



Kent Academic Repository

Fairbairn, Fiona (2024) *Cultivating young philanthropists: Children, philanthropy and wealth transfer*. *Journal of Philanthropy and Marketing*, 29 (3).

Downloaded from

<https://kar.kent.ac.uk/106399/> The University of Kent's Academic Repository KAR

The version of record is available from

<https://doi.org/10.1002/nvsm.1874>

This document version

Publisher pdf

DOI for this version

Licence for this version

CC BY (Attribution)

Additional information

Versions of research works

Versions of Record

If this version is the version of record, it is the same as the published version available on the publisher's web site. Cite as the published version.

Author Accepted Manuscripts

If this document is identified as the Author Accepted Manuscript it is the version after peer review but before type setting, copy editing or publisher branding. Cite as Surname, Initial. (Year) 'Title of article'. To be published in **Title of Journal**, Volume and issue numbers [peer-reviewed accepted version]. Available at: DOI or URL (Accessed: date).

Enquiries

If you have questions about this document contact ResearchSupport@kent.ac.uk. Please include the URL of the record in KAR. If you believe that your, or a third party's rights have been compromised through this document please see our [Take Down policy](https://www.kent.ac.uk/guides/kar-the-kent-academic-repository#policies) (available from <https://www.kent.ac.uk/guides/kar-the-kent-academic-repository#policies>).

SPECIAL ISSUE ARTICLE

Cultivating young philanthropists: Children, philanthropy and wealth transfer

Fiona Fairbairn Centre for Philanthropy, University of Kent,
Canterbury, Kent, UK**Correspondence**

Fiona Fairbairn

Email: f.fairbairn@icloud.com**Abstract**

This article on raising wealthy children to be philanthropic is prompted by the £5.5Tn wealth transfer predicted to take place in the United Kingdom over the coming decades. The impending wealth transfer presents an unprecedented income opportunity for a charity sector faced with increasing societal needs and declining statutory income. Drawing on the premise that engaging children in philanthropic activities can lead to higher participation levels in adulthood, this paper examines how children from wealthy households engage with philanthropy at home and school. A mixed-methods approach involving research *with* and not *on* children is used to explore *what kind of philanthropic citizen* these children are becoming. Two surveys, five focus groups, and four interviews were used to generate insights from 222 'financially secure' 9 to 11-year-old children, 113 parents and four teachers. The study, drawing on models of citizenship, finds a cohort of children exhibiting characteristics aligned with the concept of 'personally responsible' philanthropic citizens. This outcome is considered desirable for promoting charitable giving among a demographic likely to have the means and resources to give generously in adulthood. However, the findings suggest a lack of opportunities for children to acquire the knowledge and skills that enable informed giving decisions or the spaces in which to critically engage with charities, causes, and the issues that create the need for philanthropy in the first place. The research supports calls in the literature for a more participatory and social-justice-oriented approach to philanthropic education and participation in schools. The findings, of interest to scholars and practitioners alike, address a gap in empirical evidence regarding children and philanthropy in the United Kingdom.

KEYWORDS

charity, children, fundraising, generation alpha, philanthropic citizenship, philanthropy, wealth transfer

Practitioner Points

- Little is known about the philanthropic knowledge and behaviours of pre-adolescent children in the United Kingdom but we do know that early childhood experiences shape pro-social behaviour such as giving, helping and volunteering in adulthood

This is an open access article under the terms of the [Creative Commons Attribution](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/) License, which permits use, distribution and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

© 2024 The Author(s). *Journal of Philanthropy and Marketing* published by John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

- This article contributes new knowledge about a so far unstudied demographic of children – those that belong to wealthy households and likely, by virtue of inheritance to have the means and resources to give generously in adulthood
- The findings of interest to educators, policymakers, parents and charities find a group of children with the desire to give and participate in philanthropy, motivated to give for many and many of the same reasons as adults but lack the learning opportunities to critically engage with philanthropy, causes and charity.

1 | INTRODUCTION

Members of Generation Alpha, a generational cohort that began in 2010, are predicted to be the wealthiest and most educated (Fourtané, 2018) – they are the citizens and philanthropists of the future. Since early childhood experiences shape and inform pro-social behaviours in adulthood (Arthur et al., 2017; Body & Hogg, 2019; Eisenberg & Mussen, 1989; Musick & Wilson, 2008), it is important to understand how children today experience philanthropy. However, there is an acute lack of UK-focused philanthropy studies involving children (Body et al., 2021) and none that account for wealth as a key variable, despite the impending wealth transfer. The research that does exist, such as studies by Body et al. (2019, 2020a, 2021, 2023) and Power and Taylor (2018), find the way philanthropy is presented to children problematic. The wider literature, particularly that concerning giving by the wealthy, sees a proliferation of anti-philanthropy sentiment by the likes of Reich (2019), Bernholz (2021), and Giridharadas (2020). Breeze (2021) suggests that such a narrative risks undermining all types of philanthropy and threatens long-term giving from future generations. What is needed, Breeze (2021) argues, is more, not less, philanthropists and a philanthropy education that provides donors with the knowledge upon which to make better, more ethical, and more informed giving decisions.

Household wealth in the United Kingdom has increased from 3.5 times the GDP in 1999 to eight times greater in 2020 (Goss & Glover, 2023). Despite these increases in wealth, fewer people are giving overall (CAF, 2020, 2023), individual giving in 2021 was substantially lower than 2020 (CAF, 2022), wealthy people are giving less despite becoming richer (CAF, 2020; The Law Family Commission on Civil Society, 2021) and fewer young people are engaging in charitable activities (CAF, 2022). Whilst historical data shows that charitable giving has not risen at the rate of household wealth, this may not be the pattern going forward. As household wealth continues to increase, so does the value of inheritances, which is set to peak in 2046, rising from £100 billion in 2020 to £230 billion (Goss & Glover, 2023) and as property and pension assets are realised, future generations will have more liquid wealth to give. Since charitable giving is considered a 'discretionary' spend from allocated 'spare' money (Berman et al., 2020), there will be more available wealth for charitable contributions.

Situated within the context of wealth accumulation and addressing a gap in the literature, this paper explores the philanthropic behaviours of a so-far unstudied demographic, namely 'financially secure' children. Those children who are likely, by virtue of

inheritance, to be among the recipients of the forthcoming wealth transfer. This paper examines whether they have the knowledge and desire to give and participate, as well as the opportunities to engage critically with philanthropy, causes, and charities. Philanthropy is defined and understood here as 'voluntary action for the public good' (Payton & Moody, 2008), encompassing pro-social activities such as volunteering, donating, and giving as well as those associated with philanthropic citizenship (Body, 2022) such as social action, protesting and activism. In consideration of these broader activities, the research tools, questions and prompts have been designed to encourage children to think beyond the traditional activities associated with charity. Mindful of the debates in the literature (e.g., Daly's (2012) paper), 'charity' is used interchangeably with 'philanthropy' due to its perceived accessibility and resonance with children.

Drawing on the broader concepts of citizenship as articulated by Westheimer (2015) and Westheimer and Kahne (2004), as well as philanthropic citizenship, as conceptualised by Body et al. (2019, 2020b, 2021, 2023), this article asks: *What kind of philanthropic citizen are financially secure children learning to become?* In exploring this question, this article aims to derive meaningful insights into societal understanding of philanthropy, anticipate the future giving behaviours of a group likely to have substantial means and resources to give in adulthood and understand the implications for the philanthropic education of children. To achieve this aim and address the overarching research question, four further questions are explored concerning the philanthropic knowledge and behaviours held by financially secure children:

RQ1: How do they describe and understand philanthropy?

RQ2: To what causes and charities do they give?

RQ3: Why do they give?

RQ4: How are they experiencing philanthropy?

The paper presents empirical data collected in 2021 from over 200 children aged 9 to 11 (born 2010–2012) from wealthy households in London. To gain a more rounded view, the research includes insights from 113 parents and four teachers.

The article begins with a review of the pertinent literature, followed by an overview of the theoretical concepts guiding the research and the children-centred research methods used to explore this topic. Subsequent sections present and discuss the key findings before conclusions are drawn about what kind of philanthropic citizen these children are learning to become and what this means for philanthropy. Consideration is then given to future research areas as well as the contribution to knowledge that the research makes.

2 | LITERATURE REVIEW

Research shows children, even in the very early (pre-school) years, demonstrate the capacity to act pro-socially (Dias & Menezes, 2014), and ‘what is learnt in early childhood is applied in adult life, and how one behaves in later life depends on earlier experiences’ (van Deth et al., 2011, p. 149). Pro-social behaviour, defined as voluntary actions intended to benefit others (Brownell et al., 2013; Eisenberg & Mussen, 1989), aligns with Payton and Moody’s (2008) definition of philanthropy. Despite the links between early childhood experiences and pro-social behaviour in adulthood, the literature concerning children and philanthropy is sparse. Empirically, little is known about how children in the United Kingdom engage with and learn about philanthropy. The literature review that follows considers the UK-centred studies that do exist. The literature on donor motivation is also considered since understanding *why* people give, is the most commonly addressed question explored by those studying philanthropy today (Breeze, 2017) (Breeze & Lloyd, 2013).

2.1 | Philanthropic attitudes and behaviours

The few studies that capture the philanthropic attitudes and behaviours of British children, such as those by Ho (2010), Power and Taylor (2018) and Body et al. (2019), find that school-aged children (5–18) regularly participate in charitable activities. These studies indicate that children have an understanding of the important role that charities play in society, with schools as the main conduit for facilitating engagement (Body et al., 2019; CAF, 2013). The charitable activities that children report doing most frequently involve the donation of money and items (CAF, 2013), with school-based activities mainly concerned with fundraising (Power & Taylor, 2018) (Body et al., 2021). Ho (2010) research shows that pre-adolescent children have an understanding of causes, charities and the *idea* of charity, but such understanding is not always accurate, and they often demonstrate uncritical, one-dimensional thinking about charity. These studies show that children express a cause preference for children, animals and health/medical charities (Body et al., 2020b) (CAF, 2013). Whilst limited, these studies are helpful in terms of what they tell us about children’s attitudes and behaviours towards charity and charitable giving, but also in terms of the methodological approaches taken to capture data from children and as a benchmark against which to compare data.

2.2 | Presenting philanthropy to children

A cross-party Parliamentary Inquiry in 2012 set out to identify policy levers designed to encourage young people to grow up with the desire to give more money and time to charity. Despite the importance placed on engaging children, philanthropy education programmes were and continue to remain outside of the curriculum. As reported by CAF (2014), the recommendations from the Inquiry

mainly promoted acts of giving and volunteering rather than the pursuit of social justice. The report highlighted the advantages of participation for children, such as better education or employment prospects, and for charities, the potential income opportunities, instead of acknowledging the broader societal benefits of increased participation in philanthropy.

For Dean (2016), engaging in philanthropic action for the instrumental reasons of enhancing human capital, for example, evidence of volunteering on a CV might enhance employability, is problematic. Quoting Sennett, Dean (ibid.) argues that the commoditisation and consumption of volunteering in this manner contributes to a society where people have no deep and genuine reason to care about others. Furthermore, Dean (ibid.) finds that volunteer opportunities in senior schoolsⁱ are more available to young people from already advantaged backgrounds. Similarly, Body et al.’s (2023) examination of civic learning in primary schoolsⁱⁱ across England reports that 70% of private schools engage in organising fundraising and campaigning compared to 50% found in state schools. Tejani and Breeze (2021) also find that the more affluent the (primary) school, the greater the opportunity for engagement in social action. Whether or not these opportunities are motivated by reasons of enhancing human capital (rather than societal benefits) is not recorded in either study.

Simpson (2017) and Jefferess (2008) find the conceptualisation and presentation of charity in primary and senior schools problematic. Simpson (2017) talks about a ‘charity mindset,’ a narrative that perpetuates a negative stereotype of the global north saving the global south. Jefferess (2008) refers to a ‘politics of benevolence,’ which is evident in education programmes such as the UNESCO Global Citizenship programme. Within such programmes, the authors find giving or helping from a position of privilege is unquestioned, positioning the ‘global citizen’ as benevolent and needy *others* as objects of benevolence. Instead, both argue that ethical action should not begin with helping but with understanding *why* help is needed in the first place – as a ‘helping’ approach masks the power imbalance rather than addressing the root cause of the need for help in the first place. However, Mackenzie et al. (2016) disagree, finding that senior school participants in a similar education programme demonstrate a willingness and desire to take some responsibility and are motivated by the principles of fairness and responsibility rather than a politics of benevolence. Looking more specifically at elite public schools,ⁱⁱⁱ Kenway and Fahey (2015) criticise these schools for being complicit in perpetuating a politics of benevolence or noblesse oblige where charity is used as a route through which to offset privilege.

2.3 | Participating in philanthropy

Recognising that so few studies exist and so little is known about how children engage with philanthropy, Body et al. (2019, 2020a) examine how 4 to 8-year-old children participate in charity at school. Participation amongst the young children in the study mainly involves fundraising activities supporting organisations associated with large-scale media campaigns, such as Comic Relief and Children in Need. Whilst

the children were found to positively engage with charity, fewer than 20% demonstrated an awareness of the cause areas associated with these campaigns. Aside from not knowing what they were fundraising for or having input into fundraising decisions, such as what to fundraise for and how to fundraise, the fundraising activities are primarily framed around raising as much money as possible in exchange for the opportunity to buy a cupcake or dress-up for the day. Participating in charity in this way, and according to the parameters set by adults, is, for Body et al. (2019, 2020a), problematic, for example, reward-based transactional giving risks overriding the philanthropic impulse and high levels of altruism evident in children. Body et al. (ibid.) conclude that children appear to experience charity in a passive, transactional, and tokenistic manner. In a subsequent article, Body et al. (2021) argue that failing to involve children in the fundraising process is potentially unethical in terms of fundraising ethics and in terms of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Children (UNCRC) Treaty, which advocates the importance of engaging children in matters that affect them.

In their study, Power and Taylor (2018) similarly observe school fundraising activities predominantly benefit major charitable organisations that employ large-scale marketing campaigns designed to target and fundraise from schools. These campaigns (e.g. comic relief, children in need) are often in partnership with for-profit businesses that seek to enhance their reputations or sell goods simultaneously (Power & Taylor, 2018). This so-called 'mainstreaming of charity' in schools (ibid.), aside from only superficially engaging children in the fundraising process, is criticised for presenting charity as *the* solution to social ills. It is argued that these practices avoid the opportunity for deeper critical engagement with issues and causes or spaces to consider alternative solutions (Body et al., 2019; Power & Taylor, 2018).

Body et al. (2019, 2020a, 2021) and Power and Taylor (2018) advocate for a children's rights approach to fundraising, which involves children as active participants in the decision-making process, involves them in selecting causes and designing fundraising methods. The authors argue that a more democratic approach enables a deeper understanding of societal issues and needs, which ultimately cultivates a longer-term commitment to philanthropy. A more social justice approach to philanthropic engagement is promoted in these studies, and philanthropic citizenship, as conceptualised by Body et al. (2019, 2020a, 2021), advocates for an approach that allows children to play a more participatory role in philanthropy rather than one that is transactional, reward-based, and superficial.

2.4 | Why people give

The extensive body of literature on donor motivation (as set out, e.g., in Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011) is mainly concerned with the giving behaviours of *adult* donors and not children. Specialists such as Sargeant and Woodliffe (2007), Pharoah (2016), and Bekkers and Weipking (2007) have carried out multi-disciplinary reviews on donor behaviour through a philanthropy lens. The latter identifies eight key mechanisms that dictate donor behaviour: (1) Awareness of need,

(2) Solicitation – being asked, (3) Costs and Benefits, (4) Altruism, (5) Reputation, (6) Psychological Benefits, (7) Values (8) Efficacy. Whilst distinct, these eight drivers of donor behaviour align with the motivations and explanations identified by others, such as Sargeant and Jay (2014) and Breeze and Lloyd (2013). Economists use the private consumption model to explain philanthropic action, where donors are motivated to give by how it makes them feel, such as the 'warm glow' they get from giving, and the public goods model, where donors are motivated to give for what the donation can achieve. Duncan (2004), also from an economics perspective, adds a third, the impact model, where donors are motivated to give by a desire to make a difference. For example, giving directly to beneficiaries such as rough sleepers instead of a homelessness charity or sponsoring a child instead of a charity concerned with children's issues (Duncan, 2004).

Regarding giving decisions, Breeze (2010) examines the decision-making strategies committed adult donors use when choosing which charities to support; finding donors describe and understand charity in terms of helping needy *people*, yet giving decisions are framed according to the causes with which they have a connection. Aside from being taste-based or framed according to personal interests, Breeze (ibid.) also finds giving preferences based on autobiographical factors shaped by life events. Similarly, Schervish (1995) finds that philanthropic behaviour in adulthood is informed by experiences in childhood, which aligns with the pro-sociality literature.

Referring to Bourdieu's theory of habitus, Haywood/Haydon et al. (2021), in a study of 42 High Net Worth Individuals (HNWI), examine how habitus shapes philanthropic engagement and behaviour, the premise of which is that an individual's social history shapes philanthropic habitus such as the influence of role models and early childhood experiences. The study finds that the impulse to give or the 'disposition to behave philanthropically' (ibid p. 28) is developed during upbringing through the role modelling exhibited by philanthropic family members, through religious participation and awareness of their relative 'luck' be it being born into wealth or acquiring wealth through business. Schmid et al.'s (2020) study, which focused on Israeli adult donors, finds the family a more significant influence than the school, which is important but not as important, he argues, in terms of forming philanthropic behaviours. Schmid et al. (2020) also finds that direct discussions about philanthropy are a limited factor; instead, *indirect* opportunities such as observing behaviour or hearing conversations between parents have a greater influence on giving behaviours. Davis and Sole (2011) found that the adult philanthropists interviewed in his study were given, during childhood, opportunities by parents to participate in philanthropy through volunteering or participating in giving decisions. Participants in the study by Davis and Sole (2011) also talked about observing, during childhood, parents and grandparents participating in philanthropic activities.

However, studies such as those by Schmid et al. (2020), Breeze and Lloyd (2013), Haywood/Haydon et al. (2021), and Davis and Sole (2011) that find childhood experiences influence adult engagement with philanthropy rely on adults reflecting on past experiences. Asking adults to reflect on experiences and memories can be

unreliable. Furthermore, it is unclear from these studies whether participants were primed to consider the role of the family and parents rather than experiences at school when reflecting on their philanthropic journey.

3 | THEORETICAL CONCEPTS

This research is underpinned by a framework drawn from the concepts associated with citizenship and philanthropic citizenship and the pro-sociality literature that finds pro-social behaviours are taught, sought, and caught.

3.1 | The good citizen

The conceptualisation of the 'good' citizen articulated by Westheimer and Kahne (2004) and Westheimer (2015), founded on democratic theory, identifies three types or visions of citizens. Each citizen *type* has a specific suite of characteristics acquired through different education programmes via the curriculum or acquired through 'implicit' lessons that form part of school life or via the ethos of the school. Westheimer models his citizenship typology by using the example of a foodbank. The three citizen 'types' are:

1. **Personally responsible citizens** – shaped by education programmes designed to build the character traits within the individual that lead to responsible behaviour in the community. The personally responsible are committed to 'individual service but not democracy' (Westheimer, 2015 p. 46), characterised as someone who would donate to the food bank.
2. **Participatory citizens** – shaped by 'service learning' education programmes. The participatory citizen is responsive and reactive, participates in community activities and characterised as someone who might organise a collection for the food bank.
3. **Social justice oriented citizens** – shaped by an education programme that gives the individual the knowledge and capabilities to address the root causes of problems. The social justice citizen will assess the problem and look for structural change, seeking to find solutions to societal problems, characterised as someone who would question why a foodbank is needed in the first place.

Drawing on these concepts of citizenship, Body et al. (2022, 2021, 2022, 2023) present a model of *philanthropic* citizenship informed by the UNCRC and a children's rights approach. Understood as a dimension of citizenship behaviour, the model incorporates actions beyond charitable giving and volunteering to encompass social-justice-oriented activities such as advocacy, activism and campaigning. The aim of which is to connect philanthropic acts with the broader social and political context, making a better world 'with' rather than 'for' others (Body & Lacny, 2022, p. 4).

Together, these citizenship models provide a lens through which to examine the philanthropic experiences of children, informing the research tools as well as a framework against which to analyse the data and to gauge the type of philanthropic citizen financially secure children are learning to become.

3.2 | Socialisation of philanthropic behaviours

This research further draws on concepts in the pro-sociality literature that identify the mechanisms through which pro-social behaviours are acquired – observing, learning and experiencing. Bjordhovde (2002), drawing on Bentley & Nissan's (1996) literature review, similarly identifies three routes through which philanthropic knowledge and behaviours, specifically, are acquired:

1. Opportunities for children to discuss and learn about philanthropy (**learn**)
2. Opportunities to engage with and participate in philanthropic activities (**experience**)
3. Behaviour is modelled by a parent, and the child sees and hears this behaviour (**observe**)

Similarly, Weber & Thayer (2007) consider philanthropy education to involve formal, structured learning *about* philanthropy as well as 'learning by doing' such as volunteering, youth grant-making and fundraising.

These explanations and ideas as to how children acquire philanthropic behaviours further inform this research by underpinning and shaping the research questions to be explored. That is, to adequately explore this topic, the research tools are designed to find out what philanthropy children observe, experience and learn about at home and school.

4 | METHODOLOGY

Historically, children's voices have been under-represented in research; instead, the perspectives and experiences of children are filtered through the interpretation of adults (Brady & Graham, 2019). The UNCRC, specifically Article 12 in the context of researching children, gives all children the right to have a voice, to express an opinion and to participate in matters that concern them. Recognising that children are 'experts in their own lives' (ibid. p. 8) and taking a children's rights approach, this study follows an explanatory-sequential mixed methods model involving research *with* rather than *on* children. The research is guided and underpinned by the citizenship models mentioned above and the theories that explain how children are socialised to behave pro-socially. The quantitative strand provides a general understanding of children's philanthropic experiences, and the qualitative strand allows for greater and deeper understanding (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018) and, in particular, provides an opportunity for children to share their views in their own words.

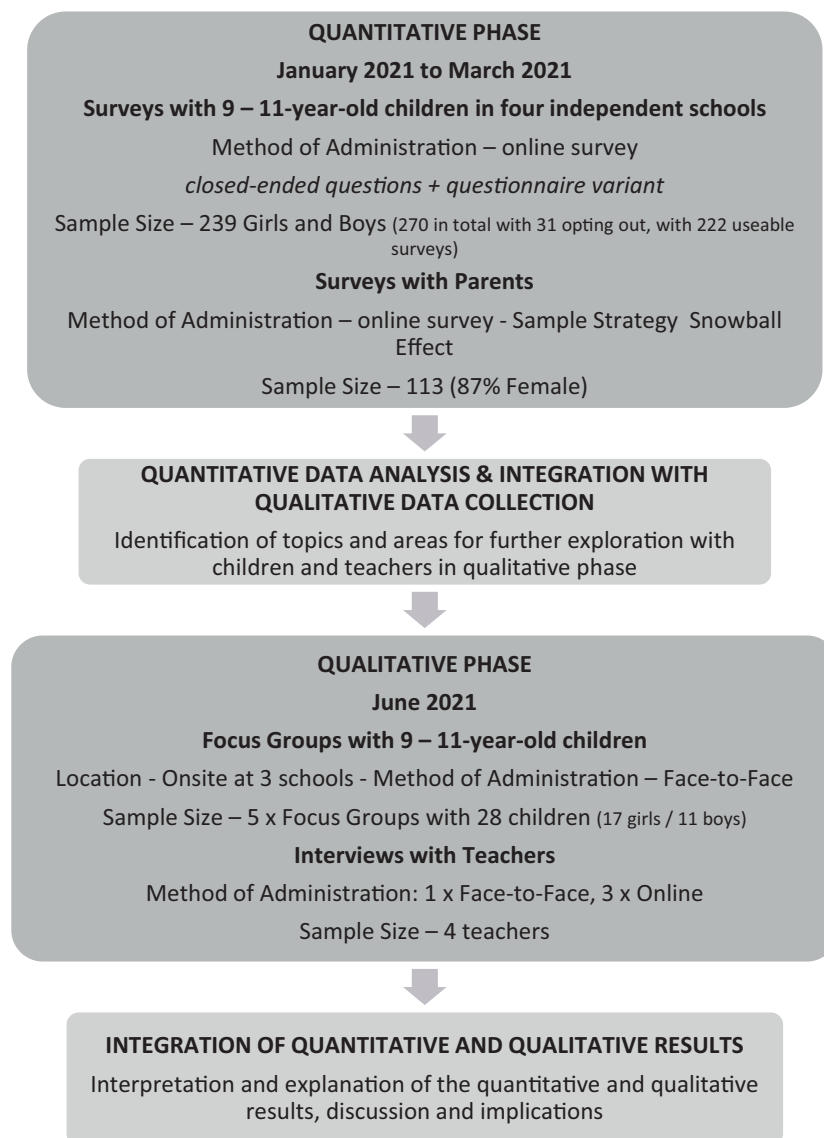


FIGURE 1 Flowchart of the research process.

4.1 | Sample

Middle childhood (6–12) is considered a pivotal development stage characterised by the capacity for active citizenship and pro-social behaviour (Arthur et al., 2017; Body et al., 2021; van Deth et al., 2011). The upper years (9–12) represent a period during which children start engaging with wider society, develop an awareness of the needs of others and feelings of empathy, become less egocentric and more fully understand the social world and concepts such as fairness and equality (Markus & Nurius, 1984). Furthermore, Arthur et al. (2017) conclude that children who volunteer before age 10 are twice as likely to volunteer in adulthood. As such, and given the lack of studies focusing on this age group, this study concentrates on children aged 9 to 11, born between 2010 and 2012, in the final years of primary school.^{iv}

Non-probability convenience sampling techniques were used to recruit financially secure children, their parents and teachers. Given the concentration of wealth in London (ONS, 2022) and the cost of

school fees, attending independent prep (private) schools^v in London was considered a viable proxy for financially secure children. That is not to say that *all* children attending independent schools are from wealthy households or that children attending other schools are not; instead, this approach is considered a reliable route to studying potential wealth inheritors.

Four for-profit schools^{vi} participated in the study, with data collected in 2021 over a six-month period. In total, 222 surveys were completed by children and where gender was recorded: 44% (n88) were completed by girls, and 56% (n110) by boys, reflecting the composition of the schools involved (two boys, one girls and one mixed school). Five focus group discussions took place during this period involving 28 children (17 girls and 11 boys) from three of the participating schools. In addition, 113 parents (87% female) with children attending independent schools completed an online survey, and interviews were carried out with the teacher (all female) responsible for charitable activities in each school.

4.2 | Research process

An overview of the research process and integration stages is shown in Figure 1 below.

4.3 | Methods

The quantitative strand involved two separate self-administered surveys, one completed by children and one by parents. Both included questions rooted in the extant literature and questions enabling comparisons between the two data sets. To convey detailed information upon which informed assent^{vii} could be given, the survey included an engaging animation recording designed explicitly with the child in mind. A questionnaire variant was included to provide space for children to respond in their 'own words' should the qualitative strand involving in-person focus groups not be possible due to COVID-19. Both surveys used the Likert Scale to measure the intensity of feeling towards certain statements. Since studies have found children have greater engagement with questionnaires that include pictorial scales, a 'Smiley Face Likert' (Hall et al., 2016) was used to indicate the level of agreement or frequency of occurrence. To avoid social desirability bias, which children are particularly prone to, negative or 'unhappy' faces were not used.

In line with an exploratory sequential model, the quantitative data was analysed and integrated with the qualitative data collection tools. This second strand involved open-ended interviews with a teacher in each school and focus groups in three of the schools. The focus groups, led by the researcher (but supervised by a teacher for safeguarding purposes) similarly involved a series of open-ended questions as well as an activity that asked children to draw: 'what charity means to me' and a word association game: 'what three words come to mind when you hear the word *charity*.'

4.4 | Piloting

To ensure the survey was relevant and accessible and the language understandable to their peers (Brady & Graham, 2019), the children's survey was extensively piloted by 16 children (aged 9–11) and one teacher. Feedback provided was considered and actioned where appropriate. The results were also checked to ensure variation in response – that is, if everyone answers the same, the results are unlikely to be of interest (Bryman, 2016). The focus group format and questions were piloted by three 10-year-old children and three adults extensively piloted the parents survey.

4.5 | Recruiting participants

The four schools participating in the study were recruited through the researcher's network. The survey was distributed during a period of National Lockdown to children 'learning from home' by the class

teacher. In line with Brady's (2019) recommendation that children should be recognised and rewarded for their contribution to the research, the researcher committed a small (£2) donation per survey participant to a cause or causes of their selection. The children who participated in the focus groups were not randomly selected; instead, the teacher identified and invited children they felt would be comfortable and confident enough to contribute to the discussion. Non-probability convenience sampling techniques, using a combination of purposive sampling and snowball techniques, were used to recruit parents of children attending independent schools.

4.6 | Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations are more pronounced in research involving children (Brady and Graham, 2019). In line with the principles of the UNCRC and a children's rights approach, comprehensive ethical approval was obtained from the Research Ethics Advisory Group at the University of Kent. A children's rights approach means providing children with the opportunity to have their views heard, which needs to be balanced to avoid harm (Brady and Graham, 2019). For example, particular attention was given to the issue of power dynamics, as such, focus groups were selected over individual interviews with children. In addition, the Data Protection Act 2018 deems only children over 13 competent enough to give consent. As such, consent was first sought from gatekeepers, and assent sought from the children, ensuring they had the option to opt out. Whilst all four schools provided collective consent for the children to participate in the study, one school first sought parental consent.

4.7 | Data analysis procedure

The surveys were hosted on Qualtrics, enabling easy manipulation of the results so that they could be compared and examined for themes. The focus group discussions were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. A generic approach to analysing the data was taken, using thematic analysis of the transcripts involving coding by hand, drawing on the framework and steps suggested by Bryman (Bryman, 2016, p. 587). The transcripts were read with an open mind, then re-read and coded by hand, using deductive and inductive codes to identify and structure themes. A similar coded approach was applied to analyse the drawings.

4.8 | Limitations

Given the sample size, the findings are not representative or generalisable to all financially secure children or children attending independent schools. Whilst non-probability convenience sampling might be criticised for being less robust, a randomised sample was not possible due to the nature of the subjects required to participate. In addition, the data is self-reported, so it is subject to social desirability bias and steps were taken to mitigate this risk.



FIGURE 2 Making sad people happy.



FIGURE 3 Grateful beneficiaries.

5 | KEY FINDINGS

The key results against each of the research questions are presented below.

5.1 | RQ1: How do financially secure children describe and understand philanthropy?

In exploring the children's understanding of charity, focus group participants described charity as an act or behaviour such as *helping, donating, giving or being kind*, action enabled, mostly by *money*. For example:

'I wrote **help** as you're helping them ... I also wrote **money** because most of the time you are giving **money**' Boy, Year 6

'I wrote, **help** people in many different ways, but the most common way is **money**' Boy, Year 6



FIGURE 4 Charity is one-directional.

The drawing activity provided rich insights into children's perspectives, framing charity as personal acts of generosity – the things they do for charity involving donating money and items to *needy* or *other less fortunate* people. The focus was more on individual acts than what charities do for society or the wider activities and concepts associated with philanthropy. Donors (the children) are portrayed as having the ability to make sad people happy (Figure 2 and description), and in return, beneficiaries are grateful (Figure 3).

I've drawn a picture of a happy family who has lots of toys and a lot of food and then some poor homeless kids and the family has gone to donate some of their toys and a lot of food for those kids that can't afford it themselves so that they can be happy ... Every year my family and I, around Christmas we go to something called the Soup Kitchen which is where we help cook a lot of food for the homeless Girl, Year 5.

Nearly all the pictures (84% $n=21$) showed people rather than animals (evident in three drawings). Money was depicted or included in the descriptions of three-quarters ($n=19$) of the drawings and nearly half ($n=11$) referred to beneficiaries as being *less fortunate* or *unlucky* or *poor* or *in poverty*. Understanding was not always accurate, and charity was mostly understood as one-directional (Figure 4).

5.2 | RQ2: To what causes and charities do they give?

The survey responses indicated the causes children consider worthy of their support and how they prioritise need. Despite describing charity in terms of helping *people*, animal charities are prioritised when allocating monetary donations (Figure 5). This finding aligns with earlier studies involving children, such as those by CAF (2013) and Body et al. (2019), as well as adult giving preferences as recorded in CAF's (2022) annual giving surveys where animal, health, and children's charities are prioritised over poverty or environmental causes.

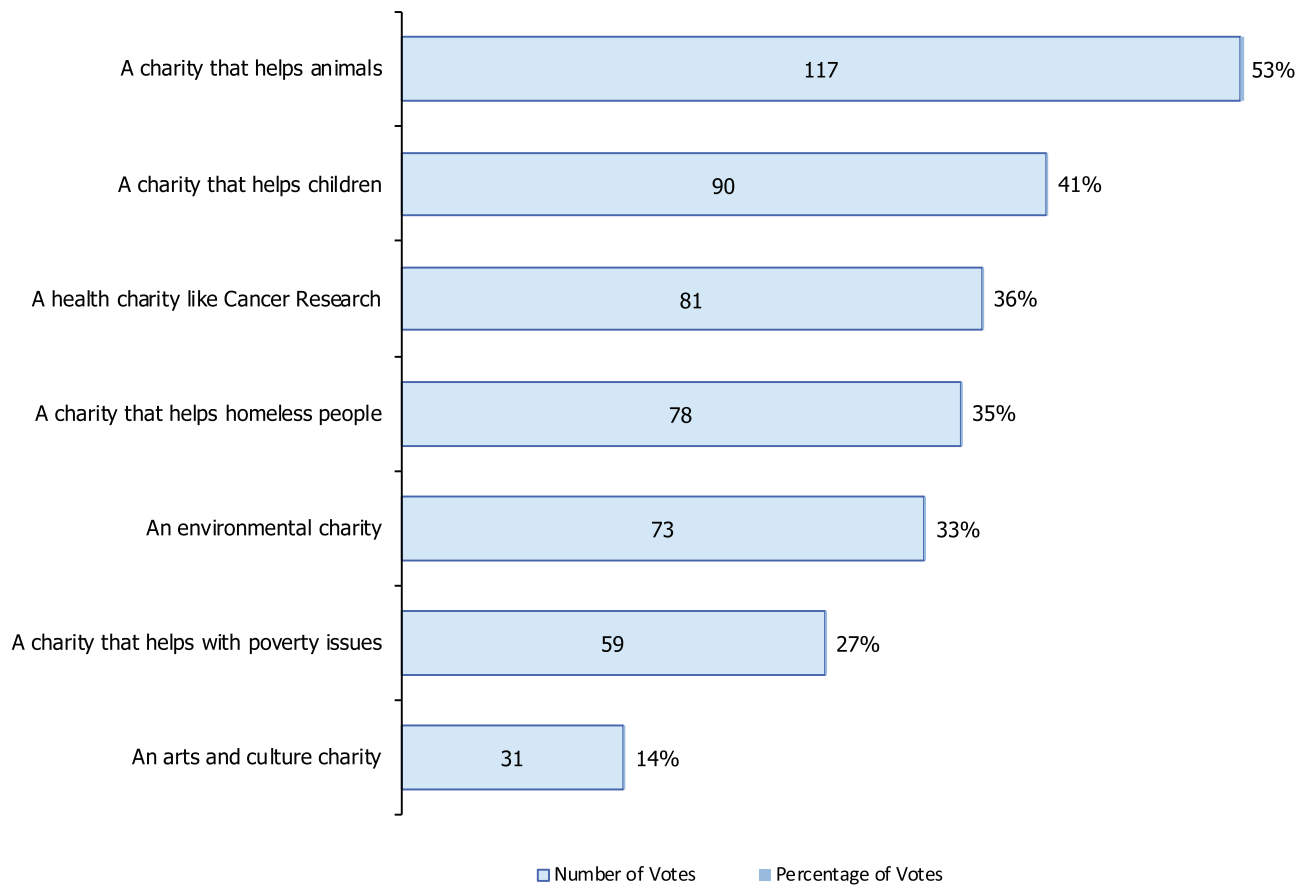


FIGURE 5 Which causes should benefit from a monetary donation from the researcher?

When talking about, or giving to, specific charities, the children tended to favour organisations they were familiar with or had a personal connection to. For instance, survey and focus group participants expressed a preference for the smaller, lesser-known, and often local charities that their schools had deliberately selected or had established long-term partnerships with. Organisations that the schools believe are relevant to the children and/or serve the local community and may be willing to engage directly with the children, as reflected in these comments from teachers:

‘For the kids, we have speakers coming in from our different charities ... this year, they’ve (the children) seen a presentation put together to show where their money is going ... and the kids love that’ Teacher

‘We always start by focusing on charities very local to us, sort of local and relevant ... we try to make it relevant to the girls’ Teacher

In contrast, only one mention, comic relief, was made by the children of organisations associated with major national fundraising campaigns that target schools.

5.3 | RQ3: Why do they give?

The children exhibit motivations for giving akin to adults, aligning with Bekkers & Wiepking’s (2011) mechanisms of donor behaviour. Seemingly driven by an awareness of need, such as the ‘rough sleepers’ they observe; psychological benefits, such as the ‘warm glow’ that comes from helping others; as well as a commitment to values, such as fairness and equity. Table 1 details the expressed motivations to give as well as the frequency of mention:

For the most part, rewards and benefits, tangible or otherwise, such as receiving a toy in return for a donation, were not explicitly expressed as motivating factors by the children. There were no significant mentions across the data by the children of bake sales or dress-up days despite teachers reporting the regular occurrence of such events. Additionally, when given the opportunity to design fundraising activities, the children did not shape them around personal rewards or benefits; instead, for example:

‘...the children came up to us and said they wanted to have a “coat drive” for Wrap up London, so we facilitated that ... We collected all the coats then I took five children to one of the storage places one Saturday where we actually sorted the coats’ ... Teacher

TABLE 1 Why children give.

Expressed motivation	Examples	Frequency of mention in focus groups*
Fairness & equality	'We do this because we want to help people and we want everyone you know to have the same as we have as well' Year 5	Very high
Observing need	'If we see a homeless person on the street, we'll give money' Boy, Year 5	High
Feeling good or warm glow	'I feel good because I will know that I am helping someone' Year 5	High
Make people happy	'It felt actually really nice because you knew that you were helping people and you were making people happier' Year 6	Medium
Connection to the cause	'I do them because I'm a diabetic ... I raise money for the JDRF to er, find a cure one day, and I, coz I really want a cure' Girl, Year 5	Low
Private benefit	'I adopted a snow leopard' Boy	Low

*Where low – >5, medium 6–10, high 10–20, very high 20+.

While more than a quarter of children (28%, n. 63) reported volunteering at least sometimes, participants did not report volunteering for self-enhancement purposes, personal gain, or prestige. Nevertheless, charity is presented in terms of reward and recognition, such as certificates for good citizenship behaviour, opportunities to dress up, buy a cake or win a reading competition.

5.4 | RQ4: How are they experiencing philanthropy?

In the survey responses, the activities children report engaging with most frequently involve donating items, money and fundraising. Whilst the donation of money and items tends to take place at home, school-based philanthropic activity mostly involves fundraising. 90% (n192) of survey participants reported that fundraising at school occurs at least sometimes, which aligns with research by Body et al. (2019), CAF (2013), and Power and Taylor (2018). Although social-justice-type activity does not appear to be immediately associated with charity, the children do however, report engaging in such activities, for example, writing letters to an official about an important issue or to effect change.

The children report feeling confident in understanding the purpose of their schools' fundraising activities. Nearly three-quarters (73%) report having opportunities at school, at least sometimes, to discuss and ask questions about the charities supported, and 42% felt involved at least sometimes when selecting charities and causes. However, there were marked distinctions between the individual

schools in the study. For example, only 53% of children in one school reported *always* being told the name of the charity they are fundraising for, which compares with 82% and 74% in two of the other schools. The children in these two schools are more likely to be involved in selecting additional charities and causes for fundraising and report more frequent opportunities at school for discussions about supported charities.

6 | DISCUSSION

Attitudes towards philanthropy among the financially secure children in this study align closely with the findings from research conducted by Body et al. (2019), CAF (2013) and Ho (2010), which also involved children but did not account for participants' socio-economic backgrounds. Like the findings in these earlier studies, the children in this study display high levels of engagement in activities such as fundraising and donating; and they are passionate about charity and recognise its important role in society. Likewise, they prioritise the same causes: 'animals, children and health'. This suggests that the philanthropic impulse is being transferred across generations to this group of financially secure children. However, two significant differences between the results of this study and the aforementioned research involving children from a broader demographic were identified.

First, the children who participated in this research did not elect to donate to or report participating in the major campaigns typically associated with school fundraising, such as Comic Relief and Children in Need, as found in studies by Body et al. (2019, 2020a) and Power and Taylor (2018). The schools here purposefully avoid engaging in such fundraising campaigns. Instead, they opt to endorse smaller, relevant and/or local charities chosen by the school community with view to forming meaningful partnerships with organisations that engage directly with the children. Secondly, and connected to the previous point, the studied children express higher levels of engagement with school fundraising compared to the children in Body et al. (2019, 2020a) and Power and Taylor's (2018) studies that find school fundraising largely centred around the major campaigns. The implication being that schools with sustained long-term partnerships with smaller charities (in terms of revenue and/or profile) experience higher philanthropic engagement levels amongst the children compared to those without such partnerships and compared to children in schools that fundraise in response to major fundraising campaigns.

6.1 | Philanthropic understanding is framed according to the established constructs of benevolence and individualism

The financially secure children in this study often express a narrow, one-dimensional and uncritical understanding of charity, where giving from a position of privilege appears unquestioned. An understanding that suggests a lack of knowledge and awareness of the broader benefits of philanthropy and one that fails to consider alternative solutions

to social issues or the contributory role that donors might play in perpetuating inequality. A philanthropic understanding that is seemingly framed upon benevolence involving individual acts, such as donating money or items to other, less fortunate people, rather than one of collective action.

A 'benevolent' understanding and approach to philanthropy is problematic in that it perpetuates the problem rather than enables a response designed to address the root cause (Jefferess, 2008). Moreover, such an understanding implies a power imbalance between those who help and those who are in need of help (*ibid.*), particularly when philanthropy is used as a tool to offset privilege (Kenway and Fahey, 2015). Furthermore, the articulated expectation of gratitude in the data is also concerning. For van Hulzen (2021), it signifies an expression of obedience and the 'dark side of gratitude'; for Schwartz (in Titmuss, 1970, p. 57), reciprocity in the form of gratitude similarly implies an expression of control over the recipient. This finding reflects the criticisms levelled at philanthropy more broadly and giving by the wealthy specifically, concerning giving from a position of privilege.

A philanthropic understanding that is characterised by the traditional notions of benevolence, noblesse oblige, or according to Simpson's (2017) 'charity mindset' may well encourage and enable giving. However, framing philanthropy in this manner is likely to reproduce the giving patterns of previous generations and serves to perpetuate established philanthropic behaviour rather than encouraging a more ethical and informed approach to giving. Moreover, framing philanthropic understanding this way, especially among young individuals likely to have the resources to give generously in adulthood, fuels the anti-philanthropy narrative (Breeze, 2021). Nonetheless, in line with Mackenzie et al.'s (2016) argument, the findings do indicate a nuanced understanding among the children in that the expressed desire for fairness and equality suggests an awareness of their privilege and advantage.

6.2 | Children talk about helping people but prioritise animal causes when donating money

The findings reveal a disconnect between how the children describe and understand charity and what they elect to give to; while they talk about helping people, they prioritise animal causes when allocating a monetary donation. This paradox is consistent with Breeze's study (Breeze 2013), which finds adult donors similarly describe charity in terms of helping 'needy' others, but this is not always reflected in their actual giving choices. The committed donors in Breeze's study select causes and charities using a variety of heuristics, choosing to give to organisations that they 'know' in the community or connected to people they admire – giving strategies that are less precise and deliberate and instead shaped by individual preferences and emotions (Breeze, 2013). These patterns are similarly observed among the financially secure children in this research and echo similar findings documented elsewhere in the literature. For instance, the preference for animal charities aligns with the idea that individuals give to

personally appealing and relatable causes (Breeze, 2013; Body et al., 2022). Additionally, the children's giving decisions seem to be influenced by their own *philanthropic autobiography* (Payton and Moody, 2008), shaped by personal experiences and life events such as having diabetes or a relative with cancer.

Whilst these personal connections can encourage giving, prioritising donor preferences, particularly those of wealthy donors, over potentially more pressing societal needs can be problematic (Ostrower, 1995; Odendahl, 1990; Reich, 2019). As such, the findings suggest a potential privilege bias in favour of health and medical charities, which the children may directly benefit from, over issues such as poverty. However, this does not necessarily indicate self-interest, as the children also express a desire to support causes with which they do not have a personal connection, indicating that their lack of direct experience with issues such as food poverty or rough sleeping does not mean they do not care about these issues. Given the absence of philanthropic education in the school curriculum or opportunities to acquire the knowledge upon which to make evidence-based giving decisions, it is not surprising that giving decisions appear subjective and taste-based.

6.2.1 | Children do not talk about the benefits of participating in charitable activities, yet charity is presented in terms of reward and recognition

Whilst the children in the study express a range of motives that explain why they give and to what, the expressed motivations appear to lie more towards the altruism rather than the self-interest end of the philanthropy giving scale. Only two of the 28 focus group participants mentioned the rewards they receive in return for donating. There was no evidence of children engaging in philanthropy for the signalling properties accrued to the donor or volunteering to enhance human capital. As such, self-interested behaviours are perhaps formed later in life. To that end, the reward and recognition attached to the adult-organised philanthropic activities that take place in schools are perhaps misjudging the philanthropic intent of children and creating an unnecessary expectation of reward. As Body et al. (2021) articulate, this practise risks overriding the innate charitable impulse.

6.3 | Philanthropic activity involves giving and fundraising

Philanthropic activity at home mainly involves the donation of money and items, reflecting how they understand and describe charity, which is, according to the things *they* do. This finding is in line with the ambitions set out in the Parliamentary Inquiry in 2012 (CAF, 2012, 2014) to encourage younger generations to grow up giving and to give more. Also, reflecting the results of earlier studies that similarly find children engage in giving and donating money and items more frequently than other philanthropic activities such as volunteering. Conversely, philanthropy is mainly experienced at school through fundraising activities.

Body et al. (2021) raise concerns regarding children's sometimes passive and tokenistic involvement in school fundraising, particularly reward-based activities, which can be anti-UNCRC, anti-fundraising code of ethics and risks overriding the innate philanthropic impulse found in children. Likewise, there is similar evidence within these findings, particularly those activities organised by the parent body, whereby children are not involved in fundraising decisions and fundraising is reward-based. However, there were some examples in the data of children being given the opportunity for a more participatory, rather than transactional or tokenistic role in fundraising activities, which led, for example, to initiatives designed to address societal needs, such as coats for refugees.

Regarding school fundraising, the findings indicate that fundraising efforts that support smaller and/or local charities, charities selected by the children or charities with which the school has formed a long-term partnership, enable more significant levels of engagement and participation. For example, in schools with established charity partnerships, children are more likely to know the name of the charity they are fundraising for and what it does. Supporting smaller (in terms of income) charities and forming partnerships often create learning opportunities for the children to engage with and learn about the work that the charity does. Donations received from schools by smaller charities are more significant to the organisation than the same amount donated to a major charity. As such, these organisations appear more willing to visit schools and speak directly to children. However, this difference may partly be explained by the resources and opportunities available to independent schools, allowing for a more bespoke approach to charity partnerships and engagement.

6.4 | Gendered angle to the findings

Whilst the study did not set out to examine gender differentiations, a gendered dimension became apparent in the findings. For example, more girls (62%) than boys (45%) report being involved in family giving decisions. Regarding socialising agents at home, the children in the study were more likely to ask their mothers rather than fathers for help with giving decisions; in one such question, there were 31 references to mothers compared to 6 mentions of fathers. This result is in line with Muddiman's research, which finds mothers and grandmothers play a central role in sharing civic and pro-social values with young people (Muddiman et al., 2022) and in line with the feminisation of charity as found in the children's picture books examined by Body & Lacny's (2022).

7 | CONCLUSION – PERSONALLY RESPONSIBLE PHILANTHROPIC CITIZENS

Whilst the sample size and the non-probability sampling mean the results are not generalisable, the results are useful and important in providing meaningful data into the philanthropic knowledge and behaviours held by (financially secure) children aged 9 to 11. In so

doing, the findings provide valuable insights into future wealth inheritors' giving preferences and behaviours, societal understanding of philanthropy, and implications for future philanthropic education.

Returning to the central research question and drawing on the themes to emerge from the findings, using Westheimer's (2015) typology, the data suggests that the financially secure children who participated in the study are learning to become 'Personally Responsible Philanthropic Citizens'. Westheimer & Khane (2004) and Westheimer (2015) p. 39 define and describe the personally responsible citizen, be it an adult or child, as someone who acts responsibly in the community, a person who will, for example, pick up litter, recycle, donate blood or donate money and goods to charity. According to Westheimer and Khane (2004), good citizenship for the 'personally responsible' involves having good character, being honest and responsible and being described as someone who might contribute or donate to a food bank. The 'personally responsible' individual is distinct from the 'participatory citizen,' described as someone who might *organise* a collection for a food bank and distinct from the 'social justice oriented' citizen, someone who would seek to challenge and address the root causes that give rise to the need for a food bank in the first place.

As such, enabled by the wealth they are likely to inherit, coupled with a strong philanthropic impulse couched in the traditional understanding and practise of philanthropy, the findings presented and discussed in this paper suggest these financially secure, personally responsible philanthropic citizens have the desire to give and participate in philanthropy. An outcome that is desirable in terms of encouraging charitable giving from a cohort expected, through inheritance, to possess substantial resources for future philanthropy. However, it falls short in terms of cultivating philanthropists equipped with the essential knowledge, skills and desire to make not only informed giving decisions and improve upon philanthropy but also the ability to critically engage with the notion of charity and the underlying issues necessitating philanthropy. Moreover, the findings suggest that philanthropic understanding continues to be one of benevolence and that the giving behaviours of future inheritors reflect existing philanthropy practices and giving patterns. Instead, a more considered approach to engaging children in philanthropy is required, involving opportunities to give and participate as well as structured learning opportunities.

Whilst this paper supports calls in the literature for a more social justice approach to philanthropy, addressing systemic inequalities and injustices within society, not all philanthropy requires a social justice response. As Westheimer (2015) states, different education programmes shape each type of 'good citizen'. Since different types of philanthropic need may require different responses, it is important to provide children with all three types of learning opportunities and programs of education. This enables donors to draw upon and identify the most appropriate response to societal needs or the needs of causes and charities, depending on the circumstances. To provide children with the knowledge, skills and opportunities to engage critically with issues and causes, but also the ability to self-reflect and know what kind of response is required, be it one of personal responsibility, one of collective or

participatory action, or a need or issue that requires a social-justice approach or, to that end a combination of responses. As such, what is needed is an approach to philanthropic education that seeks to develop not only personally responsible, participatory and social-justice-oriented citizens but also the skills and knowledge to be able to reflect upon and identify which response or responses to draw upon in order to address the need or issue.

8 | FUTURE RESEARCH

The possibilities for further research are wide. The conceptualisation of philanthropic citizenship is embryonic, prompting the need for deeper exploration in different settings. Application of the research carried out in this study with children of different socio-economic or cultural backgrounds or with older children in the senior school setting offers valuable comparative insights. Additionally, investigating data from previous studies involving adults reflecting on childhood philanthropic experiences could reveal whether their memories solely revolve around family influences or include school experiences. A gendered dimension emerged, indicating a need for deeper exploration into the role of gender in philanthropic citizenship. Finally, given that the research examines the philanthropic knowledge and behaviours of children *today*, a longitudinal study would enable comparisons over time.

9 | CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

The empirical research presented in this paper contributes insights about a so far unstudied demographic: financially secure children aged 9 to 11 and in so doing, addresses a gap in the literature concerning children and philanthropy. The concept of philanthropic citizenship as articulated by Body et al. (2020a, 2022); Body 2022 is still emerging with previous studies primarily involving younger children. Thus, this study adds value by applying these concepts to older children from a specific socio-economic context. Moreover, the findings of this study contribute to the existing literature that examines *why* people give, which has mostly been concerned with *adult* donor behaviour and motivation. Additionally, the findings contribute to the literature that examines how children are socialised to behave pro-socially. Methodologically, using a participatory approach involving research *with* and not *on* children the research adds to the studies that place children at the centre of the research process. Finally, the research offers valuable insights into the philanthropic behaviours and attitudes of financially secure children, providing practical implications for educators, policy-makers, parents and charities.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This article emerges from the culmination of my PhD research funded via a Vice Chancellor's Scholarship at the University of Kent. As such I would like to express my gratitude and appreciation to my

supervisors, Dr Ali Body and Professor Beth Breeze at the Centre for Philanthropy who expertly guided me throughout the process.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST STATEMENT

The author declares that there is no conflict of interest.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The data that support the findings of this study are available on request from the corresponding author. The data are not publicly available due to privacy or ethical restrictions.

ORCID

Fiona Fairbairn  <https://orcid.org/0009-0003-9758-9551>

ENDNOTES

- ⁱ Senior schools educate children from the age of 11 to 16 or 18.
- ⁱⁱ Primary schools educate children from the age of 4/5 to 11.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Fee-charging private schools, originally for boys aged 13+, many with long histories.
- ^{iv} Children in the United Kingdom attend primary school between the ages of 5 and 11 before moving on to senior school.
- ^v Prep-schools – fee charging private primary schools, average fees approximately £24,000 per annum.
- ^{vi} In the United Kingdom 50%–70% of private schools are not for-profit and instead have charitable status (Fairbairn & Roberts, 2023).
- ^{vii} The Data Protection Act 2018 considers only children over the age of 13 competent to consent instead, assent must be sought.

REFERENCES

- Arthur, J., Harrison, T., Taylor-Collins, E., & Moller, F. (2017). A habit of service: The factors that sustain service in young people. https://www.jubileecentre.ac.uk/userfiles/jubileecentre/pdf/Research%20Reports/A_Habit_of_Service.pdf
- Bekkers, R., & Weipking, P. (2007). Generosity and philanthropy: A literature review. https://generosityresearch.nd.edu/assets/17632/generosity_and_philanthropy_final.pdf
- Bekkers, R., & Wiepking, P. (2011). A literature review of empirical studies of philanthropy. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 40(5), 924–973. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0899764010380927>
- Bentley, R. J., & Nissan, L. G. (1996). *Roots of giving and serving: A literature review studying how school-age children learn the philanthropic tradition*. Indiana University Center on Philanthropy. <http://ulib.iupuidigital.org/cdm/ref/collection/PRO/id/24164/>
- Berman, J. Z., Bhattacharjee, A., Small, D. A., & Zauberman, G. (2020). Passing the buck to the wealthier: Reference-dependent standards of generosity. *Organisational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 157, 46–56. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.obhdp.2019.12.005>
- Bernholz, L. (2021). *How we give now*. MIT Press. <https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/12772.001.0001>
- Bjordhovde, P. (2002). Teaching philanthropy to children: Why, how, and what. *New Directions for Philanthropic Fundraising*, 36, 7–19.
- Body, A. (2022). Teaching philanthropic citizenship. My chartered college. <https://my.chartered.college/research-hub/teaching-philanthropic-citizenship/>
- Body, A., & Hogg, E. (2019). What mattered ten years on? Young people's reflections on their involvement with a charitable youth participation project. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 22(2), 171–186. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2018.1492101>

- Body, A., & Lacny, J. (2022). Philanthropic tales: A critical analysis of how philanthropic citizenship is represented in children's picture-books – problems and possibilities. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*. SAGE Publications, 18(2), 182–1996.
- Body, A., Lau, E., Cameron, L., & Ali, S. (2021). Developing a children's rights approach to fundraising with children in primary schools and the ethics of cultivating philanthropic citizenship. *Journal of Philanthropy and Marketing*, 28, 1. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/356968696_Developing_a_childrens_rights_approach_to_fundraising_with_children_in_primary_schools_and_the_ethics_of_cultivating_philanthropic_citizenship#fullTextFileContent
- Body, A., Lau, E., Cameron, L., & Cunliffe, J. (2023). Educating for social good: Part 1-mapping children's civic learning in England.
- Body, A., Lau, E., & Josephidou, J. (2019). Our charitable children: Engaging children in charities and charitable giving.
- Body, A., Lau, E., & Josephidou, J. (2020a). Engaging children in meaningful charity: Opening-up the spaces within which children learn to give. *Children & Society*, 34(3), 189–203. <https://doi.org/10.1111/chso.12366>
- Body, A., Lau, E., & Josephidou, J. (2020b). The importance of teaching philanthropy: Educating children for social good. *Impact* https://my.chartered.college/impact_article/the-importance-of-teaching-philanthropy-educating-children-for-social-good/
- Brady, L.-M., & Graham, B. (2019). *Social research with children and young people*. Policy Press.
- Breeze, B. (2010). How donors choose charities: Findings of a study of donor perceptions of the nature and distribution of charitable benefit. Centre for Charitable Giving and Philanthropy Occasional Paper 1.
- Breeze, B. (2017). The new fundraisers. In *The new fundraisers*. Bristol University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1332/policypress/9781447325000.001.0001>
- Breeze, B. (2021). *Defence of philanthropy*. Agenda Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1wgvb5v>
- Breeze, B., & Lloyd, T. (2013). *Richer lives*. Directory of Social Change.
- Brownell, C. A., Svetlova, M., Anderson, R., Nichols, S. R., & Drummond, J. (2013). Socialisation of early pro-social behavior: Parents' talk about emotions is associated with sharing and helping in toddlers. *Infancy*, 18(1), 91–119. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7078.2012.00125.x>
- Bryman, A. (2016). *Social research methods* (5th ed.). Oxford University Press.
- CAF. (2012). Mind the gap: The growing generational divide in charitable giving: A research paper. https://www.cafonline.org/docs/default-source/about-us-publications/1190h_partyconf_mindthegap.pdf
- CAF. (2013). Growing up giving: Insights into how young people feel about charity. https://www.cafonline.org/docs/default-source/about-us-publications/growing_up_giving.pdf
- CAF. (2014). Creating an age of giving conclusions from the growing giving parliamentary inquiry. <https://www.cafonline.org/docs/default-source/about-us-publications/gug-part-web.pdf?sfvrsn=6.pdf>
- CAF. (2020). There's never been a better time to talk about philanthropy. https://www.cafonline.org/docs/default-source/personal-giving/thesundaytimesgivinglist-2020_publication_2906al_web_270520.pdf
- CAF. (2022). UK giving report 2022. https://www.cafonline.org/docs/default-source/about-us-research/uk_giving_2022.pdf
- CAF. (2023). UK giving report. https://www.cafonline.org/docs/default-source/about-us-research/uk_giving_2023.pdf
- Creswell, J., & Plano Clark, V. L. (2018). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research (third)*. SAGE Publications Inc.
- Daly, S. (2012). Philanthropy as an essentially contested concept. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 23, 535–557.
- Davis, S., & Sole, A. (2011). Philanthropy's role in developing responsible adults. National Center for family philanthropy. <https://www.ncfp.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/Philanthropys-Role-in-Developing-Responsible-Adults-NCFP-2011-philanthropys-role-in-developing-responsible-adults.pdf>
- Dean, J. (2016). Recruiting young volunteers in an area of selective education: A qualitative case study. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 37(4), 643–661. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2014.973016>
- Dias, T. S., & Menezes, I. (2014). Children and adolescents as political actors: Collective visions of politics and citizenship. *Journal of Moral Education*, 43(3), 250–268.
- Duncan, B. (2004). A theory of impact philanthropy. *Journal of Public Economics*, 88, 2159–2180.
- Eisenberg, N., & Mussen, P. (1989). In P. H. Mussen (Ed.), *The roots of prosocial behavior in children*. Cambridge University Press.
- Fairbairn, C., & Roberts, N. (2023). *Charitable status and independent schools*. House of Commons Library. <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/SN05222/SN05222.pdf>
- Fourtané, S. (2018). Generation alpha: The children of the millennial. *Interesting Engineering* <https://interestingengineering.com/innovation/generation-alpha-the-children-of-the-millennial>
- Giridharadas, A. (2020). *Winners take all: The elite charade of changing the world*. Penguin Books Ltd.
- Goss, D., & Glover, B. (2023). A new age of inheritance-what does it mean for the UK?.
- Hall, L., Hume, C., & Tazzyman, S. (2016). Five degrees of happiness: Effective smiley face Likert scales for evaluating with children. In *Proceedings of the 15th International conference on interaction design and children* (pp. 311–321). ACM.
- Haywood/Haydon, S., Jung, T., & Russell, S. (2021). Motives, moments and money: High net worth individuals and the philanthropic journey. ISTR 2021 Global Virtual Conference, 221.
- Ho, M. (2010). Being and becoming donors: How children and young people engage with charities.
- Jefferess, D. (2008). Global citizenship and the cultural politics of benevolence. Critical literacy: Theories and practices. https://www.academia.edu/791379/Global_citizenship_and_the_cultural_politics_of_benevolence_2008?auto=citations&from=cover_page
- Kenway, J., & Fahey, J. (2015). The gift economy of elite schooling: The changing contours and contradictions of privileged benefaction. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 36(1), 95–115. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/269467724_The_gift_economy_of_elite_schooling_the_changing_contours_and_contradictions_of_privileged_benefaction
- Mackenzie, A., Enslin, P., & Hedge, N. (2016). Education for global citizenship in Scotland: Reciprocal partnership or politics of benevolence? *International Journal of Educational Research*, 77, 128–135.
- Markus, M., & Nurius, P. (1984). Self-understanding and self-regulation in middle childhood. In W. A. Collins (Ed.), *Development during middle childhood: The years for six to twelve*. National Academies Press.
- Muddiman, E., Power, S., & Taylor, C. (2022). *Civil society and the family*. Policy Press, Bristol University Press.
- Musick, M. A., & Wilston, J. (2008). *Volunteers: A social profile*. Indiana University Press.
- ONS. (2022). Household total wealth in Great Britain: April 2018 to March 2020. <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/personalandhouseholdfinances/incomeandwealth/bulletins/total-wealthingreatbritain/april2018tomarch2020>
- Ostrower, F. (1995). *Why the wealthy give; The culture of elite philanthropy*. Princeton University Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7s845>
- Payton, R. L., & Moody, M. P. (2008). *Understanding philanthropy: Its meaning and mission*. Indiana University Press. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/kentuk/detail.action?docID=348670>
- Pharoah, C. (2016). What motivates people to give their own private resources for the public good? In T. Jung, S. D. Phillips, & J. Harrow (Eds.), *The Routledge companion to philanthropy* (pp. 71–88). Routledge.

- Power, S., & Taylor, C. (2018). The mainstreaming of charities into schools. *Oxford Review of Education*, 44(6), 702–715. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03054985.2018.1438255>
- Reich, R. (2019). Just giving. [10.1515/9780691184395](https://doi.org/10.1515/9780691184395).
- Sargeant, A., & Jay, E. (2014). *Fundraising management*. Routledge.
- Sargeant, A., & Woodliffe, L. (2007). Gift giving: An interdisciplinary review. *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing*, 12(4), 275–307. <https://doi.org/10.1002/nvsm.308>
- Schervish, P. (1995). Passing it on: The transmission of wealth and financial care. In P. G. Schervish, V. A. Hodgkinson, & M. J. Gates (Eds.), *Care and community in modern society: Passing on the tradition of service to future generations*. Jossey-Bass.
- Schmid, H., Bar Nissim, H. S., & Nirel, R. (2020). Intergenerational transmission of charitable giving among wealthy Israeli donors. *Society*, 57, 59–70.
- Simpson, J. (2017). “Learning to unlearn” the charity mentality within schools. *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review*, 25, 88–108.
- Tejani, M., & Breeze, H. (2021). Citizens of now.
- The Law Family Commission on Civil Society. (2021). Mind the giving gap—Unleashing the potential of UK philanthropy. <https://civilsociety.commission.org/publication/mind-the-giving-gap-unleashing-the-potential-of-uk-philanthropy/>
- Titmuss, R. (1970). *The gift relationship: From human blood to social policy* (2019th ed.). Policy Press.
- van Deth, J. W., Abendschon, S., & Vollmar, M. (2011). Children and politics: An empirical reassessment of early political socialization. *Political Psychology*, 32, 147–173.
- van Hulzen, M. (2021). Gratitude and that which we cannot return: Critical reflections on gratitude. *Zeitschrift Für Ethik Und Moralphilosophie*, 4(1), 109–119. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s42048-021-00091-x>
- Weber, P. C., & Thayer, A. N. (2017). Planting the seeds of civil society: An assessment of philanthropy education in K-12 Schools. *Journal of Non-profit Education and Leadership*, 7, 162–181. https://www.academia.edu/33783881/Planting_the_Seeds_of_Civil_Society_An_assessment_of_philanthropic_education_in_K-12_schools
- Westheimer, J. (2015). *What kind of citizen? Educating our children for the common good*. Teachers College Press.
- Westheimer, J., & Kahne, J. (2004). What kind of citizen? The politics of educating for democracy. *American Educational Research Journal* https://www.researchgate.net/publication/243786974_What_Kind_of_Citizen_The_Politics_of_Educating_for_Democracy, 41, 237–269.

SUPPORTING INFORMATION

Additional supporting information can be found online in the Supporting Information section at the end of this article.

How to cite this article: Fairbairn, F. (2024). Cultivating young philanthropists: Children, philanthropy and wealth transfer. *Journal of Philanthropy and Marketing*, 29(3), e1874. <https://doi.org/10.1002/nvsm.1874>