporters understand their relationship to Red Cloud Indian School from Fiscal Years 2007 through 2011?

Study Significance

Grant funding for Native American-led organizations declined from 2000 to 2009. Overall dollars contributed declined, as well as the total grants (Lawrence & Mukai, 2011). According to McCambridge (2013), nationally, individual and corporate contributions between 2007 to 2012 “increased by 3.5% in real dollars and 1.5% in inflation-adjusted dollars, [and] giving is still down 8% in inflation-adjusted dollars from where it was in 2007.” During this time, Native Americans in Philanthropy (NAP) focused on specific philanthropic training and education with the Center on Philanthropy at Indiana University. Foundations, such as the Bush Foundation and Northwest Area Foundation, attempted *new* approaches to committing dollars and support to Native American organizations. Despite NAP’s attempts and major foundations’ focus, philanthropic support declined for Native American-led organizations, and nationally, nonprofits were not successful as a sector in escaping the impact of the worst recession since the Great Depression.

This study brings to light why, uniquely among Native American organizations, Red Cloud Indian School on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation did not suffer declining revenue and support during this time. Funding Native American organizations has been a small percentage of philanthropic activity for decades, and was reduced even more during the recession. Yet donors from the west coast to the east coast and many locations in between supported Red Cloud Indian School during this time, providing more resources in a five-year period than ever before in its 118-year history. This study provides a look into why donors made their decisions and what motivated them to act while the worst

recession since the 1930s was taking place, allowing the donors themselves to explain why they donated and even increased their contributions.

Research Questions and Design

The unique reality is that a remotely located nonprofit organization, on one of the poorest Native American reservations in North America, during the worst recession since the Great Depression, successfully engaged high net worth donors in a way that increased financial contributions by 44% over a five-year period. This stunning fact lends itself to an anthropologically bounded case study. As a participant in the organization during these five years, managing the fundraising effort, and as a resident on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, this researcher brings a unique anthropologic and ethnographic approach to this case study. The research will be in line with what Clifford Geertz (1973) called *thick description*, whereby, bounded by time, the research seeks to understand the actions of the high net worth donors based on a Lakota, non-Lakota relationship. Geertz explains that thick description is a ‘venture *in*’. Geertz references Gilbert Ryle’s explanation of thick description with Ryle’s simple illustration of the wink (Geertz, 1973, p. 6). In *Mirror for Man*, Kluckhorn (1949) adds that *thin description* is the winking. *Thick* is the meaning behind it and its symbolic import in society or between communicators (Kluckhohn, 1944).

Due to the role the researcher played in the organization as a conduit between the organization on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation and donors across the country, this researcher is uniquely positioned to approach the following central question: In what ways do high net worth individual supporters understand their relationship to the charitable organization, Red Cloud Indian School, from Fiscal Year 2007 through 2011?

An emergent qualitative design allows the study to evolve and be as malleable as possible in order to follow the interviewees and for information uncovered during each data point to be optimally explored (Creswell, 2007). Like Geertz (1973), this research seeks to understand and *dive in*; therefore, an emergent qualitative design provides the flexibility to explore where the information goes.

This study is appropriately researched as a case study in order to begin to fill the void in the literature regarding donor motivations, specifically to Native American-led organizations. The case study provides an empirical example of the donor relationships to an organization.

Understanding the donors' motivations, perceptions, and desires for directing their philanthropic activity specifically to this organization will complement the quantitative research that has been completed regarding high net worth donors. By concentrating on a case study, the research of high net worth donors can be contextualized in a way that is not possible with a survey collection. This case study will begin to address the issue of the lack of literature regarding philanthropic activity from the donor's perspective toward Native American organizations. A full description of the study's methods and sub-questions are found in chapter three.

Definition of Key Concepts

Given that this case study focuses on the motivations of donors contributing to a Native American organization led by the Jesuits and Lakota People on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, the following concepts are important to define for this study: *Time Period of Study (2007-2011)*, *Pine Ridge Indian Reservation*, *Society of Jesus*, and *Holy Rosary Mission*.

Holy Rosary Mission. The Jesuit school on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation that is the focus of this study was called Holy Rosary Mission from 1888 – 1995, and since that time has been known as Red Cloud Indian School. These terms are interchangeable, and this study refers to both names at various points, depending on the time period being discussed.

Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. The Oglala Lakota Reservation located in the southwest corner of South Dakota. The Reservation sits on the Oglala and Jackson Counties which borders Nebraska. The Reservation is also called Pine Ridge Agency.

Society of Jesus. Also known as the Jesuits, a Roman Catholic order of Priests and Brothers established by St. Ignatius of Loyola. Members take the vow of poverty, chastity, and obedience; and work primary in educational, missionary and charitable works.

Time Period of Study. The study took place over the five-year period of July 1, 2006 through June 30, 2011, in line with the fiscal years (FY) of Holy Rosary Mission / Pine Ridge Indian School at that time. This includes the following five fiscal years: FY2006-2007, FY2007-2008, FY2008-2009, FY2009-2010, and FY2010-2011. For the sake of brevity, this time period will be referenced as 2007-2011.

Dissertation Overview

The remaining pages in this chapter provide a context and history for the case study. The second chapter explores the current literature available on donor motivations. Chapter three is focused on the study, its design, methodology employed, as well as outlining the theoretical framework. The analysis is in chapter four. Chapter five reports on the findings and offers a conclusion.

Context

Holy Rosary Mission, on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, was established in 1888 and operated through the first quarter of the twentieth century with a philanthropic effort that partnered government with a faith-based organization. At that time, government officials regulated not only the government run boarding schools, but also mission schools and day schools. Using today's terms, we would refer to Holy Rosary Mission as a private-public partnership. It partnered the U.S. government with the Catholic religious order, Society of Jesus (S.J.), commonly referred to as "The Jesuits." And, as is often true of these partnerships today, it was not always an easy relationship.

Through letters, journals, internal documents, association memberships and guidelines, and by examining the meaning and use of the word "civilize" and the importance of religious association, evidence emerges that allows us to describe a determined effort to serve the Lakota on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. It is important to consider the historical context when interpreting the language used and the actions done by the Jesuits and the government.

In *Seeds of Extinction*, Bernard Sheehan (1973) provides a historical review of the relationship between the migrating United States' population and Native Americans. Sheehan states that U.S. President Thomas Jefferson envisioned a philanthropic effort to include the Native populations affected by the western expansion of the United States and the new economy. The Jeffersonian approach was thus grounded in inclusion, not exclusion or isolation. While perhaps naïve, it was not a policy of '*clear the territory and place Native Americans out of the way*;' rather, it was one established on respect.

Sheehan (1973) writes that:

In effect, the philanthropic mind formulated its conception of Indian society and its proposal for how that society ought to evolve in relation to civilization with little attention to the actualities of the Indian experience. Jeffersonian theory operated with considerable coherence in one sphere and provided those who believed in it with rationale for profoundly influencing the native way of life, but it offered no explanation for what really happened to the Indian (Sheehan, 1973, p. 11).

By the 1820s, however, Native Americans ran out of time. Even accepting the dubious rationale of the initiative, immigrants were moving into their territories more rapidly than the Native American population could assimilate. With all the pressures bearing down upon the indigenous populations in the western United States, battles were fought and treaties were signed, only to be broken and new treaties signed. Finally, in 1868, the Fort Laramie Treaty was signed and the creation of the Great Sioux Nation was established.

Establishing schools on the Reservation. As Jason Kaufman (2002) highlights, in the late nineteenth century, competition was rampant among Protestant, Catholic, and Episcopal missionaries throughout the United States. This affected the development of reservations, including the establishment of the Pine Ridge Reservation.

In 1877, Chief Red Cloud tried to overcome this problem. Galler (1994) writes that, while visiting the East Room of the White House, Red Cloud told the president:

I want you to give me school teachers, so that we will have a good school house, and learn [sic] my children how to write and read. Catholic priests are good and I want you to give me one of them also (Galler, 1994, p. 15).

The request Chief Red Cloud was making of the United States Government to allow Catholic priests and brothers on his Reservation and to establish a school was not a request for a gift or special consideration. Given what generosity meant to the Lakota, an

understanding can be gained that Red Cloud was not asking for philanthropy; rather, he was asking for what was due to his people and to him.

To understand Red Cloud's motivation, a deeper consideration of what the Lakota would define as generosity or philanthropy must be made. What is the place of generosity in the Lakota culture, and would a Chief request generosity?

In Luther Standing Bear's *Land of the Spotted Eagle* (1978), the importance of generosity is most dramatically expressed in the words of a Lakota proverb: "The man who gives much will live a long life..." (Standing Bear, 1978, p. 97).

Standing Bear (1978) also enters the discussion about Lakota generosity, writing, "A man (or woman) with many children has many houses.' This was a Lakota proverb showing that generosity was not a salving pretense but a deep permeating spirit of humanity" (Standing Bear, 1978, p. 163).

Generosity takes many forms in Lakota culture. Deloria (1988) provides an important description of generosity from the children's perspective,

Teton children loved to give. As far back as they could remember they had been made to give or their elders gave in their name, honoring them, until they learned to feel responsibility to do so. Furthermore, they found it pleasant to be thanked graciously and have the ceremonial names spoken aloud. For giving was basic to Dakota life (Deloria, 1988, p. 52).

According to an exhibit in the Oyate Tawicoh'an Gallery at the Akta Lakota Museum and Cultural Center (n.d.), the Lakota word for generosity is *wacantognaka*, meaning:

To contribute to the well-being of one's people and all life by sharing and giving freely. This sharing is not just of objects and possessions, but of emotions like sympathy, compassion and kindness. It also means to be generous with one's personal time. The act of giving and not looking for anything in return can make you a better person and make you happy...gifts of time, support, comfort, and healing are valued beyond the

material...to be able to give without a pounding heart (Oyate Tawicoh'an Gallery, n.d.).

In the Lakota language, *otuh'an* means "to give a present." Closely related to *otuh'an* is *otuh'anpi*, "to giveaway." These closely defined words refer to "the family gather(ing) their belongings and set(ing) them out for any person at the event to take" (Oyate Tawicoh'an Gallery, n.d.). Lakota generosity, then, is an act generated by the giver's values. Conversely, those in need take what is offered as something that is their due. This dynamic ensures 'the well-being of one's people.'

Was, then, Chief Red Cloud asking for a philanthropic act when he requested the Jesuits to establish themselves on the Pine Ridge Reservation? No, because having to make a request for philanthropy would not be the manifestation of this Lakota value; generous actions are not sought but are to be provided by the generous one. Thus, Red Cloud was not seeking generosity but was seeking what was owed to him, especially when taking into consideration the formalities of the relationship between the "Great Father" (i.e. the President of the United States) and the Lakota. More will be said of this in chapter 4 (c.f. p. 41).

In any case, it was not until after 1884 that Pine Ridge's religious assignment was loosened, making it possible for the Jesuits to establish a school. Prior to that time, the Episcopalians had a monopoly on the Pine Ridge missionary work. In 1887, the new Pine Ridge Agent Gallagher, a Catholic, and Father John Jutz, S.J., determined a location for Holy Rosary Mission (Miller, 2005. p. 92).

The Society of Jesus establish a school on the Pine Ridge. The Jesuits were eager to establish a mission on the Pine Ridge, already being present on the Rosebud Reservation, approximately 100 miles to the east. To create the mission, the Jesuits

partnered with Sister Katherine Drexel and the Sisters of St. Francis for funding and vocations. According to the Sisters of St. Francis *Institutional Journal* (1888-1925), with the establishment of the mission, Agent Gallagher “gave orders that the children [on the reservation] to go to any of the schools they pleased.” Gallagher allowed the children on the Reservation to attend Holy Rosary. (Diary of the Sisters of St. Francis, who have been in charge since the very foundation. 1888-1929. Marquette University Raynor Memorial Libraries, Archives, Holy Rosary Mission-Red Cloud Indian School Records, 1868-undated, unprocessed).

Sister Drexel provided the financial support for the building of Holy Rosary Mission. Drexel was the heir to the Drexel and Company Banking House, which her father had built. The fortune was worth approximately \$14 million in 1885, or \$268 million in today’s value (Oates, 1994, p. 2). Drexel provided the sole financial support for Holy Rosary Mission, and ultimately contributed \$36,000 to the building of the mission between 1887 and 1890 (Diary of the Sisters of St. Francis, 1888-1929).

Drexel’s financial involvement led to sending sisters from her order to teach at Holy Rosary Mission, and she brought with this patronage a watchful eye over the operation. Despite all of this support, the daily operation of the Mission was heavily reliant on government contracts.

The government contracts were established for the missions to educate and board the Native Americans on reservations. The government subsidized Holy Rosary \$108, or 40 cents a day, for each student (Galler, 1994). Holy Rosary was no different than other mission schools and was granted contracts every few years to educate the Lakota children. In order to receive government funding and for proper school organization,

records were kept in an *Alphabetical Register*. This *Register* began in 1888, recording the names of the children distinguished by sex, relationships, date of birth, and years at school (Sisters of St. Francis, 1888 – 1925). This *Register* quickly evolved into reports to the government and to The Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions in Washington, D.C. The demands for reports grew from both the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions and the government. By the early 1900s, quarterly reports were required, including entries on each students' "degree of Indian Blood" (Bosch, 1902, p. 1), tribe, date of entry into the mission, agency and post office of family, age, and number of days in attendance (Buechel, 1902).

As early as 1893, concerns were documented regarding the ability to continue the Mission. Floretin Digmann, S.J., superior of the Jesuits, wrote to the Director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Mission, Rev. Stephan, that because "...contributions have been on the decrease...eventually will force me to...dismiss a number of children...unless the government allows an increase of contract, for which I have applied" (Digmann, 1893).

Digmann was not the only superior to struggle with the reports, government funding, and securing enough resources to run the mission. This was the theme from the onset and has remained a constant throughout its existence. By 1898, passionate pleas for assistance were made to seemingly anyone who could help in securing government funding needed to educate the students.

The effort to continue the financial support of the school during the first decade was herculean. The philanthropic actions that built and sustained Holy Rosary Mission in its first two decades is nothing like the famous largesse of the Carnegie fortune that

provided small libraries throughout the country; the Carnegie fortune built no library on the Pine Ridge. Instead, the philanthropic efforts of an individual Pine Ridge Agent, financial support from Drexel, and a request for Jesuits from the recently appointed bishop of the Dakota Territory, Bishop Marty, all combined to begin to build the Holy Rosary Mission.

The men who joined the Jesuits fulfilled roles that were determined centuries earlier as purposeful educators to “improve the world” (O’Malley, S.J., 2008, p. 51). If such a statement is not already bold enough when Pedro Ribadeneira, S.J., announced it to King Philip II of Spain, certainly the work of the Jesuits at Holy Rosary Mission a few centuries later is (O’Malley, S.J., 2008). And that is what the Jesuits did by answering the request of Bishop Marty and Chief Red Cloud in coming out to build a school with the Lakota on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, and to stay, never questioning ‘why,’ but only ‘how’ to make it possible to educate the children.

Through the decades of the twentieth century, Holy Rosary endured the ebbs and flows of financial struggles, the tensions of evolving Catholic and Lakota religious traditions, and the ever-vexing Lakota dependence on the U.S. government. The trials of life both at the boarding school and on the Reservation during these decades have been documented in numerous volumes and are not the focus of this research. Nonetheless, it should be noted that over the last two decades a number of books with titles such as *Kill the Indian, Save the Man: The Genocidal Impact of American Indian Residential Schools* (Churchill, 2004) or *Education for Extinction* (Adams, 1995) have made up the majority of the writings concerning Native American education and boarding schools.

Experiences specific to the Holy Rosary Mission boarding school are highlighted by authors such as Tim Giago in *The Aboriginal Sin: Reflections on the Holy Rosary Indian Mission School (Red Cloud Indian School)* (1978). These works, unlike earlier publications, are accounts of the authors' experiences in the boarding schools. Without forgetting this difficult and complex history, this research will attempt to look at Holy Rosary Mission in a different manner, incorporating what these authors describe while giving voice to how and why Holy Rosary Mission not only continues to exist but is flourishing.

Holy Rosary Mission does thrive today, but that has not always been the case in its one hundred twenty-three-year history. Those working on the mission in the first few decades describe hardship, financial ambiguity, and often the tangible reality of failure. Not unlike Drexel's mission-saving infusions of financial support then, today the Holy Rosary Mission relies on the generosity of many individual donors, especially large donors. In a way never before experienced, Holy Rosary has truly financially thrived since 2007, which prompts the question of this study: *In what ways do high net worth individual supporters understand their relationship to the charitable organization, Red Cloud Indian School, during August 2006 through June 2011?*

Chapter Two Review of Literature

Generosity has been a fundamental value in Lakota society since long before European contact. In *The Honor of Giving: Philanthropy in Native America* (Wells, 1998), Stevert Young Bear, a Lakota, shares that,

The traditional way of thinking tells us that when you have material possessions, the best thing you can do with them is to give them away, especially to those who are without or are having a hard time. ... We are taught as young boys and girls that in order to honor ourselves and our relatives, we should always be ready to share (Wells, 1998, p. 65).

In contrast, the European-American sense of generosity, or philanthropy, developed in deliberate responses to their experience as immigrants. The motivations and history of Europeans embarking on creating a new society and settling new land have been studied and written about from the earliest years of the formation of the United States (c.f. Hammack, 1998; Bremner, 2000; Burlingame, 2004). The motivation to create these civil society and philanthropic associations and organizations may be the result of the need to meet practical needs, religious belief, searching for a utopian world, or some combination of these and numerous other potential reasons.

Alexis de Tocqueville illustrates this in his landmark book, *Democracy in America* (1805-1859/2002). The roles of associations and nonprofits in forming America is recognized as a unique characteristic in creating a democracy and the United States' society (de Tocqueville, 1805-1859/2002). The creation of the nonprofit sector has been explained by scholars in this way: "European immigrants arrived to the 'new world' ready to create new networks of voluntary association to combat against tyranny and individualistic barbarianism" (Foxworth, 2016, p. 7; see also Cohen, 1999; Gamm & Putnam, 1999; Putnam, 2007; Salamon, 1987).

The literature focused on these topics - American's rural nonprofit sector, Native American focused nonprofits, and donor motivations - all are important to this study.

Each of these three focus areas are considered in more depth below.

Funding in Rural America Nonprofits

“The question of who gets what where is now a salient issue in philanthropy following the attention, in recent years, to rural philanthropy” (Ashley, 2012, p. 700). The distribution of philanthropic dollars to rural America versus urban America has received more attention with Former USDA Secretary Tom Vilsack's challenge to foundations to support rural America in 2015. In Secretary Vilsack's comments, he spoke of a memorandum of understanding signed between the Council on Foundations and the Department of Agriculture to increase not only dollars granted, but also investment and job creation in rural communities. “Rather than an increase in foundation investment,” Vilsack bemoaned, “tragically, we've seen a decrease” (Cohen, 2015).

The issue of rural philanthropy is not new. In a 2006 conference speech, Senator Max Baucus (D-MT), “then ranking member of the Senate Finance Committee, ... noted that although rural America experiences higher levels of poverty than urban areas, they do not receive an equitable share of philanthropic resources” (Ashley, 2016, 685-6). Prior to that, Rick Cohen and John Barkhamer reported in 2004 that of the \$30 billion distributed through foundations in 2004, only \$323 million were offered in rural communities or for rural issues (Cohen & Barkhamer, 2004). An institute in Montana that studies philanthropy in the region, The Big Sky Institute, reported in 2005 that ten states held 67% of the \$550 billion in foundations assets. These states were predominately urban. The bottom ten states held just 1.39% of the foundation assets.

These bottom ten states were all rural. (National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy, 2000).

The discrepancies are even more visible when considering granting to rural, racial/ethnic organizations. In a 2000 report from the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy, the authors noted that Fortune 500 Corporation granting to rural racial/ethnic organizations accounted for only one percent of total racial/ethnic grantmaking at that time (National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy, 2000, p. 48).

Native American Nonprofits

It is true that over the last fifty years, growth in the Native American nonprofit sector has outpaced the national nonprofit sector (Foxworth, 2016). Despite this growth, however, foundation resources to support these Native nonprofits remains minimal, at 0.3% of all foundation giving in the U.S. Moreover, in 2011, Native Americans in Philanthropy published findings regarding a recent decline in philanthropic support for organizations and causes in Indian Country (Lawrence & Mukai, 2011).

Such studies illustrate the fact that, especially in the last three decades, more interest and research has focused on giving in Indian Country. Most of this focus, like that on rural America, has been on foundation grants; in this case, to Native American organizations. It is worth noting that Minnesota receives 20% of the grants and 12% of the dollars granted to Native American organizations (Hicks & Jorgensen, 2005). Hicks and Jorgensen (2005) suggest that motivation for giving in Minnesota may have its roots in liberal activism and highlights that this state is home to the American Indian Movement, Hubert Humphrey and Walter Mondale (Hicks & Jorgensen, 2005, p. 11).

Native Americans in Philanthropy, an organization with a mission to “advance philanthropic practices grounded in Native values and tradition” (Native Americans in Philanthropy, n.d.), and the Foundation Center have both analyzed funding for Native American organizations. They have found that funding to organizations benefiting Native Americans fell by 40%, in dollars, from 0.5% in 2000 to 0.3% in 2009. The number of grants to Native American organizations also fell from 0.6 to 0.5% in the same time period. Approximately one-quarter of this funding benefited rural communities. The remaining went to non-rural Native American organizations. (Lawrence & Mukai, 2011, p. 8).

In 2007 and 2008, the Third Millennium Initiative, “an initiative dedicated to increasing knowledge about philanthropy in communities of color and among youth populations” (Gasman, Drezner, Epstein, Freeman, and Avery, 2011, p. xi), in partnership with the Center on Philanthropy at Indiana University and Native Americans in Philanthropy, attempted to identify a way to describe fundraising for Native American organizations incorporating the value of generosity. This work acknowledges the differences that exist in the nonprofit sector between fundraising for a Native American organization and organizations in the dominant society (Gasman et al, 2011).

Prior to the Millennium Initiative attempt, fundraising for Native American organizations located on reservations was predominately driven by direct mail efforts. The Black and Indian Missions’ office in Washington, DC, as well as Marquette University Raynor Memorial Libraries, Archives, American Indian Catholic School Network Collection in Milwaukee, Wisconsin have archives of the direct mail fundraising documents for religious missions on Reservations. These historic documents

include fundraising correspondence between donors and Religious orders, which provide a unique opening into the minds of the donors regarding their motivations to give to Red Cloud Indian School (c.f. Marquette University Raynor Memorial Libraries, Archives, Holy Rosary Mission-Red Cloud Indian School Records, 1868-undated, unprocessed). Such intimate information is far less available today, with bulk mail operations to tens of thousands of donors.

Ashley states that, "... the driving forces underlying the gaps in rural and urban giving and assets are likely complex and, as yet, not very well understood" (Ashley, 2012, p. 685). This fact, coupled with the reality of the minimal financial support to Native American nonprofits, are two significant reasons for having done this case study. Additionally, the lack of literature dedicated to understanding donor motivations for giving to address the issues of rural America and, more specifically, to Native American organizations, provides a third grounding for undertaking this research and case study.

Motivation

There have been a number of recently published works that seek to explain donor motivation (c.f. Konrath & Handy, 2017 in press; Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011). These often overlap, sometimes contradict, but always shed light on the topic. While none are focused on Native American philanthropy, they provide strong hints as to the direction such research can and, in this work, does take.

For decades, researchers have been surveying donors regarding their giving. These surveys have provided insight into individual and family giving (The Center on Philanthropy, 2008). A 2001 study by Schervish and Havens, together with the Bank of America Merrill Lynch 2010 Study of High Net Worth Philanthropy, collaboratively

provide a longitudinal look at activities of high net worth individuals, including motivations of donors. The Bank of America Merrill Lynch Study ranks donors' understanding of donor vehicles, use of strategy in giving, and knowledge regarding charitable giving. According to this study, almost three-fourths of the high net worth individuals identified 'making a difference' as the primary motivator for their giving. (Bank of America Corporation, 2014).

It is common for professional fundraisers to describe ways to motivate donors to make gifts. Research which has compiled this data results in a broad understanding of donor motivation. Results are found in many different disciplines including from psychology, marketing, and economics, among others (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011). Bekkers and Wiepking reviewed 500 articles for their work, "A Literature Review of Empirical Studies of Philanthropy: Eight Mechanisms That Drive Charitable Giving." In this work Bekkers and Wiepking identify "eight mechanisms as the most important forces that drive charitable giving: (a) awareness of need; (b) solicitation; (c) costs and benefits; (d) altruism; (e) reputation; (f) psychological benefits; (g) values; (h) efficacy" (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011, p. 924). Bekkers and Wiepking' mechanisms are categorized into four dimensions which can be differentiated by asking three questions: What? Where? And Who?.

The four differentiations are 1) whether the mechanism is a tangible or intangible object; 2) whether the mechanism is within, between, or outside individuals; 3) whether the parties involved are 'beneficiaries, organizations, donors or alters'; and finally, who is affected: the donor or the beneficiaries (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011 p. 928). This literature review brings together articles from multiple disciplines for the first time and is

thus the most comprehensive review of the literature focused on the reasons why individuals may decide to contribute to nonprofit organizations.

They, along with other researchers, compartmentalize donor motivations as being private or public benefits (Handy et al., 2000). This differentiation is found in psychological literature and economic theories and it establishes a theoretical framework with which to categorize motives. Becker (1974) presented altruism as the explanation for donor motivation; impure altruists was the explanation provided by Andreoni (1990), whereby donors experienced *warm-glow*, a fulfillment of perceived moral obligation (Frey & Meier, 2004; Rabin, 1994) and/or compliant with “social norms” (Elster, 2000; Bernheim, 1994). Still other studies identify donor motivations ranging from *making a difference* (as identified by the Bank of America Study, 2000) to *making the world a better place to live* (The Center on Philanthropy at Indiana University, 2009, p. 6).

More recently the work of Sara Konrath and Femida Handy provide new insight into motivations through their “comprehensive self-report(ed) scale of why people make charitable donations” (Konrath & Handy, 2016, p. 2). Konrath and Handy distill the motivations of donors into a scale of six factors: Trust, Altruism, Social, Tax benefits, Egoism, and Constraints. These factors offer insight on donors self-reported reasons to contribute to an organization (Konrath & Handy, 2016, pp. 24-25).

Konrath and Handy built the most comprehensive scale to-date in order to understand donor motivation. Konrath and Handy reference Bekkers’ (2003) explanation of trust whereby donors expect the nonprofit to use the donation appropriately for the good of society. Trust is a public benefit. Altruism is the concept that giving is driven by a concern for less the fortunate and by donating there is a benefit to society. This is a

public benefit. Compassion for others is also identified as characteristic of altruism (Konrath & Handy, 2017 in press). Social reasons, such as belonging to a social network, are identified as motives for a donor to contribute (Schervish & Havens, 1997). These reasons could consist of both public and private benefits. Tax benefits are a private benefit, however tax benefits are not the primary reason for a donor to decide to make a contribution (Steinberg, 1990). Other research has concluded individuals are more likely to contribute when it is viewed as less expensive (Auten, Sieg, & Clotfelter, 2002). Egoism is a private benefit wherein the donor perceived an enhanced value of themselves in public by means of the donation (Konrath & Handy, 2017 in press). Finally, various constraints influence the motivation of donors. This is a private motive which commonly includes the donor's budget to give (Konrath & Handy, 2017 in press).

Konrath and Handy make clear that these six motivations are not all encompassing. Moreover, donors do not necessarily have only one identifiable motive for giving. In fact, donors may have multiple reasons that may be both private and public. In addition, the environment, social context, geographic and economic conditions may influence a donors' motives (Konrath & Handy, 2017 in press).

Other scholars have interviewed high net worth individuals in their work and have significantly added to the body of knowledge about donor motivations. The research of Paul Schervish led him to create of the Center on Wealth and Philanthropy at Boston College (Center on Wealth and Philanthropy, n.d.). In *Gospels of Wealth: How the Rich Portray their Lives*, Schervish et al (1994) record interviewees' own words on how they see themselves in the world and in society, and how they act regarding their work and their roles in societal, family and community affairs. This enables the reader to gain a

glimpse into what motivates high net worth individuals. Schervish does not specifically look at donor contributions to rural or Native American organizations. Instead, in *Gospels of Wealth*, Schervish and his co-authors are interested in how the ultra-wealthy perceive and express the purpose of their lives (Schervish, Coutsoukis, & Lewis, 1994).

In another work, Paul Schervish and John Havens propose that the motivation of the wealthy to contribute is because of hyper-agency, or “the enhanced capacity of wealthy individuals to establish or essentially control the conditions under which they and others live” (Schervish and Havens, 2002, p. 225). Michael J. Worth (2016), in *Fundraising: Principles and Practice*, sheds light on one potential condition the wealthy meet that allows them to possess this hyper agency. Building on Schervish and Havens work, Worth says that the wealthy have freedom that others do not have. This results in hyper agency, allowing them to turn from the accumulating phase of life to that of supporting a legacy (Worth, 2016).

Hodgkinson and Weitzmann (1994) also provide insight into why groups of people donate. Their surveys on *Giving and Volunteering in the United States* allow the reader to “relate specific socio-economic, life-cycle, ethnic, and religious attributes with giving levels and targeting of donations” (Wolpert, 1997, p. 76). More recently, “Women Give, Charitable Giving and Life Satisfaction: Does Gender Matter?,” offers insight into giving and gender, age, social economic realities, relationship scenarios, decision making and happiness (Mesch, 2017). Hodgkinson and Weitzmann identify giving patterns of specific groups of people. For example: “Males contribute a higher share of their income than females, whites more than minority members, the elderly more than the young, the poor and rich more than the middle class, Protestants and others more than Catholics,

married more than singles” (Wolpert, 1997, p. 76). Mesch and her colleagues find that individual happiness is greatest among men when they first begin to give whereas women’s life satisfaction is highest when they give more than they had given in the past. “For wife-influenced households, those that donated more than two percent of their income to charity had significantly higher life satisfaction than those donating two percent or less. (p. 25) ” Furthermore, Mesch determines that “when the wife is involved in making charitable decisions, either as the sole decision maker or jointly with her spouse, life satisfaction for the household is the highest”(p. 25) (Mesch, 2017).

In addition to understanding this broad view of giving across demographic groups, it is also relevant to note that over 90% of nonprofit donations are made and raised locally. Understanding local patterns of giving could potentially be significant for nonprofit organizations raising money. The aggregated national data may not be the most important information for the majority of local nonprofits because there are significant differences between households surveyed throughout the United States (Wolpert, 1997, p. 77).

Wolpert’s findings from his community-level studies (1993) highlight the diversity that exists among communities in the United States. His research offers relevant information for the growing number of nonprofits in the United States about how donors support local interests that impact their lives. For example,

[The] increased sorting of Americans into socially homogeneous communities has reproduced public and nonprofit service infrastructures in the suburbs often at the expense of support for center city and rural institutions (the real growth of service provision is quite small)” (Wolpert, 1997, p.78).

These findings illustrate an important point for consideration in this study: If local communities tend to focus their interests and giving on local issues, then this provides only limited insight into why an urban or suburban donor would support an organization in rural America on an Indian Reservation, far removed from their own communities.

Another attempt to understand donor motivation is through what Schervish and Whitaker (2010) call the “moral biography.” The moral biography describes the intersection between a person’s ability and capacity to donate and the practical decisions derived from their moral compass, or “the moral citizenship of care” (Schervish and Whitaker, p. 6). They explain,

No moral biography exists in isolation. The capacities and purposes executed through its judgements are developed in connection with, and affect others... To the extent that a moral biography is intentional in the realm of friendship and extends into philanthropy, it is conjoined to and constitutive of a moral citizenship of care (Schervish and Whitaker, 2010, pp. 6-7).

Understanding a donor’s moral biography allows one to understand motivation to give one specific cause (as opposed to some other cause). Schervish and Whitaker (2010) state that the

arrow of its moral compass points to others’ needs directly, rather than through the market. Thus, it is the building block of the moral citizenship of care, that array of intersecting relationships by which individuals respond to the needs of others as an expression of *philia*... (Schervish & Whitaker, 2010, p. 7).

This conclusion signals one reason why high-end donors might choose to donate to specific nonprofits such as Native American organizations.

Schervish and Havens (2002) also shed light on the so-called “cajoling and scolding” model of fundraising. This includes methods that “fall into assaulting emotions, undercutting liberty, attenuating inspiration, and eliciting only grudging compliance” (p.

224). Cajoling and scolding models of fundraising are “inappropriate and ineffective in communicating with wealthy donors already inclined to be philanthropic” (Worth, 2016, p. 115).

None of these studies take a deep dive (Geertz, 1973) into individual donors’ motivations to donate to a rural, Reservation-based organization. No such studies are known to this author to exist. Yet over the next few decades, trillions of dollars will transfer from one generation to another. Scholars have estimated that potentially \$20.6 trillion will be given to nonprofit organizations from 2017 to 2061 (Schervish & Havens, 2014).

Given the under-representation of Native American philanthropies in giving in the United States, we can deduce that Native American organizations will seek to attract a larger, more equitable proportion of those resources as this wealth transfer occurs. They—along with rural and other under-endowed philanthropies—will need research-based information to know how to accomplish that. Increasing the understanding of the motivations of donors to build philanthropic partnerships is key to the success of these organizations, and this is precisely the purpose of this study.

Chapter Three Methods and Research Design

Understanding why high net worth individuals made contributions to Red Cloud Indian School during the Great Recession fills a void in the research on donor motivations. This case study specifically advances the understanding of donors' reasons for making large gifts, what the influencers are for donors' decisions, and what nonprofit organizations can do to reach donors and build philanthropic partners. The case study is focused on understanding "why" a donor gives and specifically considers high net worth individuals' decisions to give during the Great Recession. Engaging in this type of deep dive (Geertz, 1973) case study to understand the donors' motivation is only possible with the author's participation in the organization as the vice president for advancement. The author's position in the organization and residents for seven years on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation afforded the author the opportunity to obtain a lived understanding of the culture. Furthermore, the author lead the development and implementation of a fundraising and communication plan that represented and responded to the circumstances of the place. It could be perceived that a certain bias may exist in completing research when one has been intimately involved in the institution during the time being studied. However, it is precisely the author's participation in this organization as well as his having lived on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation for seven years which uniquely allows the author to complete this case study research because:

- As Vice President for Advancement, over five years at the organization, the author built strong relationships with the high net worth individuals making these financial donations.

- The trust established between the author and the donor uniquely allows for open-ended dialogue about the “why” someone made a decision to give. This trust does not develop through a single interview or questionnaire.
- The author personally managed the implementation of the planned fundraising effort during this time period.
- The author has intimate knowledge and understanding of the inner workings of the organization and the changes that were underway internally as the make-up of the organization’s leadership evolved and materially changed.
- The author brings a unique anthropological and ethnographic approach to this case study. An ethnographic and qualitative approach is necessary to understanding donor motivations. This method allows a deep exploration of the donors’ words and actions, allowing this case study to illuminate “why” individuals chose to make financial gifts to Red Cloud Indian School during the Great Recession.

Qualitative studies offer an opportunity to allow perspectives and values of individual donors to be understood. This qualitative study was participatory in nature. It is ethnographic because, as Geertz (1973) states, it will be a thick description. As a participant in the organization, the researcher has the ability to understand the *cultural* systems that exist and are important to ethnographic fieldwork, as Michael Patton points out in *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods* (Patton, 2002, p. 275). To mitigate personal biases, the researcher has audio recorded and transcribed the interviews or has taken in-depth written notes for each interview. Interviews were bounded by the interviewee’s time, not the interviewer’s, which allowed for detailed decisions and

conversations. Member checking was built into the research process. Finally, the donors' specific words are used extensively in this study, allowing donors to express their motivations directly and in their own way.

The importance of relationships is paramount in the philanthropic sector, as it is in the Lakota society. Use of a case study captures these relationships among donors and Red Cloud Indian School and the act of Lakota generosity. This qualitative research included interviews, participation, observation, oral history, and review of historical documentation to capture a deep understanding in the case study.

Interview questions were drafted and reviewed by the researcher's dissertation committee. Questions were approved through the Institutional Review Board at Indiana University. Interviewees were identified first by their level of gift made during the specific time-period. Each donor was involved in making a gift of \$50,000 or greater during this period of time. Geography was considered when determining who to interview. An effort was made to ensure interviewees were from the east coast, the Midwest, west coast, and in South Dakota.

Interviews were arranged by the researcher. The researcher contacted the prospective interviewee directly with a phone call and a formal letter. Each interviewee received a specific description of the research. Each interviewee received the interview questions in advance of the interview. The interviewees were asked to block off fifty minutes for each interview. Interviews were all conducted in person except for two. Two interviews took place by phone due to schedule conflicts. Scheduling travel to meet with interviewees was a natural obstacle, but interviewees were willing and flexible with their time and interview location, making it possible to complete most of the interviews

in person and without interviewee time constraints. Interviewees were open to follow up conversations and member checking when approached. Interviewees expressed interest in reading the findings.

Research Design

An emergent qualitative design was used to allow for the study to evolve and to be as malleable as possible. This approach allowed the researcher to follow the flow of information from the interviewees, and to optimally explore the information uncovered during each data point (Patton, 2002). Like Geertz (1973), this study sought to understand and to “*dive in.*” An emergent qualitative design provides the flexibility to explore where the information might lead.

This approach leads back to the central question: *In what ways do high net worth individual supporters understand their relationship to Red Cloud Indian School from Fiscal Years 2007 through 2011?* Sub-questions included:

- What philanthropic work happened at Red Cloud Indian School from August 2006 through June 2011?
- Who are the high net worth individuals that gave to Red Cloud Indian School during that timeframe?
- Why did these individuals choose their philanthropic relationship with Red Cloud?
- What common themes of donor participation were unveiled during the five-year period?
- What were the theoretical constructs that may illuminate the reason for these donors’ responses?

- What constructs were unique to this period of time and environment?
- How did the donors find out about Red Cloud Indian School?
- What did the donors know about Native Americans before, and what have they learned since?
 - 1) What is the meaning and purpose of philanthropy, philanthropic activity, donations, and generosity?
 - 2) What is the meaning of Native American culture and Lakota culture?

Kathy Charmaz (2014), in *Constructing Grounded Theory*, states, “With grounded theory methods, you shape and reshape your data collection and, therefore, refine your data and increase your knowledge...” (Charmaz, 2014, p. 26). Charmaz, like Geertz (1973), references the lens through which data is viewed to describe data collection and analysis. She writes:

...grounded theory quickens the speed of gaining a clear focus on what is happening in your data without sacrificing the detail of enacted scenes. Similar to a camera with many lenses, first you view a broad sweep of the landscape. Subsequently, you change your lens several times and shorten your focal points to bring key scenes closer and closer into view (Charmaz, 2014, p. 26).

Data Collection

Interviewing donors to Red Cloud Indian School was the primary method for data collection. This qualitative research is focused on the donors’ experience in philanthropic relationships with Red Cloud Indian School - relationships that included making major financial contributions to the organization. As with any relationship, listening to and discussing the perspective of those involved is critical to understanding action; therefore, semi-structured interviews were designed and implemented. The interviews allow the interviewee to use their own words to describe their experience and

share their story, including their perspective on the organization, as well as intra-personal experiences and insights related to motivation.

Interviews allowed the participants to speak freely and openly about their unique experience with Red Cloud Indian School. Each participant was asked open-ended questions to provide an opportunity for the participant to explain, in their own words, their relationship to Red Cloud Indian School, and for the participant to dive deeply into his or her own motivations for giving.

This semi-structured interview approach resulted in hours of conversations with 90% of the participants. All but two interviews were digitally recorded, and hand-written notes were taken during or following each interview. All names and personal information has been changed to keep the participants anonymous. All recorded interviews were transcribed, eliminating biases as words and phrases were analyzed. Additionally, the transcripts and findings were reviewed by a third party, and member checking was performed.

Participants in this study are individuals from across the country who donated to Red Cloud Indian School during the Great Recession between Fiscal Years 2007-2011. This bounded time is important because of the recession. The geographical location of the donor and when the donor made their significant gift to Red Cloud Indian School are all important factors considered in this research. For this research, a significant gift is a gift of \$50,000 or higher during this five year time period.

This case study also includes analysis of the historical documents regarding financial support, archived documents such as diaries, journals, correspondence, photos, institutional records, United States government forms and other material stored in the

archives at Red Cloud Indian School, the Black and Indian Mission in Washington, D.C., and Marquette University in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Sample and Study Participants

A geographically diverse sample of individuals was identified for interviews for this case study. Table 1 shows the characteristics considered for selecting interviewees which included:

- Amount of donation contributed during the study’s time period.
- Gender of donor.
- Age of donor.
- Race.
- Geographic location of donor.

Table 1: Study Participants

Age: 50 – 60 years old	Participants: 6
60 – 70 years old	9
70 + years old	8
Individuals Identifying as Native America:	1
Gender: Female	11
Male	12
Geography: East Coast	10
Midwest	3
Mountain/High Plains	6

South	2
West	2

Red Cloud Indian School had a donor list of over 125,000 individuals. Reviewing the list of donors to potentially interview led to homing in on the top financial contributors to Red Cloud during this period of time. Focusing on the top donors who gave over \$50,000 during the Great Recession provided the necessary focus to gain an understanding of motivation of these donors. Focusing on these donors allowed the research to be manageable.

After this strategic selection process, twenty-three individuals ultimately participated in this study, including eleven women and twelve men. They represented the first million-dollar gift from a living individual received by Red Cloud Indian School, as well as pledges of millions more dollars and introductions to new major donor prospects across the country.

When contributions were made by families, the interviews were completed with the donor who informed Red Cloud of the gift. When the relationship with Red Cloud Indian School involved the couple, the couples were interviewed when possible. In one case, the spouse was interviewed after the primary donor was deceased. Interviews were scheduled for 50 minutes. All but three interviews lasted longer than the allotted time, and in one case lasted over 180 minutes.

The participants were all white and ranged in age from mid-fifties to mid-seventies.

Data Analysis

This case study is based on grounded theory research.

Grounded theory methods consist of systematic, yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analyzing qualitative data to construct theories from the data themselves. Thus, researchers construct a theory ‘grounded’ in their data. Grounded theory begins with inductive data, invokes iterative strategies of going back and forth between data and analysis, uses comparative methods, and keeps you interacting and involved with your data and emerging analysis” (Charmaz, 2014, p. 1).

The research analysis began with identifying and actively gathering data. Data sources included historical documents, archived personal letters, financial data, journals, historical logs, diaries, cultural and historical texts, and personal interviews, to list a few. By gathering data from a variety of sources in this way, relevant social and environmental factors are included.

Consistent with grounded theory methodology, conducting open-ended and participant-centered interviews provided additional data (Charmaz, 2014). Actively taking notes during the interview or immediately following the interview, as well as transcribing the interviews from their digital records, allowed the participants words to reinforce and confirm the handwritten notes taken during the interviews. Reviewing transcripts in full and coding the transcripts by hand provided a connection with the participants’ words to capture nuances within each interview. Themes were distilled from examining key words, and the coding system allowed similarities to reveal themselves. Through this process, “issue-relevant meanings” emerged (Cresswell, 2007, p. 163).

A number of additional qualitative methods were employed to gain valuable insight from the data. Simple and direct codes were used to identify the themes that

emerged, providing the basis for the theoretical coding and writing (Charmaz, 2014). Conducting a second and third round of review solidified findings first present in the coding. The individual words were cross referenced with known donor decisions, such as the timing of contributions to programs and restrictions of the donations. Through this analysis, “naturalistic generalizations” emerged (Stake, 1995). David Hamilton defines naturalistic generalizations as “being able to communicate the reasons for making a generalization. In short, naturalistic generalization should be located within the realm of private knowledge” (Stake, 1995, p. 85).

By relying heavily on the interviewees’ own words and sorting them by theme, complemented with the knowledge gained through trust and a relationship with the donors, the similarities and differences among the donors’ motivations were revealed. This study focuses on donors who contributed \$50,000 or more to Red Cloud Indian School which provides evidence of the donors’ ability. The interviews were sorted for common words, phrases and topics. Following donors’ conversational threads identified commonalities in words and phrases. For example, if a donor spent time discussing Jesuit education despite not having first-hand experience of Jesuit schooling, the researcher attempted to continuously replace the lenses (c.f. chapter 3) used to view the words used to the meaning the interviewee intended. The findings were then compared to Konrath and Handy’s scale (2017 in press). Benefits from candid conversations with questions that allowed interviewees to answer with their own words and to return to answers or weave answers together to provide a fuller picture of their experience with Red Cloud

Indian School. The interviewer was allowed to follow up with questions and listen for connections that may not be evident in a survey.

The next chapter provides the results of this analysis.

Limitations

The participants are major donors because of the amount of their donation to Red Cloud Indian School during this time period (more than \$50,000 / donor). Not captured in this study are the donors who did not donate significantly, but could have. This study does not attempt to unearth this data. It would constitute an entirely different study, but one that would be fruitful to undertake.

This study illuminates the motivations of twenty-three individuals giving to Red Cloud Indian School. Additional interviews would add to the data set and represent broader organizational donor population, providing a more robust study. However, due to the restrictions of time and funding, this study is focused on the donors that contributed \$50,000 or greater. Twenty-three interviews represent a small percentage of the total donors to Red Cloud Indian School, but a significant number of those donors who contributed \$50,000 or more during the time period of this study.

The lack of longitudinal data limits this study. However, with this single case study research approach, the groundwork for further research is established. A longitudinal case comparing this study's period of time with another five-year period could be completed in the future (Yin, 2003, p. 42).

Chapter Four

Philanthropic Motivations of Donors to Native American Causes

This chapter is broken into two sections. The first section provides several diverse elements in order to understand the context in which Red Cloud Indian School was operating during the period of the study. It begins with a brief overview of the fundraising effort at Red Cloud Indian School in the years leading up to 2006. Second, because the case study takes place on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, the role of generosity in Lakota society is reviewed. Third, the national figures for giving in the United States from 2006 through 2011 are explored. Finally, the specific Red Cloud Indian School financial projections and budget explanation from Fiscal Years 2007 through 2011 are charted.

The second section challenges certain assumptions that have been made about Red Cloud Indian School donors. This section begins with outlining three influential assumptions for donor support to Red Cloud Indian School during this period. Then it defines the type of donor who is the focus in this case study. Major characteristics are outlined such as donor age, geographic location, religious background, schooling, and tribal affiliation of donors interviewed in this case study. Additionally, the source of the wealth from which donors gave and their self-described reasons for giving to Red Cloud Indian School are explored. Finally, the assumptions are revisited and challenged considering the research provided by this study.

Section I: Understanding Red Cloud Indian School in Context

It is important to explain that, for decades, Red Cloud Indian School was a direct mail-driven fundraising operation, with most annual revenue raised from direct mail and its natural outgrowths: charitable annuities and estate gifts. In the 1990s, the organization

experienced significant struggles and considered closing some of its operations.

Ultimately, however, the decision was made to remain open, and beginning in the late 1990s, a considerable investment was made to reenergize the direct mail operation. This decision to remain open was described in private conversations in the following way. The decision was not made in Pine Ridge, South Dakota. Instead, the determination to keep all the operations going was made by the Superior General of the Society of Jesus in Rome, or the “Black Pope”. The Black Pope references the Superior General’s black clothes while the Pope wears white (Cusack, 1896). The then “Black Pope,” Fr. Peter Hans Kolvenbach, directed Red Cloud Indian School to keep the doors open. The then president of Red Cloud Indian School, the late Fr. Bill McKinney, shared the following to staff (paraphrased here), “The Mission will not cut off its arm to save the body, instead we will survive or die as one.” (Personal communications from Fr. Klink, S.J. who was present in the conversation).

This dedication to the mission of Red Cloud Indian School, combined with a focused commitment by the lay staff, Jesuits, Women Religious (at that time Franciscan Sisters), and volunteers, kept the nonprofit operating; however, it ran with an annual planned operating deficit of over \$500,000 in fiscal year 2006, and that deficit was projected to increase to almost \$750,000 in fiscal year 2009. The donor data base included over 125,000 active donors. Direct mail list rental was an expensive, but necessary, component, keeping the fundraising department operating.

Facing the prospect of increasing deficits and just a year before the Great Recession began, in 2006, the then-president of Red Cloud Indian School, along with key leadership in the organization, concluded that to overcome these deficits, the organization

needed to diversify its fundraising operation. The president recognized that new approaches to the direct mail-driven operation were needed. He understood that the School's financial realities required an approach to solicitation that, while respecting and maintaining the direct mail operation to fund the ongoing operation of the nonprofit, could simultaneously reach out in new ways to current donors and to new donors.

The donors profiled in this chapter and the next are those who made significant major gifts to Red Cloud Indian School from Fiscal Years 2007 to 2011 as an outcome of the new fundraising approach. These twenty-four donors' experiences are described in their own words, including references to the Great Recession that began at the same time that Red Cloud Indian School reached out in new ways.

Generosity: A Lakota virtue

Since the 1960s, Red Cloud Indian School had begun to transform its Identity from a Jesuit/Woman Religious institution to a Lakota and Catholic-Jesuit organization which promoted its values in outreach and educational materials to donors across the country. To understand the motivation to donate to Red Cloud Indian School precisely as a Lakota-Catholic organization, it is important to understand more about the organization, not only from the Jesuit perspective, but also through the lens of Lakota culture.

Specifically, and as indicated in chapter 1, of primary consideration is the importance of generosity in Lakota culture. This virtue is most dramatically expressed in the Lakota proverb "The man who gives much will live a long life. . ." (Standing Bear, 1978, p. 97).

Generosity takes many forms in Lakota culture. Deloria (1988) provides an important description of generosity from the perspective of the children. "Teton children

loved to give. As far back as they could remember they had been made to give or their elders gave in their name, honoring them, until they learned to feel responsibility to do so. Furthermore, they found it pleasant to be thanked graciously and have the ceremonial names spoken aloud. For giving was basic to Dakota life” (Deloria, 1988, p. 52).

Luther Standing Bear (1978) also enters the discussion about Lakota generosity, citing a proverb that ‘A man (or woman) with many children has many houses.’ He explains that:

This was a Lakota proverb showing that generosity was not a salving pretense but a deep permeating spirit of humanity. A society that plans a place for its beings of all ages, from birth to death, proves its spirit of generosity beyond all doubt and makes of it more than the mere limiting business of doling food and tipis. Then there was the spirit of generosity in comradeship (Standing Bear, 1978, p. 163).

To further understand the Lakota concept of generosity, an analysis of the Lakota words for *generosity*, *give-away*, *to give away*, and *honor* must be reviewed. First, the Lakota word for *generosity* is *Wash teh cha kah*: which means,

...to contribute to the well-being of one’s people and all life by sharing and giving freely. This sharing is not just of objects and possessions, but of emotions like sympathy, compassion and kindness. It also means to be generous with one’s personal time. The act of giving and not looking for anything in return can make you a better person and make you happy... gifts of time, support, comfort, and healing are valued beyond the material...to be able to give without a pounding heart (Oyate Tawicoh’an Gallery, n.d.).

As was mentioned in Chapter 1, the Lakota language the word for *give-away* is *otuh’an*, “to give a present,” and the word for *to give away* is *otuh’anpi*. These closely related words refer to “the family gather(ing) their belongings and set(ting) them out for any person at the event to take” (Oyate Tawicoh’an Gallery, n.d.).

According to a Lakota speaker, the Lakota word which best reflects the compassion at the root of Lakota generosity and generous acts is *waunsila*, meaning “helping everyone.” Even if a person usually does not need help, everyone has moments of need, and *waunsila* calls people to recognize those moments and take pity on anyone in those times. In essence, it means to give to and provide for all with need. This word, to the consulting Lakota speaker, accurately defines the Lakota value of generosity (Robert Brave Heart Sr., personal communication).

Because *generosity*, for the Lakota, is closely tied to *honor*, it is important to consider this terminology as well. The term Lakota speakers learned for *honor* is *you’nihape*, or its plural *wayuonihan*, which actually means *respect*. Honor provokes an action to give away something or to talk in a certain way about someone, or to do something to show respect for someone. In essence, according to this speaker, these words imply acting in a way to bring honor to another.

Whichever term is used, there are two possible points of view regarding generosity within the Lakota culture: the objective and the subjective. First, the objective perspective regards generosity as a measurable, predictable pattern of behavior. The second, subjective point of view, understands generosity as a practice that defines one as a member of the Lakota community, contributing to the establishment of the Lakota society. There are numerous examples of traditional acts of generosity which were actions that carved out a person’s position—and, incidentally, that of their relatives—within the Lakota society.

The *hunka* ceremony highlighted in *Waterlily* (Deloria, 1988) provides one example of the role generosity played in establishing positions within the Lakota society.

Deloria describes that, after the *hunka* (or, brother-making) ceremony, the honored one's family hosts a give away, after which:

All their (the ones honored in the ceremony) lives they would have the right to mark their faces in this manner for important occasions, and people would say of them, "There goes a *hunka*!" and that would be an honor. It would mean "There goes one whose family loved him so much that they gave a great feast and many presents to the people in his name." To have something given away in one's name was the greatest compliment one could have. It was better than to receive" (Deloria, 1988, pp. 76-77).

Deloria's (1988) description of the *Wanagi Yuhapi* (ghost keeping ceremony) provides another example of the importance of how individuals' generosity is used to identify individuals' roles in the society. Deloria explains who is allowed to provide gifts for the give-away at the conclusion of the ghost keeping ceremony. She then adds that also

Outsiders who had themselves successfully kept a ghost in the past were [also] eligible to bring gifts and add them to the rapidly growing pile being accumulated. They were proud to help, because implicit in their right to do so was an honor to be prized (Deloria, 1988, pp. 144-145).

Deloria (1944/1988) explains another perspective on generosity with her description of the give-away in *Speaking of Indians*. She writes that the give-away "was not a religious practice but a social custom..." (Deloria, 1944/1998, p. 127). With this she is establishing the point that generosity is essential to the Lakota economic system. Deloria explains that the Lakota goal of the economic system is the same as that of the white economic system: to create security. However, the Lakota economic system executes its function in opposition to the white system by establishing security through giving to one another while the white system operates by getting and taking from one another (Deloria, 1944/1998).

Deloria (1944/1988) asserts that the custom of generosity is derived from and driven by the pride that was found in honoring another through making a generous gift. In the Lakota culture, material items were not gathered to be held onto. Instead, they were opportunities to honor another and oneself. Deloria expounds on the latter belief when she writes in *Speaking of Indians*, “I have owned this for some time. You own it next, and when you wish to make a gift, pass it on” (Deloria, 1944/1998, p. 69). The subtext of this comment is that honoring another person through the simple act of generosity provides balance in the society.

Luther Standing Bear (1978) expands the social dimension of *generosity* by providing a vivid picture of children’s acts of generosity and the educational reason behind the children’s actions. Standing Bear writes that

Little Lakota children often ran out and brought into the tipi an old and feeble person who chanced to be passing. If a child did this the mother must at once prepare food...it was easy to touch the heart of pity in a child, so the Lakota was taught to give at any and all times for the sake of becoming brave and strong (Standing Bear, 1978, p. 15).

Standing Bear (1978) continues, explaining the purpose of generosity in the eyes of Lakota adults, “The greatest brave was he who could part with his most cherished belongings and at the same time sing songs of joy and praise” (Standing Bear, 1978, p. 15).

These examples offer two lenses through which to view the motivation of the Lakota to act generously in their culture. One role generosity plays is to provide honor to oneself and ones’ relatives, by separating oneself from the rest of the population and so raising oneself in stature with generous acts. The other role of generosity is to be the

centering value of the Lakota economic system which provides the lifeblood needed for the Lakota to live securely and authentically.

Having reviewed these terms, it seems plausible that Lakota generosity can be appropriately defined as the “improvement in the quality of human life... [it] is to promote the welfare, happiness, and culture of mankind” (Friedmen & McGarvie, 2003, p. 4), which is how Robert H. Bremner (1988) defined philanthropy in *American Philanthropy* (1988). This understanding proposes another question: is generosity properly understood as a virtue, a value, or as a cultural tradition? To address this question, the next layer underlying generosity must be recognized, which is that there may be multiple motivating factors which encourage Lakota and non-Lakota individuals to decide to be generous.

In part because generosity is such an historically important aspect of the Lakota culture, the donor interviews included a question about tribal membership. That single indicator would perhaps have been enough to explain donor motivation. However, no interviewee said that they were enrolled in, or an active member of, any tribe, much less the Lakota or Oglala Sioux.

The only possible link to Native culture was made by Donor #15 in Interview #10. She felt it important to explain her Native American roots and how the family had honored them through her grandmother’s name.

Because I am tall and blonde, it is very difficult sometimes for Native Americans to think about me as part Native American. I’m the first woman in my family to ever be tall and blond. My grandmother looked exactly like Geronimo...

Donor #15 continued,

...my paternal grandmother, who I am really like and I'm named after...she was one of the Cherokee that is 100%, who did not go on the Trail of Tears. On both sides (of my family) there is Cherokee...My grandmother is a tiny little woman with long black braids and she would let the grandchildren comb her hair and braid her hair and play with her hair, and that's a sweet thing...all the women in my family have some version [of my grandmother's name].

Though obviously proud of her heritage, Donor #15 gave no signal that she was motivated by a cultural concept like that of the Lakota's generosity.

The important point here is not that Lakota generosity influenced the donors, but that it influenced the culture of Red Cloud Indian School as it transformed itself from a Jesuit/Religious institution to a Jesuit/Lakota institution. Lakota generosity informed the school's emerging ethos, and through that, its changed approach to philanthropy and, more specifically, donor relationships. This transformation was motivated, at least in part, by the critical economic issues facing Red Cloud Indian School at the time covered by this study.

Fr. Peter Klink, SJ, then Red Cloud Indian School's president shared:

The leadership of the organization was changing. No longer were Jesuits solely filling key leadership roles. The first Lakota Superintendent was appointed, the first and second Lakota Vice Presidents were named, the first Lakota Pastoral Coordinator was hired, the first lay Director of the Heritage Center and Vice President for Advancement were hired. The leadership change during this time resulted in Jesuits being the minority on the leadership team.

Additionally, the public approach to funders was evolving from a predominately direct mail effort and me traveling the country, to one that involved a number of other people meeting with donors and prospects. It was important that the Ignatius and Lakota values and beliefs be held onto internally and as we met with prospective partners around the country. One conversation during this time that stands out was with the then-Vice-President for Advancement, about the approach to educating potential philanthropic partners. In that meeting, I shared my opinion that we do not need to perpetuate the negative stereotypes of the reservation or the Lakota People to raise funds. There are good things happen(ing), positive

things to celebrate. We discussed how to appropriately articulate the facts regarding the Pine Ridge and the way we did that was citing credible sources when we shared information about unemployment, housing needs and the like. This approach to celebrating life and hope comes from many places but is rooted in Ignatius spirituality and Lakota values (P. J. Klink, personal communication).

National giving trends: 2007-2011

As reported every year by Giving USA Institute, individuals, not foundations or corporations, continue to donate the most financial support to nonprofit organizations in the United States. In 2014, individuals' donations comprised 72% of the total \$358.38 billion donated that year. The total amount donated in 2014, incidentally, was the highest donated in 60 years. Individuals donated \$258.51 billion which is a 5.7% increase after inflation from 2013. Religious and educational nonprofits saw the largest percentage of donations with \$114.90 billion and \$54.62 billion donated to them, respectively (Radde, 2015).

According to the Giving USA and the Lilly School of Philanthropy at Indiana University, individual giving was lower than 2014 contributions in all but two years of the study period (2007-2011). Those years were 2006 and 2007, right before the Great Recession. In 2006, individuals donated \$264.27 billion, and in 2007, individual contributions increased slightly to \$266.27 billion. As the recession spread across the United States, donations decreased by almost \$31 billion (almost 12%) from 2007 to 2008, to \$235.31 billion. Individual contributions decreased again in 2009 to their lowest level since 1999, to \$221.81 billion, a 17% decrease from just two years prior. In 2010, individual contributions increased modestly to \$226.08 billion, and then decreased again slightly in 2011 to \$225.41 billion. The United States saw a 12% increase in giving from 2011 to 2012 which resulted in \$252.28 billion donated for the year. As the country

moved out of the recession in 2012, individual donations jumped by almost \$27 billion, or 8.4% over 2011 (Sandoval, 2016).

During the worst recession since the 1930s, donations to educational institutions in the United States decreased by 15.3%, while contributions to religiously led organizations saw donations decline by 10.2% (Morreale, 2011), and Native American organizations realized the largest decrease in giving in the amount of 48%. Since less than 1% of total philanthropic giving in the United States is contributed to Native American organizations, the significant decrease had a disproportionate impact on these types of organizations. Meanwhile, Red Cloud Indian School saw a 44% increase in contributions.

Put most simply, it was precisely during the period covered by this study that donations to nonprofits—including religious and educational institutions—plummeted dramatically across the United States.

Red Cloud Indian School's financial outlook and sources of revenue

In 2006, Red Cloud Indian School budgeted a deficit of \$535,000, which was managed with a planned endowment draw of the same amount. A deficit was budgeted each subsequent year, and the deficit was managed in each of those years with an equal endowment draw. Each year the planned endowment takeout increased to balance the organization's budget. The chart below breaks down the fiscal year budgets from Fiscal Year 2007 through Fiscal Year 2011 (Red Cloud Indian School, 2007-2011).

Organization Budget (FY2007 – FY2011).

During this period, development activities accounted for approximately 90% of the organization's unrestricted budgeted revenue. The endowment take out represented

just over five percent of the operating budget from 2007 to 2011. In 2006, the unrestricted donations were realized through a direct mail operation that was mailed to an active list of approximately 125,000 addresses, which resulted in donations with an average gift under \$30.00. Additionally, acquisition mailings were mailed to over 900,000 people each year to keep an active direct mail list.

The unrestricted endowment funds were a direct result of the direct mail operation. Many of Red Cloud Indian School's donors were also donors to other Catholic Native American organizations. This is seen through the regularity with which estate gifts to Red Cloud Indian School also commonly included planned gifts for St. Joseph Indian School in Chamberlain, South Dakota and St. Labre in Ashland, Montana. These Catholic nonprofits also operated large direct mail efforts. Red Cloud Indian School and these other Catholic Native American educational organizations used brokers to acquire each other's donor lists and mailed to many of the same donors.

In addition to the direct mail donations, estate and charitable annuity gifts, along with grants from private foundations, only minimally supported the organization's effort. Prior to 2006, a large unrestricted grant was \$50,000. Soliciting grant support from foundations was not a major focus of the development effort.

During this period, a budget for charitable gift annuities was determined using historical data. The majority of the donors that used this vehicle to contribute did so after receiving information through the direct mail program, which included a quarterly newsletter to direct mail donors. In these newsletters, charitable gift annuities and giving through wills and estates were highlighted.

Section II: Challenging Assumptions about Red Cloud Indian School's Donors

Assumptions are often made about donor motivations. Some common assumptions cited for the increase in contributions to Red Cloud Indian School from Fiscal Years 2007-2011 are that

- loyal donors stayed with Red Cloud during the recession;
- Catholic donors give more; or
- the increase in unplanned estate gifts would explain the increase in donations.

Before these assumptions about donors to Red Cloud Indian School from Fiscal Years 2007-2011 can be challenged, an in-depth description of who these donors are is needed. Each of these assumptions must be scrutinized by examining who the donors were and what they said about their motivations for giving during that time.

Loyal donors

From 2006 to 2012, giving in Florida, Connecticut, Georgia, Idaho and Nevada increased more than in any other state. Meanwhile, Washington DC, North Dakota, Delaware, New Jersey and Maine declined in giving more than any other state according to the Internal Revenue Service data published by the Chronicle of Philanthropy (The Chronicle of Philanthropy, 2014). Despite the fact that Red Cloud Indian School sits on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in the southwest corner of South Dakota, its donors live across the country and, at the time of reference, were experiencing the national and state economies' impact on their kinds of contributions. As the United States went into recession, it would be reasonable to assume donors in certain states or regions would be impacted more than others. Unlike other nonprofits, which could count on local donors,

up to this point donors in western South Dakota contributed minimally to Red Cloud Indian School, with only \$44,000.00 donated in Fiscal Year 2006, more than half that (approximately \$25,000) coming from one family. Red Cloud Indian School relied heavily outside western South Dakota to fund its operations.

Despite the recession, between 2007 and 2011, the most significant donations to Red Cloud Indian School were from the East Coast and Midwest. The third highest donations from major donors were realized in the Mountain West and finally the West Coast. Donors in each region gave their largest gifts to Red Cloud Indian School.

To reiterate, for this study, a donor is defined as a person who makes a decision to contribute from their own resources or on behalf of another where they have significant influence or decision making authority.

The high net worth donors interviewed for this study include eleven donors from the East Coast, four from the High Plains, five from the Midwest, two from the South, and two donors from the West Coast. At the time of their contributions, twelve of the donors were married, one was widowed, one was unmarried, one had a life partner and one interviewee was divorced. Everyone interviewed was over the age of fifty, eleven of the interviewees were over sixty, five were older than seventy and one was over eighty. Each donor, donor couple, and philanthropic group were interviewed for at least one hour. Many of the interviews lasted a couple of hours. For the purposes of this study, donors will be identified individually (couples being identified separately), from 1 to 23. For accurate citations, interviews will be numbered 1-15.

In 2008, an analysis of Red Cloud Indian School's direct mail program was completed by an outside consulting firm. The information shared confirmed that

approximately half of all new donors did not make a second gift. Additionally, of the donors that made a second gift within twelve months, approximately half of the donors did not make a third gift within twenty-four months. Considering this data, Red Cloud Indian School did not have an abnormally loyal donors base.

Catholic donors give more

Religious belief was another factor assumed to explain motivation of donors and potentially an important characteristic of donors who contributed to Red Cloud Indian School during the Great Recession. Each interviewee was asked the following question regarding religion: “Would you consider yourself a practicing Catholic?” This question drew many answers and a few direct “yes” or “no” responses.

Interviewees openly discussed their answers. During Interview #10, donors #14 and #15 answered with the following statements in response to the question – “Would you consider yourself a practicing Catholic?”: “Not really so.” and “...I would say I’m a practicing cafeteria Catholic. I *thought* that way. I do go to bible study on Sunday morning and bible daily lecture.” These two answers were provided by a married couple sitting together.

This sort of dialogue between donor couples was not uncommon. Other couples pointed out that one individual goes to church on Sunday and actively participates in the Catholic community while the spouse does not. Other interviewees answered that they were practicing Catholics and returned to the question, asking me to add and underline the word “Jesuit,” to make sure that it was noted that the Church they attended was Jesuit run. Sixty-five percent of interviewees self-identified as practicing Catholics, but two others implied that they were working on being Catholics. Donor #10 during interview #6

even shared, “Yeah. Well, I don’t have it right yet, so that’s why I’m practicing. I’m trying to get it right.”

In addition, a specific question was posed regarding Catholic education: “Did you attend a Catholic school?” This question often led to detailed descriptions of experience in Catholic schools. Interviewees spoke specifically about the years which they attended Catholic schools, and six emphasized their attendance at Jesuit schools and Catholic universities. Respondents provided much detail regarding their education and religious upbringing, so much so that one interviewee even stated they went to Catechism School. Others discussed their children’s Catholic school attendance.

Source of philanthropy

The origin of philanthropic dollars is also considered in this case study. Nine individual donors gave from their own wealth and without the use of a foundation. Three individuals used a foundation to make contributions. These individuals built their own wealth and created a foundation to make philanthropic gifts. Five individuals were making decisions for individuals to whom they were not related. These individuals were on boards or running the donors’ philanthropic entities. Interestingly, despite the differences in creating the resources from which they were donating, their words were similar in describing the importance of giving:

One couple (Donor #14 and #15) who amassed their wealth during their lifetime, described in Interview #10 donating to Red Cloud Indian School:

I know before Father George [Winzenburg, S.J.], there was Father Klink, [S.J.] . . . then you told me about the Gates Scholarships. . . and I thought, “Well they have gone to the trouble, I’m sure going to research this. I trusted that and other things and then I learned about the conditions that the average Lakota who lives on that reservation, and their median income is \$6,000 I think a year. . . Emotionally we think, this is where we can help

the most people do the most good. I cannot change the world. I can only change my neighbor.

To give back . . . that's success. That's real emotionally satisfying. . . That's what life is. . . Its one emotional moment after another. If someone hurts you, then the emotion is usually sorrow or anger. If they give you a [leg] up, maybe it feels gratifying. . . so never underestimate your feelings. . .

Similar to the donors who amassed their own wealth, the individuals making decisions or recommendations for foundations spoke of learning about Red Cloud and Reservation realities. A few statements from one philanthropic entity during Interview #7 (Donor #11) included:

There was a concern that on the reservation there are lots of other big issues that ought to be addressed, and was this really the one that they should pick as the most important from the standpoint of having impact. There was quite a discussion about that, and we did the best we could to bring information together, with your [Red Cloud's] help, obviously. . . I think the pen dropped when they [the board] had the opportunity to actually talk to people who were affected by it [program funded], and they were very hopeful that it was actually going to be a program that would help parents and students . . . Again, no proof that that's the case, but the testimonies were compelling. . .

Well, I think that. . . Okay, so there is another side to this that I think is important. That is when we [funder] asked for information, you [Red Cloud] were always there with the information. You did everything you could to understand the board, and what they needed. You asked good questions, and you were in touch regularly, and you provided updates regularly. . . They [the board members] feel connected to it.

The leader of another philanthropic entity (Donor #3) shared during Interview #2 that:

None of us had ever been involved with Indian affairs. . . My approach on this kind of stuff [philanthropy] is a little different. I think part of it is that when we were looking around for different places to give money to . . . we met with other people who were very political, people who just responded with the cashable letter, the form letter and that was it, no follow up. . . and we also had the feeling that some places were looking to make up their deficits with donations instead of having projects that move forward.

With Red Cloud, anything we asked Red Cloud to do, they complied with and we decided, okay, as long as they are going to help in educating the children at Red Cloud, we will help them provide the money and the access to do that. That is what I think was our philosophy. . .

... the idea I brought up about relationship and the importance of relationship goes something like this: You never had to convince us. . . you never convinced us to donate to something, you always told us about something that because of the relationship you knew we would like to fund. That is a major difference [between Red Cloud and the other Native American Organizations that were all originally being funded], you didn't have to convince us because what you were coming up with, the proposals you were coming up with. . . you already knew that it was a thing that we would like. That had to do with something that was in the air that had nothing to do with a lot of bureaucracy or anything that was just something that was conversational, things came up...

During Interview #11, a family (Donor #16 and #17) who created a foundation discussed their increased involvement and, like the couple who amassed their fortune during their lifetime and the philanthropic entities contributing to Red Cloud, they (Donor #16 and #17) said that information and relationship were crucial to their giving. Donor #17 shared,

...I stepped on the [board] committee so I think that helped and it helped confirm to me that we were participating... I think it confirmed to me... that we were contributing to something successful. I would say that probably defines most of our (giving) since we made that pledge to [Fr.] Peter [Klink, S.J.] right to this date, I think that sort of runs as a theme for me with Red Cloud. I'm participating in something successful. This will be put to good use. This has an end result... Looking back on it now ... knowing much more about given from our Foundation and others, I now realize that by doing that [pledge] we gave this school some ability to plan to provide a service.

Whether donors amassed wealth themselves, or were representing a philanthropic entity that had been established by someone else, or whether they created their own family foundation to make contributions, two common elements emerge as important. The first is knowledge about the overall goal of Red Cloud Indian School. The second

important element is partnership. Partnership is at the root of the statement by Donor #17 from Interview #11 when he shared that “I now realize that by doing that [pledge] we gave this school some ability to plan. . . .”; or the donor from one of the philanthropic entities that said during Interview #2, “you didn’t have to convince us because what you were coming up with. . . you already knew that it was a thing we would like. . . .”; or the individual who’s words were about emotional connection and discussed how Red Cloud had “gone to the trouble [of sharing information with them], I’m sure going to research this.” These donors did not connect on one common program or element of Red Cloud Indian School. Rather, they felt they had a connection as a partner either in a specific area of the nonprofit that was meaningful to them or with the overall vision of the organization. In short, it seems to be a common thread among donors that they felt themselves to be in partnership with Red Cloud Indian School. Further, this partnership was built on trust and understanding.

Assumptions challenged

Earlier in this chapter, three assumptions were identified about the motivations of the donors to Red Cloud Indian School during Fiscal Years 2007-2011. These assumptions were that

- Loyal donors stayed with Red Cloud during the recession;
- Catholic donors give more; or
- the increase in unplanned estate gifts would explain the increase in donations.

First, donor loyalty is an important factor in philanthropic giving, but Red Cloud Indian School was not very different than other predominantly direct mail operations

when it comes to donor retention rates. Red Cloud had an extensive direct mail acquisition effort which hovered around a 50% retention rate in the first twelve months and a retention rate of about 50% of that 50% from 12 to 24 months. For example, if an acquisition mailing brought in 150 donors, within 12 months, 75 of them would have been deemed already active donors, leaving Red Cloud with 75 new donors after one year. In the second twelve months, 50% of these 75 new donors gave again. There is no evidence that more donors were staying with Red Cloud Indian School than were staying with other Native American Catholic educational organizations like St. Joseph Indian School in South Dakota or St. Labre in Montana. In short, this does not account for the dramatic increase in donors.

Secondly, it is true that many Red Cloud donors are Catholic and this tie supports an assumption that this is why donors give to Red Cloud Indian School. Among the top donors interviewed for his study, however, only 65% of the donors identified themselves as practicing Catholics. As noted above, the definition of what it means to be a practicing Catholic was left open to the interviewee's interpretation. The conversations around this question as well as the indications that twelve of the twenty-three donors attended Catholic schools provide clues to the importance of the Catholic association. Also, as noted, the interviewees easily took themselves back to memories of their positive Catholic School experience. But here 25% attended any Catholic school. The assumption that Catholic donors give more to Red Cloud Indian School is not sustained by the evidence.

Finally, the assumption that unplanned gifts explain the increase in donations through Fiscal Years 2007 and 2011 does not consider the ramifications of the recession.

Many estate plans are made through bequeathing a portion of appreciated securities to an organization at one's death. During the years under review for this research, the stock market was nearly cut in half, and individuals saw their stock portfolios decimated as the Dow Jones dropped from its then record 14164.53 to 6443.25, a 54% drop, during the recession. Logically, this would translate to estate gifts having a lower value when they were realized at Red Cloud. Looking at estate gift totals for Red Cloud Indian School from 2007 through 2011, no year's estate gifts surpassed Fiscal Year 2006 totals which were \$2.8 million. In Fiscal Years 2007 and 2008, Red Cloud realized a steady decline in estate gifts. In Fiscal Year 2009, there was a slight increase over 2008, but in 2010, estate donations totaled less than \$2 million. Overall, as predicted, the contributions from estate donations dropped as the stock market declined from 2007 and 2011. Estate gifts did not reach the 2006 high of \$2.8 million during this period.

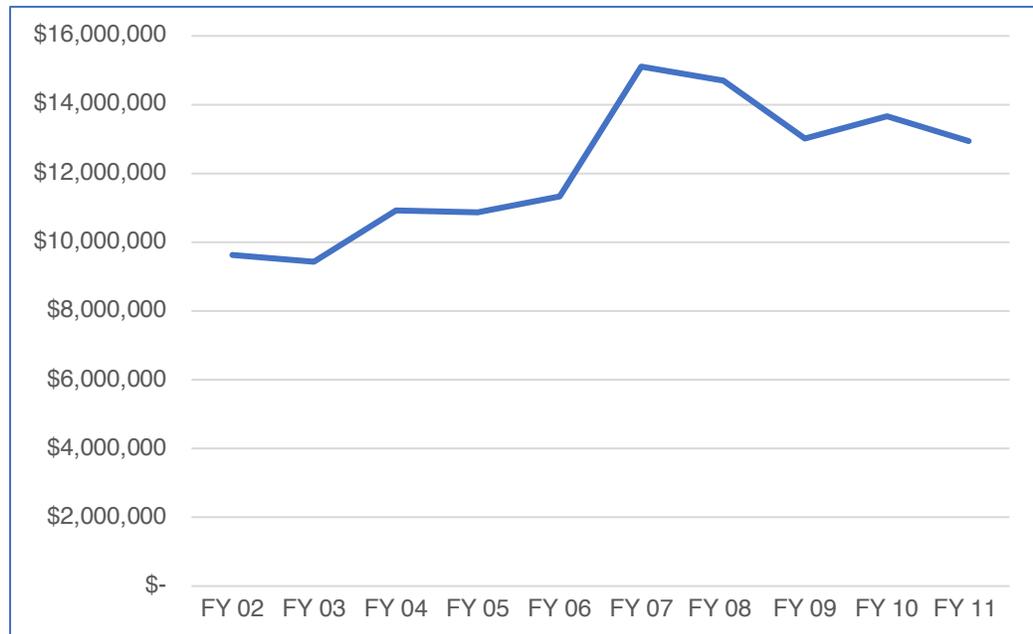
Conclusion

It must be concluded that these assumptions do not provide a full understanding of donors' reasons to support Red Cloud Indian School from 2007 through 2011. Red Cloud's donor population is not exceptionally more loyal than any like organization; Catholicism is not an overwhelming factor in donor giving to Red Cloud; and unplanned estate gifts do not explain the increase in revenue. As we have already seen, the donors' own words shed more light on understanding the donors' actions. The conclusion of this study is that donor knowledge about, and a sense of partnership with Red Cloud Indian School, more accurately explain the increase giving.

This chapter ends where we began, with a graph. Figure 1 compares the resources procured for Red Cloud Indian School between Fiscal Years 2002 through 2006 as the

economy was expanding and the major stock indices were climbing to all-time highs, contrasted with the revenue of Red Cloud Indian School from Fiscal Years 2007-2011, as the stock market was cut in half and the United States went through the worst recession since the Great Depression.

Figure 1: Red Cloud Indian School revenue, FY2002 through 2011.



In this chapter, further analysis of donors' words were explored, considering basic facts about the top donors, economic factors, and assumptions about increased giving. If these assumptions are inaccurate, as the current chapter concludes, it begs the question: What did motivate these individuals to contribute to Red Cloud Indian School during the worst recession since the Great Depression? The next chapter will take a deeper dive into the donors' own words regarding motivation to give, and why they decided to donate during this economic crisis.

Chapter Five Findings and Conclusion

This chapter focuses on the five specific reasons donors gave for their donating to Red Cloud Indian School. The common threads among the donors are then elucidated, as identified in the interviews and through the donors' donations. Finally, the chapter closes with recommendations for additional research and conclusions drawn.

Five Specific Reasons the Donors Gave

Reason for giving #1: Third party credibility. *Donors clearly articulate that third parties provide credibility to Red Cloud Indian School.*

All donors interviewed referenced at least one third party who affirmed the credibility of Red Cloud Indian School. The two most common third parties were The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (through the Gates Millennium Scholarship Program) and the Society of Jesus (Jesuits).

Interviewees repeated detailed facts about Red Cloud Indian School students' receiving Gates Millennium Scholarships. During Interview #10, Donor #13 shared that "[the number of Gates Millennium Scholarships] was a big indicator of the success factor of Red Cloud for me." In Interview #9, when Donor #13 was asked if he remembered how many scholarship awardees Red Cloud had, the interviewee stated confidently, "Yeah, it was ten. [Ten] was the magic number. If you could get somewhere around ten, eight to ten was like you were in the winner's circle."

During Interview #10, Donor #15 also offered a perspective about the scholarship recipients, and felt that it was so important that he needed to complete more research on the program. Donor #15 shared that,

I love to read the . . . [Red Cloud Indian School] newsletter. I like the way he [Fr. Peter Klink, S.J. and Fr. George Winzenburg, S.J.] wrote and so I would read it and then I got all of these statistics. . . that interested me so much. Then you told me about the Gates Scholarship. . . I thought, well they have gone to the trouble, I'm sure going to research this.

This donor and his spouse began sponsoring tuition for one student at Red Cloud Indian School and ultimately doubled their gift to ensure two students' tuition costs were paid for. The Gates Scholarship provided credibility to the work being done at Red Cloud Indian School and also became an example for the donors to create their own scholarship for students at Red Cloud Indian School.

The Society of Jesus is also important to donors. The Jesuit connection to Red Cloud Indian School begins with the founding of the organization in 1888. It is not a new reality like the Gates Millennium Scholarship Program. The Jesuit roots and the reputation of the order as educators are important factors for donors. During Interview #8, Donor #11 shared that neither he nor his children had ever attended a Jesuit run school. Yet, he met Fr. Klink and was "aware of the Jesuits and how they run schools." The second interview was interrupted by the donors so that they could return to the discussion regarding religious beliefs to clarify that they were not only Catholics but "Jesuit Catholics."

Donors also provided credibility to each other through participating in challenge gifts and other projects. These donors had never met or even spoken, but learning about one donor's challenge gift provided the credibility for the initiative and gave them the confidence to make their own challenge gift. During Interview #8, Donor #12 (the couple who would eventually contribute the first seven-figure gift made by an individual or couple to Red Cloud Indian School) shared that their decision to make that gift was a

direct result of a challenge made by a banker in the Midwest. The banker had proposed a challenge gift: the banker would contribute \$100,000 to Red Cloud if another \$400,000 in *new money* was contributed. At this time, Red Cloud Indian School had an estimated budgeted deficit of \$500,000. This challenge gift was designed to motivate donors to increase their giving.

The donor couple (Donor #12) participated in that challenge gift with a \$25,000 donation, and within a year made a challenge gift of their own in the amount of \$1 million. The reason for the second gift was because they learned how the challenge gift from the banker in St. Louis had been leveraged to raise more money for Red Cloud. This triggered their thoughts about how a “very large gift” could be leveraged and could “reach the large foundations around the country” and other donors. The St. Louis banker’s example “showed the impact this type of gift could have on donors.” Incidentally, during this same interview, Donor #12 also shared additional information about how their motivation and the credibility to Red Cloud Indian School were enhanced by the number of Gates Millennium Scholarship recipients.

Reason for giving #2: Responsiveness to donors’ interests. *Donors clearly articulate that responsiveness - how promptly, clearly, and effectively Red Cloud Indian School staff reacted to the interest shown by the donors – was a primary motivator.*

Donor #12 contributed first in response to a Red Cloud Indian School newsletter story. Their donation was \$20,000. Red Cloud Indian School did not have a structured process to respond to this large donation, and over a year had passed without another gift. Red Cloud Indian School’s fundraising operation would consider this donor a lapsed

donor. Asked what led to their second donation, Donor #12 spoke of “lots of [phone] calls” from Red Cloud Indian School.

As a side note, in the first call made to Donor #12 (after the lack of structured follow-up from Red Cloud Indian School from the earlier gift in response to the newsletter article), the donor’s last name was mispronounced. The second call to this donor was approximately three weeks later and was made to follow up on a discussion from the first call regarding international development. After a series of calls, handwritten notes, and emails, ultimately a trip was scheduled to meet with this donor. During the researcher’s layover in the Minneapolis airport, the in-person meeting was cancelled due to illness with a phone call from Donor #12. During the phone call with Red Cloud’s employee (the researcher), the banker’s challenge gift was mentioned to the donor as one reason for the trip to visit with him, and right there the donor committed to a matching gift of \$25,000.

Subsequently, Red Cloud Indian School continued to have phone conversations with the donor couple (Donor #12) about NGOs, universities, and specific Red Cloud Indian School topics. After Red Cloud successfully completed the \$500,000 challenge campaign, the researcher visited the East Coast in August of 2007 and personally met Donor #12 for the first time. During that August 2007 lunch meeting, less than a year after the donor’s \$25,000 gift, Donor #12 pledged the largest gift ever made to Red Cloud Indian School.

Other donors also shared their specific experiences regarding questions and follow up from Red Cloud Indian School staff about their specific gifts. During Interview #7, Donor #11 shared that after Red Cloud Indian School hosted them on campus for a

two-day retreat, another of the participants commented that, “we did a whole book on poverty, we talk about poverty and what causes it [around the world], and we did not have Native American education in the book as part of the thing because that was something that they thought was funded and had never funded.” Later on, during a discussion about funders and nonprofits sharing information and learning from each other, the same interviewee made a telling comment:

But see, we could have confidence that you [Red Cloud] would do that [call with an update that was unexpected – good or bad] because we’d seen you do it before. If you’re honest and you have those conversations, then you can trust the other person to be honest back, and you can say, ‘Okay, I trust that.’ It’s not just somebody who’s doing wishful thinking which is sometimes the case with nonprofits. In fact, a lot of the case, yeah, sort of wishful thinking. It’s like, we think we can raise \$100,000, so [the nonprofit] puts it in the budget [to share with funders]. Actually, [the nonprofit] doesn’t think [they] can, but [they] are doing that so they can balance the budget...It drives you nuts, but it’s a normal human thinking to do. I think being able to go beyond that and have that trust is really important. I think being able to be honest about... knowing when we planned that trip to Red Cloud... what the issues are for the board... and it was good for us to be able to have those conversations and not meet with defensiveness or sometimes, when you ask those questions, people think you’re just nitpicking at them...

During Interview #2 with Donors #3, #4, #5, and #6, the donors discussed the difference between their experiences with Red Cloud Indian School and other organizations they supported which also worked on Native American issues. In reference to one of the other organizations, Donor #3 explained that,

We were focusing on scholarship...we set up scholarships [at a couple organizations] ...but then...I had the idea that all these organizations wanted is the money and didn’t have to tell us about what they are doing with the money.

The interviewee continued, commenting that they requested updates and follow up and nothing came until...

...we get a phone call, [asking] where is the [next] group of money? We said wait a minute, we asked you to give us the details of what is happening with the students and you haven't... within two weeks we had all the information because they were waiting for the money.

This was obviously frustrating to the donors. They then added the following summary about donating to Red Cloud,

With Red Cloud, anything we asked Red Cloud to do, they complied with and we decided, okay, as long as they are going to help in educating the children at Red Cloud, we will help them provide the money and the access to do that.

Reason for giving #3: Being a part of something bigger than oneself. *Donors shared their experiences of being in relationship with a greater purpose.*

“Whether some people want to admit it or not, but we are the children of the Kennedy era and we were inspired. You couldn't not be inspired [during that era],” shared Donor #5 during the second interview. In this conversation, Donor #5 shared their sense of excitement and the feeling in the country about going to and later even walking on the moon. It was a shared event that united people. He added that the Kennedy era...

...probably is the kind of stuff that we were trying to change the world [in our life] Now we are older. . . . move a little slower, so we can't change the whole world but there is a small part of the world that we can change We like the idea of participating and doing something good and I think that is what we all felt during this time.

As the conversation continued, a further explanation was shared:

It wasn't anything that was written in a book, but it was like you just knew you were a part of something that really maybe hadn't paid attention to in a while [sic] and all of a sudden . . . this group of 'kids' who decided they were going to make a difference [invited you to participate]. It was like working with the Peace Corp again. It was like all these ideals, everybody had an ideology of mission and you were all idealistic and you could do it and it wasn't offsetting deficits.

During Interview #8, Donor #12 shared that the pledged challenge gift (alluded to above) was specifically intended to encourage large foundations and philanthropists across the country to become aware of and contribute to Red Cloud Indian School. In Interview #5, Donor #9 shared how their donations were made in order to create an endowment in the memory of a loved one. Donor #9 was interested in creating a legacy of her loved one's dedication and community. The decision to contribute was a commitment to what her deceased loved one had believed in and to which he/she had dedicated nearly twenty years. In other words, the donation was not given in order to support a specific Red Cloud Indian School project for a period of time. Rather, the gift would manifest itself in numerous specific and also intangible ways for years to come as a memorial endowment in honor of the life of the deceased.

Reason for giving #4: A clear understanding/belief in at least one fact.

Donors articulated that knowing something essential about the institution to which they are giving provided a sense of confidence in giving.

Red Cloud Indian School educates approximately 600 students in two elementary schools and one high school; it also consists of sixteen churches with many community centers attached; and finally, it manages a museum and heritage center that attracts thousands of visitors annually. Red Cloud provides breakfast, lunch and an afternoon snack to students; it owns nearly thirty buses that transport students over 500,000 miles annually. The organization has its own volunteer program that recruits approximately 20 volunteers each year to be teachers, teacher aides, bus drivers, librarians and other support staff. It is served by the Society of Jesus, Franciscan sisters, and Lakota and non-Lakota lay staff. Red Cloud is located in one of the most well-known but misunderstood

reservations in the United States. It is the home of the Lakota Sioux, the site of the Massacre of Wounded Knee of 1890, and Wounded Knee Two in 1972, the incident that put Lenard Peltier in prison and was the setting for many other historical events and activities.

During the period of this research, there was an effort to educate the donor population about the complex socioeconomic and historical realities of the Reservation. This effort resulted in donors to Red Cloud Indian School during 2007 to 2011 feeling that they had an understanding of something that was, for them, tangible.

In Interview #6, Donor #10 explained that

In my mind, the American Indians have been pretty well forgotten. All you hear about today are the needs of the people in the inner city. Not that those aren't real needs, but that's just all you hear about. I think that there's a lot of other people in the United States who are overlooked.

During Interview #11, Donors #16 and #17 shared their beliefs that Red Cloud Indian School operated differently than other organizations they support. Much of their support is to organizations that address immediate needs or provide assistance to those in need. They shared that,

The bottom line is most of that money [their annual donations] is to provide people who are hungry [with] food and they'll be the same people that will get that assistance six months from now... Red Cloud...they are moving people...somebody back in probably the early 1990s said you know what we have to get these kids to college... That's a 20-year journey, but good steps taken all the way [back then with] some setbacks, but good steps overall. I mean, I feel good about giving to an organization like that.

During Interview #4, Donor #8 made two things clear about their understanding of Red Cloud Indian School. First, in their words, "education is a big deal." Red Cloud schools educate 600 Lakota students and this made sense to them. The Interviewee

continued and shared it was a “shocker” to see the social ills from which the Lakota suffer. “In the culture it is magnified.” She continued, “It is magnified in Indian country.” When she visited Red Cloud Indian School, she encountered kids who were overcoming those ills through “drive and initiative.” Her family’s trip to Red Cloud and Pine Ridge was educational for them all. Her son, forty-four, even urged his parents to be active in the organization.

During Interview #1, Donors # 1 and #2 (both husband and wife) discussed the idea of how their philanthropy was “aligning with your [Red Cloud’s] interest.” They shared that they had decided that they wanted to...

...help Native Americans, particularly in South Dakota. Red Cloud Indian School was the only thing that I saw that was happening with a positive impact. When you donate your money, you want it to do well. You want the people you give it to use it well. We want the recipients to take care of it well. It’s about the only way we could help Native Americans...

Several interviewees spoke of believing that Native Americans had received a “raw deal,” that Native American and rural communities are forgotten, and that Red Cloud represented hope. Donor #7, for example, said that...

... instead of hopeless and despair, ... a kid realizes he wasn’t worthless ... a kid has options. Red Cloud has led me to believe that the antidote to human deterioration is an education, but not an education to make them [Native American children] into something else, but an education to make them proud of what they are ...

Reason for giving #5: Understanding how a gift makes a difference. *Donors’ understanding of the benefits of different forms of gifts is a factor in making a gift.*

Donors shared that it made a difference to them to understand how gifts were structured. All the donors interviewed are successful in their careers and are donors to multiple organizations. Between 2007 and 2011, it was important for Red Cloud Indian

School to have flexible and creative strategies for accepting donations. For instance, the three to five-year pledge donation, which is now a standard form of making a donation for many organizations, had not been used frequently or discussed with donors and prospective donors to Red Cloud prior to this time. In Interview #11, Donors #16 and #17 discussed their understanding of pledged gifts:

I now realize that by doing that [making the pledge] we gave the school some confidence and ability to plan to provide a service. . . let's say you know we ought to give them [Red Cloud] \$30,000 for five years, but let's not tell them. That does not allow Red Cloud to plan.

From a donor, I'd like to say, 'Fr. George . . . what's the project you need help with? Let's pledge to that project and that way you know that you can go forward and get another pledge from someone else . . . We'd like to get back to . . . a pledge.'

The couple in Interview #11 had not made a pledge of this kind before their pledge to Red Cloud. This has now become a vehicle for them to make additional gifts to other organizations.

Understanding different strategies and vehicles for giving was an important aspect of donating. In Interview #2, Donor #5 shared that,

I think I was also intrigued by the creative voids that we felt we were filling. The language program, . . . the expansion of the computer program . . . the creative use of a person to be the transition from high school to college . . . the book end grant.

Later in the interview they shared,

. . . we knew we couldn't give you \$17,000,000 for a new building . . . we knew we couldn't finance that. We could do a beginning thing [donation] and we could do an end thing [donation] and that would enable us then to let you sign up others with it. You could coordinate that money into something with other foundations and other people.

This comment echoes the insight already alluded to above, in respect to the impact of the St. Louis Banker's gift by leading to Donor #11 understanding how a challenge gift can be motivating and potentially bring new donors to an organization.

Concluding analysis of the five reasons donors gave. Each of the five reasons for why donors gave to Red Cloud Indian School are reflected in the comments of the donors interviewed for this study. To be clear: not all five reasons are necessarily a component of every donor's decision to give. Some donors, for example, indicated that their belief that the Lakota people have received a raw deal was a major factor to their donation, but also important to them was the fact that students graduating from Red Cloud Indian School were going to college on Gates scholarships. These signal that third-party credibility (Reason #1) and a clear understanding/belief in at least one fact (Reason #4) motivated their gift. While the donors did not possess anything like a list of each of the five reasons explained above, the interviews show that each donor, at some level, would agree that they acted because of at least two of the five reasons articulated above. In essence, the argument of this chapter is that there are these five commonalities that lie behind donor motivation.

Common Thread

The interviews with high end donors reveal that they share as many as five broadly agreed upon motives for giving to Red Cloud Indian School. In addition, these narratives highlight two common threads about the philanthropic activity of high end donors with Red Cloud Indian School from 2007 to 2011:

- 1) More important than the financial value of a gift is that the donor understands that gift as an extension of oneself through an organization which impacts a cause / people / community that a donor cares about; and
- 2) It is critical for the recipient to understand why the gift is important to the donor in order to better ensure the donor's continued support and especially their making a major gift.

As indicated earlier, Konrath and Handy (2017 in press) have designed the most comprehensive self-reporting scale with a specific focus on understanding donor motivation. The scale, again, identifies six motives for giving: Trust, Altruism, Social, Tax benefits, Egoism, and Constraints (c.f. chapter 2). Comparing the findings in this research with Konrath and Handy's scale hones in on similarities and differences of high-net worth donors giving to Native American organizations with the general population.

The connection with the Konrath and Handy categories and those in this study are as follows: Reason for giving #1, *Third party credibility* could be related to the trust and social motives in the giving scale developed by Konrath and Handy (c.f. chapter 2). Reason for giving #2, *Responsiveness to donors' interest* could be related to the trust motive in the giving scale. Reason for giving #3, *Being a part of something bigger than oneself* could be related to the social and altruism motives in the giving scale. Reason for giving #4, *a clear understanding/belief in at least one fact* could be related to the trust motive in the giving scale. Reason for giving #5: Understanding how a gift makes a difference could be related to the tax benefits, constraints and trust motives in the giving scale.

The comparison of Konrath and Handy's motivations for giving confirms the five reasons for giving identified in this research. The similarities in these findings are recognizable. The first reason for giving: Third party credibility is rooted in trust and the social hierarchy that are found in Konrath and Handy's research. The second reason for giving: Responsive to donors' interests relates with the trust that Red Cloud Indian School is providing accurate timely information. Reason for giving three: being a part of something bigger than oneself is similar to Konrath and Handy's explanation of altruism and the value placed on the social role of donating. Reason for giving four: a clear understanding/belief in at least one fact aligns with Konrath and Handy's trust motivation whereby donors accept an organization is acting in a positive manner that is a public good. Finally, the fifth reason for giving: understanding how a gift makes a difference correlates with tax benefits, constraints, and trust whereby the donor recognizes the benefit of giving, taking into consideration restrictions the benefactor may have, tax consequences and ultimately trust in the organization to perform in the manner it promises. The relationship between studies is illuminated through common vocabulary used by donors interviewed and in Konrath and Handy's work. Pieces of Konrath and Handy's explanations for the motives are consistent with components of this research's reasons for giving. The correlations with these findings are not necessarily deep, but are recognized.

The differences in these studies are also recognizable. This case study involves interviewees with high net worth donors who have donated in a specific period of time. Konrath and Handy are surveying individuals without intimate knowledge of their philanthropic history. This case study is focused on a specific period of time, a Native

American organization with specific major donors and geographically influenced. Konrath and Handy are not concerned with the survey participants' philanthropic focus or level of donation. All of Konrath and Handy's motives are found within this research and four out of five findings recognize more than one of Konrath and Handy's motives. The trust motive is an example of this and woven into the five findings the most. Konrath and Handy's trust motive is identified in four reasons for giving to Red Cloud Indian School. One explanation for this difference is the geographic isolation of Red Cloud Indian School. Understanding that 90 percent of giving happens locally, it is reasonable that trust is woven more intensely into donors' reasons for giving to a rural isolated nonprofit organization (c.f. chapter 2). The need for donors to have a deeper knowledge and relationship with Red Cloud Indian School in order to make a significant contribution is recognized as Konrath and Handy's trust motive and is present in four of the five reasons for giving. Despite these differences, the comparison between this study and that of Konrath and Handy confirms the findings of donors' motivations of giving to Red Cloud Indian School. These differences are important to consider and future research can continue to focus on specific donors and organizations.

This case study provides new information specifically regarding high net worth individuals contributing to an organizations on a Native American Reservation during the Great Recession. This study illuminates the motivations of high net worth individuals using their own words to describe their relationship with Red Cloud Indian School. Many of these findings are confirmed by Konrath and Handy's work as mentioned above. Among the new findings, many may very well be transferable to other nonprofit organizations. These include the following:

First, is the heightened emphasis on trust. Second, the impact of the organization's process of building relationships with high net worth individuals. Yet, the most fundamental finding, which was expressed by donors, is identifying and fostering the common values between individuals and an organization they financially support.

Additional Research

There are several areas that require further research. The first is to look more deeply into how donors are influenced by third party confirmation of the nonprofit's credibility. In this research, interviewees made it clear how important the Jesuit reputation for providing education and running schools is, as well as the students' success (as measured, for example, in their receiving the Gates Millennium Scholarships). These two illustrations signal that there are very likely myriad third parties who inform prospective donors and whose influence—possibly even beyond the recipient's conscious awareness or ability to influence—can enhance or even jeopardize the relationship between donor and nonprofit.

Secondly, in this research some interviewees explained how they contributed through multi-year pledge commitments and challenge gifts for the first time. These two ways of gifting were new for some of the interviewees. Further research is needed to understand how much access high net worth donors have regarding diverse donation vehicles and varied structuring patterns for their potential contributions.

A third area of needed research is to measure the donors' understanding of the intrinsic value of the nonprofit organization that is receiving their donation and how this value is shared with the donor. Interestingly, a matrix has been designed to understand the value of Arts and Culture nonprofit organizations to society (McCarthy, Ondaatje,

Zakaras, and Brooks, 2004). This may be a starting point from which to build, but such a matrix would have to be re-worked specifically to identify the value of the nonprofit that needs to be shared with the donor.

Conclusion

During the period covered by this study, the national economy was in the midst of the worst recession since the great depression. Stanford University's Rob Reich and Christopher Wimer (2012) describe the philanthropic environment of that time: "...the economic downturn of 2008 has given rise to one of the largest year-over-year declines in charitable giving since the late 1960s." In 2006, Red Cloud Indian School was facing increasing deficits, vital capital needs, ongoing operational needs, and program needs that could not be met by the fundraising effort driven primarily by the direct mail effort and estate gifts. Out of necessity and even prior to the economic downturn, Red Cloud Indian School made the decision to begin to attempt different cultivation, stewardship and fundraising solicitation strategies which had not been applied to donors on any significant scale.

At the same time, Red Cloud Indian School leadership was transforming from a predominately Jesuit/women's religious to a Jesuit/women's religious, Lakota and lay-person leadership team. In the course of this change in leadership positions, new approaches to planning were implemented. During the planning phase, new messaging evolved to describe Red Cloud Indian School, and new approaches were implemented to reach and educate donors about Red Cloud Indian School.

It is important to make clear that this transformation did not create an entirely new entity or involve utterly novel practices. Red Cloud Indian School has always been led by

the Society of Jesus, and the Jesuits have always had a strong reputation in education. The first recipient of the Gates Millennium Scholarship from Red Cloud Indian School was in 1999; prior, that is, to the period of this study. The then-president, Fr. Peter Klink, S.J., always responded to donors' inquiries. The idea that people were supporting something larger than themselves is evidenced in letters dating back to the 1920s when Jesuits wrote about the needs at Holy Rosary Mission. Similarly, there is evidence that donors believed that they had a clear understanding of at least one important fact regarding Red Cloud Indian School (Buechel, 1909).

Finally, understanding how a gift makes a difference is also not revolutionary for the study period at Red Cloud Indian School: direct mail pieces certainly do articulate the direct benefit of a donor's gift. All of this begs the question: If none of the findings of this study are unique to this period, and if relevant practices have always been in place in some form or another, what was it that made this period of transition unique? The most obvious response is to say that the strategies once so valuable were no longer effective. The school was facing existential threats to its viability in the timeframe covered by this study.

A more intriguing clue has been implied already: Red Cloud Indian School was shifting from a predominately Jesuit/Religious institution to one that is Jesuit/Religious, Lakota, and layperson led. We can examine the question, then, through the lens of two source texts: one from St. Ignatius, the founder of the Society of Jesus, and the other from Luther Standing Bear, a prominent Lakota author and elder.

In his "Spiritual Exercises," St. Ignatius (1548/1992) writes,

That Love which moves me and brings me to choose the matter in question should descend from above, from the love of God; in such a way

that the person making the election [to vowed religious life] should perceive beforehand that the love, whether greater or less, which he or she has the matter being chosen, is solely for the sake of our Creator... (Ignatius of Loyola, 1548/1992, p. 164).

Intriguingly, for the purposes of understanding high end donors, Ignatius follows these words about a religious vocation with words directed to those who have not been called to a formal vocation.

For them it is very profitable to present, in place of an election, a form and method for each one of them to improve and reform his or her life and state, by setting before them the purpose of each one's creation, life, and state of life... (Ignatius of Loyola, 1548/1992, pp. 165-166).

He continues,

To make progress toward this end and attain to it one ought to consider and work in detail, ... how large a house and how many persons in it one ought to maintain, how one ought to direct and govern its members, and how to teach them by word and example. So too, persons such as these should examine their resources, how much they ought to assign for the house and household, and how much for the poor and other good works... For everyone ought to reflect that in all spiritual matters, the more one divests oneself of self-love, self-will, and self-interests, the more progress one will make" (Ignatius of Loyola, 1548/1992, pp. 165-166).

Ignatius proposes a simple task to his readers. A task, in some way, that was underway at Red Cloud Indian School in a unique fashion during this time. During this period of time, the internal leadership was evolving, and the reality that the organization's future would increasingly rely on people that did not have religious vocations, did not live on Pine Ridge, and did not overwhelmingly respond to direct mail was becoming clear. During this period, Red Cloud Indian School asked donors to engage in this Ignatian process of discernment with them, specifically, to "...examine their resources, how much they ought to assign for the...poor and other good works" (Ignatius of Loyola, 1548/1992, pp. 165-166). There is, in essence, a deeply engrained

Jesuit ethos of philanthropy that Red Cloud Indian School tapped in order to rediscover itself in light of changing and threatening times.

There was also a latent wisdom deep in the spiritual culture of the Lakota that could only be drawn from the emerging Lakota members of Red Cloud Indian School leadership. Luther Standing Bear gives words to this rich insight in a deceptively simple observation.

Little Lakota children often ran out and brought into the tipi an old and feeble person who chanced to be passing. If a child did this the mother must at once prepare food...it was easy to touch the heart of pity in a child, so the Lakota was (sic) taught to give at any and all times for the sake of becoming brave and strong (Standing Bear, 1978, p. 15).

Standing Bear continues, explaining the purpose of such generosity in the eyes of other Lakota, “The greatest brave was he who could part with his most cherished belongings and at the same time sing songs of joy and praise” (Standing Bear, 1978, p. 15).

Standing Bear offers two lenses through which to view the motivation of the Lakota to act generously. Generosity plays the role of providing honor to oneself (and one’s relatives) by separating oneself from the rest of the population and so raising oneself in stature with generous acts. Generosity is also a key tool at the core of the Lakota economic system, providing the lifeblood needed for the Lakota as a community to live securely and authentically.

Between these two reservoirs of wisdom concerning generosity and concern for the marginalized, Red Cloud Indian School was uniquely equipped with the core theoretical principles and the defining characteristics of the Jesuit charism and Lakota culture to transform the way it reached out to prospective donors.

During the period of this study, Red Cloud Indian School, donors and prospective donors were 'in the place' that Ignatius references. Similarly, they were exposed to the essential virtue of generosity from the Lakota themselves. This is not to say donors were all Catholic, that they had prior experience of the Jesuits, that they explicitly connected to any religion, or that they were deeply conscious of Lakota life. It is simply that Red Cloud Indian School leadership itself drew from these twin sources. As a result, donors were encouraged to engage in a process of reflection in order to ask themselves to consider how they might employ their resources. And many donors found themselves generously contributing because it was at the core of the system to which they authentically subscribed.

APPENDIX A: Interview Guide

Giving and Red Cloud Indian School: 2006 – 2011.

The central question for my research is: **What ways did donors perceive their engagement with Red Cloud Indian School from August 2006 through June 2011?**

To answer the main research question, donor interview questions will include the following:

- 1) Are you:
 - a. Tribal Member?
 - b. Active Tribal Member?
 - c. Catholic?
 - i. Would you consider yourself a practicing Catholic?
 - d. Other
- 2) Did you attend a Catholic school?
- 3) What was your first interaction with Red Cloud Indian School?
 - a. How were you introduced to Red Cloud?
- 4) Have you ever met or are you friends with:
 - a. Lakota
 - b. Jesuits
 - c. Franciscan Sisters
 - d. Other
- 5) Have you ever visited Red Cloud Indian School or the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation?
 - a. If so, what is your impression?
 - b. If not, what do you imagine it is like?

- 6) Did you increase your contribution after a visit?
- 7) Do you financially support other organizations that you have not directly received services from (such as your alma mater) and are outside your community?
- 8) How would you describe your involvement with Red Cloud Indian School between 2006-2011?
- 9) How did you (and spouse/family) make the decision to increase your financial support during 2006-2011?
 - a. What motivated you to increase your giving?
 - b. What was it that caused you to increase your gift?
 - i. Was it the matching gift opportunity;
 - ii. The number of Gates Millennium Scholarship recipients;
 - iii. The focus on Lakota Language and cultural preservation;
 - iv. The heightened academic standards; or
 - v. Other?
- 10) What impact do you think your contribution made?
 - a. Do you know what impact your contribution made?
 - i. How do you know?
 - ii. What difference did you think you would make with your gift?
- 11) Did the recession of 2008 impact your giving to organizations?

12) Are you still financially supporting Red Cloud?

a. Do you still receive updates about Red Cloud

APPENDIX B: Recruitment Letter

Subject Invitation: Dissertation Research Interviews

Dear _____,

I am currently enrolled at Indiana University's Lilly Family School of Philanthropy doctoral program and embarking on research for my dissertation. My field of research is focused on donor motivation. I am approaching this research through a case study concerning donors to Red Cloud Indian School with the goal of broadening the field of knowledge specific to donor motivation.

This case study includes interviews with donors to Red Cloud Indian School from 2006 to 2011. As one of those donors, I would like to ask you to participate in one fifty (50) minute interview, as well as a small group discussion with other donors.

The research findings will be shared with you if you desire and all information will be held confidentiality unless you grant permission otherwise.

Your participation in this research will assist in the expansion of the knowledge of philanthropy and would be greatly appreciated.

Please do not hesitate to contact me with any questions.

Thank you,

Matthew P. Ehlman
Philanthropic Studies
Indiana University

APPENDIX C: List of Participants

Participants	Age Range	Description
Interviewee 1	50-60	A married female living in the mountain/high plains region.
Interviewee 2	50-60	A married male living in the mountain/high plains region.
Interviewee 3	60-70	A practicing Catholic married male living on the East Coast.
Interviewee 4	60-70	A practicing Catholic married female living on the East Coast.
Interviewee 5	60-70	A practicing Catholic married male living on the East Coast.
Interviewee 6	60-70	A practicing Catholic married female living on the East Coast.
Interviewee 7	70+	A practicing Catholic widowed male living on the East Coast.
Interviewee 8	70+	A widowed female living on the East Coast.
Interviewee 9	60-70	A practicing Catholic divorced female living in the Midwest.
Interviewee 10	60-70	A practicing Catholic single male living in the Midwest.
Interviewee 11	60-70	A single female living in the Midwest.
Interviewee 12	60-70	A married female living on the East Coast.
Interviewee 13	60-70	A married male living in the mountain/high plain region.
Interviewee 14	70+	A practicing Catholic married male living in the South.
Interviewee 15	70+	A practicing Catholic married female living in the South.
Interviewee 16	50-60	A practicing Catholic married female living on the West Coast.
Interviewee 17	50-60	A practicing Catholic married male living on the West Coast.
Interviewee 18	70+	A practicing Catholic widowed male living in the mountain/high plain region.
Interviewee 19	70+	A practicing Catholic married male living on the East Coast.
Interviewee 20	70+	A married male living in the mountain/high plain region.
Interviewee 21	70+	A married female living in the mountain/high plains region.
Interviewee 22	50-60	A practicing Catholic married male living on the East Coast.
Interviewee 23	50-60	A practicing Catholic married female living on the East Coast.

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EDUCATION

- Ph.D. Indiana University
Lilly Family School of Philanthropy
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- M.P.A. Indiana University
School of Public and Environmental Affairs,
2006
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PUBLICATIONS

Manuscripts Under Review

Arts at the intersection: Cross-sector collaboration and creative placemaking in Rapid City, SD. Gallagher, B. K. and Ehlman, M. P. June 2017.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

Passing the hat to pay the piper: Financial sustainability and rural arts organizations. Presented at the Association for Research on Nonprofit and Voluntary Action Conference, Grand Rapids, MI. Gallagher, B. K. and Ehlman, M. P. November 2017.

Creating policy: What opportunities do artists see in local politics? Accepted for presentation at The Conference on Social Theory, Politics, and the Arts, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Gallagher, B. K. and Ehlman, M. P. (October 2017).

Arts at the intersection: Cross-sector collaboration and creative placemaking in Rapid City, SD. Presented at a special symposium hosted by George Washington University, Washington, DC. Gallagher, B. K. and Ehlman, M. P. June 2017.

Creative places, creative solutions: Are the arts a linchpin in Rapid City, South Dakota? Presented at the Association for Research on Nonprofit and Voluntary Action Conference, Washington, DC. Gallagher, B. K. and Ehlman, M. P. November 2016.

Associations as lifelines: The significance of artists' networks for arts sustainability. Presented at The Conference on Social Theory, Politics, and the Arts, Adelaide, Australia. Gallagher, B. K. and Ehlman, M. P. December 2015.

A place for art: A case study of culture, community, & collaboration. Presented at the Association for Research on Nonprofit and Voluntary Action Conference, Denver, CO. Gallagher, B. K. and Ehlman, M. P. November 2014.

UNIVERSITY SERVICE AND LEADERSHIP EXPERIENCE

St. Ambrose University, President of Student Government 2000-2001 and 2001-2002.

St. Ambrose University, The Academy for the Study of St. Ambrose of Milan. Board of Advisor 2012 – present.

George Washington University Semester in Washington, D.C., Summer 2001.

HONORS AND AWARDS

Bush Fellowship 2015, Bush Foundation, St. Paul, MN.

Tempel Fellowship, Indiana University, 2014.

International Society of Third Sector Research, Doctoral Consortium, 2012.