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***‘Public policy making, fundraisers and philanthropic giving in UK higher education in the 21st century; the examples of two policy incentives.’***

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## Abstract

Philanthropy in the provision of UK higher education remains a relatively underexplored field despite its long history in higher education. Since the early 2000s, when the question of financing higher education was high on the policy agenda, philanthropy in higher education has received notable policy attention, with two specific policy incentives to foster giving: a capacity-building scheme and a match-funding scheme. The rise in philanthropic income in recent years is often attributed to these policies; however, the aim of this thesis is to examine this notable change and commitment to philanthropy and fundraising in the wider context of the changing UK higher education sector and what role those who deliver these policies, the fundraisers, played. Philanthropy's appearance on the policy agenda and its role has so far been unexplained; this thesis explores philanthropy and fundraising's role and investigates the drivers of the policy interventions from 2002 onward. Secondary data analysis from the annual Ross-CASE survey was employed to examine philanthropic income trends across 73 Higher Education Institutions over the past 9 years. Archival data was then analysed to understand the historic and contemporary role of philanthropy at different institutions. Finally, interviews were conducted with 15 senior fundraising professionals to elicit their views on the state of policymaking and philanthropy and fundraising's role in the process. Kingdon's (2003; [1995], [1984]) theoretical lens of the Multiple Streams Approach was a conceptual tool used to examine why a policy window opened. This research uncovers a complex, ongoing shift of funding in higher education from private to public to private again that suggests a more consistent role for philanthropic funding and fundraisers than is often anticipated. It also identifies a scale of responses to policy by fundraisers that helps illuminate variations in policy application and fundraisers' roles in complex institutional bureaucracies and also indicates a precarious position that they take on. This research argues for a crucial yet hidden role for fundraisers as Campus-Level Bureaucrats, developed from the widely applied Street-Level Bureaucrat theory by Lipsky (2010; [1980]) in which fundraisers have a limited and at times precarious role as stakeholders in the policy and institutional process. The findings contribute to an understanding of philanthropy's complex and multifaceted role in a heterogeneous higher education sector, where fundraising results vary considerably so short-term policies cannot address all of the variations and inequalities in the sector. They also suggest that the increased success of philanthropic funding is not just attributable to policy, but more so to the wider trends of development and professionalisation of fundraising and the compliance of fundraisers with policy and institutional philanthropic goals. Current policymaking in this area cannot be fully understood without incorporating historic knowledge and current understanding of philanthropy's role and value, which can impact the development of future policies and practice.

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*I dedicate this thesis to my parents who have supported me unconditionally throughout and have always believed in the importance and positive influence of continued education and learning - Thank you.*

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## **Abbreviations**

BIS - Department for Business, Innovation and Skills  
CASE - Council for Advancement and Support of Education  
CBS - Capacity Building Scheme  
CLB - Campus-Level Bureaucrat  
CHE- Committee on Higher Education  
CNNA - Council for National Academic Awards  
CVCP - Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals  
DES - Department for Education and Science  
DfES - Department for Education and Skills  
DTI - Department of Trade and Industry  
ESRC - Economic and Social Research Council  
FDTL - Fund for the Development of Teaching and Learning  
GDP - Gross Domestic Product  
HEFCE - Higher Education Funding Council for England  
HEFCW - Higher Education Funding Council for Wales  
HEI - Higher Education Institution  
HESA - Higher Education Statistics Agency  
MFS - Match Funding Scheme  
MSA - Multiple Streams Approach  
NCIHE- National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education  
NPM - New Public Management  
OECD - Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development  
OfS - Office for Students  
REF - Research Excellence Framework  
TEF - Teaching Excellence Framework  
THE - Times Higher Education  
UFC - Universities Funding Council  
UGC - University Grants Committee  
UUK - Universities United Kingdom  
VC - Vice-Chancellor

# CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Introduction

In 2017, philanthropic funding in UK higher education hit the headlines when it was reported that income, measured as new funds secured, exceeded £1 billion a year (Ross-CASE, 2017) for the first time in history, almost doubled in the decade since 2006 from £548m. One example contributing to the increasing income was a donation of £15 million to the University of Birmingham in 2013 from a former alumnus for research into the impact of climate and environmental change (University of Birmingham, 2013). One of the largest donations in UK history was made to King's College London's School of Law in 2012 by Dickson Poon CBE. Poon donated £20 million towards a £40 million investment programme for a new building, eight chair positions and a further seven research roles, with the aim of establishing the School as an outstanding centre for legal research and offering up to 75 student scholarship programmes (King's College London, 2012). In 2012, the £20 million donation represented the largest donation from an individual in King's College's history and was also the largest individual donation to a law faculty in Europe. In recognition of the large donation, the Law School was renamed the Dickson Poon School of Law (King's College London, 2012). These are typical examples in which high-profile names and associated large donations made the headlines, reflecting the normative focus on elite donors. Even so, the number of individual donors giving at any level has more than doubled from 105,553 to 223,256 (as of 2015/16) over the past decade (Ross-CASE, 2007-2017).

But where does this change come from, what are the drivers behind it, and who gets the credit? Is the perceived change driven by rich donors who want to improve society, or by the people who ask for money, with the fundraisers pushing and taking the credit? Did institutions themselves enable this change, or was it the making of policymakers and the government? From the Higher Education Funding Council's (HEFCE) perspective, this milestone was achieved following almost two decades of attention from government policy starting in the earlier part of the 2000s, chiefly through the Capacity Building Scheme (CBS) and the Match Funding Scheme (MFS) that were implemented to incentivise giving. The UK government often attributes the rise in philanthropic income to their policies (HEFCE 2014; HEFCE 2012a; HEFCE 2012b), but this conclusion requires a more extensive interrogation both in the context of the globally changing higher education sector (OECD 2017; OECD 2013b; Cheslock and Gianneschi 2008; European Commission 2005) and in that of British institutions. In this globally changing higher education environment, trends such as rising costs, constricted state budgets, managerialism, rationalisation, internationalisation and a

changing understanding of the ideal relationship between the government and university systems are noted (Berman and Paradeise, 2016).<sup>1</sup> There is also a global trend to acknowledge philanthropy's increasingly significant role in fulfilling funding requirements for institutions (Rohayati, Najdi and Williamson 2016; Drezner and Huehls 2014; Weerts 2014; Boyce 2013; Ball 2012).

Before setting out the landscape of the changes to higher education later in this chapter (in section 1.4), it is necessary to explore what is meant when referring to higher education, Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) and how universities fit into this.

British higher education is third level education and encompasses three broad types of education providers: universities<sup>2</sup>, Further Education Colleges (FECs)<sup>3</sup> and Alternative Providers (APs).<sup>4</sup> There is a difference in law between a HE provider, which can be a university, an FE college or an alternative provider and a recognised body that awards degrees. 'University' is a protected title, though reforms in the last ten years have allowed a growth in private providers (like the University of Law), yet there had long been the University of Buckingham as an outlier. The most recent legislation that shapes higher education is the Higher Education and Research Act 2017 (Higher Education and Research Act, 2017). The diversity shown in the range of education providers is not only illustrated by what they offer to students in terms of courses (e.g. a university 3 year bachelor's degree in a mainstream discipline at a university or a specialist, shorter course at a specialist college) but is also demonstrated by the variety in the number of students and staff across these institutions and income and expenditure (HESA, 2018a).

In terms of actual figures, the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) reported for 2016/17 that there were 167 higher education providers.<sup>5 6</sup> In 2016/17 it was reported that the sector had a total income of £35.7 billion and an expenditure of £34.5 billion<sup>7</sup> and it needs to be noted that the sector operates across three devolved governments, with a different legal system in Scotland. The lack of a coherent system in terms of funding and governance is widely debated (Farrington and Palfreyman, 2012). Academics and

---

<sup>1</sup> Here the term 'government' is used to describe the government in charge at the time of any policy implementation and interventions which was as follows: from 1997-2010: Labour; from 2010-2015: Coalition Government Conservatives and Liberal Democrats; from 2015 onwards: Conservative Government.

<sup>2</sup> Offers undergraduate and postgraduate degrees- see legal definition below.

<sup>3</sup> FECs offer, for example, higher level qualifications such as certificates, diplomas, awards and other vocational qualifications and apprenticeships.

<sup>4</sup> APs offer degree level courses but do not receive public funding.

<sup>5</sup> HESA counts these 167 institutions as publicly funded UK HE providers and the University of Buckingham (a private university).

<sup>6</sup> This thesis will refer to these higher education providers as higher education institutions throughout this thesis.

<sup>7</sup> The expenditure includes staff costs (£18.6 billion) and other costs such as interest, expenses and depreciation (HESA, 2018a).

disciplinary bodies may be able to move around the UK, but it is critical to note that the funding arrangements are different and the sector is not the same everywhere in the UK. £17.7 billion of the reported income came from tuition fees, the largest income source for 52% of institutions in England and 55% in Wales. In Northern Ireland and Scotland institutions receive a grant from government that exceeded the income of tuition fees.<sup>8 9 10</sup> In addition, and as table 1.1 below illustrates, other income came from a diverse range of sources. The other income categories were represented by other income (17%) which included services rendered through the supply of goods or consultancies, research grants (16%) and funding body grants (14%).<sup>11</sup> Charitable donations and endowments make up only 2% of the total income of HE providers, whilst investment income accounts for 1%.

*Table 1.1 Income structure of UK HE providers in percentage 2016/17*

Income type	£ (in millions)	%
Tuition fees and education contracts	17,742	50%
Funding body grants	5,106	14%
Research grants and contracts	5,916	16%
Other income	6,067	17%
Investment income	254	1%
Donations and endowments	586	2%
	35,671	

This study will use the term Higher Education Institution throughout this thesis and the term covers all those who provide higher education such as ‘universities receiving direct grant funding, institutions conducted by higher education corporations, and designated institutions’ (Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (BIS) and Department for Education (DfE) 2018, p. 2). While the term is applied to draw on the changes that affected the sector as a whole, in this study attention in terms of the investigation will mostly be drawn to universities in relation to the two aforementioned schemes. This is because the majority of institutional participants in the schemes were universities while it is also recognised and examined in more detail in chapter 3, that a few further education colleges took part in the scheme during some years and therefore the term HEIs will ensure they are included. A university is an institution with degree awarding powers obtained via Royal Charter.<sup>12</sup> In addition to gaining

<sup>8</sup> The statistics do not include data for students at Further Education (FE) colleges for England, Scotland and Northern Ireland or data on alternative providers and will therefore not be included in this particular study.

<sup>9</sup> HESA defines alternative providers as ‘Higher Education providers who do not receive recurrent funding from Office for Students (previously HEFCE) or other public body and who are not further education colleges’ (HESA, 2018a).

<sup>10</sup> Alternative providers or further education colleges currently do not return consistent and full data to HESA and are therefore excluded from HESA’s data collection.

<sup>11</sup> HESA defines these as ‘those from the Higher Education Funding Council for England (now OfS), the Higher Education Funding Council for Wales (HEFCW), the Scottish Further and Higher Education Funding Council (SFC), the National College for Teaching and Leadership (NCTL) and the Department for Education Northern Ireland (DfE(NI))’ (HESA, 2018a).

<sup>12</sup> Or a private Act of Parliament or an Order of Council under section 76(1) of the Further and Higher Education Act 1992 or the Higher Education and Research Act 2017 (BIS and DfE, 2018).

the Royal Charter, it has to illustrate good governance and enrol at least 1,000 full-time higher education students (BIS and DfE 2018, p.8).<sup>13 14</sup>

It should also be noted, that universities are very diverse with characteristics varying widely for some are older, some are bigger, some are specialist, and some are general, some are research-driven. The point is that, within a broad legal definition of a university, universities (even if they have grown from a college or polytechnic) have developed particular missions, which could be originally to address specific vocational skills, to foster a particular research culture, or to offer a humanistic approach to learning in particular towns/cities, as part of a drive for civic pride. The diversity of these institutions is important to put into context of long-term changes within higher education.

In terms of long-term changes within a diverse higher education landscape, it is important to note that the British higher education sector<sup>15</sup> has been subject to a number of significant changes since the 1960s, following the Robbins report in 1963 (Committee on Higher Education (CHE), 1963). One change is the mass expansion of the system in student numbers, with an almost 10-fold increase in student numbers from 25,000 at the start of the 20th century to 2.3 million students in 2017 (HESA 2018b; Halsey and Webb 2000), as shown in figure 1.1

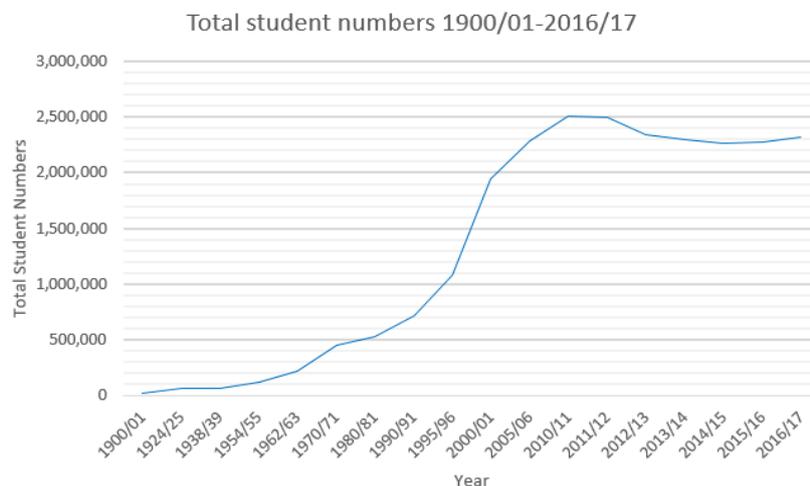


Figure 1.1 Total number of students 1900-2017, Sources: Cited in Halsey (2000, p.225, NCIHE (1997), HESA (1995-2017b)

<sup>13</sup> There are separate requirements to obtain a university title in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland.

<sup>14</sup> It also includes colleges of the University of London (e.g. King's College London gained the ability to award its own degrees in 2006 rather than awarding the degrees through the University of London).

<sup>15</sup> The UK or England are specified when higher education policies are discussed in more specific terms. This study mostly refers to the UK higher education sector, but some policies only apply to England.

Another change is the rising number of 18-24-year-old young people group who were in full-time education; risen from 984,000 young people to 1.87 million by 2015 (Office for National Statistics, 2016).<sup>16</sup> The expansion of the higher education system has been followed by a range of questions about access, equality and above all, the financing of higher education (McGettigan 2013; Barr and Crawford 2005). Broadly, in the UK, in 2015/16 education spending made up 4.5% of national income and, after health, makes up the second largest spending area of public services in the UK. A real term growth of on average 5% per year was noted between 1998-99 and 2010/11 but following spending cuts education spending has reduced by 14% in real terms. The reduction in education spending since 2010/2011 means that it is back at the same level it was in 2005/6 and the share of national income decreased back to the level of the 1990s (Institute for Fiscal Studies, 2017).

HEIs became concerned about their financial future and the institutions' sustainability during a time when a Conservative government allowed student numbers to expand between 1980 to 2000, but the level of funding did not increase accordingly and funding per student decreased, as figure 1.2 shows. According to the Department of Education and Skills' (2002) Index of Student Numbers and Public Funding for Higher Education, cumulative student numbers doubled in 20 years between 1980 to 2000, but over the same period, funding per student halved in real terms, as illustrated in this graph. The graph in figure 1.2 is a sample for a 20-year period, but since the start of the 20th century, student numbers overall have been continuously rising (HESA 2018b; Halsey and Webb 2000). The level of funding per student was at £28,000 in 2015 which was over 50% higher in real terms than in 1990. Higher education funding has been highly inconsistent; for example, the Institute for Fiscal Studies (2017) reported that 'there have been real-term falls in resources provided to universities in 18 of the past 26 years, offset by large increases in tuition fees in 1998, 2006 and 2012' (p.8).

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<sup>16</sup> In 2016/17 HESA reported that the under 18-24-year-old age group made up 68% of all enrolment students (2018c).

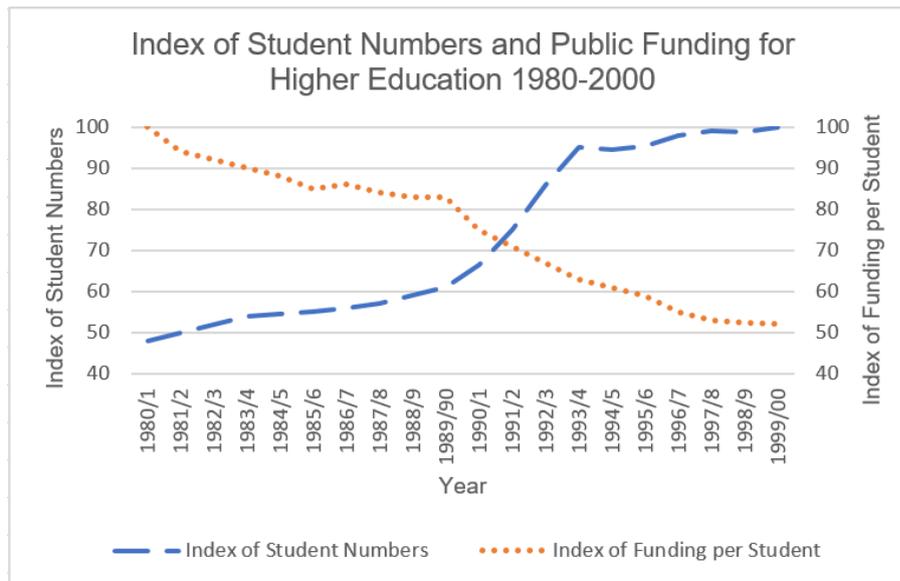


Figure 1.2 Index of student numbers and public funding for higher education 1980/1-1999/2000. Source: DfES (2002)

In recent years, successive government policies have encouraged universities to take responsibility for their financial future, to spread their costs and to be less reliant on public money (Cabinet Office 2011; DfES 2004; DfES 2003). This was notwithstanding the already existing long tradition of philanthropy in higher education. Philanthropy has been part of higher education from the creation of the oldest universities of Oxford and Cambridge to the ‘redbrick’ or ‘civic’ universities of the 19th and early 20th centuries, the ‘plate-glass’ universities of the 1960s to the new universities of the 1990s and the 2000s. Most HEIs in the UK would not have come into existence without the contributions of philanthropic funding (Pellew 2014; Pellew 2013; Owen 1965; Jordan 1959), which continue to support higher education today (Squire 2014; Warren, Hoyler and Bell 2014; Warren and Bell 2014; Proper 2009).

In practice, the shift to diversify funding sources has been part of an increasing debate over the merits of different potential funding sources, and, as a result, more attention was paid to the role of philanthropic funding at the beginning of the 21st century (DfES 2004; DfES 2003; UUK 2003). In academia, an emerging field of studies discusses the topic of philanthropy (Jung, Phillips and Harrow 2016; Moody and Breeze 2016; Reich, Cordelli and Bernholz 2016; Wiepking and Handy 2015; Breeze et al. 2011; Villadsen 2011). The next section will examine what we mean by philanthropy and outline the chosen definition adopted in this thesis. Based on the study of philanthropy and the definitions, problems with social class, elitism and inequalities are also explored in relation to higher education and philanthropy. This chapter then examines the policy context of the changing higher education landscape in more detail and considers how policymaking and philanthropy are linked. In the penultimate

section, I will discuss the key contributions and goals of this research, before the final section sets out the structure for the remainder of the thesis.

## **1.2 The study of philanthropy and its definitions**

### **1.2.1 Studying philanthropy in academia**

There are few things that affect as many aspects of our lives as philanthropy, and yet there are few that are less well understood. Philanthropy is as important in our lives as are law and medicine, ... Philanthropy is an essential tool in our collective attempts to solve public problems, yet there is too little – or only ill-informed – consideration of philanthropy in our public conversation (Payton and Moody 2008, p. 10)

Payton and Moody argue that a lack of attention to philanthropy results in uninformed debates; this study aims to address this issue. Philanthropy is not just ill-informed in general public conversations; it is also understudied within academic discourse. Although philanthropy is growing as a discrete area of study (Moody and Breeze, 2016), academic definitions and understandings are made more complex by the wide range of disciplines in which the concept is studied such as anthropology and sociology, economics, social policy, psychology, law and history. As academics often work in disciplinary silos, there is a tendency to focus on aspects of philanthropy that are most salient to their field (Daly 2012; Sulek 2010a, Sulek 2010b; Van Til 1990). For example, the sociological tradition discusses social reciprocity (Mauss, 2001 [1950]) and interrogates the social context in which philanthropic giving takes place (Komter, 2007). Psychological studies, on the other hand, focus on individual motivations or incentives (Farsides, 2007).

A prominent number of scholars have also researched the role of philanthropy in society at a particular time in history to investigate philanthropy's contributions (Fitton 2015; Whyte 2015; Pellew 2014; Pellew 2013; Cannadine and Pellew 2008; Cunningham and Innes 2008; Walton and Gasman 2008; Prochaska 1988; Owen 1965; Jordan 1959). One issue with historical studies can be that they look at change or continuity over time and often they look at a particular unit (e.g. a 1960s university in Fitton's research) or they try to incorporate philanthropy into the history of the welfare state (e.g. Cunningham and Innes, 2008). Yet, a recently edited book by Pellew and Goldman (2018) makes links between the past and the present by discussing the role of past donations and their reputational impact on the institutions today. In comparison to historical studies, studies in sociology and psychology discuss the social or individual processes but history and social policy examine in their

different ways the use of philanthropy at micro, meso and macro levels. These studies are relevant to this research because they provide important historical knowledge and context and the studies' different purposes and data sets have to be evaluated carefully before their application.

### **1.2.2 Philanthropy and fundraising in the grey literature**

In the academic and grey literature there are distinct differences in how philanthropy, as a theoretical concept, and fundraising, the actual activity of raising money, are used and applied. Moody and Breeze (2016) highlight the different usages of the word 'philanthropy' as they note 'philanthropy is, in a sense, both a noun and a verb: it is a thing as well as an activity, attitude and outlook' (p.9). They continue to explain that 'philanthropy creates tangible outputs that leave a physical trace, and it also inspires actions that propel human behaviour in a wide variety of ways that are less easy to capture and record' (2016, p.9). These different uses of the word philanthropy resonate with the variation in the way the theoretical concept of philanthropy is discussed by academics (see section 1.3 and 1.4) and also illustrates that there is a gap between academic researchers and practitioners' views in the grey literature.

While academics may use the term philanthropy to refer to a wide range of practices, the term philanthropy is not so common with practitioners; their emphasis is rather on the activity that they engage in, which is fundraising. It should be noted that the same act includes both asking and giving and therefore it is simply a matter of different emphasis. Within the practitioner or grey literature, fundraising is broadly defined by the UK's membership body for fundraisers as 'the act of raising resources ... by asking for it, to fund the work your organisation carries out ...' (Institute of Fundraising, 2015, np). However, fundraising is often poorly defined in the grey literature and the literature that focuses on how to fundraise is, as argued by Breeze (2017) and Brittingham and Pezzullo (1990) predominantly practitioner-led. Breeze (2017) for example found that the studies either focus on how to fundraise or how to be a fundraiser and often do not engage with theories of fundraising.

A downside of grey literature is that it is predominantly written by practitioners based on anecdotal experience, there is often little critical application of concepts and there may not be a large set of data that is critically assessed as proof for the claims made (Lindahl and Conley, 2002). This approach causes problems in the application of findings as it is difficult to apply practitioner-based studies to academic studies because practitioners' literature is often not based on methodologically reliable and rigorous studies. The reasons for this include that fundraisers do not allocate time to engage with academic studies, prioritise

completing the fundraising task or are unsure how to relate academic studies to their practice as they might not be written in an accessible way. Furthermore, scholars Bekkers and Wiepking (2010) rightly point out that academic research does not often feature in practitioner reports, confirming Lindahl and Conley's (2002) work that found that fundraising is 'a field in need of a greater base of substantive, objective research rather than a casual acceptance of anecdotal evidence' (p.91). Both fields benefit from sharing and applying each other's knowledge and findings, for example academic work has started to feature in the HEFCE commissioned reports of 2012 and 2014. Bekkers and Wiepking (2011) argue that academic research often relies on policy reports to set the scene and contextualise studies and academic work would benefit from engaging with the grey literature to complement for example interviews with practitioners' experiences and knowledge.

### **1.2.3 Definitions of philanthropy in the academic literature**

A range of definitions of philanthropy exists (Sulek 2010a, 2010b; Payton and Moody 2008; Schervish 1998; Salamon 1992; Van Til 1990), which is unsurprising given the multitude of disciplines in which philanthropy is studied. Philanthropy and the way funds are raised also comes in different forms and the fundraising methods were summarised by Breeze and Scaife (2015) as fundraising events; one-to- one approaches; direct marketing appeals; online, social media and mobile/cell phone giving; community fund-raising; legacy/bequest appeals; planned giving; corporate fund-raising; trust and foundation fund-raising; raffles and lotteries; in-kind giving and other methods such as sales of fundraising products (p.573-581).

Clarification of the term philanthropy in its variations is required, as the precise meaning of philanthropy is important to the debates in the literature. However, some examination of available literature is required before the definition for this thesis is chosen. It is also important to note that the terms 'charitable giving' and 'voluntary giving' are two other terms that have been found in government documents and refer to the actual 'doing' (HEFCE 2012; BIS 2011; DfES 2007; DfES 2004; DfES 2003). Equally, in academic research Adam (2004) for example found that that philanthropy is a term that is simultaneously and interchangeably used with terms such as "charity", 'benevolence', 'giving', 'donating', 'voluntary sector', 'non-profit organisation' and 'NGO' often without adequate regard to the need to be clear about what is meant by each of these terms' (p.4). Some of these terms are also often found in grey literature and refer to the 'doing' rather than the theoretical concept. Muukkonen (2009) pointed out the need to be aware of the relationships between the varied terms which he argues has an impact on how these notions are studied. For the purpose of this study, I acknowledge the variation of the terms' application and usage and the terms are

used interchangeably, with 'philanthropy' used as the main term to refer to the activities of raising money and the theoretical concept.

A key contribution to the discussion of the definitions of philanthropy is Sulek's research on the modern (2010a) and the classical (2010b) understanding of philanthropy. The paper on the classical meaning begins with the understanding of philanthropy since the classical Greek era. Sulek argues that philanthropy is a 'multifaceted' term that is 'multi-purpose' and 'multi-layered', incorporating several levels of meaning that integrate historic and current usages. Sulek's (2010b) argument is that philanthropy can have different definitions because of its wide range of application and purpose. In his view, there is 'a sufficient degree of harmony and interdependence' (p.398) between definitions for each to be valid depending on the area of study.

Sulek's (2010a) paper on the modern meaning of philanthropy focuses on variation in the definitions and provides a framework of 'modern modes of philanthropy', with a focus on the most contemporary definitions in the 20th and 21st centuries. The main contemporary definitions in Sulek's (2010a) paper differ in three main areas: first, there is disagreement whether philanthropy is voluntary or fulfils a moral and/or social obligation; second, there are different views on whether philanthropy is a public duty, charity or desire and third, it is debated whether philanthropy has a set aim or is simply an act of charity (Sulek, 2010a). Despite the differences, Sulek (2010a) demonstrates that there is sufficient harmony to create a framework for the definitions, and he classifies the available definitions into seven categories of his making: literal, archaic, ontological, ideal, volitional, actual and social. I have selected four categories that cover the most currently used and discussed definitions and the other three categories cover the older definitions that are not relevant to this examination and study. These relevant categories are ideal, volitional, actual and social and are displayed in the extract below.

- **Ideal:** To describe the attainment of ideal aims, goals, outcomes, or objectives in terms of meeting a need, attaining a good, and/or advancing human happiness and well-being.
- **Volitional:** To describe the good will, intent, or readiness to voluntarily help others.
- **Actual:** To describe an objective act, such as giving of money, time, or effort, to a charitable cause or public purpose.
- **Social:** To describe a relation, movement, organization, or other such social entity larger than the individual that embodies an explicitly defined charitable cause or good.

*Extract from 'A Synthesis of Modern Definitions' by Sulek (2010a, p.35)*

One of the more widely accepted definitions that fits within Sulek's (2010a) categories of 'Actual' is Salamon's (1992) definition of philanthropy as 'the private giving of time or valuables (money, security, property) for public purposes as one form of income of private non-profit organizations' (p.10). Focussing on philanthropy as a concept in modern social sciences (Sulek, 2010a), Salamon (1992) considers it as a supply side activity that delivers public needs with private resources. Another definition by Van Til (1990), who outlined philanthropy as 'the voluntary giving and receiving of time and money aimed (however imperfectly) toward the needs of charity and the interests of all in a better quality of life' (p. 34), cuts across Sulek's (2010a) categories of 'Ideal', 'Volitional' and 'Actual' and incorporates all features of voluntary giving to charitable needs. More than other scholars, Van Til (1990) emphasises the importance of philanthropic activity's good intentions to better life and situations. Similarly, Schervish (1998), whose definition also cuts across Sulek's (2010a) categories of 'Ideal', 'Actual' and 'Social', also emphasises the idea of philanthropy fulfilling human needs, defining philanthropy as a social relation 'in which individuals (and groups) respond to the moral invitation to expand the horizons of their self-interest to include meeting the needs of others' (Van Til 1990, p.600). Schervish's (1998) definition differs from Van Til's (1990) because his argument is based on the understanding that the act of giving is directed by moral obligation to address needs. Schervish (1998) describes philanthropy as a personal act (rather than as an action by an institution, sector or organisation) that is voluntary and without self-interest.

The final prominent academic definition of philanthropy that I will review here is Payton's definition of 'philanthropy as a public good' (1987, p.37) which is intentionally broader than the already examined definitions above. Payton incorporates voluntary giving, voluntary service and voluntary association in his definition which is for him ingrained in normative values of kindness and commitment (Daly, 2012). This definition was incorporated in his later, co-authored, work which defines philanthropy as 'a voluntary action that advances a vision of the public good' (Payton and Moody 2008, p.35) and focus on the voluntary character of philanthropy, including both donations and non-monetary actions. The view of philanthropy as a public good is an often-cited concept (Daly 2012; Payton and Moody 2008; Ilchman, Katz and Queen 1998) and incorporates several of Sulek's categories, including the 'ideal', 'volitional' and 'actual'. Payton and Moody's (2008) definition encompasses activities related to donating money and giving time to chosen causes, both of which contribute to the public benefit and good and which are also applicable to the ideas of philanthropy in the UK. Payton and Moody's definition originates in American scholarship and when applying their definition the differences across countries and cultures in the understanding of what constitutes the 'public good' in relation to higher education and the role of philanthropy (e.g.

Wright, 2001) need to be taken into account. The differences are for example based on the history, politics, education, tax systems and wider attitudes to philanthropic giving (Wright, 2001) and to higher education Drezner and Huehls, 2014). Despite the differences, Payton and Moody's definition has been recognised as applicable in the Western world and has been widely applied to scholarship and practice as for example Moody and Breeze's (2016) edited Reader of a range of international scholarship research demonstrated. Having reviewed the key definitions and highlighted their differences, the definition by Payton and Moody (2008) was applied who said that philanthropy is seen as the 'voluntary action that advances a vision of the public good' (p.35). This definition best serves to frame my study; it is the broadest and most inclusive, as it covers all the aspects of philanthropy that are studied in this thesis such as giving money and time. Rather than limit philanthropy to financial giving and volunteerism as Salamon suggested (1992), Payton (1988) and Payton and Moody's (2008) definition is more nuanced and integrated into practice, for example their definition does not distinguish between the number, regularity or value of donations that often distinguishes giving<sup>17</sup> and therefore acknowledges all contributions such as time, and small and large donations, as equally important. This definition allows the incorporation of institutional missions and values as ideas and values (Shaker, 2015) and is closest in theory to the experience of practitioners and closest to HEIs who acquire philanthropic support for a range of projects, buildings, student support and research. The definition also acknowledges that philanthropy's purpose is to improve the public good in the broadest sense, which includes higher education's contributions by providing new research and educated students to the benefit of wider society. The idea of philanthropy as a public good in higher education will also be linked in this thesis to the debates and (changing) ideas of the purpose of higher education in the UK and is further examined in chapter 2 in section 2.2.2 and in chapter 4 in section 4.3.1. These debates and examinations will aid in examining the interlinks between the global definition of philanthropy in the UK setting and the changing ideas of what universities are for and therefore shape a concluding discussion on the role of philanthropy in higher education in 21st in the UK in chapter 6 in section 6.5.

#### **1.2.4 Philanthropy as a contested concept**

In addition to the problems with defining philanthropy as a term, there are also issues with defining it conceptually. Daly (2012) argues that philanthropy is a contested concept, Payton (1987) also highlights this referring to philanthropy as 'a slippery idea which none of us can seize firmly and claim exclusive rights to' (p.10). Examining these arguments can help illuminate the epistemological dilemma in the study of philanthropy (Srivastava and Oh 2010,

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<sup>17</sup> For example, the Coutts Million Donors report only focuses on £1 million plus donations (Coutts, 2017).

p. 470). Daly (2012) notes that philanthropy is not only complex in definition but also in the way that it is applied and understood in different cultures (Van Til 1990; Payton 1987). In addition, Van Til (1990) points out the problem of scholars' studying and researching the notion of philanthropy in many different ways with regards to meaning, value and purpose. This variation has caused multiple applications and understandings of the purpose of philanthropy and caused problems in formulating philanthropy as a concept.

Daly (2012) bases her argument on the sociological idea of a contested concept, an idea first set out by W.B. Gallie (1956). Gallie's framework of the essentially contested concept is based on the nature of those concepts 'where there is no one clearly definable general use...which can be set up as the correct or standard use' (1956, p. 168). Gallie identified seven principles that describe the features of an essentially contested concept.<sup>18</sup> Daly (2012) believes that Gallie's idea helps the analysis of the concept and can be applied to philanthropy because, similarly to other contested key ideas, it requires a mindful effort by scholars to apply and discuss its idea.

In the UK, the practice of philanthropy has for a long time been contested with regards to its connotations of 'patronage' and 'elitism' (Wright 2001; Davis Smith 1995; Prochaska 1988) and its role in society (Kisby, 2010). According to Daly (2012) the concept of philanthropy has negative implications and to overcome this Daly (2012) suggests that scholars should pay more attention to this particular 'essentially contested nature of the concept of philanthropy' (p. 535) to understand the ideas better and 'to avoid problems of conceptual ambiguity and miscommunication' (p.535). In Daly's (2012) view, the best way forward to describe philanthropy is accepting that it is disputed.

Similarly, Harrow (2010) also makes an argument for accepting the varied character of philanthropy in order to avoid hindering scholarship in this field. Harrow suggests that philanthropy is a clustered concept and 'capable of being multiply defined by multiple stakeholders, so that parallel understanding of its nature and purpose coexist' (2010, p. 123). What Harrow is saying is that the notion of philanthropy, mainly private, means that it is diverse in response to and for the causes it supports. Her argument is illustrated with an

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<sup>18</sup> '(1) it must be appraisive, that is representative of 'some kind of valued achievement'; (2) its structure must be of 'an internally complex character'; (3) related to this, the concept lends itself to being described in a variety of different ways (it is 'initially variously describable'); (4) the concept is 'open' in character which means that it can be modified in accordance with 'changing circumstances'; (5) there is mutual recognition amongst scholars that the way in which they employ the concept is likely to be contested by other users of the concept; (6) the concept is 'derived from an original exemplar whose authority is acknowledged by all the contestant users of the concept'; (7) the nature of the 'continuous competition' amongst scholars is such that it 'enables the original exemplar's achievement to be sustained and/or developed in optimum fashion'. Each of these criteria has been the subject of critique and debate' (Summary provided by Daly (2012) p. 539-542 based on Gallie 1956, p. 171-172, 180)

example of how donors and recipient organisations share links and work together and this is linked conceptually to literature on networks and new governance in the context of privatising education in the UK studied by Ball (2008).

Harrow's (2010) definition of the clustered concept is reflective of Sulek's (2010b) idea of philanthropy as being multifaceted. Whether philanthropy is viewed as 'multifaceted' or a 'clustered' concept, it highlights the complexity of studying a phenomenon such as philanthropy because the field is based on a concept whose fundamental nature is debated. Therefore, the term, as examined in 1.2.3, has to be clearly defined to understand the angle and conceptual base on which studies, such as this study, are built on.

### **1.3 Role of philanthropy, social class, elitism and inequalities in higher education**

Philanthropy is a contested concept not just in academic research, but also in society and across countries (Ostrower 1995; Bremner 1994; Odendahl 1990). For example, the association of philanthropy with elitism and privilege of wealthy individuals and their (family) foundations is a common position in the United Kingdom (Gallo and Duffy, 2016) and has led the public and scholars to question the positive appeal of philanthropy (McGoey, 2015). The issue of elitism and privilege also resonates with more recent scholarly work discussing the super rich's actions as philanthro-capitalists' (Bishop and Green 2015; McGoey 2015; Bishop and Green 2008).<sup>19</sup>

English education began as an elite system and has retained an elite stream whilst developing a mass mainstream higher education system (Boliver 2017; Anderson 1992). The elite system benefits from a combination of long-term investments and research grants and also rich alumni who support their institutions (Breeze et al., 2011). One topic that rarely leaves the policy agenda in higher education is social class and inequality (Boliver 2017; Boliver 2015; Boliver 2011; Chowdry et al. 2013; Archer, Hutchings and Ross 2003). Following the recommendations of the 1963 Robbins report, participation in higher education has increased substantially, but there remain concerns about inequality in student and participation access for the socio-economically disadvantaged (Boliver 2017; Boliver 2015; Chowdry et al. 2013; Brown and Baker 2007; DfES 2006; DfES 2003). This is related to philanthropy and HEIs because, existing inequalities are also often seen to be reinforced by

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<sup>19</sup> E.g. McGoey (2015) argues that the need for funding is driven by the donor's personal agenda and that donors capitalise from their donations rather than focus on the charitable need.

philanthropic giving, for example the majority of the large donations to universities are received by Oxford and Cambridge (Ross-CASE, 2017).

Another question with regards to the funding of HEIs concerns the privilege of institutions, by which it is meant their access to large allocations of funding. This has been identified as a policy problem for HEIs (Iannelli, 2007) and it has been noted that England has ‘a well-defined elite university sector’ (Jerrim and Vignoles 2015, p. 20). According to Scott (1996) and Tight (1996), older universities are typically more respected than younger universities.<sup>20</sup> The reference to ‘older’ and ‘newer’ universities is usually based on the distinction between former polytechnic institutions (Boliver 2011; NCIHE 1997)<sup>21</sup> which were able to become universities after the Further and Higher Education Act 1992 and the pre 1992 universities. That typically older universities are more esteemed is also evident in their association with Russell Group universities which is a group of Vice-Chancellors; the group consists of 24 self-selected institutions, including 22 older universities plus the University of Warwick and the University of York, with a focus on ‘maintaining the very best research, an outstanding teaching and learning experience and unrivalled links with business and the public sector’ (Russell Group 2017, p.3). It is also evident in rankings that include many aspects of universities’ successes, which usually place older universities higher than new ones (with Oxford and Cambridge usually the top two) (Boliver, 2015).<sup>22</sup> Rankings have been heavily criticised for reinforcing existing statuses and the rankings try to provide an idea of ‘quality’, but this ‘quality’ is tied up with other factors, such as the resources and numbers of students (Boliver, 2015). It is claimed that there is a consistent cycle whereby Russell Group universities recruit the best (elite) students and receive the most funding (Brown and Baker, 2007). For instance, Brown and Baker’s (2007) research emphasises ‘progressively deepening divisions between institutions in terms of cultural and educational prestige, finance, resources and the level of privilege enjoyed by their students’ (p. 378). For the purpose of this research, elite universities are conceptualised as those that have a public reputation for being ‘prestigious’ and that have high entry requirements, strong teaching and higher-level research, generally giving students an economic advantage once they graduate (Chevalier and Conlon 2003; Power and Whitty 2008).

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<sup>20</sup> with exceptions such as the University of Warwick, which was founded in 1965.

<sup>21</sup> Polytechnics formed the other part of the binary policy in higher education from the 1960s until 1992. These institutions awarded degrees such as higher diplomas, undergraduate degrees and post graduate education through the UK Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA) and focussed on applied and vocational training and study (Tight, 2009). This was not part of the Robbins’ recommendations in 1963 (CHE, 1963).

<sup>22</sup> There are three that Boliver compares in her study; The Complete University Guide, The Times Ranking and the Guardian University Guide. The first two are based on the same indicators while the Guardian also adds measures of teaching quality and student satisfaction (Boliver, 2015)

When discussing philanthropy in charities and philanthropic funding at HEIs, it is helpful to distinguish the different regulatory frameworks. While the charity sector is regulated by the Charity Commission for England and Wales, most HEIs are exempt from registration and regulation by the commission (OfS, 2018) and report to the Office for Students (OfS) that was created in 2018 following the closure of the previous regulator, the HEFCE.

In higher education, the perception that the allocation of research funding exacerbates existing inequalities in the sector is also reflected in assumed disparities in the distribution of funds in philanthropic giving to higher education. Grey literature has found some differences, as older and more established HEIs are assumed to dominate philanthropic income results (HEFCE 2014; HEFCE 2012b; Squire 2014; Ross-CASE survey 2007-2017). This observation was previously found in a study by Breeze et al. (2011) on fundraising income in European universities, which asserted that 'not all universities are equally endowed with the same fundraising capacities' (p.1179) and elite universities were performing better overall and had an advantage in fundraising.

In the UK, prestige is also often linked to the founding age of the universities (Boliver, 2015), as demonstrated by the annual Ross-CASE survey<sup>23</sup> that reports on philanthropic income in UK institutions. In this survey institutions' participation is voluntary; and thus is not a survey of the entire population of UK HE institutions, year on year. Its standing is dependent on the numbers of institutions which choose to participate. The survey treats Oxford and Cambridge as outliers to the rest of the institutions. They do this because Oxford's and Cambridge's annual philanthropic income far exceeds any other institution's achievements (Ross-CASE, 2017), for example the University of Oxford raises more than £100 million a year, while there are small offices that raise less than £10,000 a year (Ross-CASE, 2007-2017).

Currently, the Ross-CASE survey is the sole survey that specifically measures the annual philanthropic income of HEIs since the financial year 2006 published in 2007. The latest report published in 2017 for the financial year 2015/16 shows that besides the milestone of achieving £1billion in pledged 'new funds' in one year, another significant variable is the amount of actual cash received, and this figure increased from £756 million in 2014/15 to £838 million in 2015/16. The most recent results for 2015/16 also showed a large discrepancy across the means and medians (Ross-CASE survey, 2017); the mean 'new funds' income for the reported total of £1billion in 2015/16 was £9,621,702, and the median

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<sup>23</sup> Before 2014, the Ross-CASE survey was carried out by the company NatCen research and commissioned on behalf of the Ross-Group of Development directors and CASE. Since 2014, CASE has been responsible for the data collection, analysis of the data and production of the annual report. For simplification, this study will refer to the survey in all years as 'Ross-CASE survey'.

was £1,395,638. Whether these differences are related to institutions gaining an 'accumulative advantage' and whether the founding age of the institutions play a crucial role is unclear, and the current presentation and comparison of the Ross-CASE data lack a succinct method for comparing more than three years of data. In policy initiatives implemented in 2006 and 2008, such as the aforementioned CBS and MFS, concerns were expressed that they did not address the inequalities among higher- and lower-performing universities in terms of fundraising capacity (House of Commons, 2004).

## **1.4 Higher education policies**

The aforementioned changes to student numbers and the consequent expansion of the higher education system, most notably in the 1960s, 1990s and 2012, are part of a wider political, economic and ideological landscape of higher education in which philanthropy was raised as a policy issue in the early 2000s. In order to embed and justify a full study for this thesis, it is necessary to briefly highlight the related key shifts in higher education before specific examples of policy incentives are considered in more detail in 1.4.2.

### **1.4.1 Policy context since the 1960s**

The 1942 Report on Social Insurance and Allied Services (or 'Beveridge Report') was taken by the Labour Government as a blueprint for policy. The report that followed set out the basis for further legislation that was to create the foundations for the so-called Welfare State later in 1948. The legislation included the Education Act (often referred to as the 1944 Butler Education Act), the 1946 Nationalisation of the coal industry and the 1948 establishment of the National Health Service.<sup>24</sup> Following the blue print of the welfare state system in 1948, of which (higher) education formed one pillar (with the others being health, council housing and employment), the changes to higher education were part of these wider changes.

As a result of the post war vision for expanding higher education in Great Britain, seven new universities were built in England in the 1960s and by 1970/1, there were nearly half a million full-time students at HEIs (Halsey, 2000). The Robbins report was commissioned by the First Lord of the Treasury in 1961, and its final report, published in 1963, included 178 recommendations. These recommendations included moving from elite to mass higher education and opening up the elitist university system to enable access by students from less privileged socio-economic backgrounds (CHE, 1963), but the review did not suggest how the expanding system would be financed (Callender, 2014). One of the main political, ideological and economic shifts that took place in higher education is related to the change

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<sup>24</sup> The Education Act was named after the Conservative politician R.A. Butler. The Act enabled several changes to the provision and governance of secondary schools in England and Wales.

in financing higher education that resulted from the large expansion in student numbers since the 1960s. As mentioned above, the number of students increased in the period 1980-2000, but the level of funding did not increase and funding in real terms declined, as shown in Figure 1.2 (p.13). Since the start of the 20th century, student numbers have increased 10-fold and as a result, the per capita decline in public funding to higher education has required new attention to income sources for HEIs<sup>25</sup> (Levidow, 2004) such as philanthropy. The role of students has also changed with the introduction of tuition fees. Whilst this is a complex transformation, students have transitioned from being beneficiaries to customers who can make demands and expect a good delivery of service (Lewis 2014; Szekeres 2006).

By the 1980s, financing the expansion of the higher education system resulted in financial difficulty that led to political and economic changes, marketisation and cuts, driven by neo-liberal policies (McClure 2016; Moodie 2014; Marginson, 2013, McGettigan 2013; Levidow, 2004; Berdahl 1990) and marking a global change in higher education policies. In the UK, as the funding system became unsustainable (Barr and Crawford, 2005) in the Conservative Party's view, students were asked to contribute to their education with the introduction of loans to cover living costs, whilst universities were encouraged to find external funding with research, contracts and donations (Williams, 1997) from the 1990s onwards. This change suggests what Carpentier (2012) argued to be the 'transformation of the income structure in which the UK was driven by private funding' (p. 369). Carpentier (2012, 2006, 2004) found that public funding increased from 50 percent to 90 percent between 1945 and the 1970s. Since then, the level of funding has fallen in real terms below 1950s levels. While public funding has decreased, private funding 're-emerged after the 1970s decrease of public funding' (Carpentier 2012; Halsey 2000).

Cost sharing was established in the Education Acts of 1988 and Further and Higher Education Act 1992, through which the funding and administration for England and Wales changed. The first act set up the student loans system that was required to run the maintenance loans provided by the second act a few years later (Further and Higher Education Act, 1992). By the 1990s, the student maintenance grants were determined based on parental income and there were no fees for study, but students had to take loans to cover their maintenance. In 1998, student tuition fees were introduced, politically and ideologically shifting the understanding of whose responsibility it was to pay for higher education, which had been conceived of as a public good (Naidoo and Williams 2014; Collini 2012; Tilak

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<sup>25</sup> Higher education institutions (HEIs) are used here interchangeably with the term universities, but the higher education sector and HEIs also consist of further education colleges as mentioned earlier in this chapter. Further education colleges are part of the sector, and although their philanthropic income is accounted for, it is comparatively very low (less than £10,000 per annum), which is why collected data will not specifically refer to the colleges as an individual group.

2008; Calhoun 2006). The system was now one in which students were expected to contribute to their education, because higher education was perceived as a private good (Dill 2012; BIS 2011; Dill 2005; Barr 2004; NCIHE 1997). The debates were essentially about the values and benefits of higher education to society, students, and taxpayers, with the purpose of universities at the core (Marginson 2013; Marginson 2011).

The period from the 1990s onward has been characterised by a steady and consistent reduction in state frontiers, in which institutions have been asked to drive competition in a marketplace environment and find ways to achieve excellence, stay independent from government funding and be sustainable (Tight 2009; DfES 2003; NCIHE 1997). Through the Education Act 1992, the sector expanded and the binary system of polytechnic institutions and universities was abandoned and merged the sector that had previously consisted of 41 universities expanded to 146 overnight. These institutions had to compete for government funding, which did not increase proportionately (Graham, 2008). In 1997, more than 30 years after the Robbins report, another review of the higher education system was implemented with the recommendations by the Dearing Report. What Robbins did not address in his review was how the increasingly expensive system could be financed. The National Committee of Inquiry Into Higher Education's [NCIHE] 1997 report 'Higher Education In The Learning Society' (often referred to as 'Dearing Report (and hereafter: the Dearing report) was named after its chair) on the other hand, made far-reaching recommendations on sharing costs with students for paying for higher education (NCIHE, 1997). The report followed a review, led by Sir Ronald Dearing and was commissioned by Conservative Prime Minister John Major to review funding of British higher education and make recommendations to resolve funding and sustainability problems (Wyness, 2009). The report's recommendations were published less than a year before the Labour Party won the election and were adopted by Labour. The report identified that 'while growth in student numbers has been accompanied by real growth in total public expenditure on higher education, the level of public funding per student (measured in constant prices) has fallen since at least 1976' (NCIHE 1997, para 19). This key message furthered market-driven privatisation, as seen in previous areas of public service such as broadcasting, health services, national defence and law courts. The Dearing report aimed 'to encourage the student to see him/herself as an investor in receipt of a service, and to seek, as an investor, value for money and a good return from the investment' (1997, chap. 22, paragraph. 19). This enabled further changes and the introduction of tuition fees of £1,200 in 1998 (Barr, 2004) that were directly paid by students. Until 1998, the vast majority of undergraduate

students did not pay fees, as these were covered by local authorities, who also administered the grant system.<sup>26</sup>

The 2004 Higher Education Act (Higher Education Act, 2004) enabled further changes to the funding of HEIs and set out a process for top-up tuition fees in England and Wales, which rose to £3,000 per annum and a loan of the same value by 2006. Following the Dearing report's recommendations, the Act also signified an important shift in the way higher education was financed by shifting the responsibility of paying for education to an individual, the student, rather than the public (Hillmann 2016; Callender 2014; Hillman 2013; Barr 2004). In England, the latest, and a key step in how higher education further unfolded its financial structure, was put in place with the recommendations to change to tuition fees which were implemented in 2012, following the Independent Review chaired by Lord Browne. The review's (BIS, 2010) recommendations were published in a report (hereafter: Browne report)) which made far reaching recommendations to the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition government to increase tuition fees up to a cap of £9,000, and implement a loan system to further shift the responsibility to the student as the main beneficiary (BIS 2011; Collini 2010). The review also recommended a major shift in the way universities should be seen as regulated in the market by student choice and their consumer demand and this shift was criticised for changing the purpose and idea of higher education (Rice 2011; Collini 2010). The economic argument for the introduction of tuition fees and grants stated that it would sustain funding (Dill 2005; Barr 2004; Greenaway and Haynes 2003) and apply economic efficiencies (Barr, 2004). Nonetheless, the ongoing changes, including the rise in tuition fees up to £9,250 a year, continue to be heavily criticised by institutions, academics and students, because the drive to make students customers also changes the relationship between student and teachers and questions the role and purpose of universities in society (Bunce, Baird and Jones 2017; Collini 2017; Collini 2012; Marginson 2011; Rice 2011; Collini 2010). In a speech on 19 February 2018, Prime Minister Theresa May acknowledged that students were left with too much debt when they left university, and a review of tuition fees is planned (UK Government, 2018). In summary of the major shifts and policy changes to and in higher education, the change from a relatively small number of students attending universities in the 1940s with full grants, to a mass system in which students are expected to 'invest' in their fees and pay a much larger contribution than in the 1960s has been substantial and far reaching.

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<sup>26</sup> Exceptions included those studying for a second undergraduate degree.

### **1.4.2 Policymaking and philanthropy in the 2000s**

So far, however, there has been little discussion about the role of philanthropy in policy processes or the actual process of policymaking in the UK. Levin (2001) observes the policymaking process where government usually sets a number of objectives to achieve in for example welfare and health, as 'complex' and suggested that a major obstacle is that 'policies that emerge from the political process are rarely clear and unambiguous' (p. 143). Furthermore, Wyness (2010) points out 'literature reveals that the complexities of the task, and the self-interest and the ability of the policy makers, frequently result in confusion and ineffective policy' (p. 35). Similarly, Clough (2009) observes that the 'complexity and imprecise' nature of the process of government policymaking often leads to unintended outcomes. In addition, Davies et al. (2000) argue 'that the evidence (however constructed) can be independently observed and verified and that there is a broad consensus to its contents (if not interpretation)' (p.2). This ambiguous nature in which general policy is formed is also seen in educational policy, in which scholars Ball and Junemann (2012) note that 'education policy, as other policy fields within government, is now thought, influenced and implemented in many sites and the education community is increasingly diverse and unstable' (p. 646). The observation by Ball and Junemann (2012) regarding the changing circumstances raises questions about the 'boundary between state and civil society' (Bevir and Rhodes 2003, p.42) and between government and the economy (Ball and Junemann, 2012). The unclear boundaries, as Jessop (1996) points out, leave questions regarding the way in which policy cycles move and how the group of players involved in policy expands. The idea of policy cycles, of items moving along rationally from legitimation to evaluation to implementation (Weible and Sabatier, 2018) is also regarded as 'an ideal-type to compare with more realistic stories of complexity and unpredictable policymaking' (Cairney 2016, p. 16).

Putting these problems into the context of philanthropy, an unclear picture emerges where despite recent attention, the role of philanthropy and its seemingly sudden appearance in the 2000s remains a relatively underexplored field. In British politics, philanthropy has been a minor feature, though an emerging international scholarship has begun to pay attention to philanthropy in the public policy process (Jung, Phillips and Harrow 2016; Reich, Cordelli and Bernholz 2016; Wiepking and Handy 2015; Villadsen 2011; Schuyt 2010). This follows the influence by North American scholarship to bring philanthropy into higher education. For example in the 1990s the US scholarship focussed on the principle of raising funds in US higher education (Brubacher and Rudy 1997; Worth and Asp 1994; Brittingham and Pezzullo 1990) followed by a more recent attention and nuanced arguments on professionalising fundraising (Proper and Caboni 2014; Caboni 2003), new theoretical approaches (Drezner

and Huehls, 2014) and a generally more concerted effort to discuss the role of philanthropy and fundraising in higher education (Shaker and Nathan 2017; Bernstein 2013; Gose 2013; Drezner 2013; Drezner 2011; Caboni 2003). More recent work has also started to draw out some key ideas on the role of fundraisers in the process of obtaining donations and the role of the workforce of and as fundraisers (e.g. Shaker and Nathan 2017).<sup>27</sup> It is important to recognise this body of literature as a reference point for UK practice because some UK policy documents suggest and (some ) Vice chancellors express the view that North American HE philanthropic practices, which are held to be advanced because of the large endowments established and sustained, have relevance as a model for UK universities to emulate.<sup>28</sup> <sup>29</sup> However, while these references are made it is also crucial to note the important difference between UK and US systems more broadly and to highlight the difference in the size of university endowments. For example, scholars Proper (2009) and Wright (2001) found that there are various differences between the two countries' history, culture, politics and economic settings<sup>30</sup> that suggest a comparison to the US is often unfavourable. The differences result in a different outlook on the role of philanthropy, giving ethos, attitude and behaviour and Wright (2001) also argues that the differences impact on the public/private expectations, attitudes towards money and wealth, and tax policy.

With regards to university endowments, the Sutton Trust report also raises the point of the variation in endowment sizes within the UK where the report points out that in 2003 'only 5 UK universities have endowments worth at least £100 million, compared with 207 US universities'. The report's findings are still relevant and whilst an updated report, ten years later acknowledged 'some growth in fundraising in British universities' (Sutton Trust 2014, p.3), the differences in endowment sizes to the US remain. It is useful to recognise the developments, especially from the point of view of academic research and to recognise the push to increase fundraising and philanthropic giving in the UK which resulted from a comparison and knowledge of what has been and is achieved in the US. Yet, it is questionable how applicable the research is for academia and practice in the UK given the vast differences.

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<sup>27</sup> The visibly increasing number of scholars paying attention to philanthropy in higher education is also illustrated in the appearance of the dedicated journal for higher education and philanthropy called 'Philanthropy and Education' that was established in 2017 in the US.

<sup>28</sup> An endowment fund is defined as 'a form of charitable trust which is retained for the benefit of the institution. The main purpose of an endowment is to be invested, so that the total asset value will increase and create another source of income for the university. Endowments are a way of protecting universities from short-term economic pressures and allowing freedom for the institutions greater control over how to use its assets' (The Sutton Trust 2014, p.4).

<sup>29</sup>For example, the 2003 White Paper 'The Future of Higher Education' (DfES, 2003) started to discuss philanthropy (see chapter 2, section 2.3.2) using examples from the US referring to the successes of endowments and in the 2004 expert-led Task Force report 'Voluntary Giving' also makes regular reference to the US.

<sup>30</sup> For example in relation to philanthropy, the differences result in a different outlook on the role of philanthropy, giving ethos, attitude and behaviour. In addition, she found that in terms of attitudes there are differences in the public/private expectations, attitudes towards money and wealth, and tax policy.

The policy attention from the British government increased specifically in higher education in the early 2000s (DfES 2004; DfES 2003) as a result of the implementation of two policies, a capacity building scheme and a match funding scheme, which encouraged a culture of philanthropy (DCSF, 2007).<sup>31</sup>

The first scheme was the 2006-2008 Universities UK<sup>32</sup> administered Capacity Building Scheme (Hereafter: CBS). The purpose of the scheme was to offer universities a match funding opportunity for additional posts within their fundraising function for three years. In 2012, HEFCE reported that the scheme had offered a total of £1.25 million per annum to 27 universities and provided up to £125,000 for each year of the scheme (HEFCE, 2012b). The scheme's objective was to contribute to a growing workforce in higher education fundraising, in which these new posts would not only make a short-term difference but also have a long-term impact so that by 2009, the universities would be in position to commit to funding these posts on a permanent basis (HEFCE, 2012a).

The second scheme, the 2008-2011 HEFCE Match Funding Scheme (Hereafter: MFS), aimed to encourage further giving to higher education in England by matching donations to institutions through a fund of £200 million (CASE, 2008).<sup>33</sup> The scheme raised £540 million in total for English universities, but the value of schemes such as the MFS has not been studied extensively in academic literature (Warren, Hoyler and Bell, 2014). However, the grey literature has solely discussed the positive outcomes of the MFS (HEFCE 2012a; 2012b). While the 2013 Ross-CASE survey reports the 'continued growth in fundraising' (p.1), the same report also suggests that the MFS has 'left a legacy of investments in fundraising across the sector and has increased the willingness of alumni and others to make philanthropic investments in higher education' (Ross-CASE 2013, p.1). The scheme's administrators, HEFCE, concluded that the MFS was very successful (HEFCE 2012a; 2012b); however, no studies have researched why philanthropy was introduced to the policy agenda in those years. Understanding the reasons for the attention of these policies to philanthropy would increase the understanding of the role of philanthropy in policymakers' eyes as a solution to a funding problem (Ball, 2012) that is far more complex as a process and a concept than perceived. Evidence will be given throughout this thesis in which both

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<sup>31</sup> There are also other schemes such as gift aid, payroll giving and tax breaks for higher tax earners that are applicable to the wider charity sector and HEIs' charitable functions. As these are not specific to HEIs, the thesis will only focus on specific schemes that were applicable to HEIs.

<sup>32</sup> In 1918 Universities UK started as a group of 22 Vice-Chancellors and by 1930 it was agreed to formalise this group known until 2000 as the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals (CVCP). Universities' UK role is to advocate for universities in the UK and to support and promote universities' work (Universities UK, 2018)

<sup>33</sup> A separate scheme was implemented in Wales that provided £10 million from the Higher Education Council for Wales (HEFCW). Two capped tiers were available for institutions to choose from, similar to the scheme in England (HEFCE, 2012).

policies are used as examples to understand how and under which circumstances policy is applied and how this influences fundraising practices in the sector and across institutions.

It is also noted that policy attention to philanthropy in higher education decreased after the schemes and the 2014 HEFCE commissioned report 'An emerging profession: The higher education philanthropy workforce' (2014), discussed more in 2.3, notes this. This is similar to other sectors that previously received policy attention. Between the New Labour and the Conservative Coalition Government, the UK voluntary sector received on and off attention (Zimmeck and Rochester 2013; Zimmeck 2010). For example, there was a high level of attention to the voluntary sector under the New Labour government from 1997-2010, and a renewal in interest during the creation of the Office of Civil Society in 2012, but these phases were followed by periods of limited attention. The period of increased policy attention on the voluntary sector around the turn of the millennium was found to streamline outsourcing of services and to improve public services with help of the voluntary organisations' expertise and experience in delivering these services (Zimmeck and Rochester, 2013). Policies were also introduced to incentivise volunteering by honouring high-profile volunteers publicly and promoting this as a social standard (Zimmeck and Rochester, 2013). Since the increased attention the voluntary sector has received less attention and is currently no longer considered as a priority in policy.

With regards to philanthropy and raising funds in higher education, there is also little knowledge of the involvement of the various stakeholders, such as government, students, donors and those who ask for donations, the fundraisers. Fundraisers for example have, according to previous research a role to play, as scholar Bekkers (2005) estimated that 95% of all donations to non-profit organisations are made in response to a direct process of asking and soliciting a donation. Since it was found that the actual act of giving only happens as a result of being prompted by someone asking for a donation, this requires examination in the context of their role in institutions. Fundraisers' professional status however is unclear and requires examining as a separate entity or part of already changing professional identities in higher education (Whitchurch, 2008). For example, researchers such as Daly (2010) have started to argue that they are a 'new profession' (Daly, 2013). In this context, fundraisers' status within large and hierarchical higher education institutions might be particularly important to investigate as their status might be potentially complex and likely to be underexplored (Breeze, 2017), if their professional status is 'new'. The multifaceted aspect of a fundraiser's role is also highlighted by Breeze's (2017) definition which said that fundraisers are 'a type of creative professional' (p.187), which she justifies by saying that fundraisers 'do not just plan, manage and implement the solicitation process – there is also a

large dose of creativity involved' (p.17). In terms of the workforce numbers in higher education, the number of fundraisers has been on a steady rise, as reported by the Ross-CASE survey that noted the number of fundraisers more than doubled from 660 in 2005/06 to 1,464 in 2015/16 (Ross-CASE 2007-2017). However, this workforce is considerably understudied (Alborough 2017; Breeze 2017) and has been argued to be low in number in comparison to staff numbers in other university departments (Times Higher Education, 2014). The increase in the number of fundraisers in higher education is also part of a wider trend of professionalising fundraising in higher education. Almost every university now has a professional fundraising office (Squire, 2014)<sup>34</sup>, provides regular training<sup>35</sup> and shares best practice amongst countries, institutions and departments at conferences and seminars (HEFCE, 2014). Other contributions include learning and increasing knowledge about fundraising techniques (Sargeant and Jay 2014; Holman and Sargeant 2012; Levy 2009). For example, some of these techniques include direct marketing mailings or major gift fundraising asking. In addition, approaches to donors are considered in strategic ways to demonstrate the funding need and how this becomes part of the overall institution's vision (Shaker and Nathan, 2017). A cultural change to a donor-based approach, an approach to listen to what donors are interested in and focussing on understanding their motivations for giving, has also been observed. In this the donors become a more central concern and are understood as part of institutions' mission rather than an institution focussing on their own funding needs. As a result, donors are offered more involvement to foster a relationship between them and institutions that is not just about the exchange of money (Tempel, Seiler and Burlingame 2016; Burk 2003; Burnett 2002).

### **1.5 Aim and contribution of this study**

The introduction of this thesis has illustrated that while philanthropy as a field of study is emerging (Schuyt, 2010), it is also a contested concept within the academic literature (Daly, 2012) and is criticised for its negative association with elitism and the rich (Ostrower, 1995). In practice, although universities' fundraising income has been increasing year-on-year since the first Ross-CASE survey was undertaken in 2006 (Ross-CASE; 2007-2017), a large discrepancy in the performance of different HEIs is often assumed to result from inequalities and existing privileges in the funding of elite universities, with reference to their total fundraised income (Breeze et al., 2011). What is missing in academic research is a study that investigates the relationship between government policies on HEI funding and

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<sup>34</sup> Fundraising offices frequently entail fundraisers at major and lower level giving, work with alumni, communication and marketing and specific events organisation for tailored occasions.

<sup>35</sup> For example there is the Council for Advancement and Support of Education (CASE), provider of the Ross-CASE survey and data which serves as a non-profit association of educational institutions for professionals in fundraising and organises a regular training programme in many parts of the world, including the UK.

encouragement of philanthropy and some of the underlying factors behind the policy interventions from a perspective of those who work with, apply these policies within their organisations, the fundraisers. This study accomplishes these aims by examining policy interventions that foster philanthropic giving in context to understand the role that philanthropy and fundraising plays in the provision of UK higher education.

The approach of this study is deliberately chosen to be from an 'insider' perspective as opposed to the 'outsider' researcher (Le Gallais 2008; Le Gallais 2003; Hockey 1993). The researcher of this thesis, as reflected on in more detail in chapter 3 section 2, considers herself to be an 'insider' researcher (Le Gallais 2008; Brannick and Coghlan 2007) to higher education and to fundraising practices within the sector. This insider perspective is concerned with 'the study of one's own social group or society' (Naples 2003, p. 46) and provides benefits in terms of knowledge, access and interaction. On the other hand, the outsider perspective is defined by Greene (2014) as a perspective of those who do not have 'priori knowledge of the community under study, nor its members' (p.3). This requires a full reflection to mitigate any potential research problems that arrive from such a stance (Le Gallais 2008; Hockey 1993). This also needs to include the consideration of the benefit of an outsider's argued impartiality that can influence the claims made for objectivity, bias in and validity of research (Greene 2014; Hubbard, Backett-Milburn and Kemmer 2001). Nevertheless, the positioning of the researcher of this study having insider knowledge provides this research with a range of opportunities (Le Gallais 2008; Brannick and Coghlan 2007; Hockey 1993). The more detailed reflection on the positioning in section 3.3 will embed the debates on the insider versus and outsider debate that exist within the literature and have added value to the reflection. For example, the insider perspective provides this thesis with the benefit of a set up that is informed and close to the 'real' world of fundraising practitioners (Le Gallais 2008; Brannick and Coghlan 2007). The knowledge of the insider researcher also helped to set a clear direction and focus for this study. In addition, the chosen methodological approach recognises the underlying challenges and dynamics within the changing and highly pressured higher education sector and takes into account the diverse and complex system.

This research sets out to address some of the gaps in this field of study by bringing together the disjointed literatures of philanthropy, higher education management and social policy process theories. Because philanthropy is not investigated as widely as it could be within academic social policy research, the various British governments' perceptions of the role of philanthropy and fundraising in the funding debate is unclear. To

date, no scholars have made more than a cursory attempt to embed theories on philanthropic influence within other well-developed formal theories or in the policy process. This thesis contributes to the emerging field of philanthropic studies and to social policy research through aiding understanding of how the role of philanthropy and fundraising has been constructed and used in the policy process in the 21st century. It also adds to our understanding of how policies influence philanthropy's role within these institutions and the boundaries around different types of provision. These questions in turn inform contemporary discussion of the role of philanthropy in the changing higher education setting, ideologically and politically and what role actors, such as fundraisers, can play within their institutions.

The three-fold original contribution of this thesis is as follows:

- 1) First, this research brings together three separate literatures in academia—philanthropy, higher education management and social policy—that have either discussed philanthropic funding or discussed the shift of higher education from a private to a public good (Barr 2004; NCIHE 1997). Social policy has so far engaged with philanthropy in a very limited capacity; this research shows that there is much value to be added if policy process theories are applied to philanthropic funding as a serious concept of study. This has not been performed before, so this study will make a new contribution to multiple fields. Higher education management literature would benefit from further understanding the role of philanthropy in the changing debates about challenges and ideas in the neo-liberal driven university sector. Philanthropic studies would benefit from a study that provides insights from a social policy angle, as recent studies have predominantly focussed on studies in sociology, anthropology, psychology and economics. This interdisciplinary approach will add value to these fields and suggests implications for policy and practitioners that will enable the development of a concept of philanthropy in higher education in the UK.
- 2) The thesis' second contribution is to demonstrate the application of a particular explanatory theory, in the policy process field (the MSA), to the operation of philanthropy in UK higher education; and in so doing, identifies further strengths and limitations of this theoretical model. Kingdon's idea of the policy window is tested and this thesis is adding to the understanding of the particular aspect of Kingdon's model. The MSA is applied to understand the perceived sudden attention of policy in this area, empirical data is collected from different sources to investigate the role of philanthropy and fundraising in the policy-making process. By doing so, the research will also contribute to the academic debates in the UK and internationally on declining public funding in higher education, the policy process and the role of the state in

providing higher education. These issues are examined here for the first time through the lens of a different actor; the fundraisers. With help of the well-known MSA theory the attention to philanthropy will be examined and by doing so this will be expanding the MSA's large field of application, as the most recent scholarship in this field suggests hypothesis production and testing of the framework (Cairney 2018; Cairney and Jones 2016; Cairney and Zahariadis 2016). The limitations of the MSA theory in this context lead to the application of further theories tested in this study and have led to the final contribution of this thesis.

- 3) The third contribution is the identification and examination of a new stakeholder in the policy process: the fundraiser. Until recently, fundraisers have been mostly neglected in the literature (Jung, Phillips and Harrow 2016; Moody and Breeze 2016; Reich, Cordelli and Bernholz 2016; Wiepking and Handy 2015; Breeze et al., 2011; Villadsen 2011). Due to the limitations of the MSA in explaining policy actors' role and influences in delivering policy, a second theory is applied: the concept of Street-Level-Bureaucrats (SLBs), introduced by Lipsky in 1980s. This thesis will contribute to this debate by introducing a new type of bureaucrats: the fundraisers. While this advances the literature engaging with the SLBs, the theory also needs to be adapted for the role of fundraising in the policy process in institutions, incorporating internal bureaucracy and settings not covered by the SLBs and the dangers that being put at "front line" in such roles might impose for fundraisers needs to be examined. This study therefore contributes to emerging literature on fundraisers, provides the field a first attempt to examine a campus level role that could shape and help advance future studies in this area and encourages consideration of the role of other actors in setting and applying policy agendas.

## **1.6 Structure of this thesis**

After this introductory chapter, this thesis is divided into five further chapters. Chapter 2 reviews relevant literature in higher education literature and policy process theories that can be linked to studies in philanthropy and highlights the small academic social policy interest in the topic of philanthropy in higher education. It identifies gaps and opportunities to embed philanthropy and highlights how the changing pressures and landscape of higher education have influenced the way scholars and society think about universities, their ideas and public purpose, which in turn has also influenced and changed the way universities are financed. Philanthropy does not feature in this literature, but other concepts can be useful, such as that of professionalism in higher education, to understand the role of fundraisers in the process. Social policy theory currently does not pay much attention to philanthropy but offers opportunities to apply concepts such as the MSA to establish a conceptual framework for

this study. The research gap identified in this literature review is that we do not know enough about the role of philanthropy in the policy process and the role fundraisers play in delivering policy. The research questions that emerge thus focus on understanding the role of policy incentives, philanthropy and fundraisers in higher education.

Chapter 3 presents the methodological approach of this thesis. The methodology chapter draws on the theoretical framework set out in chapter 2 and employs a multi-method, interlinked approach. Semi-structured interviews with senior fundraising professionals, case studies created with archival records from selected HEIs and basic quantitative descriptive statistics are employed. The chapter discusses the different elements and key characteristics of each sample, reflects on the process and considers how my own position as a fundraising practitioner has impacted this research. The chapter then also addresses the main ethical concerns, such as informed consent, confidentiality, anonymity and data storage.

Chapter 4 is one of two findings chapters, uncovering the historic tensions and continuities of funding between sources such as direct state and philanthropic funding. This chapter offers an original contribution to knowledge by uncovering a more complex ongoing shift of funding higher education from private to public and to private again, not just looking at a shift from public to private as is often assumed. In the second part of this chapter the seemingly sudden policy attention to philanthropy, initiated in the 2003 White Paper, is scrutinised. This is examined through the lens of Kingdon's MSA and with data from fundraising professionals, several aspects that have contributed to this increasing attention, including political, ideological and economic drivers, the professionalisation of fundraising since the late 1980s, and funding pressures for HEIs to increase their fundraising activity are discussed.

In chapter 5, the responses of the 15 interviewed fundraising professionals are examined with regard to their different perceptions of the size and practices in the fundraising sector, in higher education and its policy application. The varied application of policy found in the data can be explained by different factors, and one plausible explanation aided by the understanding of fundraisers in the policy process is linked to the spectrum of varied responses. This spectrum illuminates the restrictions and boundaries that fundraisers have to work with as so-called Campus-Level-Bureaucrats, a concept developed in this chapter from Lipsky's original Street-Level-Bureaucrat and salient stakeholder theory by Mitchell,

Agle and Wood (1997) to examine the limitations on their influence compared to those of the main stakeholders involved.

In the final chapter, the thesis a concluding discussion is provided that presents concise answers to the two research questions posed in this study. It will also discuss where the theoretical framework has been left at the end of this, before reflecting on the specific limitations of this thesis. Finally, future research directions following this study are proposed.

## **CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter reviews the relevant literature in social policy theory and higher education management and establishes links across the literature where the connection with philanthropy, the role of professionalisation of fundraisers and their and philanthropy's role in the policy process and changing funding mix is less defined. This chapter will be linked to philanthropy's complex and contested role that was highlighted in chapter 1.

Literature in higher education covers discussions on governance and management and the risk of losing academic freedom (Karran 2007; Barnett 1997; Berdahl 1990) the role of professional identities (Whitchurch 2008; Whitchurch 2007; Whitchurch 2006; Clarke 2004), and funding-related debates (Carpentier 2012; Carpentier 2006; Barr and Crawford 2005; Barr 2004; Barr 1993). This literature discusses how the field of higher education has changed and universities have consequently changed from public to private goods (Williams 2016; Naidoo and Williams 2014; Collini 2012; Nixon 2011) but philanthropy as a topic is rarely discussed within this field. Social policy theory literature refers to a wide range of issues that covers institutions, networks, socio-economic processes, choices and ideas (John, 2003). Within this field, social policy process theories that unfold how the policy process works are valuable to investigate.

While an emerging literature acknowledges the presence of philanthropy in public policy (Jung, Philips and Harrow 2016; Reich, Cordelli and Bernholz 2016; Wiepking and Handy 2015; Breeze et al. 2011; Villadsen 2011), scholars have not applied policy process theories to examine philanthropy's role and the policies that foster philanthropic giving. As a result, this review intends to bring these different fields together, highlight where they already overlap and examine the use of concepts dealing with the policy process and other theories such as Street-Level Bureaucrats (Lipsky 2010 [1984]) and Salient Stakeholder theory (Mitchell, Agle and Wood, 1997) in critically examining a potential role for fundraisers in the policy process. At the end of this chapter, the examined literature will be synthesized, and the gaps identified will lead to the research questions of this thesis.

### **2.2 Overview of the relationship between the state and HEIs/higher education as a field**

The first part of this review examines the changing nature of the relationship between the state and HEIs and draws out major points from debates in social policy, specifically in

higher education literature referring to universities. It shows a shift in how we understand higher education's purpose and also illustrates how the ongoing debate of whether higher education is a public or private good unfolds. The first section examines the idea of a university.

### **2.2.1 The idea of a university sustained**

The idea of a university has been debated throughout the existence of universities and in more recent years has featured more regularly in academic debates (O'Byrne and Bond 2014; Hillman 2013; Collini 2012; Bailey and Freeman 2011; Holmwood 2011; Tilak 2008; Anderson 2006; Barnett 1997; Williams 1997) due to changes to the education system examined in 1.4.1. In this context, it is important to understand the origins of the idea of a university, often referred to as the 'classic' idea of a university. This idea, a utilitarian notion of a university education, was initiated by Cardinal John Newman, a clergyman and Oxford academic, who published a series of lectures in 1852. In Newman's words, a university is

... a place of teaching universal knowledge. This implies that its object is, on the one hand, intellectual, not moral; and, on the other, that it is the diffusion and extension of knowledge rather than the advancement. If its object were scientific and philosophical discovery, I do not see why a University should have students; ... From the Preface, *The Idea of a University* (1852) in Newman 2008, p. ix)

In Newman's view, the main purpose of universities is to extend knowledge and if it is a research centre a university does not need students. His early ideas have continued to be the guiding principles in many scholars' works (Rothblatt 2006; Walsh 2003; Turner 1996; Heyck 1987), and there has been a sustained interest in the idea of a university in more recent years (Holmwood 2014; O'Byrne and Bond 2014; Hillman 2013; Collini 2012; Holmwood 2011; Bailey and Freeman 2011; Tilak 2008; Anderson 2006; Williams 1997; Berdahl 1990).

O'Byrne and Bond (2014), for example, developed a model of three conflicting paradigms that they believe reflect the contestation between different approaches in UK higher education. They suggest, along with Bond (1996), that universities have an uncomfortable position between different and opposing models. The models come from a changing idea of universities and the move away from an elitist idea to a much larger and more inclusive system. The first model is the intellectual model, championed by academics, that focusses on the value of knowledge, its acquisition, free and critical thinking and engagement. The second model is the managerial model in which policy makers, regulatory bodies and

management in universities focus on performance indicators such as league tables and processes to ensure quality. The third model is consumerism in which students, parents, employers and media focus on the side of the consumer, and their satisfaction is expressed through student surveys and a regular 'value for money' comparison. The three models help deepen the understanding of the conflicting ideas within the universities that cannot achieve one goal. O'Byrne and Bond (2014) go on to suggest a triologue model, realising that the three models co-exist and that they are all influential and important for different stakeholders but also acknowledging that the conflicting ideas create increasing problems. They suggest that if the extreme views of the models are removed, 'a consensus of core values is still achievable and herein may reside the idea of the university for the current century' (2014, p. 583). However, it is also noted that O'Byrne and Bond's pragmatic solutions would also require a supportive leadership in universities to fulfil the varied models (Waring, 2017). Their triologue model acknowledges the changes to higher education that challenge the idea of universities today. In contrast to Newman's account, one of the current views advancing this examination is that of Stefan Collini.

Collini (2012), a humanities scholar, criticises the higher education policies of consecutive governments and is concerned with what the government changes mean for the mission and idea of a university. In Collini's (2012) view, a key issue in government's alliances with favoured economic-led policies, aiming to create efficient higher education markets, is the compromise of the purpose and mission of universities. Collini (2012) is clearer about what universities are not than what they are; in his view, they are not institutions that only contribute to economic growth. This argument is also found in his latest book *Speaking on Universities* (2017), in which his own experience and observations influence the way he argues that universities contribute to more than economic growth (Williams, 2017). Collini also provides a strong account for institutions to be the power that produces and shares knowledge for and in society (Wheeler, 2017). He also points out the contrary changes within the policy sphere where major tensions between the immediate economic targets and the importance of intellectual inquiry exist (Williams, 2017). Collini argues that the focus on economic benefits is not advisable, neither for students nor the government, and will not deliver for the greater good. While he points out the shortfalls of government policymaking in this area, Williams (2017) criticises his review for not providing a better way forward and showing how policy can change to influence the higher education sector in the way that is needed.

Discussing the idea of a university is seen as a response to the transformational changes of the higher education sector that impact the traditional understanding of the knowledge and

purpose of the university, not just in the UK, but also across the globe (O'Byrne and Bond 2014; OECD 2012). A recent argument put forward by O'Byrne and Bond (2014) for the transformation of higher education is that the change of ideology can 'be seen as a consequence of a rampant neoliberalism that has come to dominate education policies' (p.571). A similar argument is proposed by Sousa, de Nijs and Hendriks (2010) and Yelder and Codling (2004), who observe a shift to neo-liberal policies impacting education and shaping the idea of a university.<sup>36</sup> Neo-liberalism is defined by Shamir (2008) 'as a complex, often incoherent, unstable and even contradictory set of practices that are organised around a certain imagination of the 'market' based social relations...' (p.3). Neo-liberal policies dominate higher education in Europe (Johnstone, 2004) and the UK (Marginson 2013, Ball 2012; Levidow 2004) but are also found in the US (McClure, 2016), marking a global change in higher education policies. Yet, it is also argued that not all changes can be related back to neo-liberalism (Birch and Mykhnenko, 2010) which means that individual arguments require careful assessment. In the 1990s, the changes in higher education included a new public management approach (NPM) (Rhodes, 1994), in which financial management became an essential part of university business that drew away from the academic focus.

### **2.2.2 Shifting ideas of the public and private good**

Closely related to the ideological shift of market-driven policies and neo-liberal debates is the perceived shift of universities from public to private goods. This study uses Dill's general definition of the public good as 'a service [that] is neither rivalrous in consumption, not excludable in ownership, and is available to all' (Dill 2012, p.1). The case for higher education as a public good and universities as public institutions is widely argued across the higher education management literature (Williams 2016; Naidoo and Williams 2014; Collini 2012; Nixon 2011; Tilak 2008) and was also part of the original idea that Lionel Robbins, a free marketer, put forward in his proposal for the expansion of the university system in the 1960s (CHE, 1963). It is argued that higher education has a public interest and therefore should be provided for by the state (Holmwood, 2011), as it benefits individuals as well as society (Callender 2014; Tilak 2008).

Within this context of the changing provision of higher education, scholars who argue that higher education is a public good suggest strongly that universities should be public institutions (Williams 2016; Naidoo and Williams 2014; Collini 2012; Tilak 2008; Nixon 2011; CHE 1963;) and higher education can only be provided by the state (Holmwood 2014; Holmwood 2011) as it is public interest and produces human capital (Nixon, 2011).

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<sup>36</sup> It is not claimed that 'neo-liberalism' is a new idea, but the ideology will only be examined in the context of the changing higher education sector in which it is a new addition.

Furthermore, higher education benefits everyone by contributing to knowledge in society and producing economic advantage with a skilled and educated workforce (OECD, 2017). However, concerns have been raised over the recent changes in the notion of the public good in higher education. For example, Holmwood (2011), a founding member of the Campaign for the Public University, edited the book *A Manifesto for the Public University* as a response to the government's 2010 Browne report (BIS 2010; BIS 2012; BIS 2011). Holmwood (2011) makes the case for economic and social benefits that everyone receives from education and argues why higher education should be publicly funded. Holmwood (2011) argues this in light of earlier ideas of the university as keepers and disseminators of universal, beneficial knowledge. He also refers back to Robbins, who in 1963 set out four key points which were: firstly 'the public benefit of a skilled and educated workforce' (1963: para 25); secondly, 'the public benefit of higher education in producing cultivated men and women' (1963: para 26); thirdly 'the public benefit of securing the advancement of learning through the combination of teaching and research within institutions' (1963: para 27) and fourthly 'the public benefit of providing a common culture and standards of citizenship' (1963: para 28) (CHE 1963, paragraph 25-28).

The case for universities as a private good is predominantly argued by economists (Barr 2010; BIS 2011; Dill 2005; Barr 2004; NCIHE 1997). The key argument put forward is that universities do not solely benefit the public but increasingly benefit the individual (Barr 2010; Barr 2004), and while economists recognise the public benefits of universities producing, for example, publications accessible to everyone in society, academic scholars' main concern is to ensure efficiency of university education (Dill, 2012). Marginson (2013) advances the debate by pointing out that others have wrongly modelled the idea, stating that 'some theories and policy makers model the outcomes of higher education in zero sum terms. Particular outcomes are either public or private in character or share each quality on a zero-sum basis' (p.2), and has been critiqued within the literature by those who see a 'third way'. The idea of the third way goes back to the work by leading British sociologist and Labour social democrat, Professor Anthony Giddens, who suggested bringing together centre-right wing economics with left wing social policies that would reflect views of modern society and politics (Alcock, 2010). The third way debate, according to Longden and Bélanger (2013), is concerned with 'who is responsible for the bottom line-the cost of provision?' (p.517) and 'how can growth continue against a decline in the unit of resource and yet retain quality of provision?' (p. 518). The third way was an alternative pathway to the public meeting in the middle of the political spectrum between the free market and neo-liberal ideas of Conservatives on the right and the social justice ideas of the left (Alcock, 2010). It is also acknowledged that 'there is no clear blue water between the "public" and the "private"

providers' (Watson 2012, p. 6) and that there are both private and public benefits which should be seen together (Marginson 2011; McMahon 2009; OECD 2008; Dill 2005), The relevance of the third way approach to the student experience is, as yet, underexplored.

The literature discussed so far has pointed to an ideological as well as political shift in the way universities and higher education are perceived, as well as where the conflicting paradigms and ideas lie. Within this notable shift, the reduction of funding has played a crucial role that was further implemented following the Dearing Review in 1997 and the 2003 White Paper 'The Future of Higher Education', which introduced philanthropy as a sustainable funding source (DfES, 2003). This idea was in line with other policies of the time through which the state moved its frontiers. Chapter 4 will examine this change and its relevance to this thesis in more detail. First, section 2.4 will link this section with a discussion of all relevant government reports and government commissioned reports to examine how philanthropy appeared and was conceptualised at the policy level, the next section will examine the social policy literature and the available policy process theories.

### **2.3 Overview of social policy theory and philanthropy - a missing link**

Having reviewed the debates surrounding the idea of a university and the shifting ideas of the public and private good in higher education, this section will now focus on relevant social policy literature examining the most relevant theories to study the aforementioned phenomena and develop some research questions in this chapter. The next section will explore in some detail theories that directly examine the policy process. The available policy process theory (PPT) literature and output theories can aid with embedding philanthropy formally in this study. The comparison of the policy process theories is used to develop a theoretical framework of agenda-and policymaking in higher education and philanthropy as philanthropy was part of new ideas in financing higher education from 2002 to 2014.

Theories of public policy analysis can be broadly categorised into two areas: first, there are theoretical approaches to analysing policy processes in the form of PPTs and theories that are more focussed on the main areas of political systems and the output of policies in different countries and systems. The PPTs are concerned with defining and establishing a problem at the stage where agendas are set and end at the point where policy is usually agreed upon (Wenzelburger, König and Wolf, 2017). The most significant theories that have been discussed in the general policy process theory literature that are worth examining in detail as part of this review and in context of this study are the Avocation Coalition Framework (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993), the Institutional Analysis Framework (Kiser and E. Ostrom, 1982), the Punctual Equilibrium Theory (Jones and Baumgartner 2012;

Baumgartner and Jones 1993), the Policy Network theory (e.g. Borgatti and Halgin 2011) and the Multiple Streams Framework (Kingdon 2003, [1995], [1984]).

The second category, also referred to as output theories, engages with large-N quantitative analysis and seeks to examine 'correlations between characteristics of a selection of countries and indicators reflecting policy outputs' (Wenzelburger, König and Wolf, 2017). As this study is focussed on how ideas of the policy process enabled philanthropy to become an agenda item and receive the notable attention documented in the previous sections, the focus will remain on the policy process theories.

Regarding the actual process of policymaking, it is important to examine the state of policy process theory literature that offers a better understanding of the ideas, steps and problems involved in policymaking (Weible and Sabatier, 2018). Policymaking occurs in a highly complex environment that contains multifaceted problems, a high level of uncertainty and high pressure to deliver in tight time frames. Policy process is understood here as what Weible et al. (2011) call 'the study of change and development of policy and the related actors, events and contexts' (p.3). To analyse the policymaking process, it is also important to understand the objectives of policy research and the interaction between the state, political actors (formal and informal) and the public (Petridou, 2014). There is a large number of PPT models and frameworks that have a long history in political science (Rawat and Morris 2016; Jones and Baumgartner 2012) and that have been developed over the past three decades (Petridou, 2014). The theories differ in scope and orientation (Meier, 2009) and are criticised by for example Schlager and Weible (2013) and Peters and Pierre (2006) for being complementary theories rather than challenging each other. Furthermore, Smith and Larimer (2018) critique the field for not having produced a single theory that can be applied to policy processes in multiple areas and enable them to be comparable. Weible et al. (2014), however, make the plausible point that the field's multitude of research with different traditions and cultures is a strength, to which Petridou (2014) adds by saying that there is conceptual development across the theories.

### **2.3.1 An overview of the main policy process theories**

A theory that is studied in social sciences and also more recently in physics, epidemiology, and biology is social network theory (here after: network theory). Network theory has found increasing attention in recent years to address the need to understand how internal networks function and enable progress beyond set organisational structures (Zweig 2016; Borgatti and Halgin 2011; Petruzzelli et al. 2010). Social network theory is defined by Borgatti and Halgin (2011) as 'a set of actors or nodes along with a set of ties of a specified type (such as

friendship) that link them' (p. 1169). The ties are important for understanding how actors are connected indirectly or directly and what impact these connections have on behaviour in organisations and structures. It is important to distinguish social network theory from theories of networks which on the other hand study the processes that regulate why networks have certain structures (Brass, 2002).

A consequence of a popular theory is that it has been applied to so many areas, for example in management research to study job performance (Sparrowe et al., 2001) or used as a diagnostic tool in management consultancy (Anklam, 2007), education (Ball, 2012) geography (Hoyler and Bell, 2014)) and higher education structures (Petruzzelli et al., 2010). For example, in the field of geography it has been examined how organisations have to access new knowledge across their institutional boundaries and geographic spaces (Warren and Bell 2014; Warren, Hoyler and Bell 2014; Owen-Smith and Powell 2004). The idea's application to universities is also noteworthy with regards to the topic of this study. Also, one study of pertinent interest to this study's topic is Petruzzelli et al.'s (2010) analysis of university network structures. They argued that inter-organisational networks support the agenda of transmitting knowledge. However, their study was only based on a sample of three London universities and cannot be assumed to be representative of the whole sector. Nevertheless, their findings highlight the importance of structures that provide ways to enable long-lasting associations and networks. This helps to understand how to create a dependable knowledge sharing environment and contributes to existing literature that recognises the crucial role of universities as knowledge gatekeepers (Alcacer and Chung 2007; Adams 2005; Audretsch, Lehmann and Warning 2005).

However, networks are problematic, as Borgatti and Halgin (2011) argued, because there is also a caché with regards to the terminology of 'networks'. This is because almost anything to do with social media, mailing lists and social media platforms such as Facebook can be described as a network. Another challenge to overcome is the 'boundary specification problem' that Laumann et al. (1983) pointed out, with the question of what constitutes a network, and where does it start and end? In addition, this is also complicated by the fact that the approach lacks a theoretical framework that can be applied and compared (Salancik, 1995). A solid framework would be important to help researchers and in particular this study, to decide on the boundaries, the set of nodes and the type of ties that define the network under study (Borgatti and Halgin, 2011).

In relation to this study's development it is important to note a study in the field of geography that has more recently started to pay attention to philanthropic giving. It has similarly found

that HEIs are global centres of knowledge. For example, Warren, Holyer and Bell (2014) and Warren and Bell (2014) specifically address questions over the role of networks and philanthropy but mainly focus on giving to elite institutions of 50 HEIs internationally. While these studies are helpful to understand the importance of networks with specific reference to philanthropic giving in the UK HEI sector, the applicability of network theory for this study is somewhat limited due to the nature of the questions that need answering in this study first that developed out of the gaps in knowledge and the literature so far examine in this chapter; the role of policy making and fundraising in an institution. The theory would be beneficial to apply to understand the dynamics of networks and potential relations within an institution once these findings are established and more is known about philanthropy and its actors in a HEI setting. Instead, what would be first useful is to examine theories that can help to assess the process in which the fostering of philanthropy happened at the national policy level and why it received notable attention on the national agenda.

A policy process theory to be discussed is the Avocation Coalition Framework (ACF) by Jenkins-Smith (1990) and Sabatier and Jenkins (1993) which was developed through case studies in the US. These particularly focussed on environmental policies and their policy subsystems (Weible et al., 2011) and examined why policies are adopted (Petridou, 2014). In this theory, beliefs are core to the framework, in which 'the rationale behind the formation of coalition, policy learning, policy change and the role of policy brokers in the policy making process' (Petridou 2014, p. 41:S1) has been studied. The theoretical focus of the main studies is on advocacy coalitions (Henry 2011; Pierce 2011; Schlager 1995) and finding explanations for policy change (Albright 2011; Nohrstedt 2005). One of ACF's main strengths is its theoretical guidance for how advocacy coalitions work, how people are engaged and how coalitions are maintained (Weible et al. 2011; Schlager 1995). Since 1995, several scholars have increasingly incorporated shared belief and coordination patterns into the model (Lubell, Henry and McCoy 2010; Weible and Sabatier 2005), and a strength of the model is the development of distinctions in theory and empirical approaches regarding policy change in coalitions (Weible et al., 2011). While the interaction of these coalitions is important, however, it is not the only driver of policy changes (Albright, 2011) which should be considered. The framework has also been challenged in its explanation of joint action and patterns (Schlager, 1995), as it only focuses on one component and cannot examine two variables (e.g. the combination of internal and external shocks) together. Another criticism is the limited application of the framework to sub-systems outside of the US (Sabatier, 1998) and diverse political structures (Weible et al., 2011). However, there are now many examples of research that apply the framework in different national contexts, such as the Pierce study from 2011 that applied the framework to the US foreign policy creation of

Israel or the comparison of the national forest programmes of Germany and Bulgaria (Winkel and Sotirov, 2011).

The Institutional Analysis and Development Framework (IAD) by Kiser and E. Ostrom (1982) seeks to understand how institutions operate and change over time and examines structural variables in institutional arrangements. The IAD focusses on action situations and not political subsystems, as the ACF does. McGinnis (2011) provides an overview of key components of the framework, including (1) inputs and contextual factors; (2) action situations in which policy choices are made; (3) Outcomes; (4) evaluation of those taking which are expressed in actions; (5) Acknowledgement that feedback and learning can impact these processes of input and actions (Ostrom, 2011). A major strength of this framework is its capability to help describe why groups are able to manage common resources without using complicated policy tools. However, the IAD has been critiqued for its selected attention to natural resources and would benefit from studying a wider range of issues (Blomquist and deLeon, 2011). Applying further areas such as socio-ecological systems (Janssen, 2011) to the framework would also diversify its application. Another criticism is that the framework is difficult to understand because of its complexity (McGinnis, 2011), despite efforts to make it easier to understand and apply. Ostrom (2011) acknowledges that there could be further research in other areas and structure change over time.

The Punctuated Equilibrium Theory (PET) by Baumgartner and Jones (1991) focusses on events that form policy dialogue and acknowledges that long periods of stability are followed by instability. During rapid changes, policy can change slowly, and the foundation of the theory is that institutions' steadiness results in stability of policy (Baumgartner and Jones 1993; Baumgartner and Jones 1991). Baumgartner and Jones (1991) are particularly interested in the quick changes that facilitate the replacement of instability and in understanding how policymakers select issues based on a constant stream of information that they obtain and process (Petridou, 2014). According to Breunig and Koski (2012) balance is achieved through the creation of a positive feedback cycle in which information is sent and dynamics change. This theory investigates how large changes in policy-making can be achieved, with the key question of how policymakers prioritise issues (Jones and Baumgartner, 2012). As with the previous two theories discussed, which were originally based on a US model, the PET has developed beyond this national framework, and there have been several studies that apply the model to other areas such as the UK (John, Berteli and Bevan, 2013), Hong Kong (Chow, 2014) and the European Council (Alexandrova, Carammia and Timmermans, 2012). A shortfall of the theory is that it is uncertain how the

process is investigated, as the analysis is descriptive in nature. The quantitative investigation cannot prove causal relationships between the various agendas and opinions from the media, political setting and productions, and only associations can be suggested (John, 2006). However, it can analyse patterns of changes in policy, such as in agenda setting, better than it can solely investigate the solution to a problem (Jones and Baumgartner, 2012). Another criticism by John (2006) is that the theory does not explain the whole process and uses other models to help explain the change in agendas and debates that influence policy change.

The PET overlaps to some extent with the final theory discussed here, the Multiple Streams Approach (MSA), which was first developed by John Kingdon in 1984, and updated in 1995 and 2003. Both theories are interested in US policy developments in which the starting point is both change and stability. The MSA focusses on the continued change and adaptation that is, according to Kingdon, necessary for addressing issues, whereas the PET is focussed on both features over time.

The MSA framework by Kingdon (1984; 1995; 2003) examines policy formation from an agenda-setting perspective. Kingdon (1984) focusses on the agenda-setting phases of policymaking, with the assumption that policymaking is ambiguous and complex (Pollitt, 2008) and not a rational, linear process (Kingdon, 1984). It involves different agents, ideas, institutions and external processes and begins by assuming continual policy change rather than stability (John, 2003). Kingdon describes policy formation as the result of the flow of three 'streams': the problem stream, the policy stream and the politics stream. When these three streams couple a policy window opens that can facilitate policy change (Gulbrandsson and Fossum, 2009).

The MSA framework has been praised for achieving a major step in understanding policy formation (Zahariadis, 2012) because it takes into account different aspects of internal and external factors in its three streams and makes a convincing argument for why policy changes (John, 2012). However, this theory also has some flaws which include its many superficial applications by scholars (Cairney 2018; Cairney and Jones 2016; Jones et al. 2016) and its limited application to the full policy process given its focus on the agenda setting process (Cairney, 2018).

In addition to the above points, there is also a group of actors labelled as 'policy entrepreneurs', who advocate specific solutions to policy problems. Policy entrepreneurs have been receiving increasing attention in the literature because they execute an important

role as influencers and lobbyists in the process of policy formation. Their role has expanded and received more attention in the context of agenda-setting (Béland 2016; Petridou 2014; Ackrill and Kay 2010; Gulbrandsson and Fossum 2009; Mintrom and Norman 2009; John 2003). Kingdon's (2003) starting point is that policy entrepreneurs can take on various roles as 'bureaucrats, politicians, analysts, consultants, journalists and academics' (p.173) and are adaptable. In terms of the characteristics of policy entrepreneurs, Gulbrandsson and Fossum's research provided further insight exploring the theoretical concepts of policy windows and policy entrepreneurs in the Swedish health domain. They focussed on child health promoting measures in three Swedish municipalities and defined policy entrepreneurs as 'actors who promote specific solutions' (p.433). They base their definition of policy entrepreneurs on Kingdon's idea of the resources that policy entrepreneurs hold and characterise them as people who hold some of the following key resources of hearing, being politically connected or possessing negotiating skills and being persistent in getting their ideas and points heard (Kingdon, 1995). Gulbrandsson and Fossum (2009) concluded that the two concepts of policy entrepreneurs and policy windows were present in their studied cases. The perspective in Gulbrandsson and Fossum's paper is to useful because it studies the concepts of policy windows and entrepreneurs that may become a relevant aspect as part of this study's development, given the topic. However, the study by Exworthy and Powell (2004) on UK health policies, examined below, is more relevant to this study since their focus is on UK policy making and UK based entrepreneurs while Gulbrandsson and Fossum's relates to the Swedish system that will vary to UK politics.

Exworthy and Powell (2004) found that policy entrepreneurs were evident in each case study of UK government health policy initiatives. Gulbrandsson and Fossum (2009) conclude that if policy makers can make use of 'opportunity windows' and access the resources of policy entrepreneurs to act quickly, then policy making might become more predictable.

Additionally John (2003) suggests to understand policy entrepreneurs as a campaigner whose main goal is to succeed with a policy. Kendall (2003) advances the understanding of their role by arguing that their roles are of catalytic entrepreneurial nature because they are able to negotiate and push for policy innovation. Kendall's point also helps to further understand the role of the policy entrepreneurs and understanding required by policy makers to make use of this resource. However, the idea of policy entrepreneurs has also been criticised for its lack of applicability and vagueness (e.g. Cairney and Jones, 2016). Ackrill and Kay's (2010) research on the 2005 EU sugar policy reform however is one example where the concept of policy entrepreneurs has been applied. Their research developed the study of policy entrepreneurs in their specific contexts and activities to understand their role in agenda-setting. Oborn, Barrett and Exworthy (2011) also studied policy entrepreneurs in a

specific context studying the role of clinical leadership in health reform, and found that policy entrepreneurs have another role besides helping to open the policy windows. They found that policy entrepreneurs bring together a web of people, highlighting the significance of agency in policy making. The review of the concept of policy entrepreneurs as part of the MSA has highlighted that this group of actors requires careful attention and this means that for this study's development, identifying if the idea of policy entrepreneurs is apparent in this study's case and if so to understand their influences in bring philanthropy onto the policy agenda should be important.

In more general terms, the MSA framework and its ideas have also been criticised for their vagueness (Bundgaard and Vrangbaek 2007; Goldfinch and 't Hart 2003) and as '[suffering] from conceptual imprecision' (Petridou 2014, p. S22). Petridou has pointed out that the term has been used very broadly and studied in many different disciplines. This can lead to imprecise definitions and debate over whether studies are comparable (Rawat and Morris, 2016).

Another criticism of the MSA theory is that it has been too focussed on American political systems (Cairney and Jones 2016; Peditrou 2014) and may not be easily applicable to policy systems outside the US. Whilst some authors (Ackrill and Kay, 2010) believe the model has applicability outside of the US, Rawat and Morris (2016) are critical about embedding the cultural differences that are present in different countries as in their view the impact on the role of the streams and levels of influences vary from country to country. This criticism suggests that an evaluation of the cultural influences on the political and economic systems has to take place and the implications of such a study should be stated explicitly before any cross-comparison can be made. A number of scholars have demonstrated this in their application of the MSA to their research in different political systems in an international context, such as to complex European Union decision-making (Ackrill, Kay and Zahariadis 2013; Zahariadis 2012; Ackrill and Kay 2010; Zahariadis 2008) and to UK voluntary sector policies in the 1990s (Kendall, 2003). Jones et al.'s (2016) meta review suggested a wide-reaching application, finding that the MSA has been applied in 65 different countries and at multiple levels of governance across 22 different policy fields.

While the idea of the MSA has often been applicable to a range of different political systems and circumstance (Zahariadis 2008; John 2003) and is easy to understand, other studies have argued that the sometimes MSA has been used superficially (Cairney 2018; Cairney and Jones 2016; Jones et al. 2016). Cairney and Jones (2016), for example, carried out an in-depth analysis of 41 selected best-case representative studies of the MSA. They

questioned the impact of the universal theory and evaluated approaches by scholars, assessing the scholars' broader impact and trends in usage. They did so through applying an in-depth analysis of studies with comprehensive coverage of MSA. They found a large body of literature that used the MSA framework, but they criticised the lack of theory development and suggested that a more systematic approach was needed. However, Cairney and Jones (2016) also acknowledged that the theory has contributed to 'evolutionary' policy theories (p. 37) such as the PET (Baumgartner and Jones 1993) and encouraged a greater volume of literature on public policy. As Cairney (2018) pointed out, a strength of a theoretical concept can also be its weakness. In other words he refers to the flexibility and consequent ease of empirically applying the MSA to almost every context which has led to its weakness. Results have been used by scholars superficially by not linking the empirical results found in studies to the theoretical framework or describing its use (Cairney, 2018). Besides its lack of systematic empirical analysis, scholars Herweg, Zahariadis and Zoltnhoefer (2018) also point out further areas that could be studied- which they argue is not a fault of the theory but a lack of application by scholarship. For example, they suggest to apply the framework to non-democratic systems and to apply the MFS to global issues beyond the national level, which would greatly advance the international scholarship.

Despite the ongoing criticisms of the MSA's framework 30+ year existence, several scholars have in recent years revisited and reconsidered Kingdon's contributions (Cairney 2018; Rawat and Morris 2016; Béland 2016; Gulbrandsson and Fossum 2009; Exworthy and Powell 2004). Scholars, such as Rawat and Morris (2016) continue to argue for its relevance in the policy analysis literature where the theory is being seen as a valuable framework that can aid with the understanding of the often complex processes related to decision making. These literature reviews, as drawn on earlier in this section, have indicated that most empirical applications are drawn from case studies which are not related and there is a greater need to investigate these in a systematic way (Herweg, Zahariadis and Zoltnhoefer, 2018). These literature reviews have approached the viability and limitations of the MSA in different methodological ways and this has led to slightly different assessments of the framework. As a result, the findings cannot be easily compared. As mentioned above, Cairney and Jones (2016) carried out an impact analysis that applied the MSA empirically and considered 41 articles of multiple streams' empirical applications since 2000, complementing Jones et al.'s (2016)<sup>37</sup> quantitative study. Jones et al. (2016) focussed on 311 items cited in peer-reviewed journal articles between 2000-2013 to assess to what

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<sup>37</sup> Jones et al.'s (2016) article was officially published in the printed version of the Policy Studies Journal in January 2016 and the article was published online in June 2015 which Rawat and Morris (2016) refer to as Jones and others (2015).

extent the MSA concept had been applied in different contexts. Rawat and Morris' (2016) study on the other hand examined about 120 peer-reviewed journal articles in multiple countries and six continents for a period of 30 years (1984-2014) and excluded any articles that made brief reference to the model or ideas. Rawat and Morris (2016) assessed their findings thematically to examine those cases that applied the framework in full. The outcome of these systematic reviews was that they shed some new light on what was previously thought about the MSA in relation to the extent to which the theory has been applied to different context and countries. However, the reviews, as examined above are different and not as easy comparable and only address to some extent their individual claims of cross-comparison.

A final and important point to examine as part of the MSA theory, is the development of the idea of 'policy windows' developed by Kingdon, following the coupling of the three streams as mentioned at the beginning of this section (as displayed in figure 2.1 below). To counteract the term 'policy window' being applied generically and widely within the literature, Herweg, Huss and Zohlnhoefer (2015) suggest a distinction of two sets of windows; agenda windows for opportunities where an item can make it onto the agenda and an decision windows that get policies decided. While this distinction is a developed refinement of the generic terms, this study will continue to use the term policy window for a wider use. The study will be specific if it will refer to the decisions rather than the more common idea behind Kingdon's MFS, the agenda setting side of the policy windows within the MFS.

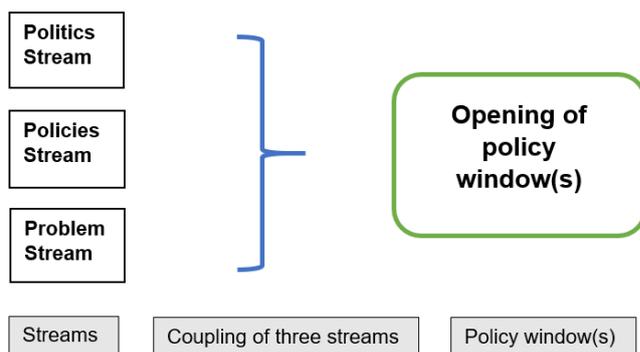


Figure 2.1 Diagram of opening of policy window(s)

In this context, policy windows are defined by Gulbrandsson and Fossum (2009) as

a window of opportunity, a *policy window*, opens which facilitate policy change. The process is very dynamic with several solutions floating around, ready to couple with problems appearing in any moment (p.435)

Gulbrandsson and Fossum (2009) referred to the idea of policy windows as part of the agenda-setting stages where a solution is sought. As part of the policy window idea, a requirement is for the three streams; politics, policies and problems, to couple. In order for that to happen, scholars criticised the assumption that the streams are independent from each other (Kingdon, 1984). For example, Weible and Sabatier (2018, p.39) and Robinson and Eller (2010) pointed towards a lack of recognition of the interdependence of the three streams. Exworthy and Powell (2004) discussed a similar point where they saw a problem in using the idea of a policy window on a single policy level. Following the application of Evans and Davies' (1999) idea of 'spatial domains', they developed the idea of an implementation to a multi-layer dimension of policy formation and implementation. Exworthy and Powell (2004) applied this to their examples of policies addressing health inequalities during a UK Labour government in the first part of the 2000s and found that there were several windows present at different levels.

While Kingdon's idea of a policy window could be viewed as simplistic in its nature, Exworthy and Powell (2004) argue that there is a need to examine this with the help of several windows of different sizes that area apparent in policy. These windows interact at the same time and can be regarded as a sequence of 'little' and 'big windows'. In their example of health policies in the UK, which was examined above, they found that there different size windows exist and that they operate at three spatial levels. These levels are at a vertical level such as central local or inter-governmental and two horizontal levels; one at the central government point and one joining up governance around the edges. They argue not just to focus on vertical dimension of implementation relations but also on the two horizontal dimensions at the centre and margin/border/edge (p.278). Exworthy and Powell's (2004) argument is that policy will garner more attention if the three streams are understood and linked across three different dimensions that enable several small and big windows to contribute to the overall result. Viewing the concept of policy windows at different levels can help to overcome the shortcomings of the original dimension of a single policy window. Single policy windows cannot necessarily encompass the interconnectedness and interdependence that play an important role in the implementation process of policy making (Exworthy and Powell, 2004). Their findings suggest that there was a limited convergence of the streams at the centre rather more so at the periphery, which will not help with a major policy alteration. Combined with Gulbrandsson and Fossum's (2009) finding that policy windows open from time to time and may not stay open very long ), this can result in a sense of urgency that is created by the different windows. A policy entrepreneur, who pushes ideas forward and works at the different levels, becomes increasingly important. This development

suggests that there is room for further expansion on the implementation side of the idea of policy windows and agenda setting and further scholarly attention with more cases would be useful. This would help to understand the multi-dimensional outlook that influences the policy windows to open at the different levels. Exworthy and Powell's (2004) results can also help to understand why some policies have limited convergence and therefore limited influence on a lasting policy agenda. It is unsurprising that only a few ideas and small open policy windows lead to big attention and policy change that is visible or maintained. These cases might have potentially been small policy windows around the edges of their areas where not much attention was paid and they were not central enough to have a lasting impact on implementation and change.

Bringing the review of the policy process theories together, it is apparent that the other main policy process theories examined above, in comparison to the MSA, offer a different lens on the policy process (Schlager and Weible, 2013) in understanding how policy agendas are formed. In light of Rawat and Morris' finding that 'Kingdon's framework is vague enough to be applicable to a broad range of situations and settings, but valid enough to be useful as an explainer of policy activity' (2016, p.627), the MSA enables the examination of the ideas of the three different streams that come together to form policy agendas that help to illuminate how policy is formed. Of particular relevance is particularly illuminating in this development is in Rawat and Morris' concluding appraisal of Kingdon's MSA contribution, with its limitations and advantages, as 'a way to think about policy, rather than as a theory of policy (p.628). As a result of the examination in this section, the MSA is a useful scaffold for initially examining what happened in the higher education sector and philanthropy before the MFS and CBS policies were implemented, and why potentially the attention decreased despite the headline of the £1 billion milestone of philanthropic income being achieved in 2015/16. While the MSA will be useful for understanding how the agenda for philanthropy was originally set, the policy theory literature - and the MSA in particular - does not address how actors such as fundraisers behave in the policy process, and how they work internally within their organisations to aid the opening of a policy window. These theories look at large groups and policy problems but do not consider the roles of individual actors, so it will be helpful to link this to another field of literature that addresses the role of service workers, in which fundraisers as a type of professional service worker could be embedded. This will be examined more specifically in section 2.5, following an examination of the actual policy documents in the next section.

### **2.3.2 Key policy documents discussing philanthropy**

Following on from the examination of policy process theories in the academic literature, this chapter will now examine the actual key policy documents published since 2002 and investigate how philanthropy is discussed in those documents. In the period 2002-2017 there have been four relevant UK government policy documents, one treasury report and three government-supported expert reports discussing philanthropy. The key documents scrutinised for this literature review can be divided into three different genres: White Papers, Independent Reviews and other expert-led reports commissioned by the government (as displayed in table 2.1 below). This section will examine how the concept of philanthropy is used as part of the wider political agenda in these documents.

Table 2.1 Overview of key policy reports

Type of report	Date of publication	Title of report
White paper	2003	The Future of Higher Education
Government commissioned report (expert led)	May 2004	Increasing voluntary giving to higher education - Task Force report to Government
HM Treasury Pre Budget report	December 2004	'Opportunity for all: The strength to take the long-term decisions for Britain'
Independent review/Browne report	2010	Securing a sustainable future for higher education; an independent review of higher education funding and student finance
White paper	2011	Students at the Heart of the System
HEFCE commissioned report (expert led)	2012	Review of Philanthropy
HEFCE commissioned report (expert led)	2014	An emerging profession: The higher education philanthropy workforce
White paper	2016	Success as a Knowledge Economy: Teaching Excellence, Social Mobility and Student Choice

In recent years, academic literature has suggested that philanthropy has been observed as a substitute for government funding in the context of assessing education policies (Ball, 2012). It is seen as a direct result of and solution to 'dwindling government revenue [such that], higher education in Great Britain has recently begun to increase fundraising' (Proper 2009, p.149). However, neither point is based on individual studies; rather, they are based on a general sense of the landscape. Ball's statement about substitution, for example, is based on his research on policy networks, in which he questions whether 'private and philanthropic solution to the problems of education signal the end of state education in its "welfare" reform' (2012, p. i). His claim of government using philanthropy as a substitute was used in another paper by Warren and Bell (2014), but this reasoning for this claim has not been extensively explained. While Ball (2012) made this claim and other literature has supported it, there is a need to further explore it by examining actual key government reports that discuss philanthropy. The mentioned reports have largely rested on the assumption that philanthropic income has increased and will increase with the help of the UK government's policies that foster giving, such as the CBS and the MFS described in 1.4.2. Despite the

aforementioned emerging literature on philanthropy in public policy (Jung, Philips and Harrow 2016; Reich, Cordelli and Bernholz 2016; Wiepking and Handy 2015), especially in higher education in the UK, there is limited understanding of the relationship between policy and philanthropy.

Philanthropic income sources were, for example, discussed in the 2003 White paper 'The Future of Higher Education', published by the Department for Education and Skills (DfES). The White Paper was one of the first documents published by the DfES during a Labour government that notably began to discuss philanthropic funding in higher education. This paper described details for fundamental reform and investment in universities and higher education colleges, proposed changes to the student finance system and asked for institutions to take a greater responsibility for their own funding. It also stressed the aim of making higher education more accessible to people from all backgrounds. The paper refers to a funding need and states that it is unrealistic for governments to continue their commitment, as expressed in this extract: 'it is unrealistic to expect the Government to match the total funding levels of the world's best-endowed universities... and reducing dependence on government' (DfES 2003, p.80). This represents a shift to deregulate higher education and, as described in the Dearing report five years prior, to then expect students to contribute (NCIHE, 1997). The 2003 White Paper (2003) concluded that 'we also need to look to other sources of income – in addition to those from government – to sustain a strong and thriving higher education sector' (DfES 2003, p.82). As part of the ideological and financial shift, philanthropy was discussed and viewed as a new funding stream. These ideas were justified as reducing financial dependence, as DfES (2003) stated that the spread of financial sources would provide 'greater financial freedom to our universities' (p.89). The department suggested that more diverse sources of funding would financially strengthen the sector, with the added benefit of the institutions being less dependent on direct government funding.

In the practitioner-led reports, the sector positively noted that the government had been paying more attention to philanthropy (HEFCE 2012b; DfES 2004) and there were also concerns about the reasons for the sudden attention and shift (DfES, 2004). For example, the 2004 Task Force Report, 'Increasing Voluntary Giving to Higher Education', prepared by a former Vice-Chancellor and expert panel from the sector and commissioned by the DfES, highlighted the fears of substituting private funding from philanthropic income for public funding. The report recognises the concern that 'encouragement to fundraising is no more than an exercise in saving money...at its extreme, on this view, the long-term goal would be a higher education system largely funded from private sources' (DfES 2004, p.15). This

concern was similarly observed within the academic literature, along with concerns about substituting direct government funding (Ball 2012; Proper 2009). Furthermore, the report recommended a set of steps that could be introduced to make giving easier and more profitable for donors with the help of the government, but these steps were inconclusive and imprecise at that stage. However, the report also recommended a capacity-building incentive to support giving from MFS and CBS, introduced a few years earlier.

In December 2004, seven months after the Task Force Report was published, the 2004 Pre Budget report by the Chancellor of the Exchequer<sup>38</sup>, Gordon Brown, engages briefly with the subject. The report states its support to run a match funding scheme to increase voluntary giving (p.60). The report does, however not go into any further detail about its position, role, how this is scheme is financed or if there any concerns with regards to financing this scheme.<sup>39</sup> In terms of the role of the Treasury, the Treasury's role in policy making is often linked to the phrase 'Treasury control' (Craig 2018; Haddon 2014) and refers to the perceived 'predominance in matters of policy formation in and beyond economic policy' (Craig, 2018).<sup>40</sup> An example of this tight control with regards to charitable donations and tax reliefs can be found in the case of the 2014 National Audit Office report (NAO, 2014). This report examined how the HM Revenue & Customs<sup>41</sup> managed tax reliefs. This example shows how the Treasury like to keep a tight control of tax reliefs by suggesting for steps for closer monitoring of the administration and application of tax reliefs to gain a better understanding of the cost effectiveness of tax reliefs. A second example is the campaign 'Charitable Remainder Gift: Transforming Charitable Giving' led by a philanthropy advisory group called 'Philanthropy Impact'. Their campaign is a long-held campaign asking for a new incentive to give by simplifying taxation rules and by offering more innovative ways for tax effective giving (Philanthropy Impact, 2017), which HMRC has never permitted. These two examples indicate that there was a likelihood that there was pushback from Treasury with regards to the incentives in higher education, but nonetheless the CBS and MFS were approved and implemented.

In 2010, cross-bencher Lord Browne published an independent review on financing higher education which became a key report signalling a critical moment in the higher education

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<sup>38</sup> The Exchequer is the head of the HM Treasury and the HM Treasury acts as an economic and finance ministry, supported by agencies and public bodies. Its role is to maintain 'control over public spending, setting the direction of the UK's economic policy and working to achieve strong and sustainable economic growth' (HM Treasury, 2019).

<sup>39</sup> The Capacity Building Scheme (CBS) was first implemented for three years and the match funding scheme (MFS) overlapped for one year with the CBS.

<sup>40</sup> However, scholar Craig (2018), for example, also acknowledges that 'Treasury control alone explains the setting of economic policy objectives – the priorities of prime ministers, party factions, electoral coalitions and the myriad interest groups that comprise the British political economy all play a role, as do international political-economic forces' (p. 2).

<sup>41</sup> The HM Revenue and Customs is a non-ministerial department of the UK Government. It covers areas of tax collection administering some regulatory schemes

sector. The report called 'Securing a sustainable future for higher education; an Independent Review of Higher Education Funding & Student Finance' (BIS, 2011) recommended far reaching major changes to higher education in England, such as the increase of tuition fees to £9,000. While philanthropic funding was discussed very briefly as an addition 'to support the quality of teaching or to improve financial aid or outreach for students from low income backgrounds' (2011, p. 42), no further reference was made how that would work in practice or what impact this shift might have on charitable giving.

Similar to the 2004 DfES paper, philanthropy featured in policy documents in the latter part of the 2000s after the CBS and MFS schemes were completed, such as in the 2011 White Paper 'Students at the Heart of the System', which was published as part of the newly created Department for Business, Innovation and Skills under the new Coalition Government (BIS, 2011). The paper was the first White Paper by the Coalition government elected in 2010 that examined the state of higher education and introduced a further shift of attention to students. This paper focused on economic benefits of higher education and discussed how to sustain funding levels. Philanthropy's role was expressed, as it similarly was in earlier statements, as 'another important source of income' (BIS 2011, p. 22), yet there was no further explanation of how this source would work or be established and encouraged in practice. In contrast, the 2012 'Review of Philanthropy in UK Higher Education', commissioned by HEFCE, and was written by More Partnership, whose consultants are fundraisers or were previously involved in higher education. This review was a more specific discussion of philanthropy's role, setting out 12 recommendations to continue fostering charitable giving in the higher education sector in the UK. These recommendations included increasing the culture of giving and advancing and training professionals and institutions to take responsibility for developing philanthropy as an important part of HEIs activities. However, the attention to philanthropy decreased in policy documents after 2014, and no further mention of philanthropy was found in the latest White Paper, 'Success as a Knowledge Economy' (BIS, 2016).

At the macro level, the government's own concept of philanthropy has been unclear and varied. For example, in one of its first publications related to the topic, the 2003 White Paper (DfES, 2003), philanthropy was mentioned and the paper concluded that 'we also need to look to other sources of income –in addition to those from government' (2003, p.82). At the same time it also said that 'If alternative sources [from university fundraising] are not available, we would consider funding from existing Departmental budgets' (p. 91). As part of the ideological and financial shift that took place, philanthropy was discussed and viewed as

a (new) funding stream.<sup>42</sup> However, other terminology was also used to describe the role of philanthropy; for example, the funding source was described as “extra” (DfES, 2003), “alternative” (DfES, 2003), “additional” (DfES 2003; DfES, 2004; BIS 2011; DfES 2011; BIS 2011) and a “substitute”, as suggested within the academic literature by Ball (2012) and Carpentier (2012). For example, despite a change from a Labour to a Conservative-Liberal Coalition government in May 2010, philanthropy was seen as ‘additional to core funding’ in the Coalition government’s Giving Paper produced by DfES (DfES 2011, p.6). This indicates a consensus between parties and can also indicate a recognition that philanthropy in all its forms is out of a government’s control that is difficult to plan.

By 2011, more weight had been placed on philanthropy as an ‘important income source’, but it was not thoroughly discussed in the 2012 White Paper produced by the Coalition Government’s BIS (2012, p.21) nor in the Browne report in 2010. The suggestions of philanthropic income to be additional and to create something extra is language that has not been found later in publications such as the 2012 HEFCE review, but the 2006 DfES launch of the consultation for the MFS stressed the ‘diversifying range of funding streams available to universities’ (2007, p.1), and ‘another source of income’ (DfES, 2011) was also mentioned in 2011. Before the match funding scheme took place from 2008-2011, the language employed indicated the role of philanthropy to be an ‘additional source of funding’. Following the government’s announcement to provide match funding to boost philanthropic giving in higher education, higher education minister Kim Howells stated in 2004 that the government ‘can support projects and activities which advances their excellence’ (Curtis, 2004). After the schemes, philanthropy featured less in public documents, and the language used suggested philanthropy as an addition. While substitution definitely suggests a replacement of what exists, additional means that something extra on top of something else that remains. There have been different messages, such as a 2004 Guardian newspaper article in which the Minister of State for Higher Education insisted that philanthropy is not a substitute (Curtis, 2004) and stated as part of the government’s announcement to match fund philanthropic income that he was ‘keen to develop a culture of giving in this country and see our universities increase their ability to tap into private donations’. He was also quoted in the same article saying that

The government is increasing the amount of funding given to higher education institutions by £2bn between 2004/05 and 2007/08. Income raised through donations provides the sector with an additional source of income and can support projects and activities which advance

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<sup>42</sup> The idea of philanthropy being a new funding stream is heavily contested given that HEIs in the UK would not have come into existence without philanthropic support.

their excellence. Matched-funding is just one of the steps we are taking today to help support higher education institutions to increase their fundraising capacity (Curtis in *The Guardian* citing Kim Howells, 2004)

Howells insisted the funding was to support universities. Three months before, in September 2004, a debate over funding took place in the House of Commons, and it was concluded that 'a new mixed public private funding system comes into effect' (2004). This conclusion put on record that mixed funding was the goal of all parties, eliminating the question about substitution and suggesting a combination of private and public funding. The grey literature argues that philanthropy has received more focused attention (Squire, 2014), and academic papers argue that a reason for the attention is declining public funding (Ball 2012; Carpentier 2012; Proper 2009). However, this review of relevant reports highlights that the publications have not directly focussed on philanthropy's role within the funding setting.

Research suggests that there was mixed funding in place many years earlier. For example, Carpentier (2012; 2006) argues that while public funding decreased in the 1970s, private funding was reintroduced following the decline in public funding after the 1970s (Carpentier 2012; Carpentier 2006; Halsey 2000). Carpentier's research debates the public private substitution of higher education, makes the point that private funding has acted as a substitute to public funding and questions whether that is the ideal way. Carpentier's 2012 paper 'Public-Private Substitution in Higher Education: Has Cost-Sharing Gone Too Far?' has the advantage of building on previously collected data from his 2004 comparative UK/France paper and highlights with visual data that the funding for higher education has shifted toward private funding, placing this change into a historical and economic context. His paper on 'Funding in Higher Education and Economic Growth in France and the United Kingdom, 1921-2003' (2006) uses a historical data series in funding and development of universities from the early 1920s, derived from his earlier paper in 2004. He applies economic and historical perspectives, which have the advantage of working toward a socio-economic history of education (Anderson 1992; Sanderson 1972), and recognises the need to investigate the economic dimensions of the higher education changes by quantitatively evaluating the impact of past forms on universities funding and enrolment.

In Carpentier's (2012) examination of whether private resources should or could step in to compensate for the lack of government funding, he also discusses philanthropy. However, while he found that long-term philanthropic income increased after the mid-1990s, he claims that philanthropy declined after the 2008 economic crisis and affected levels of donations and returns on endowments. While the 2008/9 and 2009/10 figures in the annual Ross-

CASE survey indicate a decrease from £526m (new funding) to £506m in 2009/10, the cash income received in previous years (e.g. 2006/7) was much lower at £413m, and there was a small increase in 2007/8 to £444m before the income rose to £526m during the economic crisis in 2008/9. Other scholars have continued the debate over the sharing of costs and questioned whether education is 'a central pillar of welfare policy' (Ball 2009, p. xi). Hills (2011) concluded that there has always been a mixed economy of welfare in the balance between public and private provision pointing to the general increase in public sector spending on services from £367.1 billion in 1987/88 to £656.8 billion in 2009/10 and £7691 billion in 2016/17 of which education's share is in the region of 10% (HM Treasury 2017; HM Treasury, 2010).

#### **2.4 The role of professions and identities in higher education**

The review of the available policy documents and the literature in policy process theory and analysis provides the opportunity to explore the MSA framework as part of a developing conceptual framework in this study that covers the understanding why and how policy could have paid attention to philanthropy. What the policy process theory cannot aid with but is important for this study's development is the examination of actors such as fundraisers. Actors, such as fundraisers, were closely involved in delivering policy. Before a possible link can be made between the policy process theory literature and fundraisers in section 2.5, using the concepts and ideas from literature on the higher education professions and the idea of the Street-Level Bureaucrat by Lipsky (2010; [1980]), the next section will first examine the role of professionalism/professionalisation and identities in higher education. This is examined to understand the possible role of fundraisers as part of a professional workforce within the higher education staff setting.

As already set out in chapter 1 and discussed earlier in 2.2 of this thesis, the higher education sector and the environment has undergone substantial changes, including the question on the idea of a university (e.g. O'Byrne and Bond 2014; Hillman 2013; Collini 2012; Holmwood 2011; Bailey and Freeman 2011; Tilak 2008; Anderson 2006; Barnett 1997; Williams 1997) and the role of a university as briefly discussed in section 2.2.1 of this chapter. The changes to the higher education system should also be examined in relation to the impact onto the workforce in these institutions. The workforce in UK institutions is often divided by those who are working as 'academics' in a research and teaching capacity and those who work in a capacity of 'professional services' (Lewis 2014; Whitchurch 2008). Professional services either support academic roles with student administration processes or

they have designated roles and responsibilities ensuring the running of the organisation.<sup>43</sup> The changing environment, specifically the rise and drive of neo-liberal principles has often not only been seen as impacting on the idea of a university (Sousa, de Nijs and Hendriks 2010; Yelder and Codling 2004) but has also been a major contributor to the professionalisation of the workforce in HEIs, coupled with technological and regulatory change (Lewis, 2014). This is particular relevant with regards to the focus on professionalism and identity of professional services who have undergone major changes which are often referred as shifts by professional services staff from 'administrative' to 'management' activity (Whitchurch 2008, p. 375). The relevant literatures on the two topics of professionalisation and identities will guide the next section.

#### **2.4.1 Professionalisation and professional services staff**

The aforementioned perceived shift in HEIs from 'administrative' to 'management' by professional staff is also linked to the debate about the general process of professionalisation where Whitchurch (2008) found that 'bodies of knowledge and standards of professional practice have been established e.g. by the establishment of the Association of University Administrators in 1961 (AUA 2004; Lauwerys 2002; AUA 2000; Allen and Newcomb 1999).

While a full and detailed discussion on the use of the terms profession and professionalisation is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is nevertheless important to briefly clarify the understanding of the term and underline the available key debates. A key definition found within the literature was provided by DiMaggio and Powell (1983) who said about the process of professionalisation that it is 'the collective struggle of members of an occupation to define the conditions and methods of their work' and to do this they have to create 'a cognitive base and legitimisation of their occupational autonomy' (p. 152). While this definition established a useful framework for the understanding of the process of professionalisation of staff, it does not incorporate the status of positions or the increasing requirement for qualifications (Gornitzka and Larsen, 2004). One reason for that might be the wide ranging accounts and ideas in this area. As Gornitzka and Larsen (2004) noted, terms such as 'profession' and 'professional' have in several studies been applied to designate administrators and their work in the field of higher education (p. 462). However, this is not as easily definable within the literature that conceptualises the study of professions which is widely debated, condensed and varied at the same time (Gornitzka and

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<sup>43</sup> In this section any role that is not counted as 'academic' is not called 'non-academic' as HESA frequently does but will be classified as professional services. Professional services staff groups can entail a range of roles and responsibilities that are not marked as academic. For example these roles are administrative and support staff such as technical support staff, central and departmental administrators, computing support, human resources, library staff, student services and relationship work such as partnership office, work with alumni and fundraising, recruitment, admissions, planning and finance.

Larsen 2004; Collins 1990; Larson 1990). In this body of literature, the common ground that can be identified in relation to 'profession' is the link to knowledge and expertise (Larson, 1990), the status of this group as a workforce and the authority that Collins (1990) argued that this group can have in monitoring itself.

#### **2.4.2 Identities of professional services staff**

In addition to the changes and debates surrounding the ideas of the professionalisation of the workforce in higher education, debates have neglected the intertwining with the ideas of professional identities that these changes impact on. The changing dynamics in which professional staff are operating should therefore also briefly be examined with help of the concept of identity. The concept of identity is also widely debated in the literature and ranges from essentialist approaches focussing on key elements such as individual or group and link to those to a sense of belonging (Hall, 1996). Yet, these approaches do not acknowledge the changing and adaptation of these roles and people who do not sign up for a common belonging or similarities (Whitchurch, 2008). A helpful alteration to this route is the link of identity to be part of a process and a project (Henkel 2005) that suggests an ongoing process and allows for flexibility in positioning. This helps to settle for Hall's (1996) position of identity where he relates the identity to individual's positioning, flexible with time and impact of changing circumstances arguing that practices and processes can be subjective. Yet, Whitchurch (2008) points out that an in-depth perspective can be achieved by distinguishing between active and passive responses for which she develops three categories. The three categories that Whitchurch distinguishes are bounded professionals, cross-boundary and unbounded professionals. As part of this research, Whitchurch interviewed 24 professional staff from three different types of UK university (multi-faculty, green field and post-1992) who executed management roles. The first category that she established, the bounded professional, established those who 'located themselves within boundaries of a function or organisational location' this was either posed upon them or chosen. The second category, the cross-boundary professional, was established as those 'who recognised, and actively used boundaries to build strategic advantage and institutional capacity' and would therefore benefit from their expertise of the areas on both sides of the boundaries. The final category, the unbounded professional is based on the assumption that those employees 'displayed a disregard for boundaries of for the 'rules and resources' that they might present, and have therefore a probing approach to the broader work they are involved in. While her results show that half of those were bounded, 33% were cross-boundary and 17% unbounded, Whitchurch recognised that in reality different forms of identity can moved across these boundaries depending on conditions and situations.

Whitchurch's (2008) study on professional services staff identities can also be used in relation to research that found that there is less of a boundary between academic and professional roles at universities (Sebalj, Holbrook and Bourke 2012; Whitchurch and Gordon 2010; Whitchurch 2009; Whitchurch 2008) than previously anticipated, studies often continue to distinguish and more often than not focus on the academic identities. For example, literature on understanding the role of identities in the higher education workforce are predominantly focussed on academic identities (e.g. Henkel 2005; Becher and Trowler 2001). Yet, there is a small but emerging literature that has started to address the role of professional services staff in higher education settings arguing that their role is becoming more essential in a competitive and market-oriented higher education sector (Lewis 2014; Jongbloed, Enders and Salerno 2008; Whitchurch 2008) and the old divide between academic and non-academic roles was reported to have begun to change in the early 2000s (Whitchurch 2009; Wild and Wooldridge 2009; Dobson 2000).

Yet, there is a distinctiveness to the changes for administrators and professional services that has seen their roles change dramatically over the past two decades. The emerging literature on professional staff has noted that the changes in higher education impact on the these roles, responsibilities and resulting identities of professional staff in higher education (Winter 2009; Whitchurch 2008; Whitchurch 2006; Clark 2004; Gornitzka and Larsen 2004). These changes point to a shifting role of professional administrators within HEIs (Gornitzka and Larsen, 2004) that can be closely linked to the nature, role and how HEIs work. For example, Jongbloed, Enders and Salerno (2008) noted that roles have changed and specialised in for example human resources, finances departments, technology, international partnerships and relation and fundraising and are now seen as 'an important internal constituency to be reckoned with' (Jongbloed, Enders and Salerno 2008, p.312). At the same time challenges for these professions include, for example, the 'professionalised clusters of change-oriented administrators' (Clark 2004, p.176) against the idea of 'conflicting professional and work ideologies and organising logic' (Winter 2009, p.122) that makes working in non-academic roles at HEIs challenging as there is still the aforementioned, but changing, perceived divide between the traditional academic posts and divisions and those named as professional services.

At the same time, while there are increasing challenges observed, the rising importance of these specialised roles was noted by Jongbloed, Enders and Salerno (2008) who point out the importance of specialised roles and departments becoming more and more important to the running of HEIs. They argue that these groups of professional workers and specialists form important links between a university and its external constituencies and stakeholders.

These themes are discussed in the literature, but when examined closer, there is no acknowledgement that the professionalisation and identities for the specialised roles may be different and different groups of specialised staff be affected differently by changes. In this context fundraisers are not mentioned or recognised as a separate professional group and as a result their identities and roles within a highly complex higher education institution are not examined in depth. This means that it becomes a challenge to discuss fundraisers' work within this context, given that the profession of fundraisers itself is less defined and recognised (Breeze, 2017) and absent from being included in the context of higher education.

### **2.4.3 Fundraisers' professional status and the role of fundraisers as a profession**

One of the only studies concerned with fundraising professionals in higher education, that can help to develop this examination, is a qualitative study of fundraising professionals in fundraising offices in higher education, namely Development Directors (Daly, 2013).<sup>44</sup> Daly interviewed 17 Development Directors at British universities and broadly categorised their identities as bounded, unbounded and cross-boundary professionals in the way they worked and interacted with people at different levels, sections and academic divisions. Daly based these categories on Whitchurch's original work from 2008 as mentioned above, in which she ran an empirical study of the changing roles and identities of contemporary professional staff in UK higher education. Whitchurch (2008) argued that professionals move across boundaries of their specific departments and work roles, enabling more information, understanding and relations; this movement suggests that these roles can be more multifaceted and changing.

Daly (2013) found that the Development Directors are cross-boundary and unbounded professionals because they work across departments or subject areas in institutions. In their internal role, fundraisers face challenges specific to their institutions and thus develop cross-boundary professional identities that require Development Directors to 'demonstrate transformational leadership in gaining cross-institutional support for and understanding of the role of the development' (p. 28). Unbounded professionals, on the other hand, are professionals who 'have a more open-ended and exploratory approach...[undertaking] work that [contributes] to institutional development' (Whitchurch 2008, p. 377) but could also be seen as those who do not follow rules and procedures and cause problems in a traditional setting. This relates to hierarchies and structures in HEIs; in the academic divisions, there

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<sup>44</sup> Development Directors are in charge of fundraising and other activities such as communication with alumni and organising reunions and database management.

are schools who report to faculty, who then report to the Executive Group/Vice-Chancellor (VC) and the institution.

Applying the concepts of professional identities to fundraisers is a challenge, because there is an issue with the recognition of fundraising as a profession. There is uncertainty of the professional status; for example, Breeze (2017) highlights the lack of professional status of fundraisers by asking whether fundraising is a profession, a job, a career or a vocation. The question over a fundraiser's professional status also raises questions of what a profession generally is (Tlili, 2016), a concept discussed more widely in fields such as sociology (Švarc 2016; Halford and Strangleman 2009). Fundraisers are a 'modern' profession similar to academics, but they do not have the same barriers as solicitors and barristers or accountants, such as qualifying training or obtaining chartered status. Breeze's (2017) question of the status of fundraisers suggests that their work in fundraising is not seen as a full and high status occupation, making it exclusionary and restrictive at the same time. Breeze (2017) highlights that historically, professions have benefited from 'desirable features such as higher wages and prestige' (p. 166), legitimacy (Bloland and Tempel 2004; Bloland and Bornstein 1991) and the goal of overcoming negative views by demanding respect (Harrah-Conforth and Borsos, 1991). The actual job of raising money is part of fundraisers learning their role of how to ask and how to work in an organisation they also carry out other jobs such as planning and executing events (Shaker and Nathan, 2017) and they engage with the grey 'how to' literature (e.g. Holman and Sargeant 2006; Burk 2003; Burnett 2002) instead of studying academic research in a tertiary educational setting.

On the other hand, Gurin's (1985) observation that a professional status can be seen as 'an ideal type rather than attainable reality: "a goal rather than a resting place" ' (p.88) acknowledges that having a professional status might not be realistic. Especially for fundraisers across a variety of charities, this might not be a realistic goal, and specifically in a complex higher education system, this might not be achievable and not required. In contrast, there are those who suggest that fundraising has already attained professional status (Bloland and Tempel 2004; Levy 2004). Nevertheless, the classification of fundraising as an 'emerging profession' (Aldrich 2016, p. 505; HEFCE 2014; Carbone 1989) may be the most suitable label. The skills of fundraising have been acknowledged through a membership in a professional body, such as the Institute of Fundraising for the wider charity sector and the Council for Advancement and Support of Education (CASE), rather than waiting for acknowledgement of the profession from the public (Aldrich, 2016).

Referring the question about status back to Daly's (2013) work on Directors of Development who she classified as 'new professionals', cross-boundary and unbounded professional identities depending on their tasks; the question is whether they are internal- or external-facing and this provides a framework to apply their goals. The increasing number of staff and the title of departments carrying out fundraising within an institution usually encompass the word 'development' or 'advancement' or 'supporter engagement' and/or 'external affairs' rather than 'fundraising'. This can suggest several things, not the least suggest an interchangeable approach by institutions to these roles and the reasons why that might be are useful for further understanding the debates and context of the wide ranging topic that this study focuses on.

On the one hand the description of fundraisers as development officers or staff can have a positive acknowledgment of their wide ranging role. It could signal a view by the institution that their roles do not just encompass fundraising and acknowledges communication, development of relationships internally and external, marketing and other parts of the role than being solely seen as somebody who raises funds for their organisation (Worth and Asp, 1994). The word 'development' also hints at business language by which a business like process could be described and as institutions have been asked to operate functions like a business and adapt to managerialism over the past decade, this might be one reason for choice of the term. Similarly, the term supporter engagement widens the scope of a role to signal that the roles are about engagement with supporters which can be donors and volunteers. Advancement is another term that was also found in the 2012 HEFCE review on philanthropy where the term 'institutional advancement' was defined as the strategic and synergistic overlap between development, alumni relations, supporter engagement and communications functions' (2012b, p.12).

On the other hand, the university-wide avoidance of calling these roles 'fundraiser' and use the term 'development' instead, can also indicate a degree of discomfort amongst institutional leaders. This could signal that institutions are either not sure about the fundraising role within their bigger institution and/or that they are avoiding the directness of employing staff whose role is to raise funds for the institution. Avoiding being blunt about stating the job roles' purposes can also tell us something about the role of fundraising practices and asking, embedded into the cultural setting in the UK. This is also directly linked to the earlier examined negative connotations in 1.4.2 in chapter 1 and cultural attitudes to giving that exist with philanthropy and fundraising in the UK (Wright, 2001) and this suggests only some of the earlier barriers to establish fundraising and a culture of philanthropy within HEIs.

The ability of fundraisers to use frameworks such as the idea of cross-boundary and unbounded professionals can be further linked to higher education management research, in which Whitchurch (2008) pointed out that the interchange of knowledge and practice will grow and networks will extend. Whitchurch (2008) concludes that professional identities may depend on their institutional context, which may be an important factor in what they can and want to achieve within their institutional setting. The local circumstances in this study are the HEIs, whose characteristics will be examined in relation to goals and outcomes in chapter 4 and 5.

## **2.5 Fundraisers, bureaucracies and processes**

It is important to remember that there are also pressures on institutions and those who ask for money in an institution, the fundraisers. Although fundraisers bear the weight of expectations, there has been little research to date on their work (Breeze 2017; Shaker and Nathan 2017; Nyman et al., 2016). Research specifically addressing fundraisers in higher education is emerging (Shaker and Nathan, 2017) and as discussed in the last section started to feature as part of the discussion on professions, however, there is relevant literature that generically examines the role of front line public service workers (Scourfield 2015; Durose 2011; Evans 2011; Lipsky 2010; [1980]) and could potentially be adapted to fundraisers, who may take on a similar role. The role of front line policy workers is not included in the application policy process theories reviewed above, and fundraisers are not traditionally viewed as front line public sector workers, as they usually do not implement policy on behalf of the government, as will be discussed below. However, in the case of higher education and the MFS, it is argued in this study that they can have a similar role in working with government policy and working with the donors who provide philanthropic income.

### **2.5.1 Can fundraisers be Street-Level Bureaucrats in higher education?**

The leading theory in the field from which to draw the ideas, from which much of the work in recent years has evolved, is the concept of 'the Street-Level Bureaucrat' (SLB) by American scholar Lipsky (2010; [1980]). Lipsky examined the role of public services employees who work in roles such as teachers, police officers, social workers, health workers and judges, as well as any other employees who provide services within and as part of governments. The street-level framework suggests the paradox between the bureaucracy of set rules and structures and the distance of these employees from the centre of authority and thereby draws attention to the significant contribution of front line workers to policymaking. Lipsky's core argument is based on three key points: first, the public service employees hold a level

of discretion that they use to implement policies and must balance the needs to respond individually to cases and to respond collectively to policy demands in the most efficient way. Second, Lipsky argues that the varied roles of the SLBs can be compared on a structural level and between groups. In addition to these first two points, which originated in the original version of his idea, published in 1980, his updated work in 2010 presents the idea that the role of managers in enabling SLBs is also important, as managers can narrow the jobs of SLBs and therefore their level of discretion. In the UK and Australia, for example, there was a trend in the 1990s toward the introduction of new public management (NPM) (Lipsky 2010; Hood and Jackson 1994; Hood 1991), in which managers in the UK were introduced to the school system and teachers followed clearer standards and lost some autonomy.

The concept of SLBs has been widely acknowledged as an important contribution to public policy analysis, and it has been used across many service provisions such as safety, security, education, social services (Durose 2011; Evans 2011; Evans 2007) and homelessness (Alden, 2015). A key point of Lipsky's idea is

...the decision of street-level bureaucrats, the routines they establish, and the devices they invent to cope with uncertainties and work pressures, effectively become the public policies they carry out (Lipsky 1980, p.xii).

This quotation highlights the importance of policy at the practitioner (micro) level (Scourfield, 2015). According to Lipsky, SLBs interact directly with citizens and can make use of their discretion in performing work tasks (2010). Fundraisers in the case of this study do not engage with members of the public in the same way that teachers or social worker staff might, but they nevertheless interact with donors. Donors are members of the public and fundraisers implement institutional and government policy and work with the donor to achieve donors' personal goals and combine these goals with the institutional goals.

Lipsky's definition of SLBs includes key characteristics that could be shared with and applied to fundraisers. First, SLBs work as public service workers. Fundraisers indirectly perform this function, especially in universities, as they raise funds arguably for the wider public good of students and the communities. Second, SLBs interact directly with people as part of their job. Fundraisers equally do so, asking donors for money for public services such as schools, the police and nursing. However, these functions may not be the same or comparable, because fundraisers are not, strictly speaking, delivering public service despite working in public institutions. Third, Lipsky argues that SLBs have options for the way the policy is

delivered; a similar point could be argued for fundraisers, who talk about different ideas and projects with potential donors and may interpret those, but that remains to be uncovered in this study. A final similarity could be what Lipsky (2010) described as important conditions at work; he describes work in which policy goals are often mismatched with the work experience (Tummers et al., 2012). These conditions include inadequate resources, demand in excess of supply and in the case of fundraisers, a demand for rapid decision-making to deliver a funding need (Daly, 2013).

However, a distinction must be made between SLBs as defined by Lipsky and fundraisers; there is a difference between a perceived relatively new 'fundraising' service that is trying to establish itself within the sector and long-established public services such as police and social work that have been under-resourced for years. The changing higher education landscape has increased the pressure and demands for a more efficient and fast service of HEIs (Barr 2004; 2010), similar to what Lipsky described as the conditions at work (1984), however, this cannot automatically be compared and linked.

Lipsky (2010) also attributes an important influence to the SLBs in the form of 'substantial discretion', understood as 'a choice of judgement within recognised boundaries' (Durose 2011, p. 908). As part of the discussion of SLBs, the concept of discretion has recently been a popular topic of debate in research (Alden 2015; Scourfield 2015; Hoyle 2014; Evans 2011). The concept was identified by Evans as SLBs using the policies with their knowledge and decision-making to achieve what they can within the constraints of their jobs. Lipsky (2010) also pointed to the 'conflicting and ambiguous policy agendas under conditions of inadequate resources' (p.81) that have led to an increasing development of SLBs and therefore gives them more power and tools to carry out their jobs. In the UK, the shifts in funding and the increasing demand for services such as police and social services have left SLBs in what Lipsky describes as conditions that are inadequately resourced. The core argument is that discretion is not only unavoidable but also essential (Hoyle, 2014). This claim has arisen from research into local authority social services (Ellis and Harris; Baldwin 2000), and the concept has been applied more broadly to areas of health and social welfare (Hoyle 2014; Howe 1991). This analysis would develop the ideas that would provide a critical angle on the concept of discretion. The constraints of SLBs job include strained resources and high demands; these conditions can similarly be translated to fundraising, in which not enough resources are provided for successful fundraising. For example, not enough resources are provided for recruiting enough staff to complete fundraising tasks (HEFCE, 2012b), however these resources have to be carefully compared and assessed as these are

nevertheless different fields of public service with their own rules, structures and hierarchies and involvement of staff and their roles and responsibilities.

Howe (1991) questioned the relevance of Lipsky's contribution in the area of discretion, pointing out that most of SLBs key tasks are driven by others, such as managers or departmental policies and procedures. However, Baldwin (2000) and Evans and Harris (2004) contest the fact that managerialism has prevented bureaucrats' discretion to the extent argued by Howe (1991), and Evans (2011) extends this argument by providing evidence from his qualitative case study of adult social work within a local authority in mental health and older people. Evans (2011) found that discretion was key to these public services and the SLBs, but he also critiqued Lipsky's account of the role of professionalism. Evans (2011) argues that the effect professionalism has on the relationship between workers and front line managers is underestimated in terms of the role of discretion.

The other criticism that Evans (2011) discussed was the broad generalisation by Lipsky (2010) presuming that 'managers are a homogeneous group and that they act simply as policy lieutenants' ( p. 72). Evan's point is that the discretion does not just take place at the practitioner level, but throughout and across the hierarchy of an organisation. This is a point that needs to be taken into account when using this concept in higher education. Scholars already pointed towards the complex hierarchical structures within higher education and divisions between academic and professional services posts (Waring, 2017). Waring (2017) develops this and points out existing problems in structures of higher education and argues that 'performance-led management that characterises many institutions is both outmoded and ill-suited to the challenges of an increasingly turbulent higher education sector' (p.540). Within the academic divisions, structures are usually maintained at the school level; in comparison, fundraisers are usually based within central services of a university in a development office or fundraising section, part of a wider professional services umbrella that often contains student administration, marketing, communication and research services (Squire 2014; Jongbloed, Enders and Salerno 2008). Fundraising roles and posts have developed as part of professional services posts rather than becoming an academic activity. In central services, there are hierarchical management structures in place that must be taken into account when discussing fundraisers' role in the policy process and their level of discretion. Scourfield (2015) agrees that in order to continue using the original concept by Lipsky, it is necessary to acknowledge the role that managers play in providing discretion to cases, which he has proven to be valid in Scourfield's social care studies. He takes this line of argument a step further and suggests in his example of statutory care home reviews that 'street-level bureaucracy is more appropriately conceptualised as being the multi-layered

and dispersed exercise of discretion of multiple state and non-state actors' (p. 929). Scourfield (2015) thus suggests going beyond Evan's idea of the reformulation (p. 929).

The final criticism is that the idea of discretion could be out of date because services have changed significantly (Evans 2010; Baldwin 2004), but it is also argued that the concept nevertheless exists (Evans 2010; Ellis, Davis and Rummer 2002; Baldwin 2000). Lipsky (2010) himself recognised the limitations of the original theory in going beyond the finding that SLBs' activities develop into policies (2010). He has since suggested that while SLBs' behaviour may help toward achieving an overall behaviour, their involvement is only part of an existing broader policy environment, placed within existing structures rather than setting core objectives. As a result, he notes that managers' roles can help narrow the gap between SLBs' delivery and conduct and the target policy results which will be an important point to critically consider as part of this study's examination.

### **2.5.2 Fundraisers as stakeholders in the higher education process**

Having explored policy process theories to understand the potential role of philanthropy in the policy and agenda setting process, the role of fundraisers in the higher education sector as a topic of interest is emerging (Shaker and Nathan 2017; Daly 2013). More broadly, the importance of the fundraisers in the process of increasing charitable income is supported by research that suggests that donations primarily occur as a result of fundraisers working with donors (Breeze 2017; Gunstone and Ellison 2017; Bryant et al. 2003). The role of fundraisers was summed up by Breeze (2017) as 'they [the fundraisers] foster the philanthropic impulse, frame charitable needs and facilitate donations' (p.7). The philanthropic impulse of donors is fostered by for example fundraisers demonstrating to the donor the worthy need for funding a particular cause. Fundraisers facilitate donations by asking and engaging with donors, building ongoing relationships with donors, before, during and after asking for donations. Fundraisers are the connection between donors and the organisation in which they, as pointed out by Daly (2013), work outside of their boundaries and span across other areas. They link the various stakeholders and define, explain and help to deliver projects. The activity of fundraising is therefore intimately linked to philanthropy because it enables the advancement of the charitable needs and the delivery of the projects is linked to the cause.

The review of the literature found this gap between understanding the role of philanthropy and fundraising in higher education in relation to the intention by policy makers and how this is then translated and carried out by fundraisers and institutions to increase the amount of philanthropic funding at their institutions. To aid with this, the application of the SLB concept

is drawn on to explore fundraisers as a version of SLBs whose role and power in the policy process could be examined. What is missing is a conceptual framework that helps to identify and understand fundraisers' role as part of a wider group of actors and stakeholders which the following sections is proposing. These actors and stakeholders are, besides fundraisers, for example government, students, senior administrators and the VCs, academics, and alumni and donors. This study is seeking a framework that moves beyond just identifying the role of the fundraiser as a gift facilitator (Alborough 2017; Breeze 2017) or boundary spanner (Daly, 2013), but rather as how they actively shape and interpret policy implementation. The framework will help to draw a fuller picture of the investigation of philanthropy as part of the policy process and to understand how fundraising and those who fundraise for the institutions fit into the process with other stakeholders such as government, students, alumni and donors, academics and senior management.

As part of the professionalisation of fundraising in higher education, noted in chapter 1, literature on how to fundraise emerged (Burk 2003; Burnett 2002) with a limited number of studies relating this to the context of their institutional environment (Shaker and Nathan, 2017) and how their role, as perceived or experienced, might impact on the outcome of delivering policy or institutional goals and theories of stakeholder engagement can be useful to draw on. In the literature stakeholders are understood more broadly in management terms as 'any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organization's objectives' (Freeman 1984, p.46). Freeman's classical definition is broad and includes almost any stakeholder and can therefore be applied to higher education which also has a variation of stakeholders such as government, institutions and students. Other research suggests specific application of stakeholder groups (Rowley and Moldoveanu 2003; Rowley 1997), their plans and approaches (Frooman, 1999) and their legitimacy (Phillips, 2003).

While stakeholder theory offers the opportunity to engage with different actors in the policy process and understand their specific roles, it has also been noted that it is an immature field of study that examines basic conceptual questions instead of producing empirical research (Laplume, Sonpar and Litz, 2008). One theory, often cited in the literature is Mitchell, Agle and Wood's (1997) theory of stakeholder salience. They develop a typology of properties that stakeholders possess; they argue that stakeholders can possess one, two or all of these attributes and these are 1-the stakeholders' power to influence with the organisation; 2- the legitimacy of the stakeholder's relationship with the organisation; and 3- the urgency of the stakeholder's claim on the organisation (p.854). The theory explains how power, legitimacy and urgency influence the way different stakeholders interact. Power, as argued by other

scholars (Pfeffer and Weber, 1981), is difficult to define and easier to be identified when applied as ‘the ability of those who possess power to bring about the outcomes they desire’ (Salancik and Pfeffer 1974, p. 3). Legitimacy is defined as ‘a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions’ (Suchman 1995, p. 574) which is based on previous notions presented by DiMaggio and Powell (1983). Mitchell, Agle and Wood (1997) define urgency as ‘the degree to which stakeholder claims call for immediate attention’ (p. 867). They argue that the three attributes of power, legitimacy and urgency apply to stakeholders and devise a system in which they classify the stakeholders according to their various combinations and include seven types of combinations. Their idea of the combinations are illustrated in figure 2.2 and they show that three types of stakeholder have one attribute, three types possess two attributes and one type holds all three attributes.

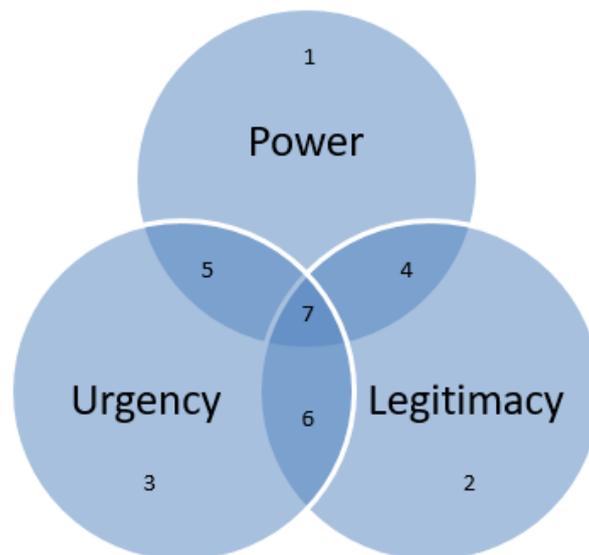


Figure 2.2 Qualitative classes of stakeholders adapted from Mitchell, Agle and Wood (1997, p.872)

Table 2.2 provides an overview of the different stakeholder types and classes. In column one and two the table shows that a stakeholder with low importance (distinguished by a class system of 1-7, in which classes 1, 2, 3 are low salience classes) possesses one of the attributes; stakeholders with more power classified as ‘expectant’ (classes 4, 5, 6 are expected to possess two attributes); and class 7 classified as ‘definitive’ stakeholders, possess all three attributes and are highly salient stakeholders. Column three illustrates the level of salience for each of the stakeholder groups.

Table 2.2 Overview of stakeholder types and classes - adapted from Mitchell, Agle and Wood (1997, p.873-879)

Stakeholder type	Stakeholder Class	Stakeholder salience
Latent stakeholders (classes 1, 2, 3) possess only one attribute	Class 1: dormant stakeholder (the relevant attribute is power) Class 2: discretionary stakeholder (legitimacy) Class 3: demanding stakeholder (urgency)	Low
Expectant stakeholders (classes 4, 5, 6) possess two attributes	Class 4: dominant (power & legitimacy) Class 5: dangerous (power & urgency) Class 6: dependent (legitimacy & urgency)	Moderate
Definitive stakeholders possess all three attributes	Class 7: definitive (power, legitimacy, urgency).	High

Mitchell, Agle and Wood (1997) developed the typology to propose the theory of stakeholder salience and argued that ‘to achieve certain ends, or because of perceptual factors, managers do pay certain kinds of attention to certain kinds of stakeholders’ (1997, p.855). The key component of the concept of salience stakeholders is that none of these features are fixed and they can change over time and the same mutability applies to stakeholders who might be important at one time but not at another (Magness, 2008). This consideration that features of stakeholders can change over time is applicable to stakeholders in higher education in this study in which, as illustrated in chapter 1 and this literature review, government’s role and the role of institutions as well as philanthropy has changed in higher education over time. Since the definition of stakeholder is broad and there is, according to Mitchell, Agle and Wood little disagreement, they define stakeholders as ‘persons, groups, neighbourhoods, organizations, institutions, societies’ (1997, p.855) in which the variation of stakeholders in higher education could be identified.

Yet, Magness (2008) criticised the concept for relying on anecdotal evidence and for relying on ideas from different industries in different contexts. However, Magness’ (2008) own research demonstrated to incorporate stakeholder status of all decision-making parties in the case of two environmental accidents in the mining industry in the 1990s in Canada. Mitchell, Agle and Wood’s (1997) typology is well-established and applied to various studies (Agle, Mitchell and Sonnenfeld 2009; Magness 2008; Parent and Deephouse 2007) but would require the updating and adding of stakeholders as proposed, given its initial publication in 1997.

Relating the concept of Mitchel, Agle and Wood’s salient stakeholder theory to this study’s stakeholders, which need to be further examined but can be the government, students,

administrators and fundraisers, alumni and donors could advance the development of this study and theoretical framework. Mitchell, Agle and Wood's theory of the salient stakeholders provides the opportunity to embed fundraisers as a stakeholder in their own right and study their role with help of the concept.

Other examples where their theory has been applied is Jongbloed, Enders and Salerno's (2008) research that investigates the role of universities and their relationships with communities and stakeholders. Jongbloed, Enders and Salerno can help to further develop the theory in the context of higher education. In their research, they acknowledge higher education as a system which increasingly cooperates and builds networks with a diverse set of groups who all have different expectations of higher education. This links this to reviewed literature in chapter 1 by Berman and Paradeise (2016) who argued that in this changing higher education environment, trends such as rising costs, constricted state budgets, managerialism, rationalisation, changes the understanding of the relationship between the government and HEIs. Jongbloed, Enders and Salerno (2008) argue that the changing relationships are also notable in HEIs relationship with their external groups or stakeholders. They use the concepts of power, legitimacy and urgency and draw on stakeholder theory in business management and Mitchell, Agle and Wood's (1997) concept of salient stakeholders as examined above. They note the application of the three attributes of power, urgency and legitimacy in the higher education setting which can provide institutional managers with a tool to draw out the relationships with internal and external stakeholders to identify which stakeholders should be worked with and which relationships are crucial and should therefore be preserved.

Jongbloed, Enders and Salerno (2008) note that the identification of the relevant stakeholders in a HEI setting is varied and flexible; they argue that the reason for that is the nature and features of HEIs as organisations as 'professional domination, fragmentation of decision-making and diffusion of power' (p.311) where 'stakeholder identification takes place not only at the central institutional or management level but at other levels as well' (p.311). The idea that stakeholder identification can take place at various levels helps this study's aim to include stakeholders such as fundraisers who traditionally might not have featured in such a list and provides this study with a potential framework to base this on. Jongbloed, Enders and Salerno's (2008) research identifies the main stakeholders in the university that can be applicable to this research, including students, senior administrators, the public and employees and other groups of stakeholders, such as suppliers, communities and financial

intermediaries.<sup>45</sup> They exclude fundraisers as a type of employee that play a role, but there may have been possible overlap with other categories of stakeholders in their pasts and this study can adapt this list accordingly. Applying the conceptual lens of the salient stakeholder theory by Mitchell, Agle and Wood (1997) has got the advantage to incorporate other stakeholder groups such as the fundraisers. The established framework provides a good platform from which to examine the different attributes and levels of power, legitimacy and urgency that can help to understand the role of stakeholders in higher education in this study.

For example, table 2.2 shows in column one and two that a stakeholder with low importance (distinguished by a class system of 1-7, in which classes 1, 2, 3 are low salience classes) possesses one of the attributes; stakeholders with more power classified as 'expectant' (classes 4, 5, 6 are expected to possess two attributes); and class 7 classified as 'definitive' stakeholders, possess all three attributes and are highly salient stakeholders. Column three illustrates the level of salience for each of the stakeholder groups.

## **2.6 Preliminary development of theoretical framework**

The review of this literature on higher education, social policy theory and government policy documents sets the scene for a study to investigate the role of fundraising and philanthropy. This study identifies the MSA as a leading theory in conjunction with the SLB and the salient stakeholder theory and will develop this model. These three theories will build the most appropriate theoretical framework for this thesis to investigate the different areas of consideration. Studying philanthropy in higher education first through the lens of the MSA will aid in producing the basis for this study, which will be developed beyond its key contribution as an explanation as to why policy paid attention to philanthropy, and how. It will therefore be applied with the aim of examining the policy formation and process, the role of fundraisers at the earlier stages and investigating the process of how and why philanthropy made it onto the policy agenda in the 2000s.

Kingdon's framework remains a key reference point in public policy literature (Béland 2016; Cairney and Jones 2016; John 2003) and been applied widely outside of the US, but philanthropy has not been featured or studied extensively in policy process theory and in particular with reference to the UK setting. There is also an interaction between randomness and the more recognisable processes of problems, policies and politics (Kingdon, 1984) that

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<sup>45</sup> Jongbloed, Enders and Salerno (2008) list analysts banks and fund managers as examples of financial intermediaries.

ought to be captured and examined. These three streams identified by Kingdon can be seen in the higher education landscape, and in the case of the rapid presence of philanthropy on the policy agenda in 2003. For example, the problem stream 'refers to issues that capture everyone's attention, including the government' (Chow 2014, p. 52). In the UK higher education sector, the British government raised concerns about sustainable funding of the higher education sector in the 1997 Dearing Review. In the policy stream, higher education policy experts came together in the late 1990s and as a result of their debates the most feasible options appeared on the agenda. Philanthropic funding was one of the ideas put forward in the 2003 White Paper (DfES, 2003) and further examined in the 2004 Task Force report (DfES, 2004). The politics stream forms the final stream, in which public opinion, ideas of interest groups and election results play a role (Kingdon, 1995).

However, while the MSA seems useful in examining the ideas of agenda setting and opening of policy windows, a limitation to Kingdon's framework is that it does not capture contextual factors, such as the professionalisation of higher education fundraising that existed prior to the most recent policy attention in this area (Squire, 2014). As Rawat and Morris' (2016) review of the MSA application over 30 years found, it is not uncommon for scholars applying the MSA to also use other theories. They highlight that scholars use additional theories that are specifically addressing points in the respective fields in conjunction with the MSA to overcome limitations to the MSA and a single theory application. As the MSA policy process theory focuses on why a topic 'made it onto the agenda', it does not investigate the people who work and deliver the policy, such as SLBs and fundraisers who will be interviewed in this study. As a result, this study will make a contribution to this pool of literature and apply the MSA in conjunction with the other two theories that help to understand the role of fundraisers within the institutional process and how they execute their role.

The latter part of this literature review indicates that fundraisers can have a level of influence that requires investigation using Lipsky's concept of the SLB and will build the second pillar of the theoretical framework. This theoretical angle will allow for the investigation of fundraisers and how they use their skills and experience to deliver institutional and policy goals. This approach can help to close the gap between academic and practitioner work by applying academic concepts and linking them to practitioners' work, as it was already highlighted in chapter 1 that there is a general problem with existing silos and applications (Bekkers and Wiepking 2010; Lindahl and Conley 2002).

A link can therefore be made to sociological theory, the SLB provides a lens to study a particular actor within this process, the fundraiser. There is a growing acknowledgement that

the street-level experiences and accounts are a valuable addition to the policy analysis (McDonald and Marston 2005; Mead 2005) and this research, with a narrow focus on the sociological SLB theory, can contribute towards this area of research. While this approach could help clarify the role of agenda setting and the role of fundraisers and how they fundraise, it does not help explain the role of fundraisers as part of the overall stakeholder process in the diverse higher education sector and within their institutions. The lens provided by Mitchell, Agle and Wood's (1997) theory of the salient stakeholder theory could aid with this. The salient stakeholder concept could build the third pillar of the theoretical framework after the above mentioned theories have already provided insights; the salient stakeholder theory offers a critical lens to firstly introduce and then apply and understand the role of fundraisers as a stakeholder in the policy process.

Figure 2.3 below explains diagrammatically the construction of the three main theories that are applied in the following study where the MSA is the main theory applied and the SLB and the SST are both linked to the findings from applying the MSA in this study. Overall, the theories, with Kingdon's policy agenda at the core, provide a platform from which to debate the practitioners' role in the process once we understand why policy began to pay attention to philanthropy.

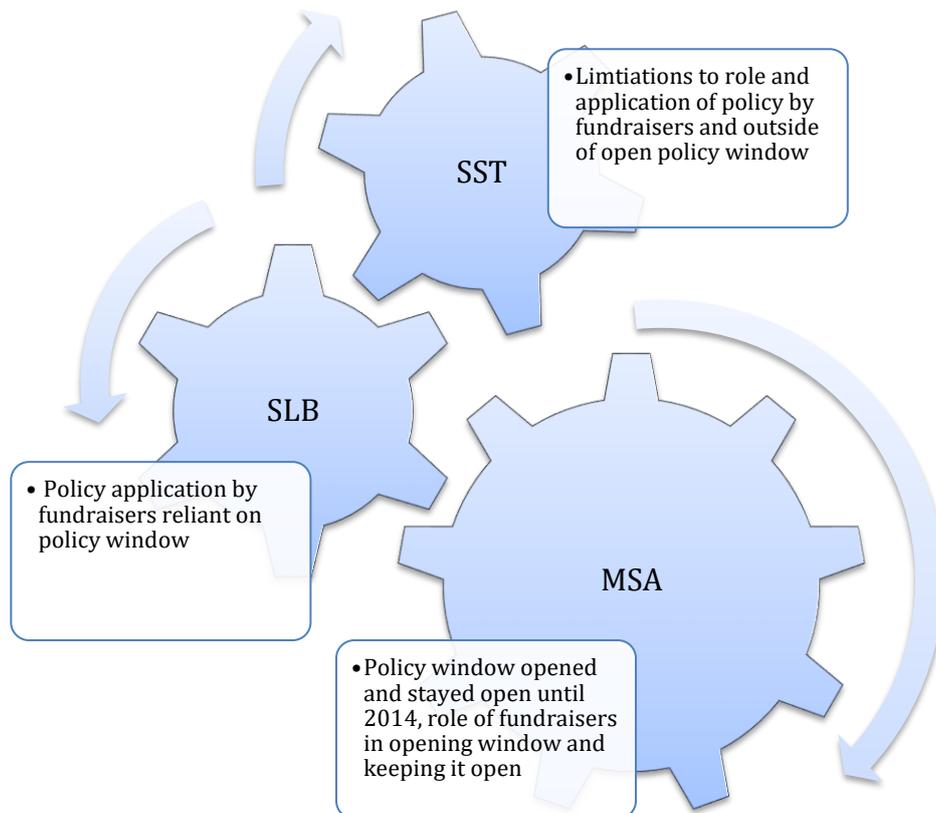


Figure 2.3 Diagram of theoretical framework development

## **2.7 Developing the research questions**

As the introduction of this thesis and the literature review have demonstrated, philanthropy, particularly in higher education in the UK, is an emerging field and is found to have a complex and contested role. The role of philanthropy and fundraising within the policymaking process and as part of a highly politicised higher education sector is particularly complex. In a changing economic, political and ideological landscape, philanthropy has been suggested as a funding source by policymakers, but it is unclear from the documents and literature how philanthropy is conceptualised and how philanthropy is part of the policy process. It was found that the different literatures on higher education and social policy do not have a direct focus on philanthropy's role within the funding setting; leaving questions about its purpose and attraction. Thus, as it stands, a comprehensive understanding of the role of philanthropy in the current changing funding climate cannot be developed. However, it is necessary to understand the ideas behind the support of government for this funding source, notably between 2003 and 2014, and how this support is conceptualised more broadly in policy-making and the changing higher education sector. Regarding including philanthropy in this policy process, no scholars have made more than a superficial attempt to embed philanthropy within other well-developed formal process theories from policy studies. The lack of a systematic framework makes it difficult to assess the role of philanthropy and studies of non-profit influences in policymaking are incomplete if these influential sources of funding are not embedded and considered.

A further gap in the reviewed literature is the understanding of the role of certain actors, such as fundraisers, who can shape and influence outcomes within their organisation and who can apply internal and national policies. Literature on fundraisers is emerging (Alborough 2017; Breeze 2017; Shaker and Nathan 2017), yet their role in the policy and organisational process is unrecognised and unexplored. Understanding fundraisers in their role as those who work and apply policy could help understand the concept of philanthropy in higher education further. The profession of fundraisers needs exploring as another set of professional workers in higher education and a 'new profession' (Daly, 2013), as it is not a commonly acknowledged profession within higher education and more broadly across any other sectors. This brings up questions about how their professional status or lack of influences their ability to achieve their goals as well as those of institutions. This matters because fundraisers play an important role applying policy and contributing towards institutional goals by raising funding. This investigation into their role would provide further insights into the complex process of policy-making and how it is executed by fundraisers.

Research on policymaking is a much more mature field of study than the many fields that have studied philanthropy, with multiple, robust frameworks used by researchers to explore the influences of a variety of actors on the development of public policy. As the literature is not linked to broader theories about policymaking, there is the opportunity for a new contribution to both policy and philanthropy research. What is missing in academic research is a study that investigates the nature of the relationship between government policy on HEI funding and on encouraging philanthropy, examines the influences of government interventions by placing several policies on giving in context and considers the role that philanthropy and fundraisers have played in the provision of higher education.

This leads to the examination of the following research questions:

**Research Question 1:**

***What has driven public policy interventions to promote philanthropy in the higher education sector in the UK since the early 2000s and how have they been executed by fundraisers?***

The first research question proposes to examine public policy interventions, particularly in reference to two schemes, the CBS and MFS, which have played a role in philanthropic funding of higher education in the UK since the early 2000s. It will be important to examine the reasons for the policy interventions to understand the motives behind the government's agenda to increase philanthropic giving in higher education. The second part focusses on how fundraisers have executed and implemented these policies within organisations. There are also several sub-questions that will be examined as part of this question. One sub-question is 'Why has the UK government started to pay attention to philanthropic sources during this time?' This sub-question investigates the motives for the increased attention to understand why it was so relevant during the 2000s. In order to include the views of practitioners, who will have worked with and applied the policies, the other sub-question therefore asks, 'How have the interventions been perceived by practitioners?'. This sub-question helps to examine the perception of policy makers and practitioners and enables a comparison to be made of how they might differ and what they have in common. The final sub-question for research question one asks, 'What role has the government had before, during and after the interventions took place?' which is an important point to investigate to understand the role of philanthropy and compare it over time and at different institutions to incorporate the existing variation in performance that the Ross-CASE survey has reported (Ross-CASE 2006-2017).

## **Research Question 2:**

***What role has philanthropy and fundraising played in the state's provision of higher education in the UK since the early 2000s and why?***

The second research question covers the other main area of this research- the role of philanthropy and the role of fundraising carried out by fundraisers. There has been a limited number of studies on the different actors involved with philanthropy in the policy process, especially the government's role, leading to the question of the role of philanthropy in the provision of higher education in the 21st century. While philanthropy in higher education is as old as its institutions (Pellew 2014; Proper 2009), understanding the role of philanthropy is currently understudied in academia, and it is not known why philanthropy has played a role. Those who carry out the fundraising, the fundraisers, are the important group to include in the investigation process and to further understand the process and role of fundraising in this thesis is important. The second research question will therefore focus on the role of philanthropy and fundraising in the state's provision of higher education and investigates, with help of further sub-questions, the role and reasons for their role.

In uncovering the complexity and distinctiveness of philanthropy's role, a set of sub-questions cover how universities respond to policy changes by asking 'How have HEIs responded to policy changes in terms of philanthropic income?' to understand how and if there are any different approaches and responses. Over the years, the Ross-CASE survey has highlighted that philanthropic income has varied across the higher education sector and especially with regards to philanthropic income that Oxford and Cambridge raise together, almost 46% of the total annual income, a variation in results is assumed (Ross-CASE, 2017). As a result, it will be important to investigate these differences and understand further, if and how philanthropic income and consequently the role of philanthropy and fundraising can differ between institutions, if they differ. In terms of fundraising, it will be important to examine if different approaches were taken by different fundraisers and to what extent this impacted on the outcomes of raising philanthropic income. The above questions also lead to the final sub-question 'What role have philanthropy and fundraising played in the agenda setting for higher education since 2000 (and before)?' to investigate the role of philanthropy and fundraising also in the specific context of higher education policy making since the early 2000s.

## **2.8 Conclusion**

This chapter has reviewed the relevant literature in higher education literature and policy process theories that can be linked to studies in philanthropy and highlights the small area of

academic social policy interest in the topic of philanthropy in higher education. It identified gaps and opportunities to embed philanthropy and fundraisers into this social policy study. Philanthropy does not feature in this literature, but other concepts can be useful, such as that of professionalisation and identities of professionals in higher education, to understand the role of actors such as fundraisers in the process. Social policy theory currently does not pay much attention to philanthropy but offers opportunities to apply concepts such as the MSA and the idea of policy windows to establish a conceptual framework for this study. The research gap therefore is that we do not know enough about the role of philanthropy in the policy process and the role fundraisers play in delivering policy. The conceptual base of this thesis is built with help of Kingdon's MSA, Lipsky's SLB theory and Mitchell, Agle and Wood's theory of the salient stakeholder and enables a way forward to investigate the different dynamics and changes of philanthropy and fundraising within higher education.

## **CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1 Introduction**

In order to engage with the complexities of the policy process and further unpack the complex roles of stakeholders, such as fundraisers and to examine the drivers behind the interventions, it is important to select a research strategy that would enable the examination of variables and answer the research questions. The studies that exist, such as Breeze et al.'s study on philanthropic giving in EU universities' (2011) and Daly's (2013) study on 'new professionals in higher education', often focus on single method approaches. This means they do not provide a multi-angle examination of the phenomena and leave philanthropic studies unexplained outside of their particular context. The overarching aim for this UK based study is to use a multi-method approach and strategy to gain a better understanding of the perceptions of institutions, government and the people directly involved in asking for money: the fundraisers. The three methods employed were semi-structured interviews with senior fundraising professionals, case studies created using archival records from selected HEIs and quantitative descriptive statistics to understand philanthropic income trends in the sector.

This chapter starts with an overview of my methodological choices, a reflection on my own position in this research process, a discussion of the different elements and key characteristics of each sample and reflections on the process and problems that arose. The chapter will then address the main ethical concerns before concluding.

### **3.2 Overview of the study's research design**

The following section summarises the study's research strategy before the methods are discussed in more detail in 3.4. The chosen three research methods were guided by the organising principle of Kingdon's MSA which helps to identify problems, politics and policies that shape the attention to philanthropy. The MSA offers opportunities to introduce and embed philanthropy in formal policy studies and helps examine the reasons behind the opening of a policy window for philanthropy. The research strategy investigates the attention to and role of philanthropy and fundraising in the policy process and policy angle, and it also helps study philanthropy from an institutional and individual level by employing several data methods and including a variation of perspectives.

I chose the methods of descriptive statistics, case studies and interviews and will address and discuss the three methods and their application in turn. As philanthropy in higher education in the UK is an emerging field of study, secondary data analysis from the annual

Ross-CASE survey was first employed to examine philanthropic income trends across all HEIs to set the scene for further analysis. Second, archive data was retrieved to analyse the historic and contemporary role of philanthropy at different institutions by producing and testing archetype case studies. The final method, semi-structured interviews, complemented the other areas of examination by studying the views of senior fundraising professionals on the applied policies and the role of philanthropy in policymaking. I chose this mixed methods approach to provide a broader perspective on the phenomenon of 'philanthropy' by combining descriptive statistics with the interpretation of secondary data and interview data.

The chosen methods interrelate and inform each other, so it was important to collect the data at the same time rather than treat the different methods separately. Descriptive statistics were developed in this research, so early engagement and examination of the Ross-CASE survey data was a crucial first step. Understanding the data was crucial to how this research developed, and it influenced the choice of institutions selected for the case studies as well as the type of questions that could be asked of interviewees.

Before choosing the sample size and sampling technique for the data collection, as examined more closely in 3.4.2., I engaged with the only data survey available on philanthropic giving in higher education, the annual Ross-CASE survey. The survey measures philanthropic income in higher education (including further education colleges) and the report and data have been published annually since 2006/7, providing an overview of trends and developments. Each year the survey results are presented in a report produced by CASE and the data used for this thesis is the original raw data retrieved from CASE from each institution and includes the financial years 2005/6 (published in 2007) to 2014/15 (published in 2016).<sup>46</sup> I have chosen to focus on the data for 9 years to provide an overview of key trends from 2007-2016.<sup>47</sup> The latest survey results for the financial year 2015/16, published in a report in May 2017 and raw data made accessible later, are not included as the data collection and analysis for this study had already been completed. The headline figures provided in the 2017 report are nevertheless used to refer to the latest headline figures and content.

The data is collected in the first quarter of each year for the previous academic year. The participants are asked to respond to questions on a voluntary basis, except during the MFS between 2008-2011; each institution which wanted to be eligible for match funding had to take part in the years that they received the match from HEFCE. The prepared annual Ross-

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<sup>46</sup> The analysis, produced graphs and data tables will refer to the year of the financial years the data was collected in.

<sup>47</sup> Data was available before 2006/7, but the it was less consistent and a lower number of institutions took part.

CASE reports provide an overview of overarching sector's fundraising performance and comment on notable trends across the financial year whilst also covering figures on financial expenditure, investment and staff ratios and comparing those across different groups of HEIs. They are written for practitioners and senior management at universities to enable comparison of individual results and sharing of best practice in the form of case studies. The reports can be criticised for being used to showcase the value and positive influence of philanthropy to market the overall increase in fundraising income from this source. The reports solely engage with problems that for example the smaller and less experienced HEIs might face.

An important variable that is collected and used in this study is 'cash income', which reports on any money raised and received during the financial year. The other key variable is 'new funds' secured that reports on any new money promised and pledged plus the money received; this was the variable that was reported as the 2017 headline figure of £1 billion. Other variables measured are the total number of donors and the total number of alumni to seek an understanding of increasing or decreasing numbers and to be able to compare whether for example the rise in the number of donors might be correlated to a potential increase in philanthropic funding. Some important figures are also measured to understand the return on investment of fundraising where a variable measures the investment in fundraising and alumni relations that can then be compared to the institutional expenditure and the incoming funds. Costs across areas of alumni relations, which often forms one area of a HEI's fundraising office, and fundraising are also measured.

The initial investigation of the available reports and data aimed to gain an overview of the existing data related to philanthropic income and to decide where the gaps in knowledge were and how the data could help answer my research questions. The Ross-CASE data was chosen over using institutional reports for the reason that the survey would provide much more detailed data and insights into fundraising as annual accounts from individual institutions would show. Although the survey data collection relies on the correct information provided by institutions, there may be variations in the way some income is accounted for.<sup>48</sup> Using the survey data allowed for a more efficient use of resources to gain the aspired overview of philanthropic income. As early engagement with archival and current data highlighted, annual reports produced by each institution often do not provide a detailed, if any, account of philanthropic income raised during the financial year. Often these reports do

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<sup>48</sup> For example, some interviewees reported that sometimes institutions would count research funding from charitable foundations as philanthropic income as well as research income or research income only. This suggested that the boundaries between the two funding streams could potentially be blurred at times which may impact on the reporting of such figures.

refer to philanthropic income within the category 'other income'. Similarly to seeing the Ross-CASE survey as an advertising tool for fundraising and philanthropy in the sector, it was found in this research that institutions also use their annual reporting as a marketing tool to advertise the positive stories of the institutions.<sup>49</sup>

Whilst 163 HEIs have contributed data to the Ross-CASE survey in at least one year of the survey, only 73 have done so in each of the 9 years that this survey is explored. Therefore, I decided to only include this lower number in my analysis, as I was interested in gaining a comprehensive overview of change over time. This number represents 45% of the eligible institutions and 65% of those that took part in the latest year (2015/16). The process of engaging at a very early stage with the Ross-CASE data guided the other research elements and made me aware of the shortfalls of the survey data. It became apparent that the data and reports of the annual Ross-CASE survey were not sufficient for answering my research questions. For example, the data was already analysed for the purpose of providing an overview of philanthropic income and other related factors for a particular year, and never compared data for more than three years at one time. It was not possible to use the reports alongside each other for comparison of longer trends because the number of cases (institutions) that took part in the survey varied each year. Whilst this data did not prove sufficient, producing and analysing trends was a crucial part of this study for gaining insight into the philanthropic landscape in higher education and addressing the questions on the role of philanthropy. While the use of annual reports and accounts was useful for the archival case studies, as discussed in more detail below, it would have not been feasible to apply the sample size as the Ross-CASE survey data and then analyse all accounts and reports available from each institution that took part. The annual reports and accounts available institutions are a good source for reference but have been found not detailed with regards to philanthropic income. This was particularly true for annual accounts since approximately the 1980s/90s until the 2000s where philanthropic income is rarely reported on separate. Earlier annual accounts that were accessed as part of the archival research showed more detailed accounts of philanthropic income and activity.<sup>50</sup>

On the other hand, and this is where insider knowledge and experience with the data became crucial, the survey is potentially not as representative as it claims due to the fact that institution's' input cannot be checked or verified and relies on the honest submission of data. The other risk that the data collection presents is that different institutions may count

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<sup>49</sup> The interviewed fundraising professionals in this study suggested that such publications are often used as a marketing tool for recruitment and boosting external relationships with alumni, donors, the local community and friends of the university and therefore philanthropy would only be highlighted if it was noteworthy to what contributions it had made.

<sup>50</sup> The role of philanthropic income and the availability of data is examined in chapter 4.

philanthropic income differently, for example in one institution, business and research related activity from charitable foundations may be counted towards philanthropic funding even if the internal systems count it towards another pot, for example enterprise or research funding income.

Furthermore, there was a limit to the amount of descriptive statistics that could be produced, because the level of data was too basic for further analysis. Therefore, I decided that this method would not provide this study with enough data to answer a research question. Second, the data covered nine years of philanthropic income (for the financial year 2005/6 published in 2007 and 2014/15 published in 2016), and the final data set for this study was prepared in early 2017, which is why later data sets are not included in this study. It was not possible for the data to provide any insights into philanthropic giving before 2006 that would help place philanthropic giving into context of the wider changes and policy-making in higher education, such as the introduction of tuition fees in the 1990s and the shift of responsibility for paying for higher education to the student. The early realisation of the limitations of the secondary data was not surprising, however, given that literature has indicated shortfalls of secondary data in serving as suitable data collected by somebody else for a different purpose (Bryman, 2016). Being aware of these limitations early on enabled me then to design the other data collection in conjunction with what I had already found.

Early findings from descriptive statistics helped illuminate the heterogeneity of the higher education and philanthropy sector, influencing the way interviews and cases were selected in the sampling for the two other research methods used in this thesis. The secondary analysis also highlighted that there would be several layers requiring investigation. The three research methods were therefore part of a fluid process of gathering information; for example, the 15 interviews were carried out over the same space of 16 months in 2016-2017 as was the data from archives collected. The fundraisers could be categorised into the different age groups of universities that already played a role in the data analysis of the Ross-CASE data and were a way of selecting a sample of institutions for the case studies.

Regarding the interview sample size, the 11 interviews with senior fundraisers represent 15% of the overall heads/senior fundraisers in my institutional sample of 73. According to the Ross-CASE survey in 2017 there are 1,464 fundraising staff across 100 HEIs. The interviews enabled me to gain insight into the views of the professionals who have worked with and experienced the policies on philanthropy themselves and placed these views in the context of the overall Ross-CASE trends and the archival material.

From the analysis of the Ross-CASE data, four case studies were created to complete the data set. The selected institutions had detailed accounts available and varied in founding dates; one university was founded in the 19th century, one in the early 20th century, one in the 1960s, and one was a post-1992 university. The case studies complemented the interviews by placing philanthropy's role in the context of the past 15 years of policy-making and understanding the Ross-CASE data in a wider context. At the same time, as I developed the interview questions, I also developed the ideas of the archival case studies further. The sample and sampling technique were intertwined, as I wanted to ensure a level of comparability across the two sets of data and had to develop and decide on the sample itself. For example, the sample depended on whether I had access to an institution's archival data as well as whether there were senior fundraisers available for interviews, an point discussed in more detail in 3.4.1.

Before discussing the details of the three methods, I will address an important aspect of this research process: my role as a researcher and the experience I bring from being a practitioner in the examined field.

### **3.3 Reflections on the researcher's position; the 'insider' versus the 'outsider' debate**

As already highlighted in the introduction of this thesis in section 1.5, I recognised my own position as researcher and a practitioner in this study as an 'insider'. This position and insight has been a crucial part of the set-up of this study. Benefits of this position included access to knowledge, access to interviewees and easy interaction with participants (Greene 2014; Chavez 2008; Bell 2005). This position was also beneficial for the execution and analysis which is reflected on in this methodology section. At the same time as there were many benefits to this position, it also required a careful reflection with regards to the potential challenges that such an 'insider' view can pose. For example dealing with participants and carrying out the analysis of the data had to be carefully assessed (Berger 2015; Silverman 2014; Le Gallais 2008) as they were related to questions over bias and subjectivity (Greene, 2014). I will also make a concluding reflections on my position as an 'insider' to the research in the conclusion in section 6.6.

Within the literature that discusses qualitative research methods and approaches, a number of scholars have discussed the role of the 'insider' within this research process to the one of the 'outsider' (Berger 2015; Silverman 2014; Le Gallais 2007; Le Gallais 2003; Hockey 1993; Schutz 1976). Le Gallais (2003), for example, stresses the importance of a reflective process

of the researcher to examine the opportunities and problems that the position as an insider/outsider entails. Scholars have also argued that the lines between the two positions are overlapping and indistinctive at times, e.g. Naples (1996) pointed out that '[I]nsiderness or outsidership are not fixed or static positions, rather they are ever-shifting and permeable social locations...' (p. 140). Naples' argument would propose that neither position would be able to have 'a monopoly on advantage or objectivity' (Chavez, 2008, p. 476) which then suggests a fluid perspective and approach could be adapted, however such positions are equally debated (Greene, 2014).

It is particularly relevant to reflect on my positioning, not just with regards to the knowledge of the research arena that influenced the set-up of this study, but also to reflect on the execution and analysis process given the predominantly qualitative research methods, which are argued to be subjective in that researchers include elements from themselves (Greene 2014; Silverman 2014; Agar 1986). This means, for example, that my assumptions, beliefs and values of higher education and philanthropy can influence my research. As an insider I was careful to mitigate potential biases and reflect on the risk of 'taken for granted assumptions' or being 'overfamiliar' with what is said or with the participants themselves (Hockey 1993, p.199). While preconceptions must be carefully monitored and mitigated by investigating findings as thoroughly and as objectively as possible, there are also advantages provided by my prior knowledge and my position in the process. I have been involved in higher education fundraising since 2010 as an active practitioner, but not as a full-time fundraiser per se, and was informed and knowledgeable about the higher education landscape before I started working specifically in this area; I also worked at several other charities before becoming involved in the higher education sector. My role and knowledge of the fundraising sector in higher education has shaped and undoubtedly influenced this research in several ways, such as in defining the research gap and problem at hand, the approach of the study, the closeness of my practitioner role to the interviewees and how I interpret the findings.

Scholars such as Berger (2015) have pointed out three ways that the role, as an insider can impact the research. His first point is that there is increased willingness of participants to take part in the study, which was certainly true in this study. Except for one person, I had no refusals or cancellations, and my sample expanded through snowball sampling as discussed in more detail in section 3.4. This enabled a smooth and efficient set up process for the interviews.

Berger's second point is that questions raised by the researcher are 'informed', sharing the social world of the research with participants (Le Gallais, 2003), which meant that I was in a position to ask questions that I know are relevant to current issues. I phrased the questions in such a way that fundraisers would understand the language used. Steps were taken to ensure that the questions were easy to understand by testing them with colleagues as well as by using pilot interviews to further test the interview scenario, a process that is examined further in section 3.4. Participants appreciated the knowledge base that I brought to the research and the way the questions were informed about the current situation in the sector which meant that we could move on to more in-depth discussions quickly. The informed questions and easier conversation that resulted from this helped to foster relationships and enhanced the rapport between my role as researcher and the participant (Hockey, 1993). The quicker rapport building process may have encouraged the respondent to provide more insight into their views and thinking. Hockey (1993) suggests respondents are more willing to share 'intimate details of their lives to someone considered empathetic' (p. 119) because of their shared understanding with the insider researcher. However, this insider view can also be disadvantageous to producing impartial research because assumptions are being made by my own role as the researcher (Gallais 2003; Hockey 1993). For example, choosing questions that I thought were necessary questions could have resulted in leaving out essential questions that would have clarified the process of an institution arriving at the decision to take part in the match funding scheme in the first place.

A related third point by Berger (2015) is that there is a common language surrounding the topic that is understood, as Le Gallais (2003) noted an insider understands the nuances and idioms within their shared language, and makes the process of interviewing easier (Berger, 2015). An outsider to the research would have had a potential disadvantage to understand the language because, as Schutz (1993) put it, 'every social group... has its own private code, understandable only but those who have participated in the common past experiences in which it took rise' (1976, p.107). For example, I did not need to explain to the interviewees what the MFS or CBS was or what I meant by tax incentives such as Gift Aid. This enabled a smoother and less time-consuming process for both parties and presented a benefit to the insider position.

Berger's (2015) points were manifested in my research, particularly his third point about shared language, but it was also possible for my position to obstruct the later analysis if steps were not taken during and after the interviews. For example, there was a danger in assumptions relating to shared language and knowledge being an insider to their world, with participants making comments such as 'you will have heard this before', 'as you will have

experienced too', etc. To prevent and minimise this risk, I did not share my personal opinions prior or during the interview process and would often ask clarifying questions to further understand participants' meanings. In addition, on occasions when I felt that the interviewee made an assumption about what I meant or misunderstood, I would re-phrase the question and then confirm what they said.

This experience highlights an important point about multiple views that play a role in the process which has recently received some attention within the literature (Milligan 2016; McNess, Arthur, and Crossley 2015; Katyal and King 2011; Arthur 2010). Rather than just reflecting on how I see my own position as an insider in the process, it was necessary to balance this and take into account 'the ways in which their role is defined by how others involved in the project, research participants and further afield, [and] view the researcher' (Milligan 2016, p.241). The recent theoretical developments in the literature take into consideration insider-outsider perspectives and suggest that it should not be seen as a fixed status (Milligan 2016; McNess, Arthur, and Crossley 2015; Katyal and King 2011; Arthur 2010). This is a particularly relevant argument with regards to research in international and comparative settings such as education (Milligan 2016; McNess, Arthur, and Crossley 2013) where the position can shift depending on the individual situation of the researcher, the research context and different political, social and cultural factors (Arthur, 2010).

I deliberately did not share the interview questions with the participants beforehand, because I wanted their instinctive responses to the questions rather than prepared responses. The prepared responses could have been far more measured both in terms of their language and in what they thought about policy and the role of government.

As touched on above, criticism of my role as a practitioner in this research is that my prior assumptions are inevitably brought into qualitative research (Agar, 1986) and these required reflection. For example, I at first had less positive perceptions of the government's engagement with philanthropy, which were based on primary experiences in which government did not seem supportive enough or neglected the important role of philanthropy in higher education altogether. However, through this research process, I learned more about how other fundraisers adopted a broader view of government's role and saw that it was not always the role of government and policymakers to be fully involved or to have full input into philanthropy and raising funds. I realised that my views were too simplistic and that there were several layers at the macro, micro and institutional level that required examination to further understand philanthropy's role in policymaking in higher education. This reflection also highlights that the insider researcher can also be an outsider in some

respect because not all values or opinions are shared and these can be moveable and should not be seen as static as recent research pointed this out to be the case (Milligan 2016; McNess, Arthur, and Crossley 2015; Katyal and King 2011; Arthur 2010). In addition, this point is also relevant in terms of what I learned; that practitioner perceptions of what government can and should do needed to be put into a broader context of the welfare state and the changing position of higher education. This changing perception and my personal interest in the research had to be considered as an especially relevant factor when it came to the analysis of the data. As Fielding (2004) noted, 'primary data analysis is always subject to the problem that the researcher will have entered the field and collected their data with particular interests in mind' (p.100). In my role as a researcher, I had to be clear that interview questions were examined from the researcher's perspective and not from the practitioner's view. This reflection on the aforementioned less positive perception of government's role has been most influential and beneficial as part of this process. In summary, while there are relevant criticisms with regards to carrying out research from an insider perspective as examined in the above, this research has benefitted from the opportunities that this view provided. As a result it delivers an informed and insightful perspective and, despite its criticism, follows standards of intellectual rigor (Brannick and Coghlan, 2007).

### **3.4 Research design and methods**

Having reflected on my own role as a fundraising practitioner and the insider vs outsider position in the previous section, I will now examine the research methods in more detail. As the three methods, particularly the interviews and case studies, were interlinked in terms of selection and analysis, I discuss these together, reflecting on the nature of my methods design and strategy. In 3.4.1, I discuss the sample and methodological considerations, and in 3.4.2, I discuss the sampling technique.

#### **3.4.1 Sample and methodological considerations**

The research gap in philanthropy in higher education in the UK, which was highlighted in the literature review, also extends to the limited knowledge of the historically important role of philanthropy. The four case studies provided me with an opportunity for a new and richer perspective on philanthropy's role in higher education, as many elements of the archival data have not been used widely for academic purposes nor been analysed in a wider context of changes in higher education. There is a limited amount of literature researching the relevance of historical philanthropic funding (Whyte 2015; Pellew 2014; Pellew 2013; Cannadine and Pellew 2008), but not a great deal is known about how public policy impacts

fundraising and philanthropy and their role in the policy process and the provision of funding for higher education. A further complication is the large variance across institutions' experience in raising philanthropic income, ranging from HEIs, particularly universities, that raise many millions of pounds every year with Development Offices to those that have no fundraising staff and have raised less than £1 million throughout their existence.

Because of the problems with the identified and available research data, I decided to create multiple case studies of different institutions. The secondary archive data used for the creation of these case studies, offered 'an opportunity to bring a new perspective to existing data... or to form a base for comparison with newly collected data' (Ritchie et al., 2014, p.53) by examining the role of philanthropy at these institutions. It also allows the investigation of some cases in more detail to examine whether a wider generalisation can be drawn from the findings. The establishment of the case studies helps to link past and present data together from the Ross-CASE survey and interviews and assists with developing the understanding of the role of philanthropy, which is often either studied historically or currently but not over time.

Deciding on the sample for the archival case studies was an important step, as case studies are 'an intensive study of a single unit or a small number of units (cases), for the purpose of understanding a larger class of similar units (a population of cases)' (Yin 2007, p.37). Because the units were institutions that are very different in their foundation date, teaching and research provision, experience of raising philanthropic funds and annual philanthropic income, the careful selection of case studies to present philanthropic activity or a particular group of HEIs in the sector became important.

In preparation for the sampling process, I had to consider the question of how to cluster HEIs given the level of heterogeneity in the sector, as it:

is common knowledge that UK universities differ significantly in a number of respects, ... intensity and measured quality of their research activity, the perceived quality of the teaching and learning experience, the level of economic resources at their disposal, their degree of academic selectivity in admissions, and the socioeconomic mix of their student bodies (Boliver 2015, p.609).

Distinctions based on university's historic roots were common even before the first university rankings and league table were created in 1993; the rankings followed at the end of the binary system where former polytechnic colleges could gain university status. For example,

scholars argue that Oxford and Cambridge and other older universities have been more valued than newer universities (Tight 1996; Scott 1995). A study by Boliver (2015) focussed on the question of whether there are distinctive clusters of older and newer universities and how the diversity is structured. She found that the older (pre-1992) universities indeed have a higher level of wealth and research action and are more academically successful (2015).

Another way of clustering the HEIs would have been a division by mission groups: the Russell Group, the Million+, the 1994 Group and the University Alliance Group. However, the clustering has always been criticised for creating a club of the most prestigious universities and also creates an elitist ranking system. This list therefore might not represent the diversity of the sector and would not be able to deliver the answers to the research questions. Applying mission groups as a sampling strategy would likely not capture the variation in funding, both public and private, that institutions of different age groups and during different times of their founding will have experienced. As a result, this option would not provide this research with a helpful cluster framework to test and overcome the barriers set by the assumed HEI rankings and to link this to the research questions as set out in chapter 2. Instead, the founding age of an institution has previously been used as an organising principle in academic studies by Warren and Bell (2014) and by practitioners in higher education (HEFCE 2014; HEFCE 2012a; HEFCE 2012b), so I applied this concept. I suggest this classification to be an appropriate approach for my study to test the relevance of this cluster in relation to the fundraising performances of HEIs.

According to Yin (2014), the number of cases should reflect the number of case study repetitions that exist theoretically and literally. I aimed to select enough cases that present the fundraising sector in higher education as a whole, but since the sector is diverse, this was only possible to an extent. Theoretical replication is important for considering how complex the cases are and how much they can prove external validity (Yin, 2014). How much certainty is achieved is also dependent on the precise number of case studies. In particular, literal replication is important; enough cases are needed to make an argument for the different age groups of universities. After considering theoretical and literal replication, and following Yin's (2014) suggestion of a case number between four and ten, I selected four case studies and one pilot case.

In addition to analysing the archival case study data, I also carried out 15 semi-structured interviews with senior fundraising professionals and experts in the higher education sector. As with the case study sample size, there is no clear guidance on what constitutes a sufficient sample in interviews; suggestions range from as low as five interviews (Creswell

2013; Morse 1992) to more than 25 interviews (Charmaz, 2008). My predominant reasons for choosing 15 interviews was based on two factors: firstly, the other research methods complement the data collection; secondly, the aforementioned representation of 15% of the overall senior fundraising population made 15 an achievable yet representative number. The interviews took place between March 2016 and July 2017, with most conducted in person at the person's office, a café or at the University of Kent. One interview was conducted over the phone in order to broaden the geographical location of interviewees in the sample and to avoid any north/south bias; it has previously been highlighted that universities created during the industrial revolution in the north and west of the country especially benefited from local families' philanthropy (Pellew, 2014). The length of the interviews ranged from 40 minutes to over two hours, averaging around 55-60 minutes.

Before applying the sampling technique, it was important to be clear about how I defined a 'senior fundraiser' in this study. In this research, senior fundraisers are broadly defined as those who are in charge of the fundraising function within their institution and who also ask potential donors for donations. As there is a range of different job titles across the HE sector, for this study the term 'senior fundraiser' was chosen as the closest to describe any head or director of fundraising in a senior position within the area of fundraising who had also responsibilities across others supporting this such as working with alumni and database management.

In addition to the already mentioned different job titles, there can also be confusion with regard to a head of fundraising's remit and role, which I was aware of as an insider to the practices and structures across the sector and this insight has enabled me to navigate and mitigate through quickly. The confusion lies in that in some institutions, the head of department is the chief fundraiser but also has other responsibilities such as overseeing events, marketing and communication functions. In some other, often larger fundraising departments, a head of fundraising is solely responsible for fundraising and somebody else for alumni work, for database work etc. It is important to be aware of these differences, as the responses and outlook on policy could be linked to an interviewee's level and diversity of responsibility. I pursued the sampling so that 'sufficient data is collected for researchers to be able to explore significant features of the case and to put forward interpretations of what is observed' (Bassey 1999, p.47). The selection process was therefore important for interviews; I applied snowball sampling after carrying out several interviews and other contacts were suggested. I asked the 15 interviewees about their views on the role of philanthropy in higher education and the policy process, as they are likely to have witnessed policy attention in this area from 2003. The interviews enabled me to access their

perceptions, experiences and thoughts on the topic. Silverman (2013) notes that people's meanings and experiences can be understood from the way they communicate, suggesting that

It is the description of what people say that can be analysed to account for the true meanings and practices of individual's actions. It is the closeness qualitative research has to the 'field', that is unavailable to quantitative researchers that give it practical relevance (2013, p. 86).

Silverman (2013) makes the point that qualitative research enables research to go deeper into the analysis and understand the practices and meanings of people involved. By doing so, this research is much closer to producing work that is practically relevant, because the data is derived from people who experience the topic under study. However, it should also be noted that there are disadvantages to using interviews as a method. For example, Cassell (2005) argues that both the interviewer and the interviewee are participants and as such do 'identity work'. In other words, the way they represent themselves, how attitudes and responses are expressed and age, ethnicity and gender play a role. In this context, personal identity can, according to Denscombe (2007), affect the data as interviewees respond differently

depending on how they perceive the person asking questions. In particular, sex, the age and ethnic origins of the interviewer have a bearing on the amount of information people are willing to divulge and their honesty about what they reveal (2007, p. 176)

and this can impact the quality of the data and the depth required but not delivered by the interviewee. There can also be potential problems in the interview content and in deciding how to analyse the respondent's data, as Rapley (2007) noted that 'both speakers are constantly "doing analysis", "making meaning" and "producing knowledge" ' (p.26-27). Relying too much on what has been said by interviewees (Berg and Lune 2017; Atkinson and Silverman 1997) without analysing it in a bigger context can be a risk, so I mitigated this risk by taking key points and themes and comparing them to prepared notes and facts on the larger context of the questions and the study in higher education. Furthermore, attention must be paid to how the collected data is already interpreted through the interviewees' own lens before I then interpret their answers through my lens.

How these issues played out in my data collection was that interviewees generally revealed more information than I was expecting, and they mentioned details that they did not want recorded or transcribed. There are also questions about bias when carrying out interviews;

the potential bias of sample selection or interviewees was minimised using other methods for triangulation of research methods. With regards to snowball sampling, relying on others to suggest people they know can potentially lead to a biased sample as they may suggest people they like but who do not fit the sample criteria. I mitigated this risk by checking that the suggested participants fit the sample selection criteria before approaches were made.

I chose semi-structured interviews to explore the variety of perspectives, values and experiences that different individuals brought to the study in more depth. This, according to Denscombe (2007), is able to 'let the interviewee develop their ideas and speak more widely on the issues raised' (p.176) in contrast to a completely fixed set of questions. As stated above, the questions (Appendix 3) were not shared with the participants in advance to prevent interviewees from preparing answers and statistics, as I was interested in their initial reaction to the questions and what they spontaneously remembered about the policies and outcomes.

Furthermore, the skills that I used to conduct the interviews also formed an important part of the methodological considerations, especially regarding who was interviewed (Yeo et al., 2013). Arguments have been made that interviews are not about a neutral exchange of asking questions and receiving answers (Atkinson and Silverman 1997; Holstein and Gubrium 1995). Scholars have suggested that hierarchy and power relationships can impact the interviewee/interviewer relationship. This is particularly relevant to my research, considering the participants I contacted. In this study, participants were senior professionals who have been involved in this subject field during the past 15 years. In the literature, these types of senior participants are described as 'elites'; Brinkman and Kvale defined this group as 'persons who are leaders or experts in a community, usually in powerful positions' (2015, p.171). 'Elite can mean many different things to different people in many different contexts' (Smith 2006, p. 644), and it is important to recognise that 'elite status stems from the control of human capital decision and knowledge resources' (Desmond 2004, p. 264).

As part of the methodological considerations, it was therefore important to distinguish this type of participant and the way I conducted these interviews from other potential participants. Marshall and Rossman (2010) pointed out that interviews with elite individuals are 'a special case of interviewing that focuses on particular type of interview partner' (p.155). As highlighted as a potential issue in the Ethical Research form (Appendix 2), a key problem could have been gaining access to interviewees (Hertz and Imber, 1995). In this particular study, access was not a problem, despite the participants' status, and my role as a practitioner contributed to the positive outcome. Once access was gained, the conduct of

interviewing 'elite(s)' was important for producing critical research (Blomley, 2008). For example, as mentioned previously in my reflection as a researcher, the role of knowledge and power relations in the interview process should not be underestimated (Lancaster 2017; Thomas 2012; Bygnes 2008; Smith 2006), nor should the role of ethnicity (Corbie-Smith et al., 2007), religion or culture (Hall, 2004). I had already reflected on cultural differences in the process of securing ethical approval, ensuring the language chosen for the interviews was clear and straightforward and that I asked questions clearly.

The final method, the secondary data analysis of the Ross-CASE data, as described in some detail in 3.2, added value to this study, because it has not previously been examined in academic studies, and this was the first time that somebody other than journalists has requested access to the raw data set. The data had never previously been compared over more than three years, so prior data was insufficient. Being the first to use this data in an academic study created challenges because it meant that the data had to be selected, cleaned, tested and analysed carefully. However, it enabled me to examine the research questions and the role of philanthropy at different institutions with the most relevant and current data. Nevertheless, there are criticisms for using secondary data research, as the data has been collected by somebody else (Bryman, 2016), so it was necessary to thoroughly examine what the data set entailed, how it was collected and whether the data enabled me to answer my research questions (Doolan and Froelicher, 2009). As Doolan and Froelicher (2009) point out, secondary data collection is often less time-consuming, less expensive and entails lower danger to previous participants, which was all beneficial for my study.

The production of further descriptive statistics added value to the existing results, as I examined trends beyond the top line figures shown in the annual Ross-CASE report, such as those concerned with institutions not part of the top 10% performing institutions and how the aforementioned variables 'new funds secured', 'cash received' and 'number of donors' compared. The survey usually excludes Oxford and Cambridge from their mean and median calculations, but they do not distinguish between the top 10% (including Oxford and Cambridge) of performing institutions, who according to my findings make up almost 70% of the overall philanthropic income raised. This breakdown of the data enabled me to report on different layers of different university performance levels that gave new insight into the data and the varied role of philanthropy and different institutions. I then investigated how institutions that do not belong to the major successful institutions perform with regard to fundraising income and how variables such as cash income received and number of donors compared between different institutions.

### 3.4.2 Sampling design

As mentioned earlier, the 73 institutions that took part in all nine years of surveys under investigation created the sample for the secondary data analysis from which further sampling evolved. Based on the 73 institutions' data, I categorised the institutions based on their founding date to further examine if there were any variations and to understand the differences in the found variations across these institutions. The selection and division of results by age groups then also influenced the way I looked at my other samples from interviews and archival records. Age was already a category that was used in the annual Ross-CASE survey and the 2012 HEFCE commissioned report 'Review of Philanthropy' (p. 94), dividing institutions into several groups. One group is Oxbridge for the University of Oxford and the University Cambridge, both created before the 12th century. Another group is the pre 1960 group which includes Durham University, University of Exeter, University of Reading and Imperial College London and in total 34 universities were created between 1830s and 1960. The third group is formed by seven new universities which were created in the 1960s such as the University of Sussex, the University of Kent and the University of Essex. HEFCE also added other institutions that gained their chartered status in the 1960s or later such as for example the University of Loughborough. The University of Loughborough has its origins in the Technical Institute that was established in 1909, in 1966 received chartered status as Loughborough University of Technology and then retitled as the University of Loughborough in 1996.<sup>51</sup> Following the end of the binary system, a further 39 institutions, mostly former polytechnics, joined the higher education sector. Examples are Nottingham Trent University, Bournemouth University and the University of Westminster. The final group is formed by those institutions who received chartered university status in the 2000s; there are 49 institutions who are mostly former higher education or teacher training colleges and changed from university college to university in the last ten years. Examples include University College Birmingham, University of Chester, University of Bolton. For this study, I decided to amend the age categories for the sampling process and reduce them to four for the following reasons: First, early archival findings suggested that it would be more beneficial to have a different sample size. I treated Oxford and Cambridge as outliers and removed them from the case studies because their fundraising income and status in the higher education sector is so very different from that of any other institutions. For example, in 2015/16, the two universities raised over 46% of the philanthropic income of all participating institutions (Ross-CASE, 2017) and thus do not represent the sample that I am interested in investigating. The two institutions were nevertheless included in the analysis of Ross-CASE

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<sup>51</sup> Across the 1960s, 1990s, 2000s and Specialist sample, many universities existed as former colleges before they gained chartered status.

data and I also interviewed a senior fundraising professional who had worked at one of the institutions in the past.

Secondly, I also decided to merge the 'specialist' group consisting of arts, music and other specialists and treat them by their foundation date rather than as a specialist group, because I am more interested in whether age is a factor that matters rather than the special areas of education at these institutions. The specialist groups are a very diverse group of institutions which would require more attention as a group itself in order to justify their inclusion and rightful treatment. I do however acknowledge that these institutions also provide particular opportunities for attracting charitable donations as they present (for example arts related institutions) a particular area which attracts donors interested in the arts.

Thirdly, I merged the post-1992 group with the 2000s group for two reasons. The first reason was that from a practical aspect, many institutions were approached but did not have accessible archives. When comparing the available data from, for example, an annual report, a 2000s university was not found to be sufficiently different in outlook, administration and philanthropy to make an impact on my aims in this study.

The fourth and final decision was to further distinguish between a 19th century university and a 20th century university. Preliminary results of archive data showed that there were differences in not just philanthropic income, but also in the way that philanthropy historically played and currently play a role at the institutions, which I wanted to unpack. In summary, my sample from different sources was categorised into 19th century, 20th century, 1960s and post-1992 universities.

For the case studies, quota sampling was selected as the most relevant sampling technique with the aim 'to produce a sample that reflects population in terms of the relative proportions of people in different categories, such as gender, ...age groups, socio-economic groups, region of residence etc.' (Bryman 2016, p.185). Quota sampling is considered a type of purposive sampling in which the selection of contributors is based on criteria or purpose (Mason 2010; Patton 2002). The same sampling technique was applied to select interview participants. Quota sampling ensured that interviewees from all age groups of institutions were selected and that all organisations had taken part in the MFS, which was the more significant of the two policy initiatives in terms of funding.

A cluster of potential archetype institutions containing different age groups was created. Gerring (2016) suggests that 'the typical case exemplifies what is considered to be a typical

set of values, given some general understanding of the phenomenon' (p.91). The main criteria for selecting institutions were firstly the different age groups, e.g., to choose HEIs who were founded in the 19th century, 20th century, 1960s and post 1992)

The secondary criteria related to geography, in order to identify differences related to location. It has been argued that the older red-brick universities were supported by local benefactors who were based in industrial cities such as Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester and Leeds (Pellew, 2013).

The final criteria listed below cover whether these universities participated in the policies that I am interested in examining and practicalities such as access to an archive and ability to interview a fundraiser at the same institution.

- Participation in MFS and ideally in CBS (and therefore some involvement and experience in fundraising activity that resulted in philanthropic income)
- Accessible archive
- Access to practitioner at the same institution

Besides the 11 senior fundraisers, four fundraising experts were interviewed, mostly selected through snowball sampling following recommendations by other fundraisers. For ethical reasons, the interviews cannot be identified as being associated with a named institution from the case study selection, but they can still be associated with the age group of the university. In order to not risk the identification of the interviewees, they were coded differently (see 3.4.3). The case studies were also anonymised and pseudonyms were used to describe the different institutions. Two fundraisers were usually interviewed from each age group, which also helped to minimise the risk of exposing their identities.

The experts were people who either had been a head of fundraising in the past or had a senior role within a university and were involved in fundraising at some stage in higher education. Fundraising experts were included in the sample, as they provided good insight into the sector's performance. They are detached from any internal relationships or departmental objectives and could potentially be less biased in their views on the institutions and performances overall. On the other hand, fundraisers are more attached to the cause and their institutions, so the potential institutional bias had to be considered as part of the analysis. Consequently, the cases were decided in line with the availability of interviewees from the same institutions to attain a level of comparability across institutions and interviews for triangulation. The case studies tested external validity (George and Bennett, 2005) and

whether a case could be made for talking about an archetype university, e.g. 'a typical 1960s universities looks like this' and 'has this kind of fundraising income'. I classified 'fundraising results' and 'age of the institution' as two important variables that should be compared and analysed together to gain a picture of the role of the age of the institutions for fundraising results.

Based on the ideas discussed above and the practical implications, the selected cases include an example of each of the age groups of institutions<sup>52</sup> and I allocated names in the following way:

- A 19th century university (Metropolitan University)
- A 20th century university (Civic University)
- A 1960s university (Plate-glass University)
- A post 1992 university (New University)

The selection of cases was influenced by the availability of fundraisers at the same institutions and relevant archival records and availability of archivists to support this research. As a result, multiple institutions within one age group were contacted initially to inquire about availability and accessibility of data. The final case study selection was ultimately based on availability and location access. This process and the elimination of case studies was time-consuming, but the process aided with final selection and clarification of the research purpose by examining institutions in more detail.<sup>53</sup> The basis for eliminating options was in many cases based on problems accessing any archival material, a member of staff being able to help with searches in their archives or archives not having lists of what material was accessible. One potential case study was rejected, for example, because the institution would not allow access to their internal documentation on policy responses or had any relevant documents that provided information on any other discussion on the MFS other than the official committees' minutes available through their website.

### **3.4.3 Data preparation and analysis**

All of the collected data was stored and saved in electronic formats: Microsoft Excel spreadsheets were used for the Ross-CASE data, interviews were transcribed in Microsoft Word documents and archive data was recorded first by hand in some cases but all was

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<sup>52</sup> While I accessed documents at each institution which are publicly accessible and therefore acceptable to be referenced in this study, the institutions were anonymised to avoid running the risks of identifying the interviewees. In order to achieve some level of comparability, in most cases at least one fundraiser was interviewed at the institutions that formed my archive case study sample.

<sup>53</sup> As part of this clarification process, I decided to exclude any other institutions except universities for reasons of access and the usually very small proportion fundraising that took place at the institutions. They were nevertheless included in the descriptive statistics sample as they are part of the overall picture of fundraising within the higher education sector.

written up in Word documents ultimately. To carry this out, Denscombe's (2007) five steps of analysis were broadly followed for all three methods, including data preparation, familiarity with the data, interpreting the data, verifying the data and showcasing the data.

To describe the process in more detail, I first prepared the Ross-CASE data and then familiarised myself with the raw data and the changes that occurred during the data collection over the years. The steps that I took included making note of the changes, such as the way the data was collected (between 2011/12 and 2013, collection of data was moved from an Excel spreadsheet to an online survey), the additional questions that were added and the updated definitions. Being aware of these changes was helpful for knowing how to prepare and clean the data and the questions I was interested in. For example, a first finding that influenced all my next steps was that the whole data set, as used in the published report, could not be compared over time, as the number of universities taking part in the survey differed each year. I found that the secondary data available did not provide a full picture of the fundraising activity in the sector, as institutions had not taken part in all consecutive years. However, this finding provided me with new opportunities to examine trends over a longer period of time, and I could focus on some aspects of the data. For example, I could then distinguish between the top 10% of the performing institutions and compare their results to other institutions; by doing so, I could deliver and contribute to new research findings (Lewis and McNaughton Nicholls, 2014).

I followed a thorough and consistent process of creating a new data spreadsheet with all relevant questions and participating institutions and divided the questions and results by the years the survey was published. The original data was provided in Excel spreadsheets and allowed easy deletion of irrelevant questions and institutions that did not take part in all nine consecutive years. The challenge with the case comparison was resolved by working out which institutions had not taken part in all surveys, and I removed these institutions from the sample. This resulted in a sample of 73 institutions, which was then cleaned by methods such as filling in gaps for non-answered questions or £0 amounts so that the data could be imported into the statistical software SPSS for the testing and backing up of data and results. While age was used to categorise and break down the data, before the data could be uploaded, the actual two key variables for measuring and analysing the income trends were 'cash received', measured in pure cash, and 'new funds secured', measured in cash and promised money. Other variables examined were donor numbers, £500k-plus donations and legacies, but only the number of donors was ultimately included in the analysis, as the other two variables did not prove helpful with answering the research questions, as they were not consistently addressed by the sample.

For the case studies, I gathered data from a variety of sources such as annual reports, marketing material, letters from funders, internal staff newsletters, donor books, magazines for alumni, internal strategic documents such as council and senate documents and notes from finance meeting. Data was collected for each case study, and in some cases, findings had to be first noted by hand in archives where laptops were not allowed and then entered into a Word document, or directly typed into a Word document if laptops were allowed. A helpful tool for ensuring consistent data collection was a case study protocol (Yin 2014; Rowley 2002) (see Appendix 5), which set out the main considerations such as background, design, and collection and research questions. In this case, the protocol ensured that available data was analysed on 'responses to public policy and philanthropy' or 'Philanthropy incl appeals and Donations'. The protocol was a good way of ensuring that the same procedures were followed as much as possible to best compare the cases, and the protocol included an overview of the study, the field procedures and questions asked (Rowley, 2002).

I established two pilot interviews that are also included in the data set to test and develop the interview questions, settings and approaches. Following a reflection on the first two interviews with my supervisors, testing the questions and checking whether I would gain enough data from what was asked for my research questions, I decided to use the interviews for the study. They were included because the study and questions were not changed substantially after the pilots and could therefore be compared. Also, participants in the pilot interviews suited the profile and provided valuable insight into the topic, so I decided it was appropriate to include the data.

However, after careful consideration and reflection, I made some changes to the questions; I noticed that the questions would better suit my aims in a slightly different order and that I would benefit from including headings for my own script above the four main sections in which I divided the questions. I refined the way I asked the questions again after the second pilot, in which I noticed that the questions on the Capacity Building Scheme (Question 2-4) and Match Funding Scheme (Q5-7) were not as clear as they could have been. During one of the pilot interviews I experienced some difficulty with the participant relating my question to the HEFCE match funding scheme instead of their own internal match funding policies. I also noticed that I would benefit from taking notes during the interviews, so I produced a slightly different question sheet for myself ahead of the interview. Table 3.1 below gives an overview of the breakdown of numbers outlined by the age groups of institutions.

Table 3.1 Participation breakdown of interviewees

<b>Type of HEI (classification by age group)</b>	<b>Number of interviewees associated with category</b>	<b>Participant role either Fundraiser= FR1, FR2, FR3... Or Expert=FREP1, EP2 ...</b>
Oxford and Cambridge	1	FR1
19 <sup>th</sup> century	3	FR2, FR3 & FR4
20 <sup>th</sup> century	2	FR5 & FR6
1960s	2	FR7 & FR8
Post-1992	2	FR9 & FR10
2000s	1	FR11
Experts	4	EX12, EX13, EX14 & EX15

As with previous steps to select and gather the data, the analysis of data was also not carried out in isolation. The Ross-CASE data and descriptive statistics were prepared using the statistical software SPSS and descriptive statistics such as the mean, median and interquartile range of the variable 'cash received'. My main aims were, with help of the Ross-CASE data, to examine the main trends to giving to higher education and how they have changed over the last nine years. I was also interested to investigate if there were any variations in fundraising performances between institutions. If there were any variations to be found, I would be interested in finding out what the differences were and why they occur. Another interest was to examine whether there were any different results during the MFS and before and after the scheme.

I first analysed the results by year and then compared them alongside each other to analyse the nine year trends. I then examined these trends in the context of the overall political and ideological changes that I outlined in Chapter 1 and examine in detail in Chapter 4. I later on integrated the results into findings from the archival data and compared these to the interview findings. This process of bringing together results also enabled first steps in working with Kingdon's (2003; [1995]; [1984]) three streams of the MSA model.

The analytical focus from the archive data is the examination of the historic documents in relation to how universities responded to funding cuts and what role philanthropy played at different institutions. This highlights the importance of Kingdon's three streams, as different institutions in the lead up to the increased policy attention may have had relevant data; for example, data could have included discussions from meetings at the council level, reports or other communication that provides insights into the practical side of what the theory suggested. While I recognise that 'there are no cookbook procedures that have been agreed for the analysis of case study results' (Rowley 2002, p.24), Yin's (2014) principles were followed to provide a good analysis that includes all views and incorporates evidence into the interpretation chosen. These principles were followed in the steps noted in the protocol in Appendix 4 and are that the analysis 1) is consistent, re-evaluate all the material; 2) includes and examines opposing interpretations; 3) covers the most important features and 4) considers and embeds the researcher's own knowledge of the cases under study but is unbiased and objective.

I followed these principles for analysis by first writing up notes on all the findings under the mentioned headings displayed in the protocol. I uploaded the data into the software Nvivo, in which I coded anything initially interesting in relation to the research questions. Numerous scholars have discussed the advantages and limitations of using qualitative data analysis software packages such as QDAS and Nvivo. Advantages include a more efficient way of dealing with data (Silver and Lewins 2014; Bazeley 2007), particularly large amounts of data (Bourdon, 2002); reducing complexity (Schönfelder, 2011) and helping with transparency and consistency in analytical process (Johnston, 2006; Cousins and McIntosh 2005;). On the other hand, several scholars have pointed out that a considerable amount of time is needed to learn the software (Thompson, 2002), and the tools are often relied on too much (Mangabeira, Lee and Fielding, 2004). Most importantly, critics have said that critical reading and reflection needs to be ensured, as the process of coding can take these skills away from the researcher (Bazeley, 2007) and 'compromise the exploratory, interpretative character of most qualitative research' (Bazeley 2007, p.32). Critical reading and reflection was ensured by re-reading and checking any finding several times, with specific steps taken for the different methods.

The data was coded and this involved looking for key ideas and themes in the data. The case studies went through several stages of coding and re-coding (Silverman 2014; Rapley 2011) and was analysed using the established key themes found in the data. The first wave of coding established main areas in each of the case studies, then a second wave of coding helped establish some first links across the data, and the coding was narrowed down to

fewer categories. Nvivo became a less useful tool for this exercise, because the data that I uploaded was short and themes emerged while working with the cases next to each other on paper. The second wave of coding included a summary of the key areas that I established and produced a table (Appendix 5) that included the main headings of when the 'first philanthropic gift was made', 'role of philanthropy at the institution', 'response to declining government funding' and '% of philanthropic income in comparison to institution's overall income'.

For the final wave of coding, I moved away from using Nvivo and established the final coding system by hand through writing up the case studies. I then compared the main findings and themes across the cases and noted variations in findings across the institutions.

- 1) **'Philanthropy's (hidden) role in the founding and funding of universities'** – This theme covers the aspects in the data that demonstrate that philanthropy has always been present as a vital source of funding for HEIs throughout the history of higher education. While philanthropy's role has often been hidden, it has nevertheless provided funding. The findings contribute to the question of the role philanthropy has played in the provision of higher education.
- 2) **'Government policy-making influences universities' strategic outlook and priorities'** – This theme covers elements of how universities have responded to the changes in higher education and how data shows that there have been strategic shifts for universities.
- 3) **'Philanthropy used as a response to declining government funding'** – Following theme 2 above, this code more specifically examines universities' responses to the changing higher education landscape and the decline in government funding in which philanthropy has been mentioned.
- 4) **'The local setting and involvement is a key success factor for philanthropy within institutions'** – This code captures the important role of the local setting and the relationships universities foster with the community and the local businesses. For some institutions, these relationships have been a key to success generally and in increasing their philanthropic support.

While the analysis of the archive data took place, I also carried out interviews and checked the codes further across the two samples, e.g. how universities made use of the MFS policy

or the role of philanthropy more generally were two key areas where the codes and themes were brought together. The interviews gave insights into the sudden policy attention to philanthropy and how those who implement the policies' actions and intentions are perceived. In order to analyse these findings in conjunction with the theoretical lens of the MSA, I adapted thematic analysis for the large amount of data collected from the 15 interviews (Roulston, Baker and Liljestrom 2001; Boyatzis 1998). This method has previously been applied in psychology and health-related research (Braun and Clarke; 2016; 2014; 2006); broadly, thematic analysis is defined as 'a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within the data' (Braun and Clarke 2006, p.79). In their 2006 paper, Braun and Clarke presented the six phases of thematic analysis that I applied:

1. Familiarisation with the data
2. Initial generation of codes
3. Search for themes
4. Review of themes
5. Defining and naming themes
6. Producing research

While not all six steps will be explicitly discussed, the approach to coding the data was a crucial step in the analysis. I understood coding as 'references about a specific theme, place, person or other area of interest' (Bryman 2016, p. 570). I coded the interviews using an open-ended strategy to uncover the main themes by running three waves of coding. In the first wave of coding, I familiarized myself with the data by reading the transcripts and notes taken during the interview. During the reading of the transcripts, notes were made to mark anything interesting, surprising and re-emerging and any patterns within the data. Initially 97 codes were created, which required further narrowing down and reduction to major themes. One problem could have been consistency in keeping reliable classifications when trying to make sense of meaning of words and text (Weber, 1985). Nvivo helps to overcome this, as when classification has been created appropriately, coding rules can be applied in the same way.

The second wave of coding was focussed on finding structures, as Charmaz (2014) suggests 'the most salient categories' (p.46) are established in the data, which then consequently 'requires decisions about which initial codes make the most analytical sense' (p.57). Many categories previously created were condensed into sub-categories such as 'fundraiser's role in the policy process', 'policy-making and fundraising', 'universities as key

policy instruments', 'government's role and philanthropy', 'philanthropy as a gap filler for government funding' and 'different concepts of philanthropy'.

A third step of coding was performed with a narrower focus on the final three main themes:

- 1) **'There are different conceptualisations of philanthropy'** - This theme emerged as varied concepts of philanthropy were used by fundraisers, who also noted varying perceptions of what the government believes philanthropy is.
- 2) **'Fundraisers have an increasingly important role to play in delivery of key policy'** - The increasingly important role of fundraisers emerged through the data. Fundraisers, albeit not identifying this themselves, work with policies, interpret those and they therefore play a key part in delivering the relevant policies.
- 3) **'The influences of power relationships and battle for control and credit'** - This final theme emerged from bringing together various codes such as 'ideological changes', 'exposure', 'hidden role of philanthropy' and 'priorities for HEIs and government' to examine how government, fundraisers and institutions exercise their power. The data showed that these actors seek to win, influence and manipulate the other stakeholders in the process.

Whilst deciding on the final themes for the interview data, I also made further connections across the data, such as by finding that the way universities responded to policy changes varied across the archival data. There was also variation in the way policy changes in this area were perceived by fundraisers. An institution's history of philanthropy and experience with gaining support from philanthropic sources seemed to be linked to the way the universities embed the concept of philanthropy in their strategies.

The systematic analysis helped produce 'an insightful analysis that answers particular research questions' (Braun and Clarke 2006, p.97). An inductive 'bottom up' strategy for analysing data (Frith and Gleeson, 2004) was chosen as opposed to a 'top down' approach (Boyatzis, 1998). The inductive approach has the benefit of being flexible for finding leading and important themes in the data set (Thomas, 2006). Thomas lists three reasons for using the inductive approach in qualitative data analysis. The inductive approach first helps reduce the text data and summarises it. Second, it helps with connections between the objectives and goals of the research and the summary of the raw data. Third, it helps with progression toward a model or theory that underlies the data (2006). An inductive approach should

prevent what Braun and Clarke (2006) call 'worst examples of thematic analysis', referring to examples where data collection questions end up as themes, are completely deductive and exclude any other themes that materialise through the data. Thomas (2006) recognises some weaknesses in an inductive approach that it may not be as strong a method as other theories or systematic approaches because it relies on a single observation or situation from which it draws on. However, it has the advantage of being easily applicable and focuses on analysis in the context of the questions asked (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

#### **3.4.4 Practical considerations, advantages and issues**

There are several practical considerations, advantages and issues when using the three examined research methods for my study. For both secondary data methods, an advantage of using Ross-CASE data or other archival records to create case studies is that the data has already been assembled and is available (Bryman, 2016). Nonetheless, as several scholars noted, great care must be taken when using secondary archive data for this research's aims. Its suitability and application must be considered, because the data was originally gathered for a different purpose and may not provide the full or comprehensive picture (Hammersley 2007; Silva 2007; Fielding and Fielding 2000). Particularly with archival data, it is up to the institution to create an archive, and I found several institutions that do not have an official archive, often for cost reasons, or that keep data in various boxes across campus without a systematic way of accessing this data. The access to past data is therefore restricted at some institutions, and the data that the institution has chosen to keep in the archive must be carefully examined, as the process of selection in itself is not neutral given that human beings who are not value-free are involved. I acknowledged the potential bias by challenging what I found by checking the availability of records to ensure that I had not missed anything. I also checked the institutional publications I used against facts and figures that were available on the internet and any related news stories through the press search engine Nexis.

Another advantage of secondary data is that it is an efficient and cost-effective method, which was especially true given that the data was previously collected and provided to me in Excel spreadsheets (Bryman 2016; Silverman 2014). Earlier on in the research, there was delay in gaining access to the raw data of the Ross-CASE survey, despite having had agreement in principle in November 2015. The delay was related to the fact that nobody had ever requested the full set of data and the providers wanted to be sure that an agreement was set up for the expectations and limitations with the use of the data. The initial delays in gaining access to the data were disadvantageous, as was the time spent on cleaning and tidying the available raw data. However, it was necessary to wait for access and work with

the raw data rather than use the published data, because the survey data is prepared and analysed for practitioners in a short report that focuses on headline figures and short commentary and explanations. It lacks the vigorous quantitative examination that academic studies pursue to establish validity and reliability (Ritchie et al., 2014). The careful examination and establishment of these facts helps overcome criticism from scholars when secondary data is used without further investigation and the validity of the data is not queried (Ritchie et al., 2014).

In order to collect data from all three methods, I created a time schedule, which was important for planning and allowed for changes and unpredicted delays, such as in obtaining access to archives. Accessing archive data as well as interview data was restricted to the availability of the archives and the interviewees, and these restrictions had to be carefully managed and mitigated by communicating clearly with archivists and interviewees and to then plan any trips and visits carefully to avoid disappointment.

There were also several other issues that needed to be managed with the case studies, included dealing with the potential criticisms surrounding the lack of representativeness of case studies as well as managing access. For example, case study research is criticised for its external application to other scenarios and access outside the small number of cases studied (Gerring, 2016). External validity is a crucial point for case studies, as it reflects whether or not findings are generalisable beyond the immediate case or cases. The more variation in place, people and procedures a case can withstand and still yield the same findings, the more external validity it has (Yin, 2014).

I had not previously carried out archival research for academic research purposes and so was not immediately aware of some of the challenges, such as access, volume of data available and processes involved. I created a pilot case study at my own institution, the University of Kent, to make better use of my time in the four case studies. The pilot case study presented the opportunity to test procedures and learn about how general archiving works. As a result, some of the limitations and possible shortfalls of archive research in access and management were minimised and included a clear list with questions and objectives of my research that was sent to the archivists when I made initial contact. The pilot case study also prepared me for the difficulties with locating archival sources within the particular archive but also, after having a conversation with the experienced archivists, that record keeping might vary across institutions. During the pilot case study data gathering I also experienced that the University had not archived material from recent 10-15 years which was not an unknown problem to archives as I experienced during the data collection

of my other case studies. This was particularly true for fundraising departments who would be expected to have the priority to raise funds rather than provide archival material to their institution's archive, if not asked for. In the case of the University of Kent it did not have a formal role of an archivist prior to 2014 and therefore a lot of work had to be done to establish the archive and a catalogue.

Despite my steps for preparing the research and requesting documents in a clear manner ahead of my visits (Appendix 4), I found it to be nevertheless a time-consuming process. Besides emailing institutions, I also rang the institutions to clarify my needs and also often rang somebody in the office responsible for fundraising and somebody who had knowledge of where old Council minutes and other high level reports were kept from before the time that these were made available online.

In the initial stages I also spent time, exploring several other case studies because I had to find out what data was available and test which cases would be most suitable for my research. It usually took some weeks to establish with the archive what was available, in most cases in the absence of an online catalogue where I could search for items, so I was reliant on their staff members to have time to support my work.

In some cases, on the day of the visit, it became apparent that the quality and quantity of relevant documents varied greatly among institutions and across time periods within an institution. This can be for several reasons that are difficult to fully establish. First, it was apparent that institutions had different resources allocated to keeping archival records in a formal archive. Some institutions that were originally considered case studies did not have an official archive or archivist who could help establish what was available. Secondly, the ability to access institutions that had archives also differed, and I often relied on the archivist's internal knowledge, in the absence of any archival catalogues, to uncover further documents that could be relevant.

A third and final point related to archive case studies is that the quality of records varied. Sometimes, the records were not kept within the actual archive facilities, but in a different (often initially unidentifiable) location on campus. It was therefore difficult to establish a comprehensive picture at all times, but further conversations with fundraising staff at these institutions often helped to establish facts and to close gaps. In some cases the senior fundraisers had files stored within their departments which were not yet archived. The problem with the sample's comprehensiveness is not uncommon (Lewis and McNaughton Nicholls, 2014), and I recognised this as a potential drawback. Consequently, a careful

process of evaluation and selection took place, as discussed above, using a spreadsheet in which I kept track of the main criteria such as age and other variables such as 'cash income received' and 'new funds secured' to gain an overview of the areas that the case study would cover. As the quality and number of records and facilities differed, and I had to be aware of the limitations to the comparison of different cases based on the various levels of institutional record keeping.

Regarding the interview process, I had practical considerations such as travel, time and costs. I took into account the costs and resources required for setting up interviews and travelling to and from the location (Ritchie et al., 2014). As this study focused on UK fundraisers only, I did not have to make any long journeys and costs were kept low. Another point that I had to consider was the venues where the interviews took place. As Denscombe (2007) advised, choosing the right venue that has good acoustics, is quiet and makes the interviewees comfortable to talk about the topic is most beneficial to the research outcome. In most cases, the venue was determined by the interviewees' preference for a particular area, often central London. To ensure suitability of the location, I checked a venue beforehand and made necessary arrangements for a quiet area within the venue.

However, in one case, despite having made a reservation with the restaurant, I found out on the day that the restaurant was not allowing conversations to be recorded in order to protect other customers' privacy. This was an unexpected problem as previous locations had never raised this issue. This was resolved by sitting outside, which unfortunately had the side effect of producing high background noise levels, as the restaurant was situated next to a busy London train station. I took a precautionary step when I organised the next interview, calling the location beforehand to ask explicitly for permission to record the interview and reserving a quiet table. While different locations allowed the interview to take place, it was not possible to reserve tables in a busy London location. I overcame this challenge by arriving up to an hour earlier at the venue and reserving a table ahead of the scheduled time. A final issue to discuss arose from the Ross-CASE data. Changes made to improve the data collection methods of the Ross-CASE data highlighted another drawback in terms of accessible secondary data for me as the researcher. I was not involved in the changes to data collection but needed to use the data in a way that was comparable and meaningful. The potential risks of incorporating changing parameters and data collection methods that may affect the suitability and accuracy of the data were mitigated by clarifying questions with the data manager and continuing collaborative working, such as by staying in touch, discussing findings and raising questions about when newly published data was produced.

### **3.5 Reflections on predominant qualitative research**

Following the practical issues that I examined in section 3.4.4, this next section will address some further considerations with the mostly qualitative approach. The majority of research carried out for this thesis is of a qualitative nature that arguably presents some limitations in its application and requires some reflection on the claims qualitative research can make. A multi-method approach has several advantages, such as access to participants, and overcomes disadvantages of a single method approach (Hesse-Biber, 2017). However, especially in the quantitative versus qualitative debate, qualitative research is often criticised for its lack of comparability, generalisability, validity and reliability (Silverman, 2014). Since the qualitative methods, interviews and secondary archival records represented the majority of data collection, it is important to address these critiques.

In this research I applied qualitative research ‘to study an occurrence within the environment in which it naturally occurs and supported by social meaning from the individuals who were subjected to the occurrence’ (Denzin and Lincoln 2011, p.2). In other words, philanthropic giving was studied in a policy setting, and senior fundraising professionals played a part in the policies that were implemented and studied. However, qualitative research ‘tends to be presented as what it is not and as less than; as, for example, less mathematically precise and as producing findings that are not generalizable’ (Sandelowski 2008, p.193). Hammersley (1992) argued that qualitative research is flexible and that ‘studying people in their context enables to study outcomes and process as well as meanings and causes’ (p.125). However, those points are too simplistic and must be discussed more broadly in regards to how the claims made can be compared and applied.

Qualitative research is often criticised for not being able to produce research that is generalisable (Silverman, 2014). There are no standard principles or conditions for qualitative research from which findings can be generalised to a wider population; however, the design and conduct is important for deciding on the level of generalisation that is appropriate. Lewis et al. (2014) emphasise the importance of knowing how interpretation occurs and suggest asking three questions: ‘Was the analysis carried out systematically and comprehensively?’, ‘Are the interpretations well-supported by the data?’ and finally, ‘Has the interpretation developed appropriate analytical constructs?’ Regarding the first point, the analysis was followed by reading and re-reading each transcript and re-coding as appropriate in the manner set out in 3.4.3. For the second question, the interpretation was supported by the data, which was demonstrated by embedding key quotations from interviews in the analysis. Lewis et al.’s (2014) final point is about the constructions built

from interpretation; these constructions were developed with the help of categories that were created and tested, generalised and classified at different levels in this study. Another point to consider is what type of generalisation I aimed for in my study, representational and/or theoretical generalisation. Representational generalisation was not the main aim of this study, as it was found that the sector is vastly diverse. Small generalisations for groups of different institution ages was therefore more meaningful and compelling and useful to build on in future studies.

Linking findings to theory (Ritchie et al., 2014) was another way of creating a level of generalisation. This study found that relationships and power struggles influence decision-making and application of policies. In examining the key features associated with decision-making, I highlighted the influence of social context. I linked these findings to theories about the relevance of salient stakeholders and the way they can influence power relationships. I used the theory to challenge the more stereotypical views of government behaviours toward higher education. In this way, the study is used to inform theory about the roles of actors in the policy process.

A second theoretical generalisation was made by applying the Multiple Streams Approach by Kingdon (2003; [1995], [1984]). This naturally developed through examination of the reasons for the seemingly sudden policy attention to philanthropy in the early 2000s. I linked findings in this study to the MSA framework, which has been applied to many other areas of the policy process. In this context the MSA is employed to understand and challenge government's attention to the idea of 'substituting' government funding with philanthropy. In this way, the study informs social policy process theory about how topics can receive attention on the policy agenda. Lewis et al. (2014) argue that qualitative research provides evidence that adds and refers to existing theories. Absolute certainty cannot be the goal, as the field is emerging and empirical evidence is not strong; however, theories from other areas such as the Street-Level-Bureaucrats or salient stakeholder theory were strong enough to contribute.

Another question to consider was how findings from a small sample can represent the entire higher education sector (Miles and Huberman 2002)? This study did not attempt to represent the whole sector and cannot draw conclusions for every HEI in the country because of the heterogeneity of the sector. However, age group categories can tell us something about the representation of the groups. Representation within cases, with the help of qualitative research, is increasing the ability to generalise, and cases can be categorised within the overarching conceptual framework (Lewis et al., 2014). The most important point is that

generalising findings is based on careful sample selection that ensures 'symbolic representation' of the diverse sector and age groups and their fundraisers (Silverman, 2014).

As part of the discussion on generalising results, two other components were also important to explore: reliability and validity (Silverman, 2014). Both concepts added value to the concerns raised about qualitative research's robustness and credibility (Lewis and McNaughton Nicolls, 2014). Reliability, for example, is concerned with the replicability of my study's findings, or in Seale's (2017) words, 'if we repeated the research project exactly, would we get the same result again?' (p.528). Constructivists question the attempt to establish a single reality, and as a result, replication cannot be achieved (e.g. Hughes and Sharrock, 1997). It is also argued that studies are unique and no value is added by trying to achieve replication (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995); indeed, the influence of the study's context makes reliability unpredictable (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). However, there are also scholars who acknowledge the relevance and worthiness of attempting reliability in qualitative research (Silverman 2014; Seale 1999) and suggest that complete replication should not be the goal (Seale, 1999). In order to achieve some reliability, I followed the work of scholars such as Seale (1999), who recommend focussing on procedures that helped form conclusions from my analysis (p.138). Seale and other scholars such as Hammersley (2007) emphasise the important role of researchers' practices that drive the level of possible and robust reliability in research. Lewis et al. (2014) recommend that the application of reliability criteria is to 'have a clear understanding of what features of the raw qualitative data might be expected to be consistent, dependable or replicable' (2014, p.356). The understanding is strongly supported by my prior knowledge of the sector and policies under investigation. This understanding helped clarify the phenomena of philanthropy, and the documented responses from interviewees generated meaning that can be understood and be replicable from this study for other research.

Another criticism of qualitative research is to claim validity; this entails for example 'the extent to which a finding is well-founded and accurately reflects the phenomenon being studied' (Lewis et al. 2014, p.354), but also reflects 'the extent to which an account accurately represents the social phenomena to which it refers' (Hammersley 1992, p.57). In this study, there are also questions about internal and external validity for the overall qualitative research approach, which added to the discussion on how to justify claims in qualitative research. As Bloor (1997) argued, social scientists such as sociologists do not replicate findings across settings to prove validity, as required in natural sciences. Instead, he points to techniques that have been discussed in the literature as alternative methods to prove validation. One of Bloor's techniques is triangulation (Denzin, 1989), which '[uses]

multiple perceptions to clarify meaning' by applying three methods (Stake 2005, p.453). Most literature focuses on the type of triangulation that Denzin described as 'between method triangulation...the combination of two or more different research strategies in the study of the same empirical units' (Denzin 1989, p.302).

In this study, triangulation was achieved using multiple analyses, with the help of theory interview and archive data and descriptive statistics. The different methods employed allowed for 'a case of replication within the same setting rather than replication across settings' (Bloor 1997, p.38). This approach reduced the chance that the results could be subjective and biased. There is, however, criticism of the applicability of triangulation, as Moisander and Valtonen (2006) argued '...in cultural research, which focuses on social reality, the object of knowledge is different from different perspectives. And the different points of view cannot be merged into a single "true" and certain representation of the object' (p. 45). Furthermore, Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) highlight that 'one should not adopt a naively "optimistic" view that the aggregation of data from different sources will be unproblematic to add up to produce a more complete picture' (p.19). Fielding and Fielding (1986) support this view, arguing previously that 'rarely does the inaccuracy of one approach to the data complement accuracies of another' (p.35). In this research, the view is that triangulation was beneficial for bringing together different sources and achieving some comparability, but it was also advantageous to use the sources as complementary sources to each other.

Only relying on triangulation to validate this research would not have been enough, so another strategy was to use the 'thick description' of qualitative data by showing quotations from interviews and archival extracts (Creswell, 2013). Another point that Creswell suggests is the use of reflection as a researcher, which I already outlined in 3.3. Creswell (2013) suggests that it is good practice to clarify the bias of the researcher's position, enabling good practice by increasing awareness of factors such as the researcher's own background and culture that can shape one's outlook. The final step was to check that thorough procedures to establish the right and meaningful codes as part of the data analysis were applied, as set out in detail in 3.4.

### **3.6 Ethical considerations**

The methodology presented in this chapter is intended to acquire the most reliable and relevant data, carried out in an ethical, consistent and reliable way. Ethical considerations were a crucial part of the interview process (Hammersley and Traianou 2014) as it was important to build effective relationships with the participant (Ritchie et al., 2014). After

gaining ethical approval from the University of Kent's ethical committee in April 2016 (Appendix 1), several steps were taken to ensure the six ethical principles of the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC, 2015) were safeguarded and followed. I adhered to these six principles, and I provide examples in the ethics approval form in Appendix 1. The six principles are in place to safeguard the autonomy of the participant, minimise the risk of harm to both participants and researchers, brief participants about their role, respect anonymity and confidentiality and ensure the high quality and independence of this research.

The publication of direct quotations from the interview material is allowed so long as the anonymity of the interviewee is maintained; anonymity was made clear at the beginning of the interview along with how data would be stored and used. Any quotations I wished to use were checked to ensure that confidentiality and anonymity would be maintained, especially if the quotations seemed contentious or otherwise problematic (Webster, Lewis and Brown, 2014). Questions were phrased in a sensitive and professional manner, and participants were given the option to refuse answering questions at any time to prevent embarrassment or distress.

Regarding data collection, analysis and dissemination of results, one consideration was the difficulty of anonymising individuals with a high profile; the solution was to anonymise at the level of the institution. I did not collect any personal data such as names and instead coded participation in an anonymised way, e.g. FR1, EX3, etc. This strategy is beneficial if records are lost or stolen, as no third party should be able to recognise the identity of the individual. The first interview question was therefore not 'What is your exact role and position?' but 'Tell me about your role and involvement in higher education fundraising'. This gave participants the opportunity to say as little or as much as they were comfortable with. In the analysis, all participants will be referred to as 'senior fundraiser', 'head of department of a 1960s university', etc.

Another important part of ethical considerations for interviews is the process of securing informed consent (Webster, Lewis and Brown 2014; Faden, Beauchamp and King 1986). Procedures to secure the participant's informed consent included provision of a consent form electronically prior to the agreement to interview (Appendix 6). Distributed with the consent form was a participation information sheet (Appendix 7). This information sheet helped participants gain a considerable understanding of what would be asked of them, a necessary step pointed out by Faden, Beauchamp and King (1986). At the beginning of each interview,

the participants were reminded of the study's topic and their right to withdraw from the study at any point.

Another consideration regarding the anonymity of the data was related to the usage of the Ross-CASE data. Anonymity was ensured by following the survey manager's guidelines and agreement that data was not used to identify any organisations other than Oxford and Cambridge and that specific results were not to be shared with anyone outside of this research or CASE. However, what can be shared is aggregated data, trends and calculated averages that cannot be attributed to any specific institution.

### **3.7 Conclusion**

This chapter has set out the methodological approach implemented by this study to answer the research questions posed in 2.6.2. This chapter outlined the necessary considerations in producing valuable and credible research, including justification for the research methods, my own role in the process and the ethical considerations. I have adopted a reflective approach that has enabled a rich data collection from three different methods. The chosen methods were interrelated and informed each other, so it was important to collect the data alongside each other instead of treating the different methods separately. It was also important to critically reflect on the methods employed, be aware of their disadvantages and avoid complete reliance on one method.

The descriptive statistics developed this research; early engagement and examination of the Ross-CASE survey data was a crucial and influential first step. The data influenced the choice of institutions selected for the case studies, as well as the type of questions that could be asked of interviewees. The Ross-CASE survey gave an indication of the variation in philanthropic income across HEIs, and archive research and interviews followed up on this initial finding. In the following data chapters, the archival and Ross-CASE data helped draw a picture of the role of philanthropy, past and present, and examine the moving state frontiers in the area of higher education.

## **CHAPTER 4 FINDINGS - The role of philanthropy past and present**

### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter will explore and synthesise the role of philanthropy in funding higher education, past and present, in the context of a changing higher education landscape and a mixed economy of welfare. Previous research has often focussed on a particular time in history (e.g. Pellew on new 1960s universities, Whyte on red brick universities and Owen on material prior to 1950s), or philanthropy was studied more broadly with no specific reference to higher education (Philips and Smith 2016; Wiepking and Handy 2015; Schuyt 2010). This chapter aims to examine philanthropic funding in combination with the observed key political and economic changes of the higher education system discussed in chapter 1.4, with a focus on the past 50 years. The political context in which these changes took place, as philanthropy appeared and disappeared from the policy radar, is an important indication for how its role has potentially changed or continued over the years and will help to examine its current role in the policymaking process and in higher education. In doing so, this chapter will in section 4.3 first refer to the founding of universities at which philanthropy played a key role and link this to today's results in section 4.4 of this chapter.

This chapter is one of two chapters that present the research findings from the three research methods discussed in detail in chapter 3, namely secondary data analysis from the annual Ross-CASE survey, interviews with senior fundraisers and experts and archival case studies. Early findings from descriptive statistics revealed the heterogeneity of the higher education sector and variation of results across institutions, which influenced the way interviews and cases were selected and also suggested that there would be several layers requiring investigation.

Analysing the Ross-CASE data included preparing survey results for a nine-year period for the 73 institutions that took part in all nine surveys to investigate the rising role of philanthropic funding set out in 4.3. The interviews with 15 senior fundraising professionals included four experts of philanthropy in higher education and 11 senior fundraisers from different age groups of universities. These age groups already played a role in analysis of the Ross-CASE data and formed a way of selecting and determining a sample of institutions for the case studies.

In addition, four case studies were created to complete the data set; the selected institutions had detailed accounts available and varied in their founding date. This stream of data

provided the first section of this chapter with the important data that is used in conjunction with government sources (presented for some periods by Halsey (2000)), to bring together and examine funding changes in HEIs. The government sources did not reliably account for philanthropic funding throughout the periods for which the case studies aimed to add to the picture. By using examples from universities with different foundation ages, this study took into account possible variations in different HEIs' philanthropy and funding circumstances. These case studies cannot claim to represent the full diversity of the heterogeneous sector in which currently 167 institutions are listed (HESA, 2018b)<sup>54</sup> but the cases studies provide some exploratory insights into philanthropic giving at HEIs. The case studies represent a 19th century university (Metropolitan University), a 20th century university (Civic University), a 1960s university (Plate-glass University) and a post-1992 university (New University) and their pseudonyms will be used throughout this chapter to refer to the cases.

## **4.2 Overview of key case study characteristics**

The four case studies that were created in this study are briefly presented in the following section to provide an overview of the key characteristics. This is followed by a more detailed table on the key findings in relation to the philanthropic income and activities presented in table 4.1.

### **Case study 1- 'Metropolitan University'**

The Metropolitan University is based in central England and one of the oldest in the country. The Metropolitan University was established with help of a group of politicians and churchmen and was first founded as a college and then gained university status in the first half of the 19th century.

There is evidence for philanthropy's important role when the institution was established by local subscriptions from shares of £100 in 1929. The total raised was £54,919,0 from more than 660 donors ([Metropolitan University], 1828). Throughout its history, there have been examples of philanthropic support such as scholarships and support for buildings.

By the 1990s an alumni office was set up and in the early 2000s a further expansion of the office to fundraising took place. One of their first major fundraising campaigns was run from 1998-2004 raising £44 million to support academic leadership (posts and institutes), student

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<sup>54</sup> HESA uses the term higher education provider to define their sample, which 'includes all publicly funded universities and other higher education institutions in the UK, as well as the privately funded University of Buckingham. It also includes a growing body of alternative higher education providers. These are organisations that offer higher education courses but do not receive annual public funding (and are not further education colleges)' (HESA, 2018b).

opportunities (scholarships and facilities, campus infrastructure (buildings), and library and information resources (buildings and equipment).

Today, the Metropolitan University is one of the top ten UK and top 25 international universities with 30,000 students across several campuses and employs around 8,000 staff. The university's annual income is in the region of £700 million and of which research income is around £190 million. The university has a large alumni community of which there are several Nobel prize winners and famous alumni and has an established fundraising and alumni department which consists of 100+ staff. In 2014/15, philanthropic income counted for 4.5% of their total overall annual income.

### **Case study 2- 'Civic University'**

The Civic University is based in a northern industrial city in England and was founded in the early part of the 20th century and developed from a college and two schools. In the first three years £130,000 was raised by firms and the citizens<sup>55</sup> to establish the university alongside Council funding.. The important role of receiving money from the city's citizens was stressed in the university brochure and the role of local businesses in supporting the early university was also important. An alumni and later fundraising office was created from mid-1980s onwards.

Today, the Civic University has around 28,000 students and 8,000 members of staff. The total annual income of the University is in the region of £600 million. The University is rated as one of the top 15 universities in the UK and is listed as one of the top 100 universities worldwide. In 2014/15, the total philanthropic income accounted for 1.9% of the overall university income.

### **Case study 3- 'Plate-glass University'**

The Plate-glass University is based in central England and received its charter in the 1960s. The University and was founded to a large amount on philanthropic subscriptions from local supporters; firms and individuals and family trusts. Fundraising and work with their alumni was also further extended when the Development and Alumni Relations Office was established in the early 1990s.

The Plate-glass University has a total of 25,000 students and more than 6,000 members of staff. In 2015/16 their annual turnover was in the region of £530 million. The Plate-Glass

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<sup>55</sup> Today's value would be the equivalent of £5.5m (Civic University, 1988)

University is rated as one of the top 10 UK universities and one of the top 50 universities in the world. In 2014/15 the proportion of philanthropic annual income was 2.2% of their total annual income.

#### **Case study 4- 'New University'**

The New University is based in northern England and is less than 30 years old and has a long history going back to its original three colleges that eventually merged in 1996. In 1996 the three colleges were unified to become the New University College and gaining full university status to become the New University after the end of the binary divide.. In the 1990s an alumni association was created and in the 2000s an alumni office was established.

The university has two main teaching campuses and there are more than 5,000 students and around 600 members of staff. The University is listed within the top 50 UK universities. The total university income in 2015/16 was £51 million. The overall philanthropic income of the New University accounted for less than 0.5% of the annual turnover.

### **4.3 Historic boundary shifts in financing higher education**

British universities are commonly assumed to be institutions whose financial support derives primarily from state sources, but the literature clearly demonstrates that philanthropy was instrumental in the creation and running of its first universities, Oxford and Cambridge, from the thirteenth century onward (Cannadine and Pellew, 2008) as well as of universities founded in the 19th and 20th century and the newly created 1960s 'plate-glass universities' (Pellew, 2014). This section uses archival data to illustrate the crucial role of philanthropic funding in the founding and funding of the institutions when state funding and boundaries shifted. This section demonstrates the shifting boundaries between state and private funding over the centuries and how these findings are relevant to the understanding of philanthropy and policy changes in more recent years. An overview of the key findings of the archival research is listed in the table below and highlight the variance in the role of philanthropy at the different institutions which will be examined in 4.2.

Table 4.1 Overview of key findings from archival sources related to four case studies

Name of institution (pseudonym)	Year founded	Founded on philanthropy?	Role of philanthropy throughout institution's history	Responses to changes in government funding	% philanthropy of annual income 2014/15
Metropolitan University	Before 1850	Yes, through subscriptions from shares of £100 totalling £54,919 from more than 660 donors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Philanthropy played role, off radar until 1980s But large donations since 1990s, first fundraising campaign in 2000</li> <li>Today one of the most successful fundraising departments</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>To some extent philanthropy a response to declining funding</li> <li>'Only by increasing significantly our sources of private income will it be possible to increase our autonomy'</li> </ul>	4.5%
Civic University	Early 1900s	Yes, penny donations from firms and individuals totalling £135,000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Development Office functions were closed in 1990s and re-opened in 2000s</li> <li>Important role of local business supporting financially</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Philanthropy was used as response/policy to declining government funding '...required to raise more money from private donations than ever before... to remain solvent and funding new developments'</li> </ul>	1.9%
Plate-Glass University	1960s	Yes, by local firms, individuals and foundations in excess of £2.7 million	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Donations were used for core funding such as establishment of student halls in 1965</li> <li>Original Foundation Fund existed until annual Fund took over in 1990s</li> <li>XXXX Charitable Trust set up by XXXX has been major funder (£28m since 1965 in 2010 prices)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Philanthropy was seen as a permanent and ongoing source of extra income</li> <li>the start of a long-term indeed permanent, programme to finance the continuing development of the University'</li> </ul>	2.2%
New University	Post-1992/2000	Yes, originally three founding colleges	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Evidence for existence of several funds</li> <li>Had a development office in mid-2000s and took part in MFS but then closed down afterwards</li> <li>To reduce dependency on government funding by increasing every department's capacity to increase its third-stream funding</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Philanthropy was used sporadically.</li> <li>The New University Enterprises Ltd was incorporated in April 1997 with the aim of raising the profile of the college and sourcing alternative income streams.</li> <li>'Increased financial pressure...matching the funding gap as a vital aspect of universities' and colleges' work.</li> </ul>	0.1%

### 4.3.1 State frontiers expanded in early 20th century

Universities created in the 19th century relied on diverse sources of funding such as fees and philanthropic funding from private sources, annual subscriptions and endowments (Taylor, 2018). In the case of the University of Liverpool, for example, local authority grants supported the efforts of William Rathbone, a local ship owner who raised £80,000 with a group of promoters and subscription lists (Owen, 1965). Case study one, Metropolitan University, provides some further insight into the creation of a 19th century university. The Metropolitan University was founded in the earlier part of the 19th century by a group of politicians and churchmen (Owen, 1965). I found in archival records material that there was a role for local subscriptions at the Metropolitan University; it showed that there were shares of amounts such as £100; a total of 660 donors donated more than £50,000, which at today's value would be approximately £3.8 million ([Metropolitan University] 1828, p. 4). Toward the end of the 19th century, the civic/red brick colleges that became universities, created in the 'north and midlands' from the 1880s, such as the Victoria University of Manchester, created from 1880 as a federation of Owens College in Manchester, the University College in Liverpool and the Leeds University College, were heavily dependent on local appeals and initiatives and were initially not state-funded (Pellew, 2013). Similar to the Metropolitan University, other universities created in the 19th and early 20th centuries, including Birmingham (founded in 1900)<sup>56</sup>, received philanthropic foundation funding from local industry and civic groups (Whyte 2015; Cannadine 2014; Pellew 2013; Owen 1965; Jordan 1959). Some were also founded by single philanthropists such as John Owens, who left a legacy of £96,942 with ten other philanthropists in 1846 to found a college for education in Manchester (University of Manchester, 2014). In 1890 the total number of universities in England and Scotland was 7 of which four were Scottish universities and the others were Oxford, Cambridge and the Victoria University of Manchester. In the early 1900s further colleges gained university status such as the University of Birmingham (1900), the University of Liverpool (1903), University of Leeds (1904), University of Sheffield (1905), Queen's University Belfast (1908) and University of Bristol (1909).

The importance of philanthropic funding continued in the early 20th century and one example is a 20th century university, the Civic University. The institution's archival records revealed that philanthropy played a crucial role in its founding and throughout its history. Between 1902 and 1905, £130,000 was raised by firms and the citizens and in 1988 the value of the donations was £5.5m ([Civic University], 1988) alongside Council funding to

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<sup>56</sup> Mason College, Birmingham was founded in 1880 and became the University of Birmingham in 1900.

establish the University. In the early 1900s, a Council appeal was launched<sup>57</sup> that justified the need for funding to establish the University; later on, the two appeals for the charter of the University and required building were merged. What the latter appeal from 1902 highlights is that philanthropy helped to fund the immediate and necessary extension of buildings and equipment that otherwise would not have come into existence and 'be considered on the broad basis of the requirements of a University College for the city and district and with a view to future development' ([Civic University], 1903). The important role of money from the city's citizens was stressed in a university brochure, which stated, 'The Council call on all to help towards the foundation of a strong City University- on those who can give little to give that little; and on those who can do much to do their utmost. It will require a united effort and some sacrifice' ([Civic University], 1903). The role of local businesses in supporting the early university was also important. The lists of donations in the archive showed the large number of local businesses that chose to be involved in the university and support fundraising efforts ([Civic University], 1903). This was found in records giving examples of local firms donating between £500 to £2,000.

In the early 20th century a major shift in policy began with increasingly liberal reforms between 1906 and 1914 and then through the demands of war that were followed by major cuts in the 1920s (Thane, 2018). Prior to these reforms, universities relied primarily upon philanthropy and fee income from registered students as their main funding sources. One reason for falling student numbers and falling income of institutions was that the First World War resulted in a great many male students volunteering or being drafted into the armed forces. This led to increasing concerns for the financial viability of a many institutions (Taylor, 2018). By the end of the 19th century and up until the First World War the involvement of the state increased in terms of levels of funding for institutions combined with an acknowledgement of 'the importance of universities to the nation which meant that they deserved greater state resources' (Vernon 2004, p. 134).

The creation of the University Grants Committee (UGC) by a Treasury minute in 1919 marked a key change in providing funding for universities and colleges.<sup>58</sup> The UGC was established to enable the distribution of Treasury funding that the government made available in such a manner as to be beneficial for the university system as a whole, rather than for individual institutions. The UGC was an 'arm's length' method of distributing funds, it was created under the auspices of the Treasury but was in fact chiefly managed by a

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<sup>57</sup> This was gathered from an appeal book provided by the Council in 1902 referring to an 'alumni buildings appeal'

<sup>58</sup> State funding to universities and colleges did not just start with the establishment of the UGC, the state contributed before.

committee which consisted largely of senior professors (Tight, 2009). As such it had 'no statutory basis or powers, no bank account, no income-generating capacity, and no grant was made to it...' (Salter and Tapper 1994, p. 104-5) rather it was allocated an annual budget for which it was responsible for advising upon the distribution thereof.

In terms of the UGC's role, the formation of the UGC was seen by universities as a starting point for institutions to be more dependent on central government funding (Anderson 2016; Berdahl 1990). However, in the UGC's initial years institutions received great freedom receiving block grants that they were able to allocate how they wanted with little or no accountability required (Tight, 2009). Between its founding and up until the expansion of the higher education system after World War II, the UGC was perceived as a 'buffer' between state and institutions by academics and was able to allocate grants directly to individual institutions (Tight 2009; Salter and Tapper 1994).

As part of the expansion of the higher education system following World War II through the Education Act 1944 and recommendations made by the Robbin's Report to increase the number of students, more public funding was required. The UGC's role developed to the administration and allocation of temporary reserved grants for specific fields, requested by reports from special committees (Berdahl, 1959). The grant allocation had to be reported and spending by institutions justified to the UGC and unspent funds be returned to the UGC, unlike the previous block grants (Berdahl, 1959). This resulted in greater dependence on state funding by universities and during this time the post war role of the UGC changed from a distributor of funding to an 'agent of planning' (Tight 2009, p.125). As funding was more specific and regulated, the UGC continued to encourage institutions to seek local income sources such as philanthropy (Shinn, 1986)<sup>59</sup> to fund any extras to enable professorships, equipment, new buildings and facilities for students (Anderson 2016; Dyhouse 2002). In the interest of diversified funding, the UGC promoted endowment funds to encourage a university's independence from local and grant funding (Tight 2009; Shinn 1986), which is a view that the UGC continued with throughout its existence.

Following extensive growth of the sector and challenges to cut funding by the 1980s, a new body, the Universities Funding Council (UFC) was created through the Education Reform Act in 1988 which took over the business of the UGC. Overall, the UGC's 70 year tenure was mostly positively assessed by academics and institutions which may be because the

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<sup>59</sup> This could be an oversimplification as it was reported that universities slowed down their fundraising efforts and links with their local communities because UGC's funding plus other state funded such as research and student funding, accounted for 90% of universities' income (Anderson, 2016).

reviews have mostly been carried out by academics, who, as mentioned above, benefitted from its approach and role as a 'buffer' between institutions and government (Tight 2009; Shattock 1994; Owen 1980). The UGC's role in providing funding in relation to philanthropy's role will also require some reflections at the end of section 4.4 to link this to the shifting ideas of the key concept of the public good in higher education.

In terms of the spread of funding streams, table 4.2 provides an overview of the various funding streams to institutions between 1920-1994, this table is discussed throughout the following sections. Table 4.2 illustrates that in 1920/21, 33.6% of funding derived from parliamentary grants 33% from fees and about 14.9% from endowments and donations (Halsey, 2000). One of the main sources of income were parliamentary grants which, until the early 1980s, formed the largest part of the funding and increased to 79.9% in 1964/5. The table also highlights the decreasing amount of philanthropic funding received by institutions as donations and subscriptions amounted to 2.7% in 1920/1 and 0.6% in 1964/5. By the Second World War, the state was the dominant funder of universities and colleges (Taylor 2018; Tight 2009; Vernon 2004; Salter and Tapper 1994; Shinn 1986; Berdahl 1959), and there was concern that direct government involvement through the UGC and the rising financing of education was driving out philanthropic funding (Proper, 2009), however this was not true with regards to establishing further universities in the 1960s (see section 4.3.2)

Table 4.2 Sources of university income 1920-1994 (sources are displayed as % of total income)

	Total Income of universities	Grants from local authorities	Parliamentary grants	Fees	Endowments	Endowments and Donations merged	Donations and subscriptions	Total contribution of philanthropy	Other sources <sup>60</sup>
United Kingdom	£m	£m	£m	%	%	%	%	%	%
1920/21	3.0	9.3	33.6	33.0	11.2		2.7	13.9	10.2
1923/24	3.6	12.0	33.5	33.6	11.6		2.5	14.1	4.8
1928/29	5.2	10.1	35.9	27.8	13.9		2.4	16.3	9.9
1933/34	5.6	9.2	35.1	32.8	13.7		2.4	16.1	6.8
1938/39	6.7	9.0	35.8	29.8	15.4		2.6	18	7.4
1946/47	13.0	5.6	52.7	23.2	9.3		2.2	11.5	7.0
1949/50	22.0	4.6	63.9	17.7	5.7		1.7	7.4	6.4
1953/54	31.1	3.6	70.5	12.0	4.3		1.6	5.9	8.0
1955/56	38.9	3.1	72.7	10.8	3.8		0.9	4.7	8.7
1961/62	74.1	2.1	76.5	9.0	2.7		0.9	3.6	8.9
1964/65	124.2	1.4	79.9	8.1	1.9		0.6	2.5	8.1
1967/68	216.2	0.9	72.9 <sup>61</sup>	7.4		1.7		1.7	17.1 <sup>62</sup>
Great Britain									
1969/70	258.9	0.7	73.2	7.3		1.7		1.7	16.0
1979/80	1266.6	<sup>63</sup>	63.1	15.9		0.9		0.9	20.1
1983/84	1982.8		61.8	13.1		1.2		1.2	23.9
1990/91	4258.4		38.4	20.7		3.6		3.6	37.3
1993/94	5676.6		32.6	23.6		4.1		4.1	39.6

Source: Cited in Halsey (2000, p. 246-247)<sup>64 65</sup>

While philanthropic funding decreased to less than half a percent by 1964/5, this decline was partly due to the impact of UGC's involvement in the running of universities. Structures were set up to diminish local influences and finances that had helped create these universities (Halsey, 2000), but philanthropy did not disappear and the UGC continued to encourage philanthropic funding such as endowments. As a result of the changes, philanthropy's role also changed to providing extra funding to pay for new equipment, facilities, professorships, scholarships and travel bursaries (Anderson 2010; Dyhouse 2002). Similarly, these types of

<sup>60</sup> Includes payments for research contracts from 1955/56

<sup>61</sup> The amount of parliamentary grants shows an apparent drop in 1967/8 because, for that year only, grants from the Exchequer are distinguished in the statistics. Grants and payments for research from other government departments are included in 'other sources'. Previously, all parliamentary grants had been grouped together (Halsey 2000, p.246-247)

<sup>62</sup> Same as footnote 2

<sup>63</sup> Not shown separately

<sup>64</sup> This is created from the sources Halsey used which included sources such as 1920-68: UGC Returns; 1967/68: Statistics of Education, 1968, vol. 6, p. xviii; 1969/70: Statistics of Education, 1970, vol. 6, p. xviii, 1979/80: Statistics of Education, 1980, vol.3, Table 2; 1983/84: University Statistics, 1983-4, vol.3, Table 2; 1990-94: DfEE, statistics from 1995 onwards taken from HESA website.

<sup>65</sup> Column 8 'Total contribution of philanthropy' was added by the author of this study with aid of the available data cited by Halsey.

funds were also apparent in the archival records of the Metropolitan University and the Civic University to support a range of the aforementioned activities. In the eye of the public, higher education was fully paid for by the state,<sup>66</sup> and it was often disregarded that there were still student grants and bursaries which were raised locally by schools, charitable trusts and universities (Dyhouse, 2002). Yet, the idea of higher education being a public good that is free to students had strong presence and the ideas were predominantly based on these assumptions of government's coverage of these grant funds. Also, it was assumed that the funding, derived from citizen's tax contributions, would be paid back by those beneficiaries as future tax payers. As part of this, the role of philanthropy naturally also changed over the coming years giving the changes in the income structure and the withdrawal of direct government funding noticeable from the 1980s onwards as the next section will further explore.

#### **4.3.2 Shifting sands and road to mass higher education in the 1960s-1990s**

The political focus on educating the population and opening access to higher education led to the 1944 Education Act (Education Act, 1944), which opened up the system and was followed by growth of the sector and increase in student numbers as later on recommended by the Robbins Report (CHE, 1963). The post Second World War years saw a major shift in funding HEIs; the state became the dominant source of university funding (Anderson, 2010) and increased its influence over the sector. The Robbins report's findings also allowed for expansion of student numbers and the expansion of the higher education sector. The Robbins report did not cause or lead to the founding of seven new universities in England receiving a Royal Charter in the 1960s. The seven new universities of the 1960s were Sussex, York, East Anglia, Essex, Kent, Warwick and Lancaster and were established in England as a result of the UGC/Treasury policy from about 1957 (Tight, 2009). A condition of the set up by government was that these new universities had to prove they had enough philanthropic support to be created (Fitton 2015; Pellew 2014). As a result, the public was heavily involved in raising money for the new universities asking charitable trusts, local firms and individuals to contribute (Fitton 2015; Pellew 2014), and committees organised to raise funds, often headed by senior local citizens who would directly approach the public to ask for support.

Pellew's (2014) research on the 1960s universities' fundraising efforts highlights the variation in the appeal targets for philanthropic support and shows the differences in the amount raised at each institution, as shown in table 4.3. For example, the University of Kent only

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<sup>66</sup> People often collapsed local government in the category of 'state' and therefore saw higher education and university education being fully paid for by the state

raised £600,000 of their £2 million target whereas the University of East Anglia raised £1.4 million of their £1.5 million target. The table provides an insight into the large amounts that had to be raised in column two, compared to the university's total income in column three and the actual amounts raised in column 1.

Table 4.3 University funding raised by 1960s universities

Name of university	Amount of target appeal (£)	Amount raised (£)	Total income of university (financial year 1969-70) (£)
University of Kent	2,000,000	600,000	1,833,917
University of Sussex	1,000,000	1,000,000	3,946,521
University of Essex	1,000,000	1,300,000	1,807,190
University of East Anglia	1,500,000	1,400,000	2,210,196
University of York	2,000,000	1,850,000	2,312,008
University of Lancaster	2,500,000	2,200,000	2,275,584
University of Warwick	4,000,000	2,750,000	2,201,349

Source: Pellew (2014, p.7)

The case for funding was made at The Plate-glass University, one of the new universities, by

... Capital and operating costs for the new University X will, in large measure, come from Government sources. There are, however, many needs and aspects of university life which require financing and cannot possibly be covered by such grants: these leave a large balance to be found ... ([Plate-glass] 1964, p.1).<sup>67</sup>

To achieve this, local businesses were important in providing funds. Most of their funding derived from companies from the surrounding areas. Besides individual and company donations, funding from charitable trusts and foundations also played a crucial role, especially in the early years. For example, nine larger donations totalling £500,000 underwrote the Plate-glass University's projects ([Plate-glass University] 1966, p. 10). These projects added to the initial founding funds and included funding for student accommodation and scholarship endowment funds. How the philanthropic funding was used at the Plate-

<sup>67</sup> The brochure lists the selected priority areas such as £1million for accommodation, £95,000 for scientific equipment, £300,000 for books, £275,000 for conference hall and theatre, £400,000 for Sports Centre and £1million for research and other projects (Plate-glass University 1964, p.1).

glass University resonates with findings from research into how other universities, created in the 1960s, spent their philanthropic income (Fitton 2015; Pellew 2014; Anderson 1992). Philanthropy has also played a continuous role throughout Plate-glass University history, shown by the fact that the original appeal to create the university remained the same until it was changed to the Alumni Appeal in the 1980s.

The period after the university expansion experienced growth in student and HEI numbers but also reductions in state participation and funding (Hillman 2013; Scott 2014; Berdahl 1990). During the time period from 1970s until the 1990s, the university sector grew from originally 23 universities in England and Scotland in the early 20th century to 46 by 1991. Only three new universities were created between 1969-1991, but several higher and further education colleges were created and brought the number of HEIs to 46 in total by 1991 (Halsey, 2000), and by 1979/80, over one million students had entered the higher education system (Halsey, 2000). The late 1970s and 1980s, under a Conservative Thatcher government from 1979, were characterised by the rolling back of state frontiers in many areas in which the political approach to the entire public sector changed, not just in higher education (Tight, 2009). This approach included the privatisation of telecom, gas and rail as part of a wider plan that incorporate marketisation and increased competition between HEIs.

Donations to HEIs decreased to less than 1% of total income/funding as reported by Halsey by 1979/80, shown in table 4.4. At the same time, direct parliamentary grants to HEIs decreased by more than 50% between 1979 to 1991 (table 4.4), during which time the number of students nevertheless doubled. For the three mentioned case studies, records suggest that there was some philanthropic funding, such as for bursaries and research, and it was apparent that universities felt the pressure to find other sources of income. For example, to deliver the goal of increasing income from philanthropic sources, one action was the creation of the first professional departments to focus on raising funds for the university, usually referred to as Development Offices. It was reported that between 1977-1983, 12 universities had begun to actively fundraise (Squire, 2014). Metropolitan University indicated the increasing awareness of philanthropy's potential place in funding university activity, as the created Development Trust, founded in 1980, defined its objectives to provide 'greater flexibility and more rapid investment' ([Metropolitan University] 1980, p.6). In addition, a link to the university's ambition for excellence, a key word that was also found in several university documents across the sector and in government publications (e.g. the 2003 White Paper 'Financing Higher Education'), was suggested in the statement that

A £3 million founding fund [is established] to sustain a margin of excellence in areas which urgently require financial support such as cancer research, law medicine and ethics, ecology, thrombosis research, linguistic computing, libraries and archives (Metropolitan University 1980, p. 15)

In addition, the Metropolitan University recognised that it 'has no significant endowment with which to meet these needs' ([Metropolitan University] 1980, p.16), a circumstance that led it to consider new philanthropic funding sources. In 1993, a senior member of staff acknowledged that

British universities, and the lives of their staff, have changed out of all recognition... Not only does [the Metropolitan University] now have to compete for its funding from a smaller national pot, ([Metropolitan University], 1993).

Similar to the Metropolitan University, other universities felt the pressure to think more about their funding sources, in which philanthropy played a renewed public role. The Civic University turned to philanthropy during a financially difficult time which was illustrated in a number of publications and statements. Numerous statements by Vice-Chancellors in annual reviews and public statements from 1980s onward exemplified their goal to mobilise further support. For example, in 1985, a senior member of staff made an appeal to alumni to support the university's activities, stressing its difficult financial situation that many institutions might face in the future.

Your ability to speak in an informed way about [the Civic] University, could help to mobilise public support for it in the difficult times which still lie ahead for British Higher Education ([Civic University] 1985, p. 2).

Similar to the Civic University, the Plate-glass University's response in the annual report from 1992 on the subject of sustainability suggested that philanthropy had a long-term role to play, stating that philanthropy 'is the start of a long-term indeed permanent, programme to finance the continuing development of the University' ([Plate-glass University] 1992, p.1). Yet, how this might be achieved is not discussed in any detail in these documents. The various examples, including the view of the Civic University's senior official, stressed the funding need that caused philanthropy to be considered as a permanent source of funding, a view that continued in the 1990s and saw further fundraising offices being established (Squire, 2014).

### **4.3.3 Further diminishment of state roles from the 1990s-2000s**

The shifts that impacted the way higher education was publicly perceived and moved toward sharing of costs with the introduction of tuition fees were shaped by the Dearing report's recommendations in 1997 and the following increase in tuition fees of up to £9,000 by 2012, following the Browne report's recommendations in 2010. Statistics provided by HESA show the decline in direct government grants to institutions as shown in table 4.4. HESA data did not continue to list donations as a separate income source; donations were merged into the last column, 'endowment income' in the 2000s but was reintroduced in 2014/15, in table 4.4. Endowment income are donations that were donated to a university with the purpose of gaining interest from investing the money to provide future additional income. The numbers in table 4.4 also show the increase in income from tuition fees and the reduction in funding from grant bodies over the last decade.

Table 4.4 Funding sources to HE providers 1994-2017

	<b>£ Thousands</b>						
	<b>Total HEI income</b>	<b>Funding Council Grants</b>	<b>Academic/tuition fees and education grants<sup>68</sup></b>	<b>Research Grants &amp; Contracts</b>	<b>Other Operating Income</b>	<b>Endowment Income &amp; Interest Receivable</b>	<b>Donations and endowments</b>
1994/5	10,038,527	4,374,054	2,248,615	1,453,122	1,722,544	240,193	
1995/6	10,711,219	4,451,694	2,511,361	1,553,693	1,931,963	262,508	
1996/7	11,143,554	4,400,038	2,698,701	1,642,336	2,133,033	269,446	
1997/8	11,616,711	4,507,565	2,840,074	1,733,279	2,238,007	297,786	
1998/9	11,122,740	4,918,452	2,717,499	1,834,692	2,350,809	291,288	
1999/00	12,779,676	5,147,078	2,872,356	1,973,416	2,494,757	292,069	
2000/01	13,493,919	5,355,777	3,048,579	2,207,228	2,589,948	292,387	
2001/02	14,490,875	5,692,090	3,338,194	2,433,418	2,769,047	285,126	
2002/03	15,561,971	6,054,559	3,743,094	2,595,445	2,938,382	230,491	
2003/04	16,867,041	6,516,597	4,078,976	2,714,591	3,320,439	236,438	
2004/05	17,993,162	6,967,346	4,335,652	2,883,900	3,506,749	299,515	
2005/06*	19,503,112	7,544,078	4,640,799	3,120,606	3,854,546	343,083	
2006/07	21,289,853	8,030,651	5,413,985	3,376,991	4,077,385	390,841	
2007/08	23,439,626	8,507,989	6,253,998	3,721,881	4,447,967	507,791	
2008/09	25,373,267	8,819,359	7,282,639	4,144,582	4,769,744	356,942	
2009/10	26,795,787	9,043,115	8,272,137	4,345,421	4,915,913	219,201	
2010/11	27,561,539	8,877,801	8,975,819	4,432,394	5,034,898	240,627	
2011/12	27,922,316	8,270,989	9,676,459	4,509,715	5,180,126	285,027	
2012/13 <sup>69</sup>	29,143,869	7,031,856	11,655,756	4,788,549	5,398,125	289,583	
2013/14	30,738,378	6,079,892	13,677,846	5,083,991	5,556,208	340,441	
2014/15	33,198,672	5,279,035	15,585,517	5,912,016	6,062,545	359,559	
2015/16	34,738,668	5,165,722	16,809,674	5,886,019	6,044,748	260,979	571,526
2016/17	35,670,407	5,105,432	17,742,257	5,915,926	6,067,425	253,554	585,813

Source: HESA (1994-2018b)

<sup>68</sup> From 1994/5-2004/5 this income source was called 'Academic Fees & Support Grants' and starting in the academic year 2005/6 this category was renamed 'Tuition fees & education grants & contracts'.

<sup>69</sup> In this academic year the tuition fees were for the first time charged at up to £9,000 per annum. As a result the income source from tuition fees rose by 40% in comparison to the previous academic year.

The trend of professionalising fundraising continued with the establishment of further offices in the 1990s; for example, the Metropolitan University and Civic University had offices established by the last 1980s, Plate-glass University established their office in the earlier part of 1990 and the Plate-glass University created an alumni association as part of the then college, that then later changed over to an alumni office once gained University status. Squire's (2014) account confirmed the trends of the establishment of several offices specialising in fundraising and alumni work.

Universities began to invest in offices that would professionalise their activities by having dedicated databases in place, marketing material developed and thinking about communicating messages to alumni and potential donors started that contributed to begin to fundraise from their alumni and friends (Squire, 2014). For example, at Civic University, a private funding appeal was created that continued with the establishment of an Alumni Foundation that initially raised £15,000 in the 1980s. The appeal had the objectives of retaining independence, expanding and renewing resources, achieving excellence in research and contributing to solving community problems ([Civic University], 1988). Further acknowledgement of the role of philanthropy was found in publications in the 1990s. By 1991,

a central issue will be how to maintain quality whilst being part of government plan to expand higher education provision. Universities are required to raise more money from private donations than ever before in order to remain solvent and funding new developments ([Civic University] 1991, p. 1).

The quotation illustrates the pressures on universities to find further ways of raising money in order to remain financially stable and at the same time develop future projects. Public acknowledgment of philanthropic sources was more common; larger donations such as the £2 million donations to biomedical research were announced at Metropolitan University (2000). The pressures were also felt at the newly-formed universities, which stated in a staff news brochure that given the 'increased financial pressure on all HEIs, matching the funding gap is a vital aspect of universities' and colleges' work' ([New University] 1997, p.16-17). The New University is the final case study example in this study, and while many of the newly-formed universities are quite young in comparison, research shows that many of these former polytechnics or colleges go back far in history and have been funded with the help of philanthropic support (e.g. [New University], 1977).

An alumni association was created at the New University in the 1990s ([New University], 1998), and during this time philanthropy began to play a more prominent role in the university's strategic plan ([New University] 2011, p.3). Furthermore, the university created a network of local senior business people who could help support activities and increase the links and reputation, a similar strategy to the employment of fundraisers by the 1960s universities. From the 1990s onwards further steps toward professionalisation included the recognition of staff members attending professional training provided by the aforementioned Council for Advancement and Support of Education (CASE)<sup>70</sup> and universities developing and running fundraising campaigns (Squire, 2014). These campaigns usually have a start and end time and a goal set within the time frame. One of these campaigns ran at the Metropolitan University in the 1990s/2000s aimed for £44 million for academic leadership (posts and institutes), student opportunities (scholarships) and facilities, campus infrastructure (buildings) and library and information resources (buildings and equipment). The role of philanthropy became more crucial; a quotation from a senior employee, the principal, stressed, 'As I develop my plans for the future of our College, fundraising will become an increasingly important activity for us ...' ([Metropolitan University] 2005, p.3). This shows the increasingly strategic thinking of senior management to include philanthropy in the vision and plans for the future and the belief that philanthropy could help fulfil new institutional visions.

#### **4.4 State frontiers decreased and shifted since the 2000s- the state, tuition fees and philanthropy since the 2000s**

The next findings section of this chapter focusses on the more recent years of policymaking since the early 2000s and examines the first trends in philanthropic funding recorded by the Ross-CASE survey. The shift to place the responsibility of tuition fees on students was part of a wider ideological debate about the public and private good created by higher education (Collini 2017; Williams 2016; Collini 2012; Holmwood 2011; Nixon 2011). The question over the public good of higher education was further illustrated by the findings in this chapter that suggested noticeable changes in state funding and pressure on institutions to acquire their own sources of funding (e.g. NCIHE 1997; DfES 2003; BIS 2011). A key publication and its outcomes, as already mentioned, was the Browne report published in 2010 and as Collini (2012) argued the report 'signalled a re-definition of higher education and the retreat of the state from central financial responsibility for it' (2012, p.179). This change and outlook instigated further debates about the changing narrative of the public versus the private good

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<sup>70</sup>CASE is a large international membership association supporting work in education including fundraising and work with alumni.

in and of higher education. The data for philanthropic funding income that started to be collected in the 2000s by the Ross-CASE survey should then be contextualised together with accounts by fundraisers' views on a broader discussion on what the changes from the recommendations of the Browne report led to and how fundraisers perceived this change.

In terms of philanthropic funding, the following graph, produced with the archival material, Ross-CASE data, information from university websites and HESA data, shows the upward trend of philanthropic funding to higher education. The graph also shows the comparatively small contribution of up to 4.5% of philanthropic income of overall university income that requires further discussion in this and the following chapters. The statistics provided by HESA only started listing private donation separately in 2014/15, so an original table, 4.1, has been created, drawing on data from different data sources and providing an overview from 1920-2013/14.

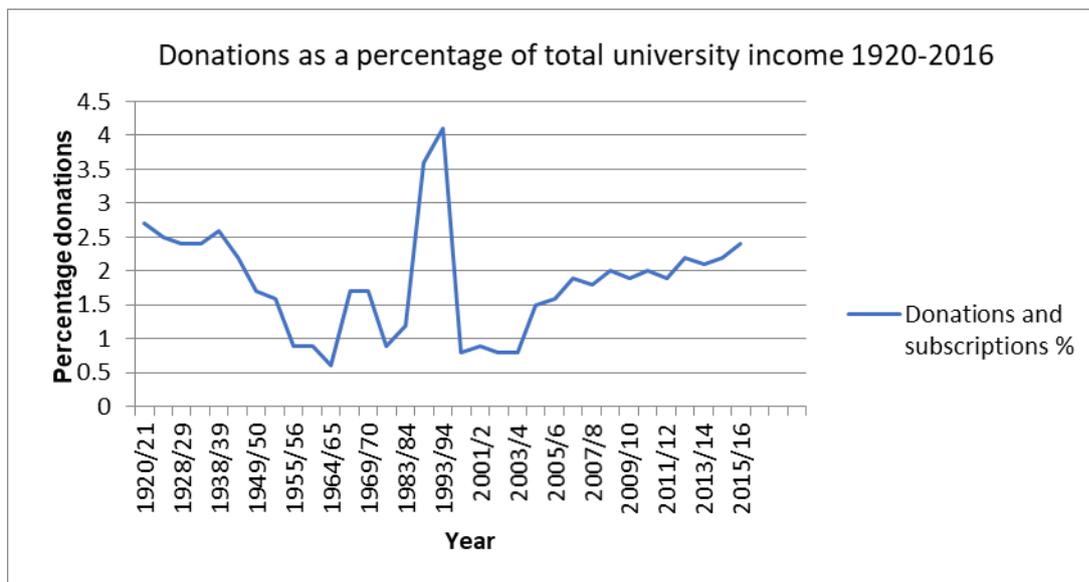


Figure 4.1 Donations as a percentage of total university income, 1920-2016

Created by the author using original data used from Halsey (2000), HESA (1994-2018b) and Ross-CASE (2006-2017)

Figure 4.1 shows the rises and falls of philanthropic income, but this is only a broad trend, as archival data shows the income was different between institutions. The peak of income in 1993/4 results from the end of the binary system and the consequent increase of the number of universities. There were also differences across the cases; for example, one university's philanthropic income was less than 1% and another's was 4.5% in recent years. In addition to the philanthropic income trends, the pie chart below puts into perspective the overall income structure of higher education providers in the most recent year 2016/17 and shows

that tuition fees contribute 50% of the overall income and that donations and endowments, in their own category again, contribute 2%. As already highlighted in chapter 1 in section 1.1 and table 1.1, figure 4.2 illustrates the overall income structure of higher education providers. For example, the pie chart shows that for the financial year 2016/17 tuition fees and education contracts provided 50% of the funding followed by other income (17%), research grants (16%) and funding body grants (14%). Donations and endowments are listed and make up 2% of the total income of HEIs suggesting a small role but the contributions are listed as a separate funding source which has only recently been adjusted.

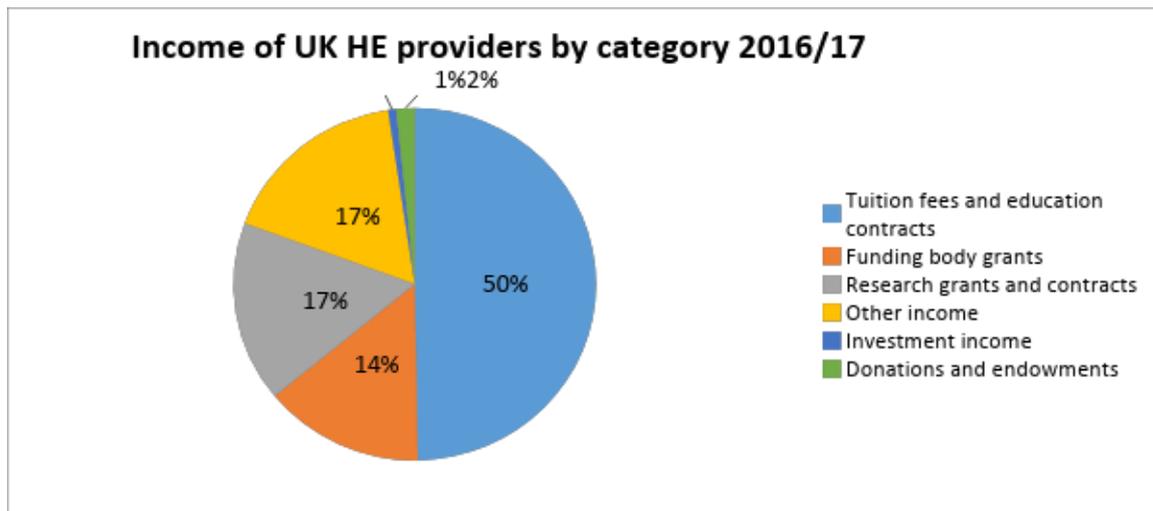


Figure 4.2 Income of UK HE providers by category 2016/17

Source: HESA, 2018b

Leading on from the findings from archival material suggesting a shifting and changing role for philanthropy, and not the least since the publication and following actions resulting from the 2010 Browne report, this requires linking to the already illustrated key concept and debates on the public and private good in higher education as set out in chapter 2 in 2.2.2 and earlier in this chapter in 4.3.2.

A clear definition of the distinction between university education having been a 'public good' and now having become a 'private good' is that the phrase 'the public good' has often been used in the context of the motivation of the founders of many universities and generally of philanthropic giving to universities. The rationale for the founding of many British institutions over the course of the last 150 years has been partly utilitarian, e.g. the need of the state, the professions, business for trained and educated personnel, and partly idealistic, in that carrying out this utilitarian aim is fundamentally a service that benefits society generally. It is an important leitmotif in the history of British universities and was actively encouraged by for example the UGC between 1919 and 1979. More recently, as student fees rose by a

considerable amount, the phrase 'private good' has entered the vocabulary of this subject and is reflected in the most recent debates within the literature as discussed in chapter 2 section 2.2.2. Instead of universities functioning mainly as a public service, they now function in a market place with higher education becoming a commodity marketed to the purchaser (e.g. Holmwood 2014; Marginson 2014; Bunce, Baird and Jones 2017; Collini 2017; Collini 2012; Collini 2010) and students benefitting as individuals. This change in perception can be linked to the debates and ideas of the role of philanthropy in higher education that this study is examining as one is intimately linked to the other. If the idea of higher education as a public good diminished but philanthropy is supposedly serving to provide and deliver the vision of the public good, then this suggests that there are tensions and conflicting expectations and results. The findings in this chapter have so far therefore highlighted these tensions between the public vision and government ideas which were also highlighted in the way policy documents discussed philanthropy as opposed to how practitioners may see its role. Over time philanthropy's contributions varied in terms of its actual monetary value and with regards to its encouragement, e.g. through the UGC during its lifetime and the creation of the 1960s universities by substantial philanthropic sums. A question therefore is whether philanthropy's role in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is at risk of changing fundamentally to the point that it is not comparable with its role in earlier centuries'? In order to discuss and conclude this concept's role further in chapter 5 and 6 in context of the current policies, the remainder of this chapter will focus on the examination of the most recent policy interventions.

#### **4.4.1 Official measurements of trends in philanthropic giving in 21st century**

The case studies illustrated increasing knowledge about more public fundraising at a range of institutions. The creation in 2006 of the Ross-CASE survey<sup>71</sup> to collect data on philanthropic income of HEIS was also a further step toward the professionalisation of the sector. As noted, the Ross-CASE survey is the first survey to report on philanthropic income in higher education and the analysis of the Ross-CASE data presented here in this thesis aims to study philanthropic income trends across all HEIs and examine 9-year trends for the first time. The Ross-CASE survey from 2006/7-2014/15 will be used as a basis for this analysis to understand broad trends, such as those prepared in table 4.4 in addition to those already analysed in the annual report (Ross-CASE 2007-2016), which included 'cash received', 'number of donors' and 'new funds secured' and these figures are presented in table 4.5.

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<sup>71</sup> 2006 was the first official publication but some data has previously been recorded since 2001.

Table 4.5 Overview of philanthropic income trends 2006/7-2014/15

	New funds secured £	Cash received £	Legacies £	Largest gift £	Number of £500k plus donations	Total number of actual donors
2006/07	513,299,711.7	377,116,251.7	52,639,620.59	45,269,790	112	115,533
2007/08	573,059,319.9	391,978,237.8	43,282,645.13	51,483,910	130	128,478
2008/09	473,591,980	459,417,233.1	49,935,852.04	81,015,243.85	153	145,328
2009/10	526,953,075.2	445,593,054.7	47,937,589.66	89,948,216.18	141	161,013
2010/11	601,994,163.5	493,906,897.3	47,635,418.49	70,124,428.16	139	178,664
2011/12	716,259,841.1	508,420,207.5	56,942,475.54	72,599,194.5	159	192,510
2012/13	629,747,078	611,644,341	43,855,026	Not available	Not available	205,751
2013/14	708,858,287.4	569,706,888.4	65,064,132	Not available	Not available	226,779
2014/15	806575946.3	702383169.4	88563891.92	78213123.35	Not available	214773

First, the main trend suggests that for the key variables ‘cash received’, measured in cash, and ‘new funds secured’, measured in cash and promised money, there has been a fairly steady and substantial increase between 2006/7-2014/15, as figure 4.3 shows. ‘New funds’ increased by 57% over the period, whereas ‘cash received’ increased by 86%. Within these main trends, year-on-year variations, the impact of outliers and the disproportionate role played by Oxbridge are further examined in the following sections.

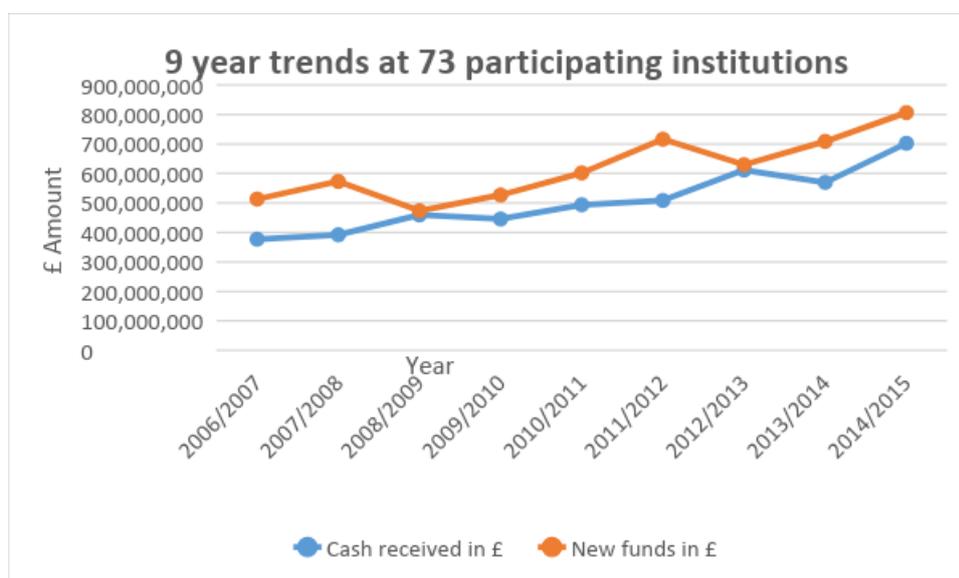


Figure 4.3 9 year trends at 73 participating institutions

### *Year-on-year variations and impact of outliers*

Results highlight that the sector is heterogenic, and the mean/median and interquartile ranges' figures show there are large differences between institutions in philanthropic income. It is known from the annual Ross-CASE survey that Oxford and Cambridge raised 55% of the total income in 2015/16 (Ross-CASE, 2017). In the report, they are already exempt from the group as a separate entity; this confirms the need to carefully investigate an average figure that includes Oxford and Cambridge at the top end. One difference, for example, is that the mean cash received for the 73 participating institutions was greater than the median for 'cash received' in 2006/7-2014/15, as shown in table 4.6 and 4.7, and is therefore positively skewed (Diamond and Jeffries, 2011). The mean was influenced by a few very high values. As a result, the mean is not the best figure to discuss the average philanthropic income; the median is a better measure of an average than the mean if the data is positively skewed. The median figure displayed in figure 4.6 shows that there have been changes in the trends for the variable 'cash received'; notably, there was a decline in 2007/8 to less than £1m. In 2011/12, the median decreased to a similar figure (£1.4m) as in 2008/9, and in 2013/14, the median was £1.1m again before it rose to £2.4m in 2014/15. The variation in the median highlights the different performances between years and the average donation amount; once the outliers (are removed, the story of philanthropic giving became less positive, as the average donation was between £1 and £10m. The standard deviation measures the average amount by which all the values deviate from the mean (residuals) is greater than the mean from 2008/9-2014/15, suggesting that the data is very spread out around the mean value.

The median helps measure the average philanthropic income, and the interquartile range is used as a measure of spread, which is useful as it is not affected by outliers (Diamond and Jeffries, 2011). Figure 4.3 shows the differences between the two key variables 'new funds secured' and 'cash received'. Two things stand out: first, when new funds increased in 2012, 'cash received' dropped, and when new funds decreased marginally in 2013, the figure for 'cash received' increased. Second, both figures rose in 2015 by an additional £2m, suggesting that other HEIs caught up and there was more income across the institutions.

Table 4.6 Cash received - descriptive statistics 2006/7-2014/15

	2006/7 in £	2007/8 in £	2008/9 in £	2009/10 in £	2010/11 in £	2011/12 in £	2012/13 in £	2013/14 in £	2014/15 in £
<b>Mean</b>	7,031,502.90	5,369,564.90	6,293,386.76	6,104,014.45	6,765,847.91	6,964,660.38	8,378,689.60	7,804,203.95	9,621,687.25
<b>Std. Error of Mean</b>	2,691,559.27	2,010,770.62	2,482,922.67	2,346,942.79	2,337,607.39	2,699,452.20	3,555,066.96	3,071,118.92	3,341,217.67
<b>Median</b>	1,615,000.00	917,000.00	1,297,703.00	2,215,845.00	2,394,427.00	1,452,678.00	1,467,803.00	1,186,356.00	2,484,573.00
<b>Mode</b>	5000a <sup>72</sup>	2000a	2000a	2000a	25528a	2875a	4873a	2350a	5102a
<b>Std. Deviation</b>	22,996,692.45	17,180,031.74	21,214,100.57	20,052,288.02	19,972,526.29	23,064,129.71	30,374,505.38	26,239,651.58	28,547,376.26
<b>Variance</b>	5.29E+14	2.95E+14	4.50E+14	4.02E+14	3.99E+14	5.32E+14	9.23E+14	6.89E+14	8.15E+14
<b>Range</b>	154,895,000.00	108,798,000.00	134,124,304.20	144,498,000.00	129,480,116.00	171,825,938.00	227,893,590.00	198,713,370.00	216,339,088.00
<b>Minimum</b>	5,000.00	2,000.00	2,000.00	2,000.00	25,528.00	2,875.00	4,873.00	2,350.00	5,102.00
<b>Maximum</b>	154,900,000.00	108,800,000.00	134,126,304.20	144,500,000.00	129,505,644.00	171,828,813.00	227,898,463.00	198,715,720.00	216,344,190.00
<b>Sum</b>	513,299,711.70	391,978,237.80	459,417,233.10	445,593,054.70	493,906,897.30	508,420,207.50	611,644,341.00	569,706,888.40	702,383,169.40

<sup>72</sup> Multiple modes exist and the smallest value is shown. This applies to all other figures (p.125, p. 126 and p.130) that include 'a' after the number.

Table 4.7 New funds secured - descriptive statistics 2006/7-2014/15

	2006/7 in £	2007/8 in £	2008/9 in £	2009/10 in £	2010/11 in £	2011/12 in £	2012/13 in £	2013/14 in £	2014/15 in £
<b>Mean</b>	5,165,976.051	7,850,127.669	6,487,561.37	7,218,535.277	8,246,495.39	9,811,778.645	8,626,672.301	9,710,387.499	11,048,985.57
<b>Std. Error of Mean</b>	1,863,816.581	3,131,549.926	2,439,529.932	3,060,214.778	2,971,456.72	3,780,762.915	3,318,154.236	3,350,823.908	3,780,498.028
<b>Median</b>	1,031,000.00	1,080,000.00	1,493,720.00	1,615,965.00	2,063,179.00	1,968,084.00	2,016,865.00	1,569,314.00	2,308,003.90
<b>Mode</b>	5,000.00	178,000.00	2000a	2000a	25528a	2875a	4873a	2350a	2068a
<b>Std. Deviation</b>	15924455.85	26755974.3	20843352.88	26146486.52	25388137.35	32302852.51	28350322.22	28629452.02	32300589.31
<b>Variance</b>	2.54E+14	7.16E+14	4.34E+14	6.84E+14	6.45E+14	1.04E+15	8.04E+14	8.20E+14	1.04E+15
<b>Range</b>	109,895,000.00	184,476,300.00	139,398,000.00	204,387,057.00	172,348,783.00	254,510,157.00	210,213,382.00	204,933,261.00	225,357,407.00
<b>Minimum</b>	5,000.00	3,700.00	2,000.00	2,000.00	25,528.00	2,875.00	4,873.00	2,350.00	2,068.00
<b>Maximum</b>	109,900,000.00	184,480,000.00	139,400,000.00	204,389,057.00	172,374,311.00	254,513,032.00	210,218,255.00	204,935,611.00	225,359,475.00
<b>Sum</b>	377,116,251.70	573,059,319.90	473,591,980.00	526,953,075.20	601,994,163.50	716,259,841.10	629,747,078.00	708,858,287.40	806,575,946.30

The interquartile range for cash received in table 4.8 was at its lowest at £3.7m in 2011/12 and highest at £7m in 2014/15, indicating an increase in the income for the middle 50% that was measured by the interquartile range. The interquartile range was higher than the median, indicating that there were various outliers at the lower end and some at the higher end that affected the results. However, this should not be misleading, as there is still a large number of HEIs that raise less than £1 million each year. For example, in 2010, the lowest cash income was £2,000 and the highest was £227m.

Table 4.8 Interquartile range 2006/7-2014/15

	2006/7	2007/8	2008/9	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14	2014/15
<b>New Funds £</b>	5,445,000	5,073,000	4,440,269	4,546,453	4,711,177	6,160,406	5,806,452	5,994,395	8,203,079
<b>Cash received £</b>	3,953,500	4,204,206	3,957,270	4,258,342	4,303,689	3,741,235	5,258,187	5,017,901	7,115,336

#### Dominance of top 10% of institutions

A dominance of a small group of HEIs raising more than 60% of the total income was found that supports the earlier mentioned variation within the HEIs sector's fundraising performance. This was found above for the wide ranging different figures for mean, median and interquartile, I have calculated the main descriptive statistics for the top 10% of performing institutions including Oxford and Cambridge for all years 2006/7-2014/5. Most of the monies raised was due to these institutions which were almost identical. In the UK in 2014/15, the top 10% performing HEIs, measured by 'cash received' in each year reported £458m and secured new funds of £531m (table 4.9). These two results represent 65% and 66% of overall income (figure 4.4 highlights this). This highlights the dominance of the top 10% of institutions as the remaining 66 other institutions raised only on average 35% of income between themselves. This suggests heterogeneity of philanthropic success across the HEI sector as the smallest group of institutions raises the largest amount and yet the majority of institutions is not able to fill the gap. As results vary also for institutions outside of the top 10% range, where highest variation amongst institution's income was up to £203m amongst institutions in 2014/5; this further suggests the heterogeneity of the HEIs sector.

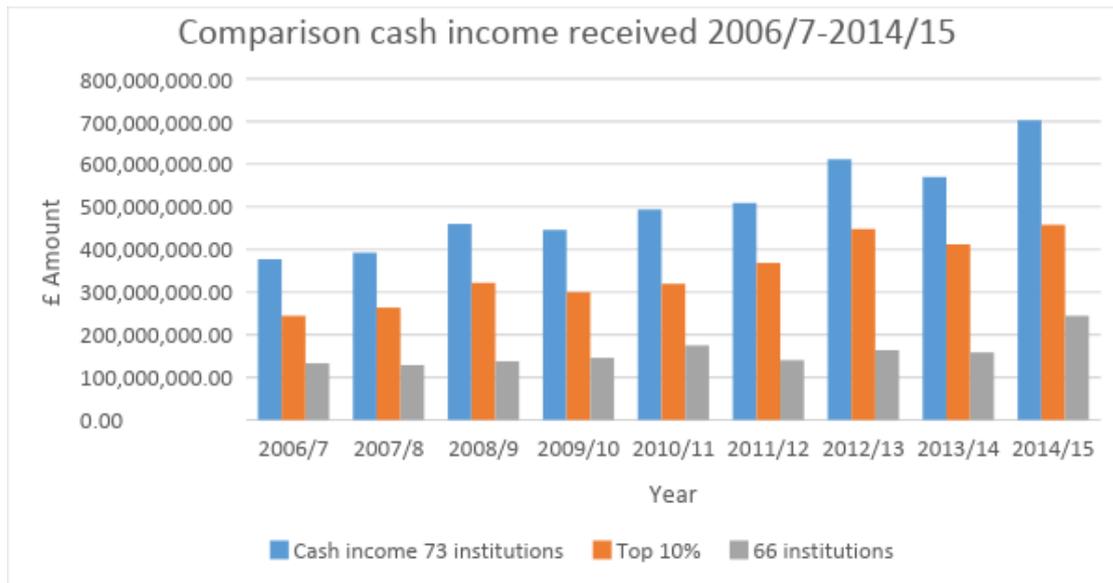


Figure 4.4 Cash income comparison 2006/7- 2014/15

In 2013 there was a large increase in overall funding and this was noticeable for the top 10% of institutions that raised philanthropic income. For example, in 2013, 33 institutions raised less than £1m; six raised between £1 and £1m; three institutions raised between £2m-£9.9m, bringing the total to 24 that raised between £1 and £9.99m; five institutions raised between £10m-£13m and four institutions (Oxbridge and two other redbrick institutions) raised at least £15m. A trend of increasing income has been found in that some other long established universities have caught up with Oxbridge, raising up to £38m per annum, however there is still a large gap between these universities and the next group of HEIs that raise £10m-£13m a year.

Table 4.9 – Descriptive statistics for top 10% 2006/7-2014/15

	<b>New funds secured £</b>	<b>Cash income received £</b>	<b>Legacies £</b>	<b>Largest gift £</b>	<b>Number of £500k plus donations</b>	<b>Total number of actual donors</b>
<b>2006/7</b>	152,241,028.00	132,835,348.00	18,952,134.00	31,688,600.00	35	62,218
<b>2007/8</b>	153,271,319.90	128,564,237.80	16,355,645.13	23,983,910.00	36	65,315
<b>2008/9</b>	162,554,997.60	137,637,343.00	17,805,898.91	27,811,191.95	49	77,491
<b>2009/10</b>	162,351,949.00	145,733,788.30	20,075,043.22	34,837,272.18	51	79,757
<b>2010/11</b>	206,028,229.50	174,853,983.20	15,205,688.58	46,052,579.08	44	91,451
<b>2011/12</b>	209,533,951.30	140,152,122.70	17,407,554.10	30,193,408.50	28	97,854
<b>2012/13</b>	199,502,172.00	163,680,331.00	28,683,951.00	Not available	Not available	101,778
<b>2013/14</b>	208,240,411.40	158,291,260.40	20,141,897.00	Not available	Not available	103,150

Table 4.10 Descriptive Statistics for top 10% mean, median, and other statistics 2006/7-2014/15

<b>New Funds secured</b>									
	<b>2006/7 in £</b>	<b>2007/8 in £</b>	<b>2008/9 in £</b>	<b>2009/10 in £</b>	<b>2010/11 in £</b>	<b>2011/12 in £</b>	<b>2012/13 in £</b>	<b>2013/14 in £</b>	<b>2014/15 in £</b>
<b>Mean</b>	51,579,811.96	59,969,714.29	44,433,854.64	52,085,875.16	56,566,562.00	72,389,412.83	61,463,558.00	71,516,839.43	75,968,877.71
<b>Std. Error of Mean</b>	22,945,366.94	26,705,466.10	21,449,829.37	28,103,163.68	25,471,900.82	32,141,419.39	29,028,276.07	25,823,906.11	30,846,535.66
<b>Median</b>	19,995,000.00	20,725,000.00	13,014,192.79	15,729,565.68	21,745,312.00	39,552,496.33	24,063,454.00	54,520,880.00	31,556,870.00
<b>Mode</b>	13072370 <sup>a</sup>	12139000 <sup>a</sup>	7725990 <sup>a</sup>	8078492 <sup>a</sup>	9956111 <sup>a</sup>	12789361 <sup>a</sup>	6126465 <sup>a</sup>	15522517 <sup>a</sup>	21859851 <sup>a</sup>
<b>Std. Deviation</b>	60,707,734.67	70,656,021.95	56,750,914.17	74,353,982.14	67,392,315.00	85,038,202.50	76,801,599.46	68,323,633.44	81,612,262.16
<b>Range</b>	141,827,630.00	172,341,000.00	131,674,010.00	196,310,565.00	162,418,200.00	241,723,671.00	204,091,790.00	189,413,094.00	203,499,624.00
<b>Minimum</b>	13,072,370.00	12,139,000.00	7,725,990.00	8,078,492.00	9,956,111.00	12,789,361.00	6,126,465.00	15,522,517.00	21,859,851.00
<b>Maximum</b>	154,900,000.00	184,480,000.00	139,400,000.00	204,389,057.00	172,374,311.00	254,513,032.00	210,218,255.00	204,935,611.00	225,359,475.00
<b>Sum</b>	361,058,684.00	419,788,000.00	311,036,982.00	364,601,126.00	395,965,934.00	506,725,890.00	430,244,906.00	500,617,876.00	531,782,144.00
<b>Cash received</b>									
	<b>2006/7 in £</b>	<b>2007/8 in £</b>	<b>2008/9 in £</b>	<b>2009/10 in £</b>	<b>2010/11 in £</b>	<b>2011/12 in £</b>	<b>2012/13 in £</b>	<b>2013/14 in £</b>	<b>2014/15 in £</b>
<b>Mean</b>	34,897,271.96	37,630,571.43	45,968,555.72	42,837,038.05	45,578,987.73	52,609,726.39	63,994,858.57	58,773,661.14	65,443,486.14
<b>Std. Error of Mean</b>	16,100,654.38	17,352,982.63	21,708,662.07	20,828,478.22	19,882,725.49	22,746,233.12	31,578,856.17	26,192,365.46	28,190,490.26
<b>Median</b>	14,107,313.74	13,145,000.00	13,025,843.83	12,137,051.00	13,655,423.00	25,306,145.08	17,212,118.00	21,733,255.00	30,609,750.00
<b>Mode</b>	3606590 <sup>a</sup>	4142000 <sup>a</sup>	10680641 <sup>a</sup>	9318408 <sup>a</sup>	12291318 <sup>a</sup>	11282827 <sup>a</sup>	12226471 <sup>a</sup>	14947561 <sup>a</sup>	20406628 <sup>a</sup>
<b>Std. Deviation</b>	42,598,327.42	45,911,676.54	57,435,721.14	55,106,973.54	52,604,747.04	60,180,876.10	83,549,800.10	69,298,485.25	74,585,026.58
<b>Range</b>	106,293,410.00	104,658,000.00	123,445,663.00	135,181,592.00	117,214,326.00	160,545,986.00	215,671,992.00	183,768,159.00	195,937,562.00
<b>Minimum</b>	3,606,590.00	4,142,000.00	10,680,641.00	9,318,408.00	12,291,318.00	11,282,827.00	12,226,471.00	14,947,561.00	20,406,628.00
<b>Maximum</b>	109,900,000.00	108,800,000.00	134,126,304.00	144,500,000.00	129,505,644.00	171,828,813.00	227,898,463.00	198,715,720.00	216,344,190.00
<b>Sum</b>	244,280,904.00	263,414,000.00	321,779,890.00	299,859,266.00	319,052,914.00	368,268,085.00	447,964,010.00	411,415,628.00	458,104,403.00

### *Number of donors on the rise*

Another trend is the steady increase in number of donors from 115,533 in 2006/7 to 214,773 in 2015, although between 2014-2015/16 this figure fell from 226,779 to 214,773 (table 4.4). When examined, the top 10% of HEIs do not dominate these figures, as on average the top 10% make up 46-55% of the number of donors between 2006/7-2014/15 compared to the 64%-72% of income contributed by the top 10% of HEIs. This shows that there is a difference in the amount of money raised in relation to the number of donors. The increasing number of donors can be explained by them not being dependent on the amount raised, as institutions can increase their number of donors without raising a large amount of money so that the bottom line figure does not change noticeably. It could also be explained by having fewer bigger donors at one institution.

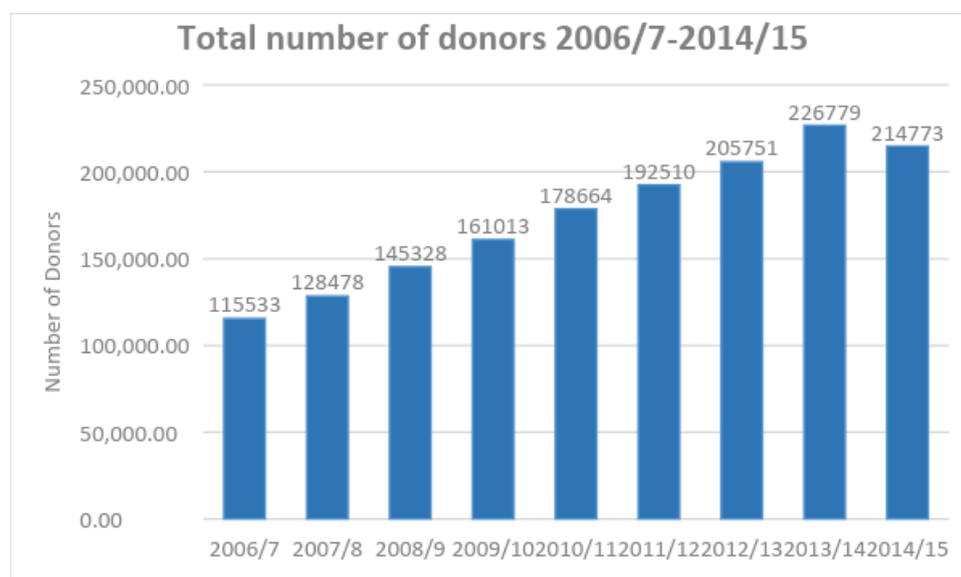


Figure 4.5 Total number of donors 2006/7-2014/15

### *Income varied during MFS policy*

Another point is that when examining all institutions that took part in all three surveys during the scheme (133), a slightly different picture was found.<sup>73</sup> The additional 60 institutions raised approximately £50m (14%) of overall income in cash received (the average cash received by an institution was less than £830,000), showing the vast difference between institutions' performances during the scheme. The overall cash income rose from £509m in 2007/8 to £545m 2010/11, but the figure dropped in the second year of the scheme to £495m. New funds secured instead rose from £527m to £578m in 2009/10 and to £656m in 2010/11.

<sup>73</sup> The number of institutions that took part in the survey during the three years that the MFS ran was substantially higher (133) than the number that took part in all 10 surveys.

The mean for cash received in 2008-2011 by all institutions varied between £3.7m and £5.5m, suggesting that the average donations were smaller than for the 73 institutions. The median cash received was £4.69m in 2008/9, £7.5m in 2010 and £7.6m in 2010/11 and was greater than the mean cash received for the 73 HEIs studied. As the median is larger than the mean for the 135 HEIs, the data is negatively skewed and concentrated at the higher end of the range, where there are higher figures. The standard deviation was also larger for the 73 institutions than for the 135, suggesting that for the 135 institutions the data was more concentrated around the mean. However, the range of donations in 2010 did not vary markedly, with a range of £144m for the 135 HEIs and £134m for the 73 HEIs. Larger differences were found in the 2011 data, with a range of £253m for the 135 HEIs compared to a range of £144m for the 73 HEIs.

*Table 4.11 MFS cash received (£) for the 135 HEIs participating and the 73 HEIs that took part in all surveys 2006/07-2014/15*

<b>Year</b>	<b>MFS cash received (£) for 135 HEIs</b>	<b>MFS cash received (£) for 73 HEIs</b>
<b>2009</b>	134,125,898	108,798,000
<b>2010</b>	144,499,450	134,124,304
<b>2011</b>	253,822,028	144,498,000

Another trend during the MFS is that the number of donors rose from 162,000 to 181,000 and 201,647 over the three-year period from 2008-2011. This was an increase of 10%, taking into account the additional number of participating institutions. While the number of donors rose, there is no evidence that this happened solely as a result or consequence of the match funding scheme. There is no data available for new donors during the scheme and whether the new donors continued giving after the scheme finished.

#### **4.4.2 Policy attention and role of incentives to foster giving**

Before the Ross-CASE data collection began, the 2003 White Paper 'The Future of Higher Education' noted the effort to compete in the global competitive market place while finding extra sources of income (DfES, 2003), as detailed in 2.4. The various roles of philanthropy at the four university cases studies in 4.2 and the framing of government language for the notion of philanthropy sets the context for this next section.

While 4.3.1 illustrated that philanthropic income has generally been on the rise (Ross-CASE 2006-2017), one reason for the rise in this income stream is thought to be the active

encouragement from the government to provide tax relief and incentives such as the 2008-2011 MFS (Fitton 2015; Coutts 2010). Following the 2003 White Paper's first engagement with philanthropy since the 1960s, the subsequent Task Force Report 'Increasing Voluntary Giving', also known as the Thomas report, put fundraising in universities back onto the agenda with universities, policy and the media. The report recommended that universities drive active fundraising and recommended incentives to increase their philanthropic income. The main incentives put in place since the 1990s were gift aid, tax relief for higher earners, payroll giving, capacity building and match funding schemes<sup>74</sup>.

The focus of the discussion will be on the two incentives implemented in 2006 and 2008 relevant to higher education specifically, the CBS and the MFS, respectively. Following the 2003 White Paper's initial discussion of philanthropy as an income source, the government commissioned the 2004 Task Force Report, led by fundraising experts and its recommendation was to introduce schemes that could first increase fundraising capacity and then match endowed funds (DfES, 2004). Following these recommendations, the CBS, summarised in table 4.12 was implemented and executed between 2006-2009 during a Labour government. There was only a small amount of secondary reporting available on the scheme, making a review of the results less accessible.<sup>75</sup>

*Table 4.12 Overview of the Capacity Building Scheme*

Aim:	To help universities with less fundraising experience and staff numbers build staff capacity.
Participation:	27 HEIs that raised less than £1.25million a year in philanthropic funding took part
Funding:	Half of the money (£125,000 per annum per institution over three years) was provided by the government and the other half needed to be matched by the institution
Outcomes:	Fundraisers who were interviewed as part of this study reported that some posts were continued, but there is no official data confirming the broader trends

*Source: HEFCE (2012b)*

The scheme, according to the information provided in the appendix of the 2012 HEFCE 'Review on Philanthropy in UK Higher Education', had the purpose of giving universities the opportunity to apply for extra fundraising posts within their departments. Universities could

<sup>74</sup> As mentioned in chapter 1, this study has deliberately chosen to focus on the two incentives specific to higher education only and recognises that there is also an important role for the other incentives such as gift aid, payroll giving and others.

<sup>75</sup> Upon request directly to Universities UK, no further data was accessible, but some data was available in the Appendix of the 2012 HEFCE Philanthropy Review.

only take part if they did not have large developed fundraising offices already in place. The scheme required recipient universities to match the money they were given for the three-year period. The goal was that these posts would not only make a short-term difference but also have a long-term impact, so that by 2009 the universities would be in a position to commit to funding these posts on a permanent basis (HEFCE, 2012a). Twenty-seven HEIs, each raising less than £1.25m a year, took up this offer and were offered up to £125,000 per annum over the three-year period (HEFCE, 2012a). Because of the shortage of data showing the impact, the interviews with fundraisers at relevant institutions conducted for this thesis were crucial, as the scheme has so far not received significant analysis or discussion and has not been evaluated in the context of HEIs' performance and other incentives.

The second key policy relevant in this context is the HEFCE MFS. The scheme was established by the Labour government in 2008 and continued by the Coalition government until its planned conclusion in 2011. This is the government policy to promote philanthropy that has arguably received the most attention in the media and in government documents (HEFCE 2014; HEFCE 2012a; HEFCE 2011; BIS 2011; DfES 2004). The aim of the scheme was to encourage further giving to higher education. Donation gifts to participating institutions were matched through a fund of £200 million (CASE, 2008), of which £148 million was available for matching. This scheme raised £540 million in total (table 4.13 below) for English universities.

*Table 4.13 Overview of the Match Funding Scheme*

Aim:	Step-change in voluntary giving and matched eligible donations from 2008- 2011
Participation:	135 HEIs and FECs took part
Funding:	£148 million was available for match funding, and the other £52 million was used for training of fundraising staff
Outcomes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Very successful, according to the government</li> <li>● £540 million of eligible gifts raised</li> <li>● Increase in number of donors by 1/3</li> <li>● A review of philanthropic support for higher education was commissioned</li> </ul>

*Source: HEFCE (2012a)*

The HEIs received matched funding depending on their chosen tiers, illustrated in table 4.11. There were three tiers, each with a different funding ratio (1:1, 1:2, 1:3) and a cap suitable

for institutions with differing degrees of fundraising experience (CASE, 2008). These tiers recognised the variation in the fundraising experience and income that the Ross-CASE survey results illustrated in 4.3. These tiers (table 4.14) and caps mean in practice that for example the New University from the archival case studies, as an institution with little fundraising experience, for every £1 they raised they would receive another £1, up to a total value of £200,000. Whereas, if Metropolitan University was in tier 3 then for every £1 raised this was matched 1:3 up to a total of new income of £2.75m.

Table 4.14 Fundraising tiers of the Match Funding Scheme

Tier	Cap level	Ratio public: private	Fundraising experience
<b>Tier 1</b>	£200,000	1:1	Little or none
<b>Tier 2</b>	£1,350,000	1:2	Existing programmes in place
<b>Tier 3</b>	£2,750,000	1:3	Most experienced

Source: HEFCE (2012a)

Having found in the literature that recent scholars developed the idea of understanding the attention in form of a policy window and the possibility of having big and small policy windows (Exworthy and Powell, 2004), it remains debatable how big the attention was since they only had a three year short-term duration. The value of schemes such as the MFS has not been studied extensively in academic literature (Warren, Hoyler and Bell, 2014), but the grey literature has discussed the positive outcomes of the MFS (HEFCE 2012a; 2012b). While the 2013 Ross-CASE survey reported the increase in philanthropic income, it also suggested that the MFS 'left a legacy of investments in fundraising across the sector and has increased the willingness of alumni and others to make philanthropic investments in higher education' (Ross-CASE 2013, p.1). The increase in giving in those years was automatically linked to the MFS (Coutts, 2012), and it was claimed that the MFS fulfilled its aims (HEFCE, 2012b). This would suggest that the reason for the changes in philanthropic funding to HEIs resulted from government incentives such as the MFS and were also in view of the government big opportunities and had a large impact. While recognising the increase in donations to UK universities, Adams in the Guardian criticised the positive stories, as the actual data suggested a different scenario in which universities struggled to increase their fundraising income in 2011/12 after the MFS, in comparison to 2010/11, when there was a 'fall by 50% or more year-on-year, a sharp decrease attributed in part to the end of the government's matched funding scheme' (2013). Adams (2013) derived his analysis from evidence presented in the annual Ross-CASE survey and an interview with a director of fundraising from a university, but evidence was not based on previous academic research.

Following Adam's points, it seems too early in this thesis to make a concluding statement about the size of the policy windows but the idea of the different size windows has certainly so far advanced and helped to further scrutinise the role and nuances within the idea of the MSA policy windows in the remainder of this study.

#### **4.4.3 Reasons for policy interventions**

The previous section helped explain why and how philanthropy made it onto the policy agenda and two policies in form of the CBS and the MFS opened because the three streams coupled at this time. Having identified the drivers for the actual policy interventions, the next step is to discuss these in conjunction with overarching government goals for higher education. The key messages surrounding the interventions found in reviewing the policy documents in chapter 2 were of explicit and implicit natures. The themes of excellence, independence and sustainability reflect the increasing financial, political and ideological pressures under which universities have been asked to perform.

This research found that the higher education sector's and institutions' goal of excellence is one of the overarching themes for why government intervenes or says it intervenes in encouraging philanthropic giving to HEIs. For example, the 2003 White Paper 'The Future of Higher Education' discussed excellence in relation to philanthropy. Excellence was defined as delivering excellence to students, but also acknowledged that research at universities is currently assessed through the Research Excellence Framework (REF), established in 2008 following the previous Research Assessment Exercise (RAE). Another way of measuring excellence, the Teaching Excellence and Student Outcome Framework (TEF), was introduced in 2016. In relation to the recently changed (REF) and introduced (TEF) frameworks, the 2003 White Paper raised concerns that 'the whole system is undoubtedly under severe pressure and at serious risk of decline. Decisions must be taken now to maintain the excellence of the sector as a whole' (2003, p.7).

With regard to increasing philanthropic funding, no key government documents discussed philanthropy in relation to their goals of excellence, but this theme was more explicitly mentioned in the 2004 Task Force report titled 'Increasing Voluntary Giving'. The practitioner-led Task Force report, commissioned by DfES (2004), stressed the role of philanthropy and stated that in their view, 'one part of such increased control is raising independent income from donations in order to achieve excellence' (p.1). The report also discussed the increasingly important role that philanthropic income can play in 'strengthening institutional financial stability and supporting excellence' (p.17); this role is linked to the other themes of sustainability and independence. In this practitioner-led report,

the role of philanthropy is to aid with achieving excellence through progress and advancement of the institution. The report does not suggest that philanthropy should support, preserve or fund core activities within the institution (DfES, 2004) and instead suggests that voluntary giving should support the achievement of excellence by universities. An example is the London School of Economics, which said that 'LSE believes that private philanthropy buys excellence' (DfES 2004, p.37), and the 2012 HEFCE report on philanthropy acknowledged that 'philanthropists are attracted by innovation, excellence and energy; their gifts also help to drive these qualities' (2012b, p.5). The latter quotation also suggests that governments seek excellence, but donors also want to attach themselves to top universities. In addition, the interviewed senior fundraising professionals' views gave some important insights into these points. Interviewed fundraisers acknowledged the government's desire to increase excellence, judging the role of government in fostering philanthropy:

...don't think this was sort of some Machiavellian plot from government ....they were just trying to encourage private individuals and foundations to get behind excellence in university research and education (FR7, Senior Fundraiser, 20<sup>th</sup> century university)

The quotation highlights the recognition that philanthropy was not a substitute but rather an added value to the institutions. Fundraisers acknowledged the intentions of government to encourage work toward excellence, in which philanthropy was a potential way of achieving this goal.

The second key theme that follows this is independence, relating to institutions' ability to be less dependent on declining government grants and sustain their standards such as teaching and research. HEIs can decrease reliance on their annual budgetary settlements if they have other sources of income and can be more independent. This point was made as mentioned above with regard to 'raising independence through endowment ... and lever in more funding of their own' (DfES 2003, p.80). The response in the report from the Education and Skills Committee in the House of Commons in 2003 stated in a summary of university funding that as the 'new mixed public private funding system comes into effect, perceptions of the independence of universities will change and opportunities for raising private funds will change' (House of Commons 2003, p.66). This key quotation listed as a summary as part of the debate places on record the view that funding should be 'mixed', but also highlights that there is a drive toward helping HEIs be more independent from government funding. This drive was also found in chapter 2, which demonstrated how government responsibility in

financing higher education was shifting and philanthropy was dropping in and out of policymaking agendas and as a funding source.

In the 1960s, when the new plate-glass universities were created, philanthropy supported their creation but also their independence. In relation to universities becoming more independent, this idea of autonomy simultaneously also makes HEIs less dependent on government, similar to what was observed in the shifting frontiers or a continuation from the late 1970s, as examined in 4.2. The observation of a shift of HEIs becoming less state dependent and was also found in the perceptions of fundraisers, who felt that government was reducing their level of responsibility and therefore arguing for more independence for the institutions 'to reduce that level of dependence' (FR11, Post-1992 university).

A third theme found in the literature and policy documents for explicit reasons to intervene into higher education and philanthropy was the sustainability of HEIs. Making HEIs and higher education sustainable suggests the idea that the state reduces its responsibilities to make institutions last and calls for other sources of funding to support this. The 2003 White Paper concluded that it was necessary 'to look to other sources of income – in addition to those from government' (DfES 2003, p.82) for higher education to endure. Furthermore, in the 2010 Browne report, sustainability was a major topic. There was concern that funding for HEIs was not sustainable, and one major change suggested and then implemented following this review was removing the cap on higher education tuition fees. A key influence in this was the 2010 Browne report from which legislation followed and was passed in December 2010 to raise the maximum tuition fee level to £9,000 per year for students from 2012 onwards (House of Parliament, 2016).

Besides the more explicit reasons found in the study, there was also a more implicit reason for intervening in this area that should add to the overall discussion of the role of interventions in higher education. It was implied, for example, that philanthropy was a funding solution to government's budgetary funding problems (Ball 2012; Proper 2009) and while this research has not found evidence confirming this, there is nevertheless the implied expectation that philanthropy would be used as a way of diversifying the funding sources. The literature review of the policy documents in chapter 2 revealed a shift in the way philanthropy was initially introduced and treated and the necessity for considering other sources of funding such as philanthropy was justified by the required shift to the students paying for their education. This ideological and financial shift caused philanthropy to be viewed as a (new) funding stream.<sup>76</sup> At the same time, the idea that former students should

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<sup>76</sup> The idea of philanthropy as a new funding stream is heavily contested, given that HEIs in the UK would not have come into existence without philanthropic support.

be able to give back to their university was also a major feature, especially in the 2003 White Paper. Briefly examining the language used in this discussion is beneficial to the development of this point. The following quotation highlights how language is a powerful tool used to introduce the concept of funding and to make the use of other sources to finance higher education a norm. The need for these additional resources is stressed, particularly through the phrase 'will be needed'.

But this alone will not enable universities to boost opportunity and excellence as much as we need. Additional resources *will be needed* if they are to meet the long-term challenge to maintain and improve high standards, expand and widen access, strengthen links with business, and compete globally (DfES 2003, p.5)

The Westminster government has constructed the social necessity in their evaluative statements and language by saying 'we need' and 'we should', which then requires a response and solution. This language pattern was found in these documents and resulted in the use of philanthropy as a solution to a problem. Previous academic work on the government's use of language by Mulderrig (2012) found that the language chosen by the UK government was used to represent a social necessity that '[met] some form of shared need, where the (grammatical) subject of that need is ambivalent "we" ' (p.717). This was especially evident in the 2003 White Paper, in which the suggested changes for using philanthropy as an income source was based on the need that government expressed for finding other streams of income to sustain universities: 'funding for higher education has to be made sustainable for the long-term...to draw on extensive private funding' (DfES 2004, p.80). This was a pragmatically-driven agenda in addition to other elements of the attention to policy agendas described in the previous section.

#### **4.5 Discussion of philanthropy in policymaking in the 2000s**

In this section, the views of the 15 fundraisers are used to examine potential reasons for the seemingly increased attention of policymakers to this area. Despite the emerging research on fundraisers (Breeze 2017; Shaker and Nathan 2017), this group, as previously noted in chapter 1 and 2, has been neglected as an important stakeholder and actor in policy processes. The findings will be discussed with the aid of the MSA theory, as set out in chapter 2, which described policy attention as a result of the flow of the three 'streams': the problem stream, the proposal stream and the politics stream (1984). When these streams merge, a policy window that facilitates policy change opens. This approach will help examine philanthropy's apparently sudden appearance on the policy agenda and the role of fundraisers and their fundraising in this process. The model will however not be suitable to

understand the internal context and processes of the fundraiser is part of within their institution and this will form part of the examination in chapter 5.

#### **4.5.1 Factors causing the policy window for philanthropy to open**

First, part of the changes in the higher education landscape in the UK that relates to Kingdon's problems stream was the diversification of funding due to decreasing funding levels provided by UK government. Three commonly cited consequent ideas were that the government was seeking other ways of funding, creating flexibility with funding sources and encouraging diversification of funding sources. This was expressed by fundraisers, who would point out that 'I think they could see that the funding streams were gonna change and therefore they needed to find another way to support universities' (FR7, Senior Fundraiser, 1960s university) and the intention was to 'make funding more flexible' (FR5, Senior Fundraiser, 20th century university), so attempts were made 'to encourage universities to diversify their funding sources' (FR2, Senior Fundraiser, 19th century university). All three quotations highlight the view that policy makers were attempting to find other ways of funding higher education. Fundraisers expressed two explanations, one ideological and one pragmatic, for the diversification of funding streams. The ideological reason was that the government should no longer be the sole payer for higher education because it is a private good, as the review of the documents in the literature review indicated, based on the argument that current and past students should also contribute (DfES, 2003).

The second shift, the practical shift, was that philanthropy in the funding context was seen as additional and a way of contributing as another funding source. The following quotation gives an example of fundraisers seeing the attention given to these ideological and pragmatic motives, in which the fundraiser touches on the observed shifts:

for various reasons you've got a shift, ... away from the state towards the individual through fees and also through philanthropy ... the balance has shifted over time in different places and some of that is probably ideological and some of it is pragmatic ... but there isn't the money not least because of demography, not least because of all these aging people who are going to need care and hospitals and pensions and etc. so where do you get the resources to fund this aging and so that's the kind of... that's the pragmatic... (EX15, Fundraising Expert)

What the interviewee is suggesting here is the pragmatic attempt by government to respond to the changing demographics and ageing population. Arguably, this attempt has driven policymakers to address higher education with more fees for the individual, which is the ideological shift that the person touches on and that has been found in other interviews. This

idea was consistent in the data; reasons were given in other accounts in support of the ideological and pragmatic changes such as ‘...there was money in the system so I think it was possibly just a way of creating more additionality’ (FR4, Senior Fundraiser, 19th century university) and ‘it [government] wants to encourage universities ... to [use] more [of] their own funding ‘ (FR2, Senior Fundraiser, 19th century university), and ultimately looks for less dependence on the government as it was argued by fundraisers that the government was ‘trying to reduce higher education’s dependence on central government funding’ (FR11, Senior Fundraiser, Post-1992 University).

Another finding from interviews regarding the policy attention is the impression that universities have been used as instruments of government policy. The famous three words ‘education, education, education’ pledged by Tony Blair in Labour’s manifesto in 1997 brought education to the heart of the party’s key policies and created a favourable political and national climate for higher education, other sources of funding and philanthropy. The national and political mood toward education during that time that supported talking about philanthropy was important and suggested that there was substantial backing for higher education:

this was a time when in the Blair government there was a lot of interest in this kind of activity and it’s before the financial crisis so there’s a lot of sort of optimism and excitement about all of this...and that report from CASE, the only time I’ve ever been to Number 10 was presenting that report to XXXX who I think was very interested in this so there was personal engagement from XXXX so that will have just pushed things along a little bit, I think. (EX15, Fundraising Expert)

At the same time this quote is also an example for the influential role and visibility that fundraisers and experts took on and that their role can be interpreted as one that took on a role of a policy actor as part of the process. The fact that a fundraising expert was invited to Number 10 suggests that they received some attention and fundraising professionals could use this window of attention to engage with politicians to lobby for the inclusion and understanding of philanthropy. In this example, a parallel can be drawn there between policy entrepreneurs and fundraisers using the earlier examined definition by Gulbrandsson and Fossum’s (2009) who regarded them as experts with persistence and networks. According to this definition, combined with the knowledge of what fundraisers do, discussed in this study, fundraisers can similarly be seen as taking such a role in the policy process and enabling the opening of a policy window cited by Exworthy and Powell (2004).

Following Labour's increased public and political attention to (higher) education (Phillips and Harper-Jones 2013), the 2003 White Paper stated, 'we also need to look to other sources of income' (2003, p.82). New Labour was keen to bring in philanthropic funding because it was consistent with third way thinking about mixed funding sources and the additionality brought by different sources of funding and stakeholders.

Regarding the use of philanthropy as a key instrument, respondents pointed out that New Labour was keen to use HEIs as a policy instrument because of their perceived role in supporting economic growth while tackling social exclusion through their efforts to improve access and equality. For example, this idea of being an instrument was expressed neatly by one respondent who commented that there

really was a sense that universities were an instrument, a key instrument of government policy because they delivered some really important things that the government were trying to do (EX15, Fundraising Expert)

Furthermore, fundraisers went on to describe the important issues that should in their view be supported by government, which included economic growth, social inclusion and access to higher education. Putting these priorities into the wider policy context, because HEIs were in Labour's policy agenda, philanthropy was a 'natural' step in furthering Labour's targets, such as access and equality. While being used as a policy instrument could be interpreted negatively as the government encouraging philanthropy for its own purposes, fundraisers believed that this use helped to showcase that philanthropy was able to help deliver key messages and support the values of higher education, so they were therefore less concerned about the potential misuse.

In addition to the importance of the national and political mood, other policy-related factors have contributed to more attention in this area. The personal interest of the people such as academics, bureaucrats, politicians, analysts, consultants and journalists (Kingdon, 2003) involved in policy agendas seemed crucial and was highlighted in the literature (e.g. Béland 2016; Petridou 2014; Guldbrandsson and Fossum 2009). In this research, collected data suggested that fundraisers also attributed policy entrepreneurs an important role in executing and delivering policy and therefore played a crucial role in enabling the opening of a policy window. The fundraisers however, did not regard themselves as such entrepreneurs despite suggestions in this study's data that their role and actions can be classified as those, too. It was suggested that personal interest was a key reason for a policymaker to be involved and played a crucial role in moving the topic up the agenda, as one interviewee

recalled 'presenting that report to (name anonymised) who I think was very interested in this so there was a personal engagement from him so that will have just pushed things along a little bit, I think' (EX15, Fundraising Expert). The quotation suggests that personal interest and timing are important for an item to be pushed further on the policy agenda. However, an important point was also made about incentives, such as the match funding schemes, and the short-lived attention span toward these policies, because ministers do not stay for long periods in one job and attention can decrease if the person who takes over the role may not be interested in the area. It was acknowledged that schemes have a lifetime value where ministers are concerned.

they've only got probably a couple of years on average and so they don't particularly want to work on the previous minister's scheme, they don't get any kudos. They want to be seen to be doing something because they might hope for promotion particularly cases in education in the UK. Education is not regarded as a significant ministry in the UK so they want a new scheme and so they think of something new (EX12, Fundraising Expert)

This finding helps explain why philanthropy received less attention from 2012 onward, but it is only one factor. One other point to consider is the concept of philanthropy being perceived as a relatively sudden and new idea, as 4.2 illustrated that philanthropy is as old as its institutions. Fundraising experts also stressed that philanthropy is not a new concept, even if policy was suddenly referring to philanthropy as a new funding source. As explained by the respondent quoted below, there is a historical aspect to philanthropy, but the two streams were coupled in the 2000s. This finding further supports the argument presented in this thesis that the policy window for philanthropy opened at that time, but philanthropy's important role more broadly in higher education, without the influence of directed policy, has already been recognised:

Well I'm on a soap box regularly that this [philanthropy] is our tradition and that right across Europe there are examples of universities and colleges and schools and galleries and hospitals and alms houses ... created and sustained by philanthropy from individuals, from groups, from the church, ... don't think philanthropy is something that we invented in about 2000. It really has long origins and traditions (EX15, Fundraising Expert)

The point about contextualising the role of philanthropy was also commonly found in the data. It may be people's perception that has shifted and forgotten about the important role of philanthropy. This view was expressed:

But in fact of course philanthropy is the starting point for all universities in the UK ...at all stages of the development of universities have depended upon philanthropy but that has been lost ... so it is in most people's mind something that is fairly recent in the UK higher education (FR6, Senior Fundraiser, 20th century university)

The quotation adds to the discussion of why people may be perceiving this as a sudden attention. That the public may not perceive philanthropy as a continuous source of income to universities highlights a gap in the knowledge and understanding of what philanthropy has done and does today, reflecting a general lack of awareness. The public and policy makers do not treat philanthropy as a continuous source of income to universities while unsurprisingly fundraisers and fundraising experts are advocating for the long tradition and existence of philanthropy that then in turns gives philanthropy a more solid standing. Philanthropy did not play a role in policy between the 1960s and 2000s, which is a reason both ordinary people and policymakers are unaware of it. Further discussion is needed to embed this information into Kingdon's theoretical framework and use the findings to test his theoretical lens of the MSA and the idea of a policy window in the next section.

#### **4.5.2. Policy windows and the convergence of the three streams**

This chapter has aimed to bring together past and present policy changes relevant to philanthropy and argue that philanthropy must be understood in its historical context in order to understand recent policy changes and attempts to foster philanthropic giving in higher education. The three streams that Kingdon examined are discussed in the following sections and the flow of these three streams is demonstrated in figure 4.6. The MSA, as one of the main chosen theoretical frameworks, examined in chapter 2, is being used as an explanation as to why policy paid attention to philanthropy in the first place and to examine the idea of a policy window in this context. The assessment of the three streams in conjunction with the data from policy documents and fundraisers' views will help to carry out this analysis in the following section.

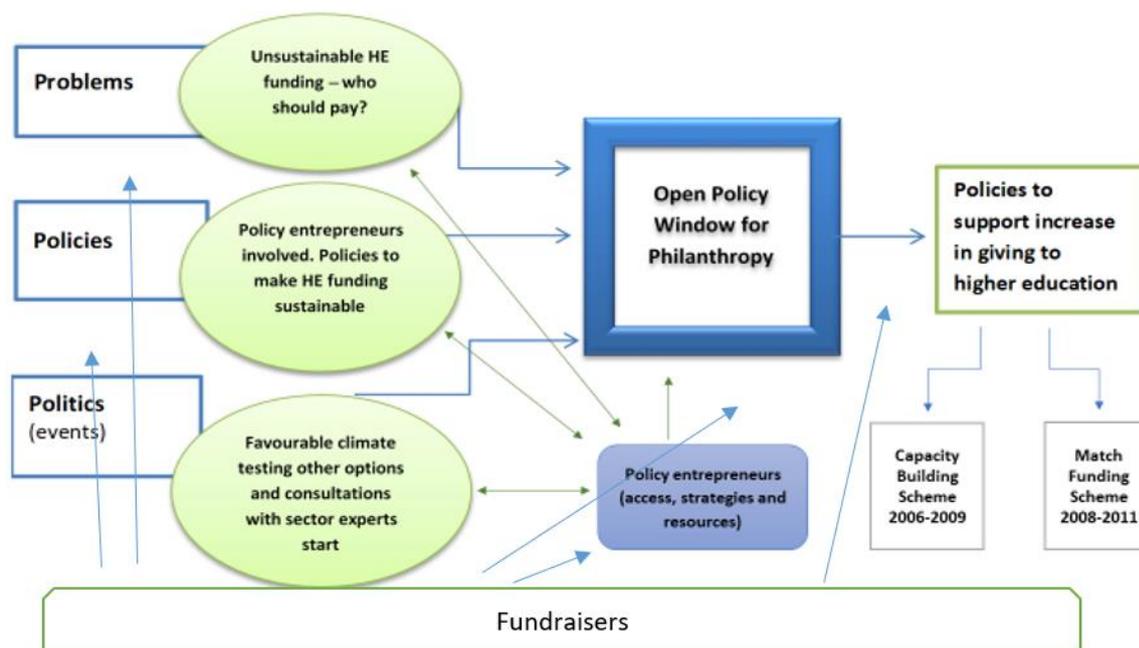


Figure 4.6 Multiple Streams Approach applied to philanthropy and higher education

Diagram of the Multiple Streams Approach adapted from Jones et al. 2016, p.15

The first stream that should be discussed is the problem stream. One of the obvious reasons for intervention by policy makers into philanthropic giving in higher education, which has also already been examined in the introduction and literature review, is the political and ideological shift that has been taking place in higher education. For example, trends such as rising costs, constricted state budgets, managerialism, rationalisation, internationalisation and a changing understanding of support of governments and universities' systems are noted (Berman and Paradeise, 2016). The literature review indicated that the government raised concerns about sustainable funding and shifted to the idea that government could not be expect to pay for all education (DfES 2003, p.80). Fundraisers supported this response as pragmatic as well as a solution to diversify the way universities are funded. In his theory, Kingdon recognised that feedback is essential for the problem to be visible and can be provided through different means (2003; [1995]; [1984]). For example, attention was raised through feedback from existing programmes or events such as the Dearing Review in 1997, which discussed the financial crisis in higher education of the 1990s in conjunction with the effects of underfunding and expansion (Watson and Taylor, 1998). These topics were further discussed in the 2003 White Paper in which the topic of philanthropy was included, this was welcomed by fundraisers who then further influenced the agenda setting by drawing up the 2004 practitioner led Task Force Report.

The second stream is the policy stream. When higher education policy experts came together in the late 1990s, the most feasible options appeared on the agenda. Philanthropic funding was one of the ideas put forward in the 2003 White Paper (DfES, 2003) and then further examined in the 2004 Task Force report (DfES, 2004). Interviews with fundraisers revealed that the government using HEIs as a policy tool was one element of the so called 'policy primeval soup' that was created and fundraisers and experts played their part in this. In this 'soup', higher education was a driver for Labour policies from 1997, during which time philanthropy received attention as part of their education objectives. From the archival records examined in the earlier part of this chapter, it became apparent that fundraising did not only grow by the number of fundraising offices, workforce and income, records suggested that it was also more visible, made possible by fundraisers and experts advertising and communicating philanthropy publicly with marketing material and reports, both internally and externally. However, along with Exworthy and Powell's (2004) point about small and big policy windows, interviews suggested that in order for the policy stream to work efficiently, people involved at different policy levels had to be in favour of philanthropic support to enable the opening of the policy window. Those involved would have also been influenced by fundraisers, experts and leaders in institutions who believed that there is a role for philanthropy in higher education as the 2004 Task Force Report 'Increasing Voluntary Giving to Higher Education' lobbied for. However, there are limitations to the framework of the MSA that show here; the extent to which policy entrepreneurs and fundraisers can and have influenced the process at that particular time cannot be judged solely with the MSA.

The politics stream forms the final stream, in which public opinion, ideas of interest groups and election results play a role (Kingdon 2003; [1995], [1984]). For example, the national mood swung toward finding solutions that would not burden the state further (Barr 2004; DfES 2003; Barr and Crawford 2002). This sentiment was evident in the policy documents as well as in the 2004 DfES practitioner-led Task Force report, which suggested that philanthropy play a more important part. Fundraisers also noted that the recognition of further benefits in the Task Force report promoted a good image of the role of philanthropy which they instigated in the report as it was expert led. They suggested that policymakers understood philanthropy to be an additional source of funding that could enhance other areas and reputation of HEIs. In return, the government, together with the sector, developed the noteworthy CBS and MFS , which were seen as direct policy interventions and perceived positively by the sector, including fundraisers. The policy window remained open for the duration of the schemes until 2011. However, the government was then criticised, as fundraisers and the sector felt that while attention was generated, the role of government in

providing philanthropic support long-term was uncertain and leaked away which had as a consequence that the policy window closed soon after the last published report commissioned by HEFCE in 2014.

The insights from Kingdon's theory on the coupling of the three streams in conjunction with Exworthy and Powell's (2004) ideas of small and larger policy windows, help to understand why the attention declined after 2014. The national mood, political agenda and various supportive politicians had moved on, and items that were placed on the policy agenda due to a change in political climate (Béland, 2016) in the early 2000s and then again following the implementation of the recommendations of the Browne report (BIS, 2010). It also suggests, that while fundraisers in their role would have liked more government attention, their influence was limited to maintain the attention and push for the policy window to remain open for longer. While it was not possible to prove empirically that the windows surrounding philanthropy were quite small and attention therefore decreased, to use Exworthy and Powell's (2004), idea, it was nevertheless possible with the available data to make suggestions to why the attention started and how the fundraisers helped to keep it open for a while. Fundraisers' influence and limitations to this will have to be further examined in chapter 5 as part of the assessment of their role as a stakeholder within HEIs. It is helpful to understand the decline of the policy attention, because as Béland continues to stress, there are limitations to one person's power but there is also the idea brought forward by Exworthy and Powell (2004) that there are small and large policy windows that influence the timing and size of attention.

Upon reflection of the applied MSA framework and the idea of policy window more specifically, this research is in accordance with other work such as Kendall's (2003) research, which found that the three streams are much more interconnected and dependent on each other than Kingdon's original concept suggested. In the case of higher education and philanthropy policymaking, the government sought changes; policy solutions to future opportunities were closely interlinked with how future constraints in higher education were politically presented.

This research identified some variations to Kingdon's theoretical framework that are related to the past and present context of policy attention. The decreasing government attention is less about the policy response traditionally associated with Kingdon's three streams or a stream that enables an ongoing climate for work and progress that laid foundations before the attention coupled, and more about the creation of a long-term supportive context. This variance, and the point that work has gone ahead to lay long-term foundations, is a factor

not addressed by Kingdon's model. Thus, some historic context and political factors that have been playing a role are important. This study has added value to the model through interview data from fundraising practitioners in the higher education sector that has contextualised the policy attention.

Another contextual variation applied and recognised in this study from Kingdon's model is the fact that philanthropy has always been important in higher education and philanthropy played also a crucial role in the creation of the 1960s plate-glass universities (Fitton 2015; Pellew 2014), when a policy was created for these new universities to provide a certain amount of philanthropic funding in addition to local grants to enable their establishment. While Kingdon's model can help explain the possible reasons why a policy window opened for philanthropy in 2002, the model cannot take into account the past policies and attitudes of the public compared to those in the 2000s.

#### **4.5.3 What is the role for philanthropy so far?**

This research has uncovered several important factors that influence philanthropy's role, suggesting a complex, disjointed and politicised role. The history of government's approaches to philanthropy and donations since the 1960s is an account not of linear development and progress, but of changes and variations, similar to Zimmeck's (2010) description of government's attention to volunteering as 'changes of emphasis and scale, twists and turns' (p. 84). The important historical role of the UGC should also be included, as already examined earlier in 4.3.3 as they encouraged donations alongside government grants. Philanthropy has been involved in higher education since its inception and this study has illustrated that there have been ups and downs in policy attention. The shifting state boundaries with regard to financing higher education play as much a part in the policy changes as the increasing attention and professionalisation of fundraising seen especially in the 1960s and the 21st century. The 21st century has also seen the rise of professional and strategic fundraising campaigns that have begun to be aligned to institutions' strategic priorities, supporting their reputations and promoting excellence. These are all indications that philanthropy is not just seen as a financial provider; that it has more to offer is recognised by senior leadership, donors and the wider institutions.

Fundraisers acknowledged that the change in the view by leadership teams towards philanthropy was noticeable.

Well, a difference within the leadership team on thinking about philanthropy ... at a VC level there is a lot of understanding that philanthropy brings all kinds of benefits, ... reputation if

you are getting large gifts in and related that in other parts of leadership team including a finance section in that they are very well exposed towards philanthropy (FR5, Senior Fundraiser, 20th century university)

Philanthropy has shifted from being solely a financial aspect to being part of the wider strategy and context of HEIs' business and goals. This suggests a shift in the perception and approach to philanthropy within an HEI, which suggests a shifting idea of philanthropy as an increasingly important part of day-to-day business. Philanthropy's strategic role was also found in the archival records used in this chapter, e.g. in the case of the New University. A final point that adds to the changing role of philanthropy at institutions is the professionalisation of activities, discussed in sections 4.2 and 4.3 on philanthropic giving at institutions. The quotation below sums up the changes that have led to a different conceptualisation of philanthropy within institutions:

there is a much more sophisticated sense that this is about engagement in a broader way and that the reasons why universities would take trouble and time and care to work with supporters externally of all sorts - from their local community to wealthy philanthropists ... that it becomes a more textured understanding of why this matters (EX15, Fundraising Expert)

The quotation covers the previously mentioned increased care and time to look after donors and stresses the other results are not just related to monetary values. Philanthropy can contribute to the wider understanding of the role of universities, their importance, what they can provide and what they can do. This growing understanding provides opportunities for further development and engagement across the sector. Philanthropy can provide ideas and values for engaging with a wide audience but it can also shed light on what the monetary value can help achieve in relation to the values of an institution and higher education as a whole. However, this should not be generalised across the sector and each institution. The differences in the establishment of the institutions used as archival case studies indicated multiple ways in which philanthropy was applied. These uses will have shaped the character of these universities and their outlook on and understanding of philanthropic funding.

The question about the role of philanthropic funding also extends to the previous claims made by government that there is now a 'new mixed' funding system in place (DfES, 2003) and higher education being now a private rather than a public good (NCIHE, 1997). A key moment in policy was when the Browne report (BIS, 2010) in 2010 made far reaching recommendations on the rise of tuition fees. The idea that government was withdrawing its

financial support to institutions was a major shift away from higher education being seen as a public good (Collini, 2012) that also impacted on the way philanthropy's role was seen and linked to that is the fundraisers' work. This led to debates within the fundraising profession about the impact of this shift to the conceptualisation and their role. The broader discussions that took place, basing this on data from the interviews in this study, and the 2012 HEFCE review of philanthropy, suggested that there are challenges and opportunities. The HEFCE report for example argued that 'there will be greater difficulty in encouraging alumni to support universities at a time of increased student fees' (2012b, p.6). At the same time the report also suggested that 'there is no evidence from outside the UK, however, that the rise in fees in England will necessarily prove a deterrent to future support in the medium-to-long term' (2012b, p.6).

From the view of fundraisers, there were equally mixed views on the role of government as already drawn on earlier in this chapter in discussing the reasons for government's interventions. Some fundraisers did not think that the changes would negatively influence fundraising reminding themselves that philanthropy was not new as one fundraiser stated 'the historical relevance of philanthropy is that

before the second world war education was purely... almost purely funded by philanthropy or the users, it's only since the welfare state whereas this collective psyche with the NHS and education's free for all it's only been this sort of 60/70 year trial period that it's got into people's brains that well this should be free and that's not sustainable' (FR3, Senior Fundraiser, 19th century university).

This is also a pragmatic response by fundraisers to take on the challenges given and make the best out of it, which is something that will be further examined in chapter 5. Seeking opportunities out of the changes was also a debated subject amongst fundraisers where it was said that philanthropy has a role to play in this. For HEIs and fundraisers this meant to make a clearer case for why the support was needed and how it impacted recipients and benefitted society. The HEFCE (2012b) review summarise this demand by saying

In a context where the obligations on recipients of both public funding and private philanthropy are increasing, it is critically important that universities explain clearly, vigorously and repeatedly what they are for and what they make possible (p.13)

This shift in the role and in the way institutions dealt with funding questions also led to debates about the idea of the public good in which institutions have, as data analysis earlier in this chapter showed. The amount of philanthropic income and the number of donors has

also increased overall. However, while the opportunities to change and strengthen the stories for private support were seen as good ways forward and opportunities not to be missed, there were also more sceptical views that suggested that not all institutions were at that point yet. For example fundraisers would point to the fact that fundraised income would not fill any gaps by saying ‘this realisation that we don’t provide ... we actually can’t fill funding gaps with fundraising is, you know, it’s only now that xxxx’s woken up to that problem...’ (FR4, Senior Fundraiser, 19th century university). While the Browne report (BIS, 2010) did not start the discussion about the funding gaps at this stage, the report nevertheless further pushed the idea, already examined within the literature, that students become consumers. The idea of students as consumers was also debated across the fundraisers and signalled that this is another area that fundraisers have to navigate and work with whilst helping to define the role of philanthropy at their institutions.

Linking this examination of fundraisers’ views on the changes to higher education funding back to the responses by institutions to the declining government funding, this chapter has demonstrated that there has always been public and philanthropic income in a mixed funding system (Carpentier 2012; Hills 2011). Although it has also been argued that private funding has increased since the 1980s, with reference to neo-liberal policies (Carpentier 2012; Carpentier 2006). This main point from the literature review was also found in archive data to varying degrees: universities are not homogeneous, and mixed funding had existed long before funding changes were introduced in the 1980s and higher education entered the ‘market’. The view that funding should be ‘mixed’ was supported by evidence from the Skills Committees before the 2003 White Paper, together with existing literature. Previous research by Hills (2011) and Carpentier (2012; 2006) would however disagree with the statement that this is a ‘new mixed and public private funding system’. Hills (2010) argues that the role of the state has changed over time and there has always been a mixed economy of welfare in the balance between public and private provision that pays for and controls activity. Research by Hills indicates that the balance of public and private provision of welfare activity changed in the five service areas of education, health, housing, income maintenance and personal care, but that the pure public sector still comprised more than half of the activity in 2007/8. Other work also illustrates that the private provision for higher education has grown over time (Carpentier 2012; Carpentier 2006), a finding consistent with the archival findings examined in chapter 4 and the findings in the Dearing report.

## 4.6 Conclusion

This chapter answers parts of the first research question on the reasons behind the policy interventions and drivers to incentivise giving in higher education. It also provided an overview of the role of philanthropy and fundraising with help of archival material to understand philanthropy's historical role and link to the important role of the UGC. It then also considered and examined the most recent 9 year data set of the Ross-CASE survey to build a picture of the current state of philanthropic giving and link this to the historical knowledge established earlier in this chapter.

This chapter considered the role of public and private funding within the traditionally associated welfare pillar of (higher) education in the transformation of the overall structure of public–private boundaries of the welfare state. It has been important to examine these changes in the context of a key concept, the public good of higher education, and what the role of philanthropy is in this. For example, in the 1960s, the new universities were asked to fundraise with help of the local community and universities have previously also actively been encouraged by the UGC to provide private funding. The example of policy paying attention to philanthropy as an income source in the creation of the 1960s universities runs counter to the seemingly sudden appearance of philanthropy on the policy agenda in the 2000s, as claimed by government in policy documents examined in chapter 2 as part of the literature review and in this chapter in section 4.4. Factors for engagement with philanthropy are related to the particular institutional characteristics of HEIs, their history, their beliefs, the causes they raise money for and the confidence in the institution's ability to deliver their targets, as the 1960s cases illustrated. Today, philanthropy has been re-introduced to the agenda at the same time that the state is moving its frontiers back and shifting responsibility to universities and students. This shift has not only changed the outlook and debate on the role of universities and the idea behind higher education, it has also shifted the perception of what constitutes a public and private good and the question who benefits from higher education (e.g. research outputs and education), the individual and/or the public. This chapter has contributed to uncovering historic continuities of funding, which further point to various roles of philanthropy at institutions past and present and perceived reasons for the policy interventions.

Before policy paid more attention, the professionalisation of fundraising was already occurring, but did not take place across the sector and was not equally recognised as a good thing to do. University publications indicated that several fundraising offices were established by the late 1980s, training was available for fundraising and fundraisers and there was increased public acknowledgement of donations and private support. Yet, fundraisers should

not automatically be accepted as part of a profession in higher education as this has not been discussed and acknowledged within the literature, except for Daly (2013) who studied the senior fundraisers as part of professionals in higher education. This suggests that the recognition and status of the profession and fundraisers' role is not established within the literature and higher education structures. It presents a challenge when also thinking about their overall status within an institution as it will be examined in chapter 5 in section 5.4 with help of the salient stakeholder theory. However, the establishment of the Ross-CASE survey from the early 2000s was a further step toward professionalising fundraising and gaining a first picture of the income from this source. The trends showed the overall increase in funding measured by the two variables 'cash received' and 'new funds secured', with an overall increase of 57%. The year-on-year variations, the impact of outliers and the disproportionate role played by Oxbridge were pointed out, suggesting that any policy would need to take into account the large variations of the higher education sector more broadly and of the sector's philanthropic performances more specifically and that speaking of 'one role' for philanthropy as a broad statement would be an increasingly difficult task.

The 2003 White paper was the starting point for a burst of new attention, as the earlier discussion in 4.3 argued, but the policies in the 1950s and 1960s determined that philanthropy had to play a role in the establishment of the plate-glass universities, confirming earlier policy attention than 2003. The establishment of CBS and MFS were examples of policy actively intervening. With help of Kingdon's MSA framework implicit and explicit reasons for the interventions were discovered and aided with using the theoretical framework of the MSA as an explanation for why policy intervened in the first place and how this worked. The reasons were related to driving political forces and to universities providing excellence, being sustainable and being more independent of government funding. This chapter has drawn on some examples of these reasons, leading to the third point regarding the changing use of philanthropy by universities. Universities have used philanthropy to also increase their visibility, help their strategic goals and engage with their constituents, such as alumni and the wider local community which then in turn can be argued is a contribution, at least to some extent, to a public good and sharing of higher education outputs and impact.

Overall, this chapter has contributed to both research questions; on the role of philanthropy and fundraising in section 4.2 and the reasons of policy incentives and some developing role of fundraisers is established. The chapter has illustrated that the funding landscape and overall structure of higher education has changed substantially over the centuries and even changed within a decade where the latest Ross-CASE measurements and results are available. In terms of funding, the chapter has demonstrated the moving state frontiers in

which we are not looking at a shift from public to private, but a more complex ongoing shift from private to public and potentially back again, in which the state and HEIs have pushed and pulled to varying degrees for influence and responsibilities. This fits more broadly with other research on changing welfare structures (Carpentier 2012; Hills 2011; Carpentier 2006) that has found that there has always been a mixed economy of welfare regarding the provision, financing and control of public and private funding. In more recent years, policy has paid more attention to this mixed economy for reasons related to driving political forces and universities providing excellence, being sustainable and being more independent of government funding. At the same time while these findings are helping the development of this study, what is not clear yet is the role of fundraisers and fundraising in this. As examples in this chapter have shown, fundraisers were influential in the development of the incentives by for example, being involved in and the leading of the 2004 Taskforce report and therefore fundraisers could in one way or another be also regarded as a type of policy entrepreneur who enabled the opening of the policy window. This point will have to be further investigated in the next chapter.

One obvious part of a larger puzzle that is still missing in this study is the link to the fundraisers who apply the studied policies and work in the changing environment. Not only are fundraisers generally understudied, fundraisers have also not been regarded and studied in a role as stakeholders and this study suggests that this approach and examination can provide insights into how and to what extent institutions and fundraisers apply policy within their institutional settings to deliver policy and the mission of their institutions. As a result, the approach and views of fundraisers, combined with an analysis of the already mentioned key concepts of this thesis, the MSA, the SLB and the SST will be analysed and presents the focus of the next chapter.

## **CHAPTER 5 FINDINGS - The role of fundraisers in the policy and institutional process**

### **5.1 Introduction**

Following the examination of the reasons behind the policy attention, with help of Kingdon's framework of the MSA, the theory would not be suitable to examine how fundraisers executed these policies and what the role of philanthropy and fundraising is. As a result, two other theories will be applied; in the first part it will draw on Lipsky's (2010 [1980]) concept of the SLB, in response to the second part of the research question 1, to understand how fundraisers execute the policies. In the second part it will then apply the stakeholder theory by Mitchell, Agle and Wood (1997) to understand how salience is applied by fundraisers to aid with understanding the role of philanthropy and fundraising, complementing results from chapter 4 to answer research question 2.

In order to understand the examination of the responses by fundraisers, it is important to summarise the context in which their work and role has been developed. As noted in chapter 4 of this study and pointed out by Squire (2014), the process of the professionalisation of fundraising that has been ongoing since the 1990s, fundraisers operate and respond to policy in a way that affects how philanthropy is perceived and used at the institutional level. Yet, despite the professionalisation of fundraising, fundraisers' professional status as a 'new profession' is relatively under researched and in the context of their role in the policy process, underexplored. Their role is not automatically considered as part of the changing professional identities in higher education (Daly, 2013). As chapter 4 has also shown with help of Kingdon's MSA, fundraisers themselves contributed to the opening of a policy window. This chapter therefore investigates their role in more detail and presents further key insights from interviews with 15 senior fundraising professionals into the views and mechanisms of how fundraisers executed the CBS and MFS policies. These insights help illuminate fundraisers' view on the role of philanthropy and fundraising in their own institution and nationally. As discussed in detail in chapter 3, the interviewees include four fundraising experts of philanthropy in higher education and 11 senior fundraisers representing 15% of the institutional sample used in this study.

Fundraisers are a relevant group to study because, as this study as already indicated, they are part of the institutional process and play a role in working with the aforementioned policies in the policy process in higher education. In the evolving literature on philanthropy, a

more noticeable role has also been attributed to fundraisers (Alborough 2017; Breeze 2017; Shaker and Nathan 2017); their role is not solely about asking but also about

cultivating the interest and involvement of prospective donors, matching their interest and desires with the needs and goals of the institution, soliciting the gift, providing feedback on how the gift was used, and stewarding donors to keep them informed and involved (Worth and Asp, 1994, p 5).

Worth and Asp (1994) observe the evolving and multifaceted role that fundraisers play, but the role of fundraisers has evolved even further since 1994 as a result of organisational and funding pressures as data and responses from fundraisers and institutions to funding pressures in the archive material examined in chapter 4, showed.

This chapter contributes towards answering the second part of the first research question on how fundraisers executed the policies. It also aids with answering the second research question of 'what is the role of philanthropy and fundraising in higher education?' from the view of the fundraisers. It will further develop the role of fundraisers in the policy process to define their own role and the role of philanthropy. In this context, it is also useful to examine the limitations of policy influences from fundraisers' perspectives on policy delivery, as fundraisers are amongst those people who shape the role of philanthropy within their institutions. The chapter's main focus will therefore be to examine the strategies fundraisers use to respond to policies. This discussion will take external and internal factors into account, as they shape fundraisers' views and perceptions of the fundraising sector. When examining the findings in relation to the role of fundraising and fundraisers in this chapter, it is important to refer back to Daly's (2013) argument that fundraisers are a 'new' profession, a concept that entails both cross-boundary and unbounded professional identities, examined in chapter 2 in section 2.4. While chapter 4 has provided evidence from archival records that philanthropy and its related activity of fundraising often carried out by fundraisers (in either paid or voluntary capacity) has existed as long as institutions have, the idea that a profession is new suggests several things. On the one hand it suggests that there is room for the profession to be developed and find its place within the space of other professions. On the other hand, however, and in the case of fundraisers in higher education, it provides a challenge that the profession is not recognised as a profession in its own right. As a consequence this could mean that time and effort is spent convincing and making a case for one's status and existence and overcoming institutional barriers rather than working on the fundraising goals and targets. In addition to that internal factors need examining that are linked to the institutional setting and will be discussed with help of the SLB concept by Lipsky

(2010 [1980]) and the variation in responses found. The findings will then be discussed in the final section with the help of stakeholder theory, and the limitations for these approaches as well as opportunities for their role will be described.

## **5.2 Variations in fundraising results**

Chapter 4 highlighted an overall increase in funding over the past 9 years in philanthropic income, with year-on-year variations across the institutions. The impact of outliers on the main fundraising results played a role in this trend, as did the disproportionate role of Oxbridge. In relation to the second research question on the role of philanthropy, the results of the descriptive statics suggest a variation in the role that philanthropy plays at different institutions, but without examining the views of the fundraisers to understand how they perceive the sector and how they applied policy, only speculative discussion can take place. This next section will therefore examine the variations in fundraising results from their viewpoint to then develop in more detail how the fundraisers apply policies and goals that will then help us to understand the role of their fundraising and philanthropy further.

### **5.2.1 Perceptions of policy and fundraising results**

The MFS is the most current example in which policy intervened with fundraising in the higher education sector. The interview data suggests that the institutions' fundraising results and experience commonly influenced the way the MFS was perceived and therefore applied by fundraisers and institutions. Fundraisers had different perceptions of the MFS results and who they thought the 'winners' were. These 'winners' were not automatically the usual suspects of Oxford and Cambridge, which otherwise would have supported the argument that the elitist institutions receive the most support and benefit from an accumulative advantage (Breeze et al., 2011). Instead, there were a range of universities who benefitted. Interviewees believed that for example mid-ranking institutions might have gained more because they used the MFS to improve their fundraising and others thought that those institutions who had not fundraised before could use the MFS to get started. As there have been no clear 'winners' of the policies and schemes it makes our understanding of the fundraisers' role in this process and in the context of their institutions even more important.

A debate in 2003 in the House of Commons recognised that any kind of scheme should incorporate the inequalities between higher- and lower-performing universities in fundraising and should not treat the HEI sector in the same way, but policy must treat all HEIs as roughly the same. The sliding scale of the match provides some recognition of

heterogeneity, and fundraisers agreed that it would be a difficult task to implement a policy that would address the variations across the diverse higher education sector:

if you have something that goes from a further education college that has nobody doing [fundraising] through to Oxford, how do you make this work? ... and it meant the onus was on them to choose how to focus it and people went for different models. So there was an opportunity for people to reflect on their own potential and situation and act accordingly (EX15, Fundraising Expert)

As experts and fundraisers highlighted, and as expressed in the above quotation, the application and opportunity of any such scheme and policy is up to the institution to make it work; the involvement and outcome of such initiatives depends on institutions' context and willingness to take part. The problem with generalising fundraising results and the application of a three-tier policy was equally highlighted:

it's hard to generalise honestly, ... it probably depended on the state of readiness that they were in to begin with. I think there certainly were people who used it well to say, "There is a moment now where we can do something more effective because of the scheme if you will come onboard now." So there was an urgency about it and that probably was more powerful, if you like, in the middle of the pack than at the top. ... I suspect that the impact of the scheme on most successful fundraising institutions was rather less than for ones who actually used it to pull themselves up (EX15, Fundraising Expert)

Experts spoke of the difficulty in generalising fundraising results as a result of institutions' different stages of fundraising efforts. This impression was echoed by the Ross-CASE data displayed in 4.3 in this study and some grey literature (Squire, 2014). A suggested reason for the different levels of performances is the varying degree of readiness at institutions to do more and greater fundraising, which then leads to the ways different institutions used the opportunity of the MFS. In terms of policy application and outcome, professionals also questioned whether the MFS was more useful to less experienced institutions, which could make use of it as a step forward. This view does not support the idea that the policy was only useful to the most successful institutions in fundraising. There were fundraisers who disagreed with this view and argued that the 'best performing' institutions (judged, for example, by philanthropic income) benefitted the most from the initiatives. However, in the majority of cases, fundraisers acknowledged that the scheme was used differently at different HEIs, stating that 'it was a mix of things for different institutions at different stages of their development' (FR6, Senior Fundraiser, 20th century university).

This is a very important point illustrating that because of the sector's variation in income and fundraising results, staffing levels, etc., different outcomes and applications of the MFS were expected. The different levels that needed to be appreciated were acknowledged:

I'm sure for many, many institutions, particularly small institutions, it helped get them off the ground or helped get their fundraising going. I suspect for people like King's, UCL, Oxford it was just nice to have. I really don't know whether it would have had a massive impact. ...  
(FR4, Senior Fundraiser, 19th century university)

The quotation relates to the application of policy and incorporates three important points regarding how policy is applied and impacts institutions. First, fundraisers express their uncertainty about the overall impact while recognising the difference across institutions. Interviewees go on to point out that the scheme has helped those who were not experienced in fundraising, so it helped those institutions achieve their fundraising goals first. Second, the quotation refers to the 'nice to have' aspect of the scheme for experienced universities seen as elite and prestigious, for whom the scheme was a nice by-product. The final point in the quotation is the uncertainty of impact, a point that is made almost in passing.

Fundraisers express that there is a lack of clarity on the outcome, which could have several reasons. For example, fundraisers who seemed positive about the initiative did not actually feel that the policy was working at all institutions and at all levels of fundraising (e.g. smaller and major gifts) and fundraisers did not define their own role in this process. This research suggests that the reasons for fundraisers' perception is because they directly worked with the donor and what is best for the donor rather than follow policy objectives. By fundraisers not prioritising policy goals or institutional priorities, fundraisers' behaviour suggests that they did not naturally make the link between applying policy initiatives to their organisation and in making a difference with and to the donor.

### **5.2.2 Contextual factors**

The variation in the MFS is one example of the broader issue of how policy can address a largely heterogeneous sector and also links to what was already debated in chapter 4.3.2 as to whether there were different sized policy windows and how big or small these were, based on ideas by Exworthy and Powell (2004). Despite the variation in fundraising results, the data shows that there are factors that impact these outcomes beyond and above the policy in place. Some of the contextual factors already highlighted have led to variation in policy application, outcome and fundraising results overall, including the readiness of the institution to fundraise as represented by staff and projects to raise money for. These factors formed

the context of variations in institutions at different times in history; chapter 4 already illustrated variation in the application of philanthropy's role. Second, the level of experience of the fundraising institution and its readiness to adopt the policy, as touched on in 5.2.1, is important and impacts outcomes.

In many cases, the fundraising departments were already established and had a history of fundraising when the policy of the MFS was put into place. This may be why most fundraisers were positive about the policy and complied. The incentives were seen as a useful tool to execute their fundraising activity. For example, the use of the phrase 'in tandem' in the following quotation suggests the policy initiative (the MFS) coincided with their own increased fundraising activity, which was not necessarily due to the policy:

... Well that was in tandem with matched giving at the time and so that helped us, it was a big catalyst for us to, you know, have some very good figures because we could get the matched funding. How much it made our donors give I'm not sure if I'm honest. I think they liked the idea but I think they might have given anyway ... it seemed like an added bonus for them that they got that support, it wasn't as though we were in a phase where we'd never had an operation at all (FR9, Senior Fundraiser, 1960s university)

While the scheme was named as a bonus, the fundraisers also admitted not being sure how much of the philanthropic income received could be attributed to the scheme and in many cases did not want to attribute a donation solely to the scheme and policy. Rather, they wanted the income to be acknowledged as part of their ongoing work. The different expectations and goals highlight the competition between a fundraiser's own target, the institutions and the aims of the policy. The view by fundraisers also suggests a lack of willingness to attribute fundraising success to the scheme, which would undermine their achievement and work. As Ross-CASE survey data (2007-2016) already indicated different staffing and resourcing levels across the sector, a reason for not fully using the policies may be that not every fundraising office had the capacity to fundraise with the policy. This argument expands the idea that a more long-term view of fundraising and long-lasting relationships with donors help institutions' fundraising efforts more than a short policy intervention. In their view, the fundraisers' role in this process enabled the relationship with the donor to develop, with the policy as a 'bonus' to the existing context. Contextually important is that the institutions started to fundraise before the policy and were therefore able to use the scheme as part of their work. Naming the scheme as 'a bonus' also suggests that it was seen as an extra and complementary, rather than enabling new donations or the

creation of new projects. The institutional setting and experience in fundraising was impactful:

my guess would be the places that benefitted most were places that were relatively new to fundraising, that had quite a well-established team with good leadership of that team so that the institution was relatively ready to fundraise and could then have a well thought through plan to capitalising on the matched giving scheme (FR7, Senior Fundraiser 1960s university)

Similarly, the policies' aim was also to encourage a culture of giving and to have a long-lasting effect by establishing a culture of philanthropy that would steadily increase philanthropic income, but it was suggested that there were no long-term effects:

there were quite a number of universities who, like us, just reaped it for what it was worth at the time and I think for a lot of the really big universities who were already making squiddles, you know, they didn't have to capacity build that much actually and for them it was just wa-hay! Three years of making hay! (FR14, Senior Fundraiser, Post-1992 university)

The example suggests that the policies did not automatically make a significant difference in the bottom line of fundraising results. In this example, the use of language is interesting. The word 'reaped' stood out, and while this quotation represented a cynical view of the possible achievements, the possible role of the scheme and indirectly, the government, it suggests that the fundraiser and the institution used the policy for their own goal and benefit, regardless of the overall goal of the policy. The fundraiser suggests that there was no belief that policy made a difference, but the policy was useful for what the fundraiser was doing at the time.

Interviews with fundraising professionals revealed an assumption that the larger institutions more experienced with fundraising would benefit more from policies that incentivised giving. However, this did not appear to be true across the sector; the institutions most likely to be successful, not just in achieving the policy goals of the MFS, had a Development Office in place or used the MFS policy to start fundraising. With this point in mind, there is more to be examined regarding how fundraisers respond to policy to enable success and how they develop coping mechanisms to apply the policy based on their ability and willingness. This is explored in the next section, where the development of the respondents' spectrum helps to further illuminate how the policies were executed and how fundraisers' roles varied.

### 5.3 Fundraisers' managing strategies to implement goals

The analysis of the key findings so far reveal sets of different perceptions and behaviour and execution in response to the perceived policy environment and the stakeholders involved, such as the informal 'wa-hay' expression in talking about other institutions and the government. The 'wa-hay' expression suggests that some fundraisers were not convinced that government took the policies seriously enough to foster a culture of giving long-term, so they were not overly supportive of the scheme. Upon analysis of these behaviours, it became possible to create a scale of responses, discussed below. Along with other factors such as the institutional setting, the spectrum of fundraiser responses is presented as one of several that influenced policy application and ultimately shaped the varied role of philanthropy in higher education. The following section examines the fundraisers' spectrum and begins to unpack the factors associated with the way policy is executed and applied, its impact and how fundraisers' role shapes policy application and outcome in their organisation.

#### 5.3.1 Fundraisers' response scale

Silverman (2013) asserted that in interviews, people's meanings and experiences can be understood from the way they communicate. How people behave and make decisions is studied widely and reaches across multiple disciplines such as psychology, economics, sociology and political science to name a few (e.g. Bruch and Feinberg 2017; Payne and Bettam 2004). These scholars suggest that a range of responses are dependent on people's circumstances and views and must be taken into account when interviews are analysed. In this study, a scale of responses emerged that range from fundraisers actively engaging with policy to those who were not as interested to those who deliberately did not want to see the schemes as useful to doing their job and were less engaged. The resultant scale in figure 5.1 is heuristic and not based on a devised model; the idea is to provide the reader with a picture of the scale of different responses of the interviewees.

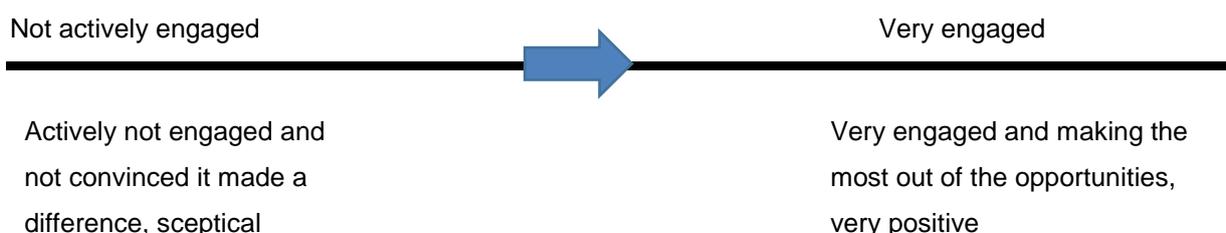


Figure 5.1 Scale of fundraisers' responses

The variation in fundraisers' responses is not a full depiction of how fundraisers behave in the policy process, but the range helps demonstrate the variance in opinions and approaches to execute policy. As with any types of behaviour, the opinions can change, are often dependent on their internal and external environment and can also depend on the policy that they respond to. This study draws on Lipsky's (2010 [1980]) concept and understanding of the power of Street-Level-Bureaucrats, which gives the variation of responses a framework in which to further analyse the way they influence policy outcomes and exert their influence in the process. This is closely related to the location of the fundraisers on the scale of responses.

The scale will be discussed from left to right, starting with the less active and least positive responses. On this scale, moving from left to the middle, interviewees expressed that they were not too interested in the policy; they were often sceptical, believing that fundraising was happening anyway, and that policy did not make a big difference. Several did not feel that the policy was used to deliver their goals but made use of the policy if it was advantageous and extra to what they could normally offer potential donors. Some interviewees were more sceptic about the policy and were therefore less active and engaged with the policy. Others just said that 'I don't think it [the MFS] was really talked about' (FR7, Senior Fundraiser, 1960s university). The fundraisers who expressed their views on this end of the scale worked at a mix of institutions, from red brick/civic to post-1992 universities.

However, there were variations along the spectrum: for example, a fundraiser less active and engaged with policy stated that 'no we definitely didn't go out specifically because of that...it wasn't the catalyst for us going, it was a bonus' (FR8, Senior Fundraiser, 1960s university). However, fundraisers, despite having a more passive but also critical view, did not like to be seen as too negative about the government's role, because the incentives could be a useful tool to them. There may have been a moral obligation to comply with government policy that was trying to support philanthropic giving. Another reason could be that the fundraiser felt peer pressure and did not want to be seen as not following or embracing government policy.

Perceptions in the middle of the scale were also found; for example, some fundraisers that I interviewed began working at their HEI after the scheme, and knowledge during the scheme was not disseminated, as expressed in the following quotation:

there's certainly been a lack of a continuity of common of knowledge within the office I'd say  
... I have the impression that it made results you know made results good, look good for a

period, but it wasn't built on and so there wasn't a lasting effect (FR5, Senior Fundraiser, 20th century university)

Another scale of response was that the incentives were appreciated, but at the same time, it was important for fundraisers to stress that they were not the reason for fundraising in the first place.

Oh, no, goodness me, ... we're talking about our campaign because I think the authenticity of the conversation was much stronger, talking about our goals, our relationships past or perspective with donors and whilst it was very helpful for us to be able to talk about a matched funding campaign, I don't think it would have been an appropriate starting point really (FR6, Senior Fundraiser, 20th century university)

While the above quotation illustrates a middle way response on the spectrum, there were very positive and active fundraisers on the right end of the scale who used available government policy to their advantage and were keen on the extra opportunity presented by the policy. The fundraisers actively used the policy to achieve their strategy goals and aligned their ambitions with the policy such as it

enabled us to change the story we were telling to donors and go out there and it pushed us to go and see more people and we did. ...we've got to make sure that we go and ask as many people as we can so it pushed activity (FR1, Senior Fundraiser, Oxford/Cambridge university)

Another example of a positive policy respondent was the statement that 'it enabled us to have a good injection of finance and it did enable a number of relationships to be forged which will last to this day' (FR11, Senior Fundraiser, Post-1992 university). Fundraisers also demonstrated that the policy was used for institutional goals, mentioning the institution's global competitiveness, and used their discretion to make their goals work (Lipsky, 1980). The quotation also gives an insight into how frontline decision-making works at an institution where fundraisers decide on their own theme and priorities to take forward with donors and create a competitive edge that they discuss with potential donors. The dangers of making those decisions and being at front line will be further examined in this chapter. The next quotation by the same fundraiser also highlights the methods and tools that fundraisers adapt, such as using another incentive gift aid, to execute their role and be successful:

...if I start to struggle to get investment here or people are starting to ask me to cut costs I'd probably say, "We can do it and one way we could do it is use the value that we generate in gift aid each year to put into the cost that we've got here," because that's a valid use. So I

found that sometimes with donors I've said... they've said, "I'll give it you net," and it's been annoying but most of the time I've been able to give them a positive outcome which is good news; "Actually you gave £1000 but £1250 is going to go to the student." You know, or, "You can do three students now rather than two and a half." So I've used it as a good news story (Senior Fundraiser, Oxford/Cambridge university)

The idea to demonstrate the value of gift aid with the additional £250 on top of the £1000 donation illustrates the strategies and the explicit initiative of fundraisers in further developing the fundraising case. This strategy allowed for the creation of a good news story that could influence donors' decision-making and simultaneously use gift aid policy to leverage the fundraisers' message. Many of the experts were actively part of fundraising activities during the policies and were positive respondents. Most experts, but not all, were supportive of the policies provided by the government and made attempts to apply the policy. They positioned themselves closer to government policymaking than other fundraisers. In many cases but not all, their fundraising offices had a history of fundraising, which may have been a reason for why some fundraisers were more positive in compliance with the policy. For example, a senior fundraiser described usage of the particular MFS: 'we very much used that to drive matched... an opportunity to increase matched giving' (FR1, Senior Fundraiser, Oxford/Cambridge university).

The points drawn out here require further examination regarding what and how skills are used to deliver institutional and apply policy goals. The next section will address the skills of discretion and pragmatism that were identified in addition to the characteristics of the respondent groups identified here.

### **5.3.2 Fundraisers as Street-Level-Bureaucrats?**

It is not yet clear how fundraisers influence and apply policy within their organisations. Understanding fundraisers' role in this process was aided by the development of the scale of responses of fundraisers in the previous section. The question of how fundraisers applied, interpreted and adopted policies to make them work for them and the institution is particularly interesting. There was a range of responses in this study and several were situated toward the left side of the scale that suggested fundraisers' responses to policy were less proactive. It is important to further interrogate, with help from Lipsky's SLB framework, how fundraisers shape policy and use their influence to deliver targets. Having set out the MSA framework by Kingdon as the initial main conceptual framework for this thesis in chapter 2 and having analysed the data from the interviews, it became apparent that the theory would not be sufficient to understand what shapes the role of fundraisers and

their response to policy. As a result, further theories were explored and the SLBs theory by Lipsky was found to be useful in developing the examination and discussion of this study. While the theory of the SLBs was applied and studied, the findings in this study are however somewhat different from those of the SLBs and suggest a model adapted from that found in other work (Durose 2011; Dunér and Nordstrom 2006; Spandler and Vick 2005; Musil et al. 2004).

Lipsky's (2010 [1980]) concept of understanding the people that work at the front line and deliver policy to their customers and clients has been found to be a useful lens for analysing the challenges fundraisers face when applying government policy. As part of the development of the idea and the link that is made to fundraisers, it is also necessary to understand what the dangers are for 'front line' roles and what that means for fundraisers. In more detail, it is important to understand what this means when they are delivering institutional goals as the external facing representative for institutions, working with donors who may have different ideas to the institutions and for fundraisers who may have different ideas about priorities. For example, in this study in some cases fundraisers have stated that donor relationships are more important than policy goals and their delivery which will be examined further in this and the following chapter 6.

Lipsky's (2010 [1980]) definition of SLBs features three key characteristics that could be shared to some extent with fundraisers. As noted in chapter 2 in section 2.5.1, first, they work as public service workers, which fundraisers indirectly are, especially at universities where they raise funds for the arguably greater and wider public good. Second, they interact directly with people as part of their job, which fundraisers equally do, working with members of the public such as students, alumni and other members of the community and business environment. Third, Lipsky argues that these workers have options in the way the policy is delivered and make use of SLBs who

have considerable, discretion in determining the nature, amount, and quality of benefits and sanctions provided by their agencies' (ibid. 13) - Street-level bureaucrats are involved in dynamic work situations, where there is a need to respond to the human dimension of service. (ibid 15)

This study's findings support the point in the literature that fundraisers, when in conversations with a potential donor, also allow room to deliver their and the institutional goals and create valuable relationships with potential donors (Alborough 2017; Warren, Hoyler and Bell 2014). This is what could be dangerous for fundraisers being at the front line

of institutional relationships as they decide and make a call on this. At the same time they may not have the authority to make those decisions but are accountable for the delivery of institutional goals and their part within this. What fundraisers have applied is discretion, which is here defined as 'a choice of judgement within recognised boundaries' (Durose 2011, p. 908). As part of the SLBs, the concept of discretion has recently been a popular topic of debate in research (Alden 2015; Scourfield 2015; Hoyle 2014; Evans 2011). Discretion was identified by Evans (2011) as a way of SLBs using the policies with their knowledge to achieve what they could within the constraints of their job. Fundraisers' overcome this by being willing to provide the donor with a good opportunity. Fundraisers' assertiveness in the way they conduct their relationship and inspiring discussion with the donor is illustrated in the following quotation:

They [the policies to support tax efficient giving] will never create a donor out of a non-donor. Someone's still got to be inspired to want to do it in the first place... (FR7, Senior Fundraiser, 1960s university)

This quotation gives an example of how fundraisers assert their role in the process and they highlight how academics have to inspire potential funders about their research, knowledge and opportunities for potential philanthropic involvement. The institutional relationship with funders goes back to the fundraisers' abilities to build relationships and to employ their skills to engage with the potential funder. One possible reason for the fundraiser to build relationships could be that this relationship presents an opportunity for fundraisers to create their own space within an institution. In this space, their own discretion with the relationship they are building with a donor seemed important for long-term visions of the role of philanthropy. Similarly, the field of geographical studies by Warren, Hoyler and Bell(2014) has previously found that fundraisers linked the success of their fundraising to existing donor relationships. The studies examined 17 HEIs' large-scale donations during the MFS to understand institutional engagement with philanthropy, knowledge circulation and visibility reach for HEIs. They concluded that official institutional publications made little direct connection between large donations received and the MFS (Warren, Hoyler and Bell, 2014).

### **5.3.3 Discretion and pragmatism**

Fundraisers who were more positive and active on the scale, introduced in 5.2, were more likely to make the most out of the opportunity to achieve their fundraising and institutional goals, in contrast to the less positive responses from those toward the left of the spectrum, who were more selective and unwilling to acknowledge the role of policy in their fundraising process. However, the fundraisers, because of the power provided by their own discretion,

still delivered key policy and influenced their donors, albeit the fundraisers might not have been as supportive and effective. The more positive fundraisers' position gave them a more advantageous position for pursuing their goals and performing better based on the parts of the process that they recognised and knew they could influence. The fundraisers could shape the outcomes for them and the institutions by negotiating the boundaries internally as well as externally. This was illustrated in the following quotation that demonstrates the eagerness of fundraisers and how it can shape the responses and outcomes:

[the MFS] enabled us to change the story we were telling to donors and go out there and it pushed us to go and see more people and we did. ... there was definitely a push to meet targets of seeing more people so I think what I saw in the xxx team was, okay, there was a big drive, we've got this time period when we know we'll get matched funding, it is going to end so... and we've got a target to reach, this is our threshold, we know where we've got to get to so we've got to make sure that we go and ask as many people as we can so it pushed activity and there was a strong story to tell. So it definitely increased the number and the value of the gifts that were coming in (FR1, Senior Fundraiser, Oxford/Cambridge university)

Discretion is expressed in the way fundraisers pushed their activity and adapted how they were fundraising. Because of 'the push to see more people', as represented by policy goals and combined personal and institutional goals, the goals and targets were changed. Fundraisers used some discretion to make these targets possible. This discretion, in accordance with Durose's (2011) idea of discretion, took place within their recognised borders, as argued by Lipsky (2010):

...the routines they [street-level bureaucrats] establish, and the devices they invent to cope with uncertainties and work pressures effectively become (his emphasis) the public policies they carry out (p. *ibid* xiii).

Lipsky's (2010) argument is that these people are the enablers of policy, who work around the constraints placed upon them. Institutional goals and the setting for fundraisers can potentially be different to the workers that Lipsky included in his research, because fundraisers do not change the public policies but they use them to their advantage and interpret their application. Fundraisers in universities work for their institution which are independently run organisations and, since January 2018, are regulated by the Office for Students (OfS). Fundraisers usually work in a different environment and are based on the artificial construct- the campus- that is different to the SLBs' environment. While campuses are open to the public, the majority of people that can be found on a campus are employees, students or external visitors. SLBs do not work in one specific environment or place but work closely on a street level with citizens

in their roles as teachers, policy officers or social service workers.

Besides the differences in location and space, this research has started to uncover that there are many internal constraints at campus level that fundraisers face and that might put their position in danger. Such internal constraints can be for example bureaucratic procedures as well as questions over their status within an organisation. The question over fundraisers' professional status is emerging within the literature and not well understood (Breeze 2017; Daly 2013). This might be where fundraisers can be distinguished from SLBs as Lipsky (2010 [1980]) said they are people who work directly with citizens on behalf of government and take on the role as a liaison and link between policy makers and citizens. Fundraisers in HEIs also work directly with citizens such as alumni and other potential donors but they do not directly work on behalf of government or are employed to serve the public in the same way. They are also not in touch with citizens such as donors at the street level. Instead fundraisers work as a type of external and internal facing agent for their institution to deliver their goals on a local campus level but that does not mean that this makes them less vulnerable or accountable than SLBs. The adaptation of fundraisers as agents of their institutions rather than government helps to frame fundraisers as part of campus level bureaucracies that can aid understanding of the way fundraisers work differently compared to their counterparts in health organisations, schools or police, given their organisational context. This understanding then also links to how HEIs are structured and run and how fundraisers are not front line service workers but nevertheless front line advocates for external relationships for their institutions. As a result, this study introduces the idea that fundraisers are Campus-Level Bureaucrats (CLBs) that encompass the above examined distinctions. This concept will require further development in the following sections to investigate how this finding shapes the understanding of fundraisers in the policy process and in delivering fundraising for their institution.

Fundraisers who were less active in their response to policy, underlined that policy was only one of many tools required for fundraising and their execution of the policy goals was less strong and seen as less of a priority. They appeared to be less reliant on the policy approach to deliver their strategic goals, illustrated in the following quotation:

We told our donors and our prospects about it, we told our alumni about it and we had leaflets and all that sort of thing ... our primary goal was to bring money into the institution and to leverage that money using the full tools in our fundraiser toolbox of which, of course, the matched funding was one of them but it was by no means the major tool (FR4, Senior Fundraiser, 19th century university)

This quotation highlights the importance of fundraisers' role that goes beyond the policy goal, for which they have a range of tools to apply for successful fundraising. All fundraisers on the scale used discretion to achieve their goals, whether this was stated implicitly or explicitly. Less positive respondents were nevertheless practical about the opportunity of such a policy, acknowledging its existence and 'just [reaping] it for what it was worth at the time' (FR10, Senior Fundraiser, Post 1992 university). The next quotation also indicates how the less positive respondents used the policy; their actions were not necessarily responses to the policy incentives and they cared about the donor:

So that was great but it was serendipitous really; I mean the gift didn't come because of the matched funding ... but the donor was very happy that we were able to get the match. (FR9, Senior Fundraiser, Post-1992 university)

The quotation demonstrates the importance of how fundraisers execute the goals by being pragmatic about their solutions to achieve their desired outcomes. Being pragmatic was also discussed by Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2012), who argued that SLBs do not use discretion but pragmatism. In their view, pragmatism is key to decision-making, notably improvising and seeking an outcome. In the above quotation, the outcome for the fundraiser was not just the donation, but also the contentedness of the donor and pleasure that the donation received a match. In addition, Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2012) suggest that a normative judgment is used that forms and characterises the meaning of the policies. In this research, some fundraisers made a normative judgement that the donor's view and feelings were more important for fostering the relationship than for complying with policy goals. For example, if asking a donor during the policy timeline would not have been right and would have run the risk of jeopardising a long-term outcome and a large donation, the fundraiser would have prioritised the donor relationship over taking advantage of the opportunity offered by the MFS policy. This approach suggests that fundraisers felt that they had some autonomy but at the same time by being front line tends to put them in danger. It puts them in a dangerous position as they have to balance the priorities for the direction of decisions and mitigate the risks which, in the greater organisational structure of the institution may be above their usual responsibilities. These risks could be a danger to the individual employee and also jeopardise an institution's reputation. Data showed that the fundraisers' own agenda was important and policy was often a side feature. In these cases, the process of building a relationship and working with the donor was prioritised and influenced the execution of the policies, as the example below shows where one fundraiser states that

I don't recall talking about it in public accessible ways or if we did we didn't make a great feature of it... it almost over-prioritises the financial aspect whilst what we're really trying to do in any university fundraising is appeal to people's passions... it's not, I think, sort of a two-for one offer gets you through the door at Tesco's but that's not quite how you'd want to frame a major relationship (FR6, Senior Fundraiser, 20th century university)

In the quotation the comparison of the MFS incentive with a 'two for one' offer at Tesco highlights the scepticism of less engaged fundraiser types about enacting policy in these circumstances, in which the incentives would have overpowered the actual intention of the fundraiser to connect and work with the donor. The less engaged type's approach was that fundraising was happening regardless of what policy offered or supported and therefore fundraisers' execution adjusted accordingly. Particular policies were nevertheless used as part of the negotiation and viewed as providing some use, but fundraisers did not want to go so far to say that they were influencing their work.

No, we definitely didn't go out specifically because of that. We went out because we had a fundraising office and our role was to go and raise income and so it became part of the negotiations that you could have with a donor. It definitely wasn't... It wasn't the catalyst for us going; it was a bonus (FR8, Senior Fundraiser, Post-1992 university)

This quotation is an example in which fundraisers push away the idea that the policy had enabled further fundraising. They were determined that fundraising took place anyway and that the policy was a bonus. Fundraisers did not want to confirm that the policy positively supported their work and therefore could be seen as interference, as they did not want the credit taken away from the fundraising team. This could also be what Lipsky saw as an opposite response to the bureaucratic norm, in which fundraisers followed policy where 'they may assert discretionary dimensions of their job to a greater degree than called for in theory...' (2010, *ibid* 50). Fundraisers suggested that applying and executing the policies was not the foremost goal, but this view subverts the policy goals and avoids accountability for the policy. According to Lipsky, SLBs can resist organisational burdens by their own means. This means they are either common to public service workers generally or inherent in their position as those who apply policy with broad discretion (2010, *ibid.* 25). Street-Level-Bureaucrats and fundraisers gaining this power can also lead to problems with applying the policy and hinder policy outcome, because they, as executors, 'become the key policy makers, resulting in a democratic and accountability deficit' (Lipsky 2010, *ibid.* 84). The assumption that SLBs become policymakers in their own right shows the level of influence they can hold and how they can shape routines that can also hinder organisations'

objectives. Fundraisers seem to apply their discretion and are likely restricted by HEI bureaucracy, but their role, which has not yet been studied in the HEI stakeholder context, will be addressed in 5.4.2.

#### **5.3.4 Link between the spectrum and internal (institutional) factors**

This chapter has identified and discussed the spectrum of fundraisers' responses and it is important to further understand how this spectrum relates to the role that fundraisers can play. The chapter has begun to illustrate how the compliance and influence of fundraisers in their role have been shaped and how distinguishing types of respondents helps explain why policy application and execution differed. The impact of the spectrum on answering the research question about the role of philanthropy in higher education will have to be further explored.

The more active and positive fundraisers were more reliant on internal context and support, whereas the less positive fundraisers were also dependent on the internal settings but seemed to find more room to use their own discretion. The less engaged fundraisers seemed least dependent on structures and past policies. Whether or not fundraisers apply discretion or are pragmatic depends not only on their view on the policy, but also on the institutional setting that shapes their work, much more so than Lipsky's idea of the SLB suggests. The less engaged types, despite their scepticism, drive results with the help of all incentives and sell the incentives, but the active types bring potentially more long-term results to the organisation given their outlook and positivity. However, they restrict themselves by the internal structures and boundaries set by the institutional framework, a behaviour that requires further examination in the following section.

In this study it was found that, on a campus level, the internal platform on which fundraisers work, is an important factor that can impact how discretion and pragmatism is applied. As part of the SLB concept, Lipsky applies what he calls 'a mis-match of conditions at work' between policy goal and experience; this mismatch has previously been found in higher education (Lipsky 1980; Tummers et al. 2012). Lipsky (2010) described the conditions of work as important for defining SLBs. The conditions include inadequate resources, where demand exceeds supply and requires rapid decision-making. It is important to distinguish how fundraisers matter to the outcome, depending on the organisation they work for and the conditions at work (Lipsky, 1980). The idea can be applied to some extent to fundraisers and their role in pursuing their goals or those of the institutions and/or the government policy. For example, one feature of the application of SLBs is the problem with goals and performance measures, which fundraisers would face when applying broad national policy.

A question arises regarding how fundraisers would be able to achieve policy goals in different contexts and whether this ability would consequently change their application of and discretion with a policy. This is relevant because findings from secondary data analysis have already indicated that fundraising results vary across the sector and affects how a broad policy used by fundraisers can be applied and how their discretion is used to apply the policy successfully within their internal and external environment. The conditions at work are consequently represented by the institution's choice to take part in a government policy, such as the MFS, and to what degree the MFS policy is made a central point of internal fundraising activity. Because of internal factors supporting this activity, such as time invested by the senior management or resources for fundraisers to create a substantive case to fundraise for, it is important to acknowledge that the fundraiser has to rely and depend on these factors to achieve a successful outcome. The way fundraisers execute their goals and objectives, whether achievable or not, are therefore not just dependent on the skills and ability of the fundraiser, but also to some substantial degree on the environment they work in, which can vary between institutions.

This chapter suggests that fundraisers adapt to a campus level bureaucrat style role and highlighted the influential role the fundraisers can hold, based on their range of responses. However, their position can also be dangerous for them at the front line of policy and/or institutional responses, especially if the 'asking' for donations is not successful they may be blamed for the missed opportunity and lack of funding reaching the institution. In addition to fundraisers' skills in expressing their influence, using direction and pragmatism to pursue their goals and those of the institution, the institutional setting is important. It is important because the setting can be supportive of fundraising goals or restrictive and creates further boundaries for the fundraiser to overcome. However, there are also limitations to this adaptation; despite the discussed examples where fundraisers use discretion and pragmatism to enable the delivery of their goals, it needs to be noted that not all donors are reactive to such requests by fundraising activities or fundraisers. As mentioned in chapter 1, while the majority of donations are usually solicited (Bekkers, 2005), there are donors who do not have to be approached by a fundraiser. Donors are also pro-active in which case fundraisers become financial intermediaries themselves. In such cases, the role of fundraisers is far less influential and visible and it could be suggested less important.

In addition, there are some limitations to applying Lipsky's SLB to fundraisers, as the theory does not exactly cover and include the characteristics of the organisation that this research found be an important element. Other scholars, such as Evans (2007), have pointed out that Lipsky does not acknowledge and understand that some SLBs, in their capacity as

professional workers, apply a high level of discretion depending on the organisation and their particular characteristics (p. 22-23). This is true in higher education, where we have already seen that there is a varying degree of fundraising results and income attributed to different institutions, so it can therefore be expected that not every fundraiser is able to apply the same level of discretion and power.

## **5.4 Changing stakeholder roles**

This chapter has so far focussed on the fundraisers and their views related to variations in results, policy application and policy implementation. As a next step, it will be useful to put these findings into context of fundraisers' overall role as one of several stakeholders in this process and to examine how they have adapted their salience. The final section of this chapter will therefore focus on how fundraisers fits into the larger organisational objectives, as fundraising is one activity of many in HEIs, and investigate the limitations of fundraisers. This section will start discussing the identities of fundraisers, an idea that will then be discussed in light of further findings that fundraisers have a limited stakeholder role in the whole process.

### **5.4.1 Professional status and identities of fundraisers**

In order to place the earlier findings on the influences of fundraisers into the context of higher education, it is necessary to understand what and who fundraisers are in their respective field (Breeze, 2017). It was important to interrogate the role they play in an institution and drawing on concepts of professional identities (Daly 2013; Jungbloed, Enders and Salerno 2008; Mitchell, Agle and Wood 1997) that were set out in chapter 2 of this thesis. It was useful to examine if fundraisers can be situated in a broader literature of professional staff in higher education and to link this to the discussions about the type and role of professionals (e.g. Habermas discussing the unbounded professional, 1984). This was important to understand that there are problems with fundraisers' status as a 'new profession' (Daly, 2013) which leads to a lack of acknowledgement and power in their institutions. Broadly, there are challenges for the professions in higher education (Whitchurch 2009; Winter 2009; Whitchurch 2008; Clark 2004) ranging from the changes of the role of administrators (Clark, 2004) to the differing ideologies of profession and work (Winter, 2009). Thus, working in non-academic roles at HEIs is challenging. There is a problem with applying concepts of professional status to fundraisers, because there is an issue with the recognition of fundraising/fundraisers as a profession (Breeze, 2017). While it is important to acknowledge the varying degrees of differentiation of professional and fundraisers' status, this research is not extending this debate further but acknowledges and

incorporates the ongoing debates and takes Daly's idea of the 'new profession' as discussed in chapter 2 forward.

In chapter 2 section 2.4.3, Daly's (2013) argument that fundraisers are a 'new' profession is recognised in this thesis. This concept entails both cross-boundary and unbounded professional identities depending on whether their tasks are internal- or external-facing. Daly's (2013) concept is important to embed into the discussion to understand the multi-level work across boundaries that fundraisers carry out in a complex higher education system and its accompanying hierarchical structures, policies and processes. In the interview data an increasing number of staff and the titles of departments, which usually encompasses the word 'development', signal a view that fundraisers are multi-level professionals in higher education rather than only professional fundraisers (Worth and Asp, 1994).

According to Whitchurch's (2008) typology, the cross-boundary professionals are able to hold together multiple identity components and see boundaries as opportunities rather than as constraints, taking opportunities that arise to invest in alternative spaces, knowledge and relationships (p. 380). This role was confirmed by interview data that revealed the importance of relationships across these boundaries. For example, it was noted that when the leadership of the Development Office had a good, close working relationship with the most senior levels of the institution, it tended to be more effective (FR2, Senior Fundraiser, 19th century university). The success was enabled by the ability of the fundraiser to recognise the importance of relationships in this process and to work across institutional boundaries. The ability of fundraisers to use these frameworks has been a vital element of their work. Whitchurch (2008) concluded about professionals: '...the exchange of institutional intelligence and professional practice through extended networks...are likely to become an increasingly significant feature of their institutions' (p. 383). Furthermore, relating their identities as fundraisers to apply policies, fundraisers act again similarly to SLBs but remain CLBs and have their own restrictions within institutional bureaucracies. They similarly use the expanded networks to develop their own discretion to deliver the institutional goals. This is also similar to what Whitchurch (2008) concluded regarding professional identity:

professional identities are likely to be contingent upon a combination of what the individual is able to achieve and has the will to achieve, in their local circumstances (p. 383).

Drawing on stakeholder engagement in their role as 'influential gatekeepers' (Daly, 2013) between the institution and external parties, the role of fundraisers requires further discussion with a theoretical concept. The scope of Daly's (2013) paper does not include the

types of stakeholders involved in this process. Jongbloed, Enders and Salerno (2008) do examine these types further, finding that they use 'power, legitimacy and urgency of their claim on the institution' (p. 310-312) and drawing on stakeholder theory in business management based on Friedman's ideas, and Mitchell, Agle and Wood's (1997) concept of the salient stakeholder as set out in chapter 2.

#### **5.4.2 Fundraisers' limited stakeholder role**

Following Jongbloed, Enders and Salerno's (2008) idea, the important stakeholders that exist in large institutions, such as universities, are identified as former students (alumni) and donors. There are also current students, senior administrators who deliver key aspects of the running of the university and academic staff. The public who engages with the university on various levels is also part of this and so are employees (and specifically fundraisers). Government in its various forms funds and works with institutions. When applying this idea to higher education institutions, it is important to note that their characteristics, as Jongbloed, Enders and Salerno (2008) argued are multidimensional and conflicting. They argued this by saying that '[the] professional domination, fragmentation of decision-making and diffusion of power' (p. 311) exists and as a result the 'stakeholder identification takes place not only at the central institutional or management level but at other levels as well' (p. 311). The identification can depend on the perspective taken at the start of such an assessment. Mitchell, Agle and Wood's (1997) theory of stakeholder salience was examined in 2.5.3 and uses the three attributes of power, legitimacy and urgency. They argue that these three attributes apply to stakeholders. For example, a stakeholder with low importance (distinguished by a class system of 1-7, in which classes 1, 2, 3 are low salience classes) possesses one of the attributes; stakeholders with more power (classes 4, 5, 6) possess two attributes and a highly salient stakeholder belongs to class 7, in which all three attributes exist. Table 5.1 below displays the detailed categorisation of the six stakeholder groups created with help of data in this research, in which the categories were adapted in light of what was found in the data which will lead to a discussion on how fundraisers have adapted their salience in the process.

Table 5.1 Stakeholder salience typology adapted from Mitchell, Agle and Wood (1997)

Stakeholder category	Breakdown of category	Attributes of stakeholders found in this research	Class of stakeholder
Government	Including government entities and regulators	Definitive stakeholder (Power, urgency and legitimacy)	Class 7
Students	Undergraduate and postgraduate students	Moving toward a definitive stakeholder (this has changed from previous research) from a demanding to dangerous expectant stakeholder	Class 7
Senior administration	Senior personnel including Vice-Chancellors	Internally a definitive stakeholder (Power, urgency and legitimacy)	Class 7
Academic staff	Any level - researchers and teachers	Moving from previous 7 definitive stakeholder to a lower salience to being an expectant (dominant stakeholder) Expectant: Dominant (Power and legitimacy)	Class 7-5
Fundraisers	Paid staff to raise philanthropic funds	Expectant: Dependent (legitimacy and urgency)	Class 6
Alumni and donors <sup>77</sup>	Former students, parents, employees, individuals, corporate entities or charitable foundations	Demanding stakeholder (urgency)	Class 3

In this study, there is some variation to previous studies (e.g. Jongbloed, Enders and Salerno (2008) to include fundraisers as a separate key stakeholder. The findings, which will be discussed in the following section will illustrate the difference across the stakeholders and help to explain why fundraisers, despite their emerging role, are dependent stakeholders and how they adapted their salience in the process. Figure 5.2 shows that the stakeholder group government, senior administrators and the stakeholder group students (class 7) hold central

<sup>77</sup> Alumni and donors can be divided into two groups as the former group is naturally affiliated with an institution and does not have to donate money to be a stakeholder whereas the latter, the donors, can be alumni and donate money but they can also be donors without being alumni. For the purpose of this research and the focus on interviews with fundraisers who mainly focus on donors rather than alumni, the two groups will be treated as one external group when discussing the salience typology adapted from Mitchell, Agle and Wood as displayed on page 172. They form together the external group of alumni and donors.

power, whereas fundraisers (class 6) are dependent on other groups such as senior administrators and academics and do not hold as much power. It will be important to examine this difference with help of the collected data in the next section whilst acknowledging that the power (im)balances that exist within the sector between senior administrators, who have come to dominate institutions at the expense of research and teaching, academics and students, is highly controversial. The next section will observe the relationships that result from these findings in relation to the research questions of this study and how fundraisers adapt their salience in this process and in the wider context of the changes to and in higher education.

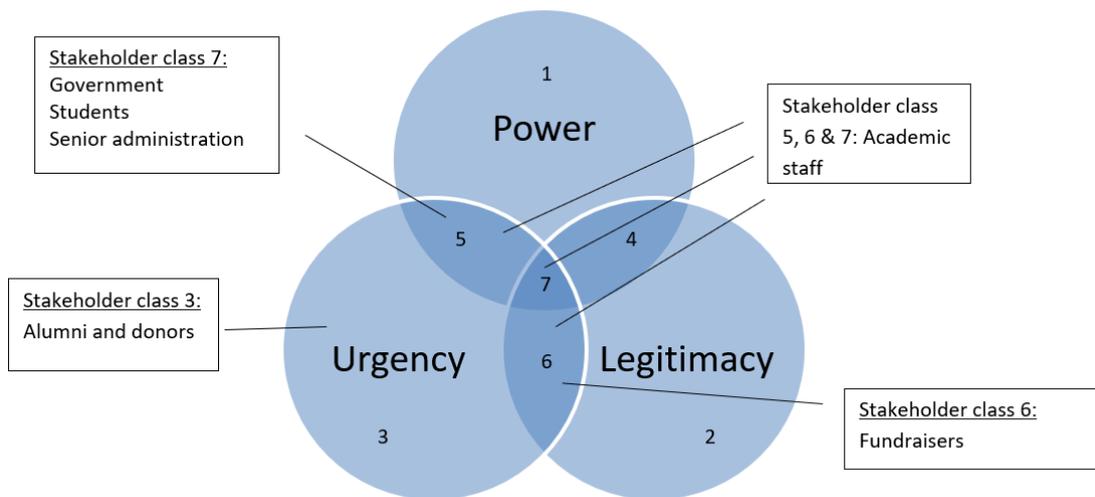


Figure 5.2 A stakeholder typology for higher education and fundraisers adapted from Mitchell, Agle and Wood (1997)

The strained relationships between the fundraisers and policy and institutional goals, drawn out in the earlier sections in 5.1-5.3 of this chapter, are also acknowledged in a wider context of philanthropy and policy making. Philips and Smith (2016) suggest that

Public policy alone will not enable philanthropy to remain consistently out in front of the waves of change...philanthropy policy has been allowed to drift ... leading to more strained relationships between governments and the non-profit sectors that are so central to the capacity of philanthropy to be sustainable and impactful (p. 224)

The strained relationships that Phillips and Smith (2016) refer to in their quotation mirror this study's findings where it was found that the complex nature of the conceptualisation and understanding of government, institutions and fundraisers and philanthropy's role have resulted in mixed understandings and practices. Therefore, this section will help further

explore these various roles to understand the role of philanthropy and fundraising in this complex system.

The moving frontiers discussed in chapter 4 already illustrated the changing role of government in financing higher education. In the current system and policy process, government, as external to HEIs, is identified as a definitive stakeholder as argued by Jongbloed, Enders and Salerno (2008). This means that all three attributes of power, urgency and legitimacy are in existence, so the government is a highly salient stakeholder. Regarding policies to foster philanthropic giving and provide a framework for fundraisers and institutions to work with, the role of government from the practitioner's point of view is briefly examined here.

The findings reveal that fundraisers saw the government's role as supportive, providing the framework to promote philanthropy, but strongly felt that government should not interfere with their work to any great extent. For example, a large number of interviewees suggested that the government should be supportive of charitable giving and provide a framework that enables fundraisers to work with all the tools available. Meanwhile, the potential donors have confidence in policymakers but also the knowledge of how tax incentives work. This was expressed in a representative quotation: 'I think their role is to create a framework which encourages it but not to interfere and not to be directive' (FR2, Senior Fundraiser, 19th century university). Other interviewees also pointed out that 'I think [the government] absolutely needs to encourage it. I think it needs to play its part but I don't think it's sustainable or healthy if the government is the lead in this' (FR3, Senior Fundraiser, 19th century university). Others also described a preference for the government not being too directive: 'My preference would be for arm's length government intervention' (FR4, Senior Fundraiser, 19th century university). This view suggests that while support is needed, fundraisers still aim for some freedom in ways of engaging with donors. Various fundraisers felt that if government were too prescriptive and focussed on tax efficient giving and incentives, something would be overlooked. The criticism is that while the government's role is helpful, incentives are only a partial factor compared to the actual asking for donations and relationships that have to be built between donors and the university. This quotation illustrates this view:

[government] has an important role to play in creating a broad framework which encourages it but it's never, ever a sufficient factor to encourage people to give ... and I think that there can sometimes be a bit too much focus both on the role of government and the linked role of tax, different tax regimes, as a motivation for giving. So government as a rule tends not to

understand philanthropy very well and it tends when it comes through in various reports that governments tend to focus on primarily tax efficiency of giving (FR2, Senior Fundraiser, 19th century university)

The second part of the quotation also highlights that in the practitioners' view, the tendency of government to focus on tax breaks as the main means, is an indicator of a lack of understanding of donor motivation. Practitioners also feel that government paid substantial short-term attention to philanthropy, implementing two major schemes in a short period from 2006-2011, but this attention to philanthropy then waned. The criticism, more closely related to the creation of a long-term supportive context rather than one of Kingdon's streams, is that if the goal was to increase philanthropic giving long-term, a cultural shift was also needed; long-term commitment from the government was necessary to continue fostering giving.

The point about long-term commitment was also made by a fundraiser who observed the decreasing attention from government: '... I think that it's interesting that after that very intense burst of trying to get people to build up capacity, government have now just kind of walked away and left us all to it' (FR10, Senior Fundraiser, Post-1992 university). The feeling of being deserted also concerned fundraisers, particularly with regard to establishing long-term changes: 'You know, if you want to make that kind of cultural shift, just banging money at something for three years is not long enough. We're talking a massive, massive, massive cultural shift' (FR10, Senior Fundraiser, Post-1992 university).

One other finding is that promoting and understanding the value of philanthropy should, according to interviewees, be part of government's role: '... And I think there's something in the area of publicity which governments haven't been good at which is drawing attention to the value of philanthropy ...' (FR5, Senior Fundraiser, 20th century university). Furthermore, interviewees also expressed that the value and contributions of philanthropy beyond the monetary value as well as its contributions to HEIs' mission and goals is underestimated by policy makers. If philanthropy is not valued as a cultural and long-term goal for society for supporting higher education, there will be further problems in maintaining support. The relationships built as part of this process between those who raise the funds (the fundraisers), those that provide the funds (the donors) and those who receive and benefit from the fund (the institutions) will have to be managed carefully. The risk is that while long-term relationships can be fostered by the fundraiser with the donor, policies suggesting that philanthropy is 'used' when needed and neglected when not required are conflicting and potentially hindering best possible outcomes.

Having found, with help of Mitchell, Agle and Wood (1997) and Jongbloed, Enders and Salerno (2008), that government can be classified as a definitive stakeholder (table 5.1), an internal key stakeholder group to examine with help of these theories is the group of students. As already set out in the introduction of this thesis, the student numbers in higher education, as part of the government's plans to support mass expansion (Moodie 2014), have drastically increased from less than 1 million in the 1960s (Halsey, 2000) to over 2.3 million students in 2016/17 (HESA, 2018b). Students are now also charged tuition fees of up to £9,250 per annum, changing their role as customers and demands considerably (Jongbloed, Enders and Salerno; 2008). As a result of this shift, students are more powerful. This change has altered the relationship between government and students, which was expressed by fundraisers: 'universities have moved significantly I mean... now [they are] much more directly accountable because the students are in effect paying for it' (FR6, Senior Fundraiser, 20th century university).

The shift has also changed the relationship between students and HEIs, whose accountability toward their students increased along with the expectations from the public. As a result of increased accountability for HEIs, there was awareness of the direct influences of the changes that led to the students becoming more powerful. This quotation by senior fundraiser FR6 also acknowledges that students' changing role influences the way universities and the public view HEIs spending and are more pressured to deliver what they get paid to do and are therefore more accountable to for example the public and students.

Another point is that, as a consequence of the higher degree of accountability of HEIs, they have been forced to widen their supporter group and relations outside of the organisation. According to fundraisers, the change has led to an increasingly important role for two further external groups; alumni and donors which will be treated, as explained on earlier, as one group in this study with the focus in the data on donors. The important role of alumni and donors as external stakeholders also became clearer throughout this research, underlined by fundraisers who suggested

to think about well who are our critical friends and that has meant that a number of them have looked again at the role that alumni play, not around philanthropy but in their institutions and have wanted to introduce critical friends to help with delivery, mentoring, all sorts of other things that can be of benefit to the students but also actually within the running of the institution down to departmental level as well (FR6, Senior Fundraiser, 20th century university)

Fundraisers suggested that alumni and donors are important stakeholders, and in Jongbloed, Enders and Salerno's (2008) terms, demanding, which means that the attribute urgency is present and categorised as class 3 of the salience model with one attribute and lower salience than those with two attributes. While this research has found supporting evidence provided by fundraisers, whose work benefits from this group's power, that alumni and donors have some urgency to influence philanthropy's direction in an institution, they are not part of the final decision-making and in comparison to the rest of the stakeholders discussed here less powerful. Consequently, in this study they are classified as class 3 stakeholders who Mitchell, Agle and Wood (1997) defined as 'those with urgent claims but having neither power nor legitimacy, are the "mosquitoes buzzing in the ears"... and not dangerous' (p.875) While this description might apply to some alumni and donors, there will also be some variation in that attributes are variable and not steady and some donors might be more influential than others.

Nevertheless, the other internal stakeholder group, the fundraisers who work closely and alongside donors advised (e.g. in 5.2.2) that the relationships with the donors are important for good outcomes and also sometimes prioritise the fostering of good long-term relationships above an immediate donation. This was noticeable in the data in this study which suggested that the relationships with donors sometimes can take priority over a policy or institutional goal. Fundraisers believe that building long-term relationships is more important to them and the organisation and more beneficial long-term than following policy but this is not related to the alumni and donor group's actual power and level of influence that was assessed. The fundraisers' role and positioning varies and, as already touched on previously, can expose the fundraiser to criticism and failure. The applied discretion combined with this vulnerable front line position, both internally and externally, combined with the lack of power and often lack of urgency within an institution's hierarchy, prohibits them from being able to have the autonomy to make progress. Overcoming some of these barriers can then lead to successful completion of an institutional and/or own goal. As a result, their multi-faceted role, internally and externally is challenging and has to be carefully balanced and managed by the fundraisers themselves to work and deliver some of their/institution and the donor's objectives, where possible.

As this research has already found, the fundraisers' role is complex and multi-faceted, their influences go beyond their internal remit and they work across boundaries (Daly, 2013). Interview data suggests that they have more power than they are attributed within an institution and by colleagues, but they do not have the legitimacy to proceed with a fundraising project or a large donation on their own internally. In terms of internal processes

and policies that were examined in this study, it was found that they can be barriers and/or create opportunities for fundraisers. It may vary from institution to institution on how national policy is applied and adopted but nevertheless requires institutions to sustain their existence and competitiveness. This is for example due to the complex systems and processes that were alluded to earlier by fundraisers. This is also due to the already mentioned hidden role of fundraising in many institutions, shown by the large discrepancy of the Ross-CASE data and its analysis in chapter 4, where in many institutions fundraising is not a priority and not part of the institutional objectives, although there has been a reported acknowledgment in the value of this (HEFCE, 2012b). This forms part of an institution's internal policy about academic work and values surrounding funding, for example their research, and whether philanthropic funding is seen as an acceptable source of research funding or not. This is also shaped by the national framework which underlies an institution's priorities where institutions have been increasingly asked to diversify their funding streams as set out in chapter 1.

Internally, fundraising is often managed by fundraisers in a separate department who are not linked to the academic divisions such as schools and specialist research centres. If this division is overlooked then the role and ability of fundraisers to connect and then to act is less powerful than in institutions where fundraising and the role of philanthropy is defined and forms part on an institution's agenda. As a consequence they are dependent on senior administration and academics' support to carry out their role, which is why they were categorised as 'dependent'. They have legitimacy and urgency as two attributes. These characteristics were also highlighted by fundraisers, who suggested that the linking of donors' wishes and institutional priorities is a challenge:

one of the challenges for director of development is that philanthropy is seen as in a very instrumentalist way so ... the way in which fundraisers would see philanthropy is how do you match the donor's interests and the strategic interest of the university. The university senior group professionals, ... will think we got a cash gap this year but these buildings are going up, we need money now, so they're driven very much by the need now. ... is about relationship you have to give time you can't just go and ask for money from people out of the blue (FR3, Senior Fundraiser, 19th century university)

The challenge is, as reported by fundraisers, that for example finance departments in universities often see philanthropy as a mechanism through which a cash gap can be filled. This happens without understanding that there might be a long-term time frame for building relationships with potential donors and finding the right projects that donors want to support before a donation can be sought. This view highlights the internal burdens and lack of

understanding that creates a dependence that the fundraisers have to work with and the barriers they have to overcome to succeed. On the other hand, fundraisers understand their role and the role of philanthropy differently and do not want their role to be seen as one that fills a cash gap for the institutions, highlighting the mismatch of expectations between fundraisers and institutions, that were already discussed. This is where fundraisers adapt their salience as the diagram in figure 5.3 below illustrates. The diagram demonstrates how fundraisers adapt their salience in the process of facing internal and external boundaries and working with conflicting priorities that are set and where outcomes expected. Within this process, they adjust their way of working despite their limited power, according to the situation. Key to their way of working is the acknowledgement of their limited position in which they draw in people from across the campus, as a campus-level bureaucrat, to help them achieve what they need. For example, many interviewees would speak of the important role of the input of academic colleagues who would have the expertise and ability to create a sense of urgency to the donor in terms of why their research needed philanthropic funding now.

The academic colleagues would also be seen as the experts in their field with whom the donors would want to be associated with and discuss their ideas together, rather than the fundraiser. In many of these instances, fundraisers' role would be that of a facilitator who works around and shapes the discussed boundaries. As shown in the diagram below, they move then to apply the remaining discretion to achieve the set goals. Following this is the creation of the necessary importance and urgency, if possible, as shown in the diagram. Underlying this process which results in either a successful donation, or long-lasting relationship or an unsuccessful donation, is the continuous necessary administrative and coaching support to academics in terms of briefings and preparation that was needed to make a potential donation be realised. There are however, limitations to capture such a process in a 2 D diagram, as the adaptation of each fundraiser's salience may vary according to their experience, skill and appetite but also varies according to whom they are working with and what the institutional setting and context at the time is. It could also be that for example the process does not start because the institution is not committed to the fundraising project in terms of paying for fundraising resources such as staff and material or the academic colleagues are not willing to be part of the process. The diagram below is therefore only one way of depicting a process in which fundraisers adapt their salience. However, there will be several layers and differences according to each situation and displaying all possible opportunities would not be feasible. Nevertheless, the principle remains, that fundraisers would start from a point of dependence, whether or not they work

in an already experienced and supportive environment or not and process their actions and paths accordingly.

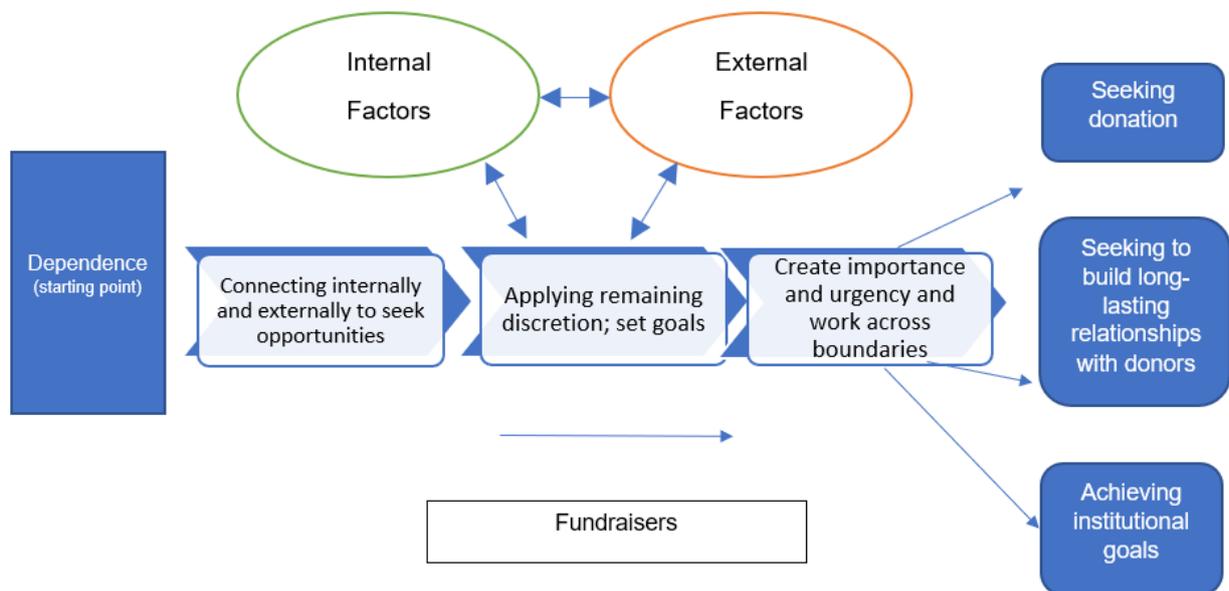


Figure 5.3 Fundraisers' adapted salience

Fundraisers also refer to the difficult and conflicting task of delivering internal and external targets; to the donor and fostering that relationship and simultaneously matching donors' interest with the interest and ambitions of the institution (Alborough 2017; Breeze 2017). This relates to the point that was already touched on earlier in this chapter where fundraisers are in a precarious front line position. Institutions' attitudes towards philanthropy add to fundraisers' precarious position and limit their influences as a stakeholder within the institution themselves. This can be the case if philanthropic activity is not valued or acknowledged as an activity that enriches the institution's reputation and contributes to its strategic goals (UUK, 2014).

Another key internal stakeholder group are senior administrators such as the VC and senior management who are in charge of for example research and education, academic divisions and professional services departments such as finance, HR and fundraising. As the quotation by FR3 above about the internal challenges indicated, the internal senior administration is key to successfully delivering any fundraising activity. Fundraisers are most dependent on this group internally, which also limits their power. Along with Jongbloed, Enders and Salerno (2008), this research observed a changing role of senior administration driving universities almost like businesses. This is a controversial issue within the sector whereby academic staff has over the last few decades lost some of its power. Historically

academics have been working under the idea of academic freedom and associated independence and being powerful in an institution's agenda. The changes confirm fears by the academy, that are linked to the debates discussed earlier on the idea of the universities externally and internally and the neo-liberal approach to marketisation of higher education (Collini, 2012) in chapter 2. These changes have enabled senior administration to change the direction of academic institutions and become more powerful as a result. The key attributes found of senior administrators were therefore those of urgency, power and legitimacy, placing them in class 7.

This also means that the institutions and their senior administration can have more influence over the role of philanthropy than seen and practiced, and they can support the fundraisers further to work across or outside boundaries (Daly, 2013) or ignore the importance completely. This study found that there is a growing acknowledgement that the Vice-Chancellor's role is key in enabling a culture of philanthropy at their institution and to use philanthropy to the institutions' advantage. As one fundraising expert pointed out the importance of Vice-Chancellor's role in supporting philanthropy because

if it's [philanthropy] not a priority for a university and I know ... a lot of the reports would suggest that you have to have your VC onboard and push it forward to be able to invest (EX15, Fundraising Expert)

Interviewees also recognised the increasingly important role of VC's in enabling and fostering the role of philanthropy at their institutions. For example, fundraising experts would point towards the fact that there has been more awareness by saying that

there is probably a difference within the leadership team on thinking about philanthropy, so I'd say, you know, at a VC level there is a lot of understanding that philanthropy brings all kinds of benefits, like for example benefits like of reputation if you are getting large gifts (FR5, Senior Fundraiser, 19th century university)

The importance of senior leadership to advertise and support philanthropy and fundraising also stretches across to academic staff who need to be involved to increase philanthropic giving at institutions. Fundraisers would report on examples where new leaders' attitudes changed across the institutions, including academics. For example, it was pointed out that

The new leader spent a lot of time sorting out the team and being realistic about what could be achieved but really building bridges across the entire institution and changing attitudes about what it would take to really raise larger sums because it was about changing

institutional belief in what could be done ... [and] you need not just the very senior leader of the institution but the leaders of the key departments and then the professors and even the post-doctoral researchers to know that it's part of their job [to fundraise] (FR1, Senior Fundraiser Oxford/ Cambridge)

It is important to understand the role of institutional belief in philanthropy and the role of academics in this as FR1 continued to point out that 'there wasn't institutional buy-in all the way across from our academic colleagues about what it took to do fundraising so... and I think it was... so it was still seen as something that development was something over here' (FR1, Senior Fundraiser Oxford/Cambridge). For that reason, academic staff are recognised in this study as another internal stakeholder, who are important to fundraisers and the delivery of their key projects and objectives. In terms of salience categories, the academic community has more power than a fundraiser's position within the institution. According to interviewees the academic staff are also key institutional ambassadors who can inspire donors with their knowledge and research and are crucial to success for fundraisers. As mentioned earlier in this section, the role of academic staff has changed as part of the overall changes to how institutions are run and managed. Within this, a shift is noticeable where academic staff used to be seen more like a definitive stakeholder in class 7 but the shifts have also mean that they have become less powerful and move between 7- 4 of these categories, depending on institutions and perspectives where as a class 5 stakeholders they are expectant: who have power and influencing skills to make things happen, in terms of the overall institutional business but also with regards to the aforementioned crucial role in the work of securing philanthropic support. This is because they are the key deliverers of teaching, the key contact for students and they are the ones who produce the research outputs. The research outputs are crucial for institutions' financial health as research funding is an important income source, as noted in chapter 1. Institutions need to be successful in any Research Excellence Framework as it can influence the standing and ranking of institutions, student recruitment as well as its financial position, as noted in chapter 1 and 4.

## **5.5 Discussion of fundraisers' conceptualisation of fundraising and philanthropy**

Having found a scale of fundraiser responses and their tools of pragmatism and discretion that help to conceptualise their role as CLBs in 5.3.4, the implications of these findings for their limited role as policy actor and stakeholder in the policy process and their own institution require a discussion in relation to the findings about the variation of the term philanthropy found earlier in this thesis. Given that philanthropy has different definitions and purposes at different institutions based on the variation in performance and the institutions'

outlook on and involvement with philanthropy as found in chapter 4, fundraisers pointed out an overarching problem across the board with policymaking and policymakers: 'there are real gaps of understanding what philanthropy is about, yet alone and how fundraising should be done' (FR5, Senior Fundraiser, 20th century university). It was commonly expressed by interviewees that philanthropy's role today is to contribute to the overall university strategy. This is unsurprising, as fundraisers are employees of their institutions, so they will have some alignment and their views will be shaped by the strategic direction of philanthropy, past and present.

In addition, fundraisers recognise that philanthropy is more than acquiring financial means but they recognise that philanthropy also advances and enables the delivery of key institutional objectives, such as the advancement of knowledge and research, by for example funding extra equipment that other funding sources would not necessarily provide. However, this study's data reflects what is known in the academic literature- that philanthropy has many facets and means different things to different people (Harrow, 2010). Interviewees describe philanthropy using the following: 'meeting donors' needs', 'advancing engagement [with external stakeholders such as donors and alumni]', 'addressing social issues[through donation to different research areas or scholarships]' and 'benefiting the public good [by for example providing funding for research that produces findings everyone in society benefits from]'. These definitions vary from talking about what donors want to increase and develop engagement to tackling social problems and more generally what the ideas of the role of philanthropy is in society. The variation suggests a multi-layered and multifaceted role for philanthropy, which was already found by Sulek (2010b) and Harrow (2010). If philanthropy is understood as advancing the public good as per Payton and Moody's (2008) definition, and as what 'we're really trying to do in any university fundraising is appeal to people's passions, this is a thing that they most want to see change in the world' (FR6), it is important to understand the context and the relationship between an institution and the donor for philanthropy and how these ideas have changed over the years as the examination in chapter 4 suggested. It is also important to acknowledge that donors will also have their own particular understanding of philanthropy. Similar to the ideas of the professionalisation of fundraising and of fundraisers to some extent, that has taken place at the institutional level with regards to philanthropy, this idea was also uncovered in interviews with fundraisers. At the core of developments in fundraising practices, knowledge and income was the donor/fundraiser/institution relationship, which mattered in many cases above policy for fundraisers and their adaptation of their salience has shaped the way the role of philanthropy develops at their institutions.

## 5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has contributed towards the second research question on the role of philanthropy and fundraising and links to the role of fundraisers and the question about their execution that was asked in research question 1. Their role in maintaining the open window and using the policy within the process was important and it showed that the role of the policy windows and the timing was an important part of the streams' development and fundraisers ability to then make the fundraising happening. The chapter also drew on two theories; the applied theories of the SLBs and the salient stakeholder theory, supported by the analysis of the experiences of the 15 interviewed fundraisers. The varied application of policy that was found can be explained by different factors. One plausible explanation is that there is a scale of responses and opportunities for fundraisers to execute the policies and goals, and findings in this chapter suggests that the fundraisers' role indicates a limited amount of discretion and power that they may have depending on their institutional background.

A finding related to external and internal factors also contributes to the understanding of the varied role of philanthropy and resulting multifaceted role of fundraisers and the application of their tools where there was a strong awareness of the imbalances that their work produces and to some extent add to the resources and status quo gaps between HEIs which government did not recognise. The external and internal factors are in this chapter attributed to the limited but still important responses and role of the fundraiser which helps to answer research question two. For example, external to the institutional factors were the shift in funding and the increased power given to students in the process. The other internal explanation was the willingness to understand and work with the concept of philanthropy as well as a commitment by senior staff and the institution to provide support. For these reasons, the application of the SLB concept by Lipsky was useful, but the limitations examined in section 5.3.2 illustrated the need for the development of a different type of bureaucrat for fundraisers. This research developed the idea of the Campus-Level-Bureaucrat (CLB) to overcome the SLB's limitations and to understand the internal pressures and forces on fundraisers that impact the way they apply and execute goals where they take this CLB in a policy responsive front line. Fundraisers' positions at the front line, as the external facing advocate for HEIs relationships puts them in danger as they are accountable for their actions and they make autonomous decisions about the importance of donor relationships over policy and institutional goals and yet they are stakeholders with limited power.

In order to fully answer the research question two, and after adapting Mitchell, Agle and

Wood's (1997) model of the salience of stakeholders for this research, it became apparent that not only the government, but also the students as customers and income providers for institutions have an increasingly more prominent, yet also dangerous role. This shift represents one of the biggest changes in recent years, through which the role of the government as a direct funding provider through the taxpayer has changed. This also impacts on the way the role of higher education, now perceived as a private rather than a public good and consequently the role of philanthropy, is treated. Whilst in chapter 4 it was found that philanthropic income is only a small percentage of total income, within this stream it was found that fundraisers were stakeholders, especially for external relations with donors. These relationships seem to be somewhat in competition with policy at times or at least to some extent and in some cases they have been contradicting the policy and institutional goals when a fundraiser felt the long-term relationship was more important rather than an imminent ask for a gift or a donation. This is an area of fundraising that has had limited focus in academic literature, understanding how and what fundraisers set as their priorities and why. This chapter has started to provide a framework to discuss the findings also in conjunction with existing practitioner literature which is more nuanced on the debates about the purpose of including the donor in any fundraising strategies (Tempel, Seiler and Burlingame 2016; Burk 2003; Burnett 2002). The conclusion in chapter 6 will discuss what this and the CLB identification means for the second research question of this thesis on the role of philanthropy and fundraising in higher education. This research observed that philanthropy is neither urgent nor a priority for many institutions, but fundraisers still manage to seek the opportunities, work with colleagues and employ strategies to advance the level of philanthropy at their institutions. This suggests that, in answering the research question, philanthropy and fundraising have a more nuanced and vital role to play that requires a full discussion and conclusion in the final chapter.

## CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

### 6.1 Introduction

This thesis began with a 2017 headline stating that for the first time, philanthropic income in UK higher education hit the £1 billion mark. British philanthropy is often compared with our American cousins but it is acknowledged that the influences, as examined in chapter 2 section 2.2.3 of US models, have influenced the UK agenda. Nevertheless because of the differences in the political, economic and cultural systems and ideological views and attitudes to giving, it was decided not to compare the UK case with the US at every level.

This thesis therefore set out to focus on the UK setting and in terms of the reported results, at first glance, the reported increase in philanthropic funding was a positive development compared to the results of the initial survey in 2006, when the equivalent figure was £548 million, and it is argued that philanthropic funding of UK universities has come a long way in under a decade. It would be expected that policy to incentivise giving with help of the CBS and MFS has been successful, as demonstrated by these headline figures and the reported overall increase in philanthropic funding (Ross-CASE 2016-2017; HEFCE 2012a; HEFCE 2012b). Yet, these impressions needed to be examined in the context of the institutions at the micro level where this study found a large disparity in philanthropic income and fundraising activities. As a result, the heterogeneity found in the sector in terms of fundraising results impacted on the schemes' outcomes. Another important point to draw on in this study was that institutions have made large improvements across the board, with the help of or despite, the implemented schemes which is for example apparent in the number of HEIs who have established fundraising offices (Squire, 2014), the increasing number of fundraising staff (Ross-CASE 2007-2016), the sharing of best practice and training (HEFCE, 2014) as well as increasing knowledge about fundraising techniques and practices in the grey and emerging academic literature (e.g. Breeze 2017; Sargeant and Jay 2014). The findings have to be concluded in this context incorporating the role of policy making and the investigation of the group of fundraisers to conclude and answer the research questions.

The proposed research questions established in chapter 2 are listed below, and answers to these questions will be given in the next sections.

- 1. *What has driven public policy interventions to promote philanthropy in the higher education sector in the UK since the early 2000s and how have they been executed by fundraisers?***
- 2. *What role has philanthropy and fundraising played in the state's provision of higher education in the UK since the early 2000s and why?***

This final chapter discusses the relevance of the key findings in relation to answering the research questions presented in this thesis in 6.2-6.4. It then offers a final and concluding discussion on the role of philanthropy, fundraisers and fundraising and policy incentives in higher education since the early 2000s in section 6.5. The chapter finishes with some reflections on methodological choices in 6.6 and discusses ideas for future research following on from this study in 6.7.

## **6.2 First key finding: Policy window opened due to political, economic and ideological drivers**

The conclusion to the question of why policy intervened is reached with help of the theoretical lens by Kingdon's MSA. The answer is that the government saw philanthropy as one of the solutions to its funding problems and was trying to diversify HEIs funding income. At the same time, it was a chance to boost philanthropic giving with help of public support. However, this act, like many other policy ideas, was a short-term fix. The ideas were not further developed or well-thought through, and there was no further commitment to go beyond what was originally promised with the two policies. This study suggests that it is not sensible to attribute the entire credit for the increase in philanthropic income to the MFS, as results varied across the sector and it is difficult to prove whether the reported increase in giving was directly linked to policy

Building on work by Cairney (2018; 2016) and Jones et al. (2016), this thesis argues that understanding philanthropy through the lens of the MSA allowed the exploration of the multi-faceted factors, as concluded above, that have contributed to policy attention and the timing of it and helped to establish the reasons behind the interventions. The factors that caused the policy attention and the policy windows to open and stay open (until 2014) were related to economic, political and ideological drivers, such as diversifying funding streams, the positive influences of policy entrepreneurs and fundraisers and the timing of the Labour

government's use of higher education as a key policy tool in which philanthropy featured. One of the other key reasons for government's attention to philanthropy was the search for alternative funding streams and philanthropy was considered as such a source. The finding that philanthropic income never contributes more than 4.5% (except Oxford and Cambridge) of an institution's overall income suggests that philanthropy's role could not have been considered as an alternative source. Instead, this study argues that philanthropy is more complex than purely a monetary value and philanthropy's role will be finally concluded in section 6.4. The other sources of income such as tuition fees contribute up to 50% of the total university income (HESA, 2018b) and philanthropy is as a result often not considered as a large or vital income source by institutions. Policy makers were searching for alternative funding sources but did not at the time fully comprehend the role of philanthropy or explicitly state its vision for this income source.

The reasons were tied up with the government's general changes in higher education to make institutions less dependent on direct government funding. The policy was a pragmatic intervention that can also be linked to the new funding models for higher education that government has introduced, such as tuition fees and the student loan systems. The response was also an ideological position on whether higher education is a private good (Dill 2012; Dill 2005; Barr 2004; NCIHE 1997) or a public good (e.g. Naidoo and Williams 2014; Collini 2012; Tilak 2008; Calhoun 2006), which has also been a contributing factor for the changing role of philanthropy in higher education. This was pushed by, for example, neo-liberal driven policies to the sector and shifts in marketising higher education (e.g. Holmwood 2014 and Marginson 2013), in which the responsibility for funding was passed over to the student (e.g. Bunce, Baird and Jones 2017; Collini 2012; Marginson 2011; Collini 2010), which were implemented and consequently influenced these interventions.

The drivers of policy intervention also linked to the way policies were discussed, implemented and evaluated. This study did not just look at how the agenda was set, and philanthropy received attention, but it investigated other parts of the policy process to understand and uncover the motivations behind the attention, policies and philanthropy's role in higher education overall. In a policy process, as argued by Hill (2013), there are several stages that often do not happen linearly, and these are: agenda setting to formulation, adoption, implementation, evaluation and support and maintenance. Often, the formulation is skipped and policy is not fully considered, as the background is not understood. The evaluation is also vague as it is difficult to prove that a change was the result of the interventions. The findings of this research confirm Cairney's (2016) observations that the attention from policy and commitment to act on a particular agenda

item and issue, in this study philanthropic funding, was present during the 2000s. Despite the attention fundraisers questioned the intention of the policy process to produce a clear and well-formatted solution resulting in long-lasting benefits.

This thesis found that a policy window opened when the policy drivers were present at the point when the agenda was set in early 2000. The drivers of the resultant two policies were not followed by the formulation and implementation of a detailed solution for sustaining support for this source of funding. In addition, there has been no further commitment to increasing philanthropic funding in higher education since the MFS ended. The results of the MFS, reported in the 2014 practitioner-led HEFCE report, discussed the need to train a good fundraising workforce, with no long-term solution for the role of government in incentivising and enabling many of the less established institutions in terms of fundraising. This might be because, as Cairney (2018) asserted, policymaking often struggles to create a well-formulated solution and implementation, and policy cycles are not linear, meaning they do not follow a traditional cycle of agenda setting (Cairney 2016; Hills 2011). This aligns with Levin's (2001) conclusion, examined in chapter 1.4.2, where he argued that policies are often unclear, vague and lack action which raises questions about the boundaries between the state and society (Ball and Junemann 2012; Bevir and Rhodes 2003). At the same time, this situation is an example in which policy has not been the 'ideal-type' policymaking (Cairney, 2016), but was complex and unpredictable in actual outcomes (Clough, 2009).

It is possible that the government had more long-term plans and understanding of the value of philanthropy in higher education, although this view has never explicitly been expressed given the short-term policy attention in the 1960s and 2000s and the review of philanthropy's role in key policy documents in chapter 2. In a policy cycle's stage of supporting and maintaining outcomes, this study found short timescales for policies and a lack of ongoing commitment by government towards philanthropic funding. This resonates with other areas in which policy intervened, and there are parallels that can be drawn from this study in chapter 4 and other areas of the private, voluntary and informal sectors as the example of the voluntary sector celebrating volunteering through establishing public honours in chapter 1 section 1.4.2 suggested.

In this study the point of departure was the applicability of a key theory applied in this study; the MSA and to understand why and how philanthropic giving incentives in higher education in the UK became a feature in British policy making in the early 2000s. This research has observed and analysed the opening of a policy window for philanthropy empirically with help of Kingdon's MSA. The aim of applying the MSA as a theoretical lens was to analyse

whether the concepts of policy windows (and their different streams) could be empirically verified for the case of philanthropy in higher education over the time period 2002-2016. This study found that the theoretical concept of the MSA and its ideas of policy windows were visible in the policy process but that the window closed shortly after the second report by HEFCE in 2014.

This study showed the importance of all three streams working interdependently to make philanthropy and fundraising a topic regarded as worth the consideration and policy effort, yet the attention was not big enough to continue beyond the MFS. The MFS finished in 2011 but there was further attention being paid by HEFCE in their two commissioned reports in 2012 and 2014 (HEFCE 2014; HEFCE 2012b) that suggests the policy window remained open for a little while after the end of the scheme. While most of the literature on the MSA discusses the idea of a singular policy window, this study concludes, with help of Exworthy and Powell's (2004) idea of "small" and "big" windows, that while a larger window was open for philanthropy to be on the agenda, there were smaller windows that contributed towards the attention but they were not powerful enough to keep the big window open for long. While it was difficult to prove the details of the smaller windows empirically with the available data, this thesis nevertheless found some evidence to support this in chapter 4. The two schemes examined in this study can be regarded as two smaller windows within the attention window and are based on the findings that the policies were short-term for three years each; this helps to explain why there was no long-term change in the culture of giving and government attention. Some policies have limited convergence and therefore limited influence on a lasting policy agendas, as was the case for philanthropy in higher education where not all ideas and policy windows have led to big attention where policy change is visible or maintained. Despite the criticism of the applicability of the MSA as set out in more detail in chapter 2 in 2.3.1 and the problems with examining the three streams separately in chapter 4 in 4.5.2, the theory was a useful scaffolding for this study's examination of policy attention.

At the end of this study, the MSA framework and this area of policy theory is now left as an explanation why that government intervened to fulfil their political, economic and ideological goals and the framework with the idea of a policy window and to some extent policy entrepreneurs helped with that. The theoretical lens of the MSA gave an explanation of why policy paid attention and helped to understand that fundraisers contributed to the streams themselves in a similar way to what scholars said about policy entrepreneurs. However the MSA could not be applied to understand how policy is delivered within institutions and what the role of fundraisers were in the wider context of HEIs structures and hierarchies. As a

result, two other theories were applied and will also be reflected upon as part of this final concluding chapter.

### **6.3 Second key finding: How fundraisers executed policies: Fundraisers are Campus-Level Bureaucrats and policy actors/entrepreneurs**

Before the second research question on the role of philanthropy and fundraising can be concluded, the role of fundraisers and how they executed their roles requires some attention. In this study the fundraisers have been examined as part of the policy process in higher education and this investigation in chapter 5 gave an important insight into how they shape the role of philanthropy at their institutions. It was found that they have had a role, in a similar way to what the literature described as policy entrepreneurs, in enabling policy attention and in enabling the policy window to remain open for almost ten years. As a result, this study argues that the success of the policies is not only dependent on the right time for policy windows to open, it is also reliant on the compliance of those fundraisers to contribute to these policy window opportunities and reliant on fundraising to then apply and deliver the set policies. As a result of these findings, fundraisers were found to have contributed to the policy window and played their part in getting the topic onto the policy agenda, a role in applying the policies as that makes them policy actors and as overall campus level bureaucrats within their own institutions to deliver their and the institutions' goals. Linking the roles of fundraisers to the idea of the precariousness of their positions responding to policy at front line, their position requires a final concluding discussion in this section.

In order to arrive at the conclusion that fundraisers are internal campus level bureaucrats, who are to some extent policy entrepreneurs and actors in the policy process and to then understand the extent to which this can be applied, it was important to understand the role of fundraisers' professional status. First the role within the literature and in practice was scrutinised before the actual delivery of the policy and their role in the stakeholder process could be examined. Daly's (2013) concept of senior fundraisers as cross-boundary and unbounded professionals shed light on this and suggested that fundraisers' roles are multifaceted; fundraisers have to reach across and work outside of their own boundaries and this might also be dangerous as this study has found. The research presented in this thesis supports Daly's assertion that fundraisers' lack of professional identity and status played a key factor within their organisation and played a part in their limited role as a stakeholder. The nature of their jobs requires fundraisers to engage with key stakeholders such as individuals in academic schools and senior administrators including VCs to bring together a philanthropic vision to enable and secure funding opportunities and deliver these to a

potential donor. Fundraisers' salience is adapted but can only be applied successfully, if they are able collaborate with other key internal stakeholders such as academics and their reputation achieved through their research outputs. The finding further helped to explain the varied application of policy that was found in chapter 5 and is evident in the spectrum of fundraisers' responses from 'not actively engaged' to 'very engaged' with policy goals and the delivery of the incentives at their institutions. Yet, there are limits to crossing boundaries within the institutions for fundraisers; fundraisers are limited in their approaches due to the existing hierarchical structure of the institutions that lacks urgency. Fundraisers are also dependent on the collaboration of administration professionals and academic staff.

The idea that in the context of fundraisers adopting a similar role within their environment at a campus level can make them Campus-Level-Bureaucrats (CLBs), rather than Street-Level Bureaucrats (SLBs), also helps to answer the research question about how fundraisers execute the policies and what the role of fundraising is that fundraisers act as agents of their institutions at a campus level. The found pragmatism and discretion that fundraisers employed in their work suggested a variation in different strategies to achieve the outcome they wish for. This study has illustrated how much work and skill had to be applied by fundraisers to support fundraising goals in an institution and the constraints they faced in the institution and as part of the wider policy process. What Lipsky's theory did not capture were other important contextual factors that influenced fundraisers' behaviour and consequently the outcome of policy, the maturity of fundraising departments and current and past philanthropic income to their institutions. As philanthropic income varied and played a different role in the way the institutions were taking forward and applying philanthropy, there have been varied results of policy application. One other plausible explanation for the variation is linked to the spectrum of responses by fundraisers and how they use their discretion and pragmatism in the process as discussed in chapter 5. Also, the limited amount of discretion and power that fundraisers can apply is dependent on their institutional background, position and experience but also is influenced by the wider external landscape; the competing paradigms that underlie higher education including the economic and political pressures that Berman and Paradeise (2016) pointed out in chapter 1 such as rising costs, constricted state budgets, managerialism, rationalisation, internationalisation, marketization but also having to deliver on questions of access and widening participation (Boliver, 2017). Raising philanthropic funds is often not an institutional priority despite the benefits to the institution as found in archive data in chapter 4.2 and 4.3 and confirmed by interviewees in chapter 5.2 and 5.3. As the application and engagement with and by fundraisers varies from institution to institution, the roles of fundraisers and philanthropy also vary at institutions. O'Byrne and Bond's (2014) finding of the three underlying paradigm models (intellectual,

managerial and consumers), discussed in chapter 2.2, impacts on fundraisers as stakeholders who are trying to work with these competing models. These underlying paradigms have influenced the development of fundraisers' profession and status and shaped their application of policy where philanthropy is often less important, as the stakeholder salience model can be applied, when these competing paradigms threaten the academy and existence of institutions.

This has also put the fundraisers' position in danger- they are, as discussed in chapter 5, in danger of being put into a policy-responsive front line where they ultimately could be held responsible if, for example, requests for donations are rejected or the vision of donors and universities cannot be aligned. Fundraisers' experiences and accounts in this study suggest that they are aiming to be in the midst of what happens at the campus level, to be involved in strategic decisions or at least have input into the strategic vision of the university. This was found in the adaptation of Mitchell, Agle and Wood's (1997) model of stakeholder salience. Yet, at the same time this is a precarious position to be in. This is dangerous because fundraisers are being put in a vulnerable position because they have an externally and internally facing role to fulfil without much power to make decisions. In these roles they are accountable to the different audiences; internally accountable for progress and donations and externally accountable to the donors and their satisfaction with the institution.

While the adapted model of Mitchell, Agle and Wood's (1997) idea showed that they have limited level of salience in terms of urgency and legitimacy, the findings here also suggested that there is a limit to their power amongst the other actors in HEIs. While they are less powerful than other stakeholders, they nevertheless are expected to carry responsibility in terms of internal and external relationships for universities. When they do not have the power to make decisions, it makes it not just harder but also risky for them in terms of losing their job, if they do not perform according to set objectives. When fundraisers have less power, the work they carry out with an external audience such as donors can also become a reputational risk to the institution. A reputational risk could for example occur if the donor is not happy with what has been delivered or the donor's vision could not be realised. The front line policy response aspect of their role is therefore dangerous because they do not have the standing to make the expected decisions or alterations, if for example a donor would wish to provide funding for a specific research project or does not agree with how the university has been run. The role of professionalisation of fundraising and fundraisers' status also forms part of this as it can ultimately be seen as a means of delegating responsibility by institutions and government to a new, yet debated, group of professionals who then have to take the blame rather than being shielded against any criticisms. This might also depend on

institutions and the status that fundraisers hold within this setting. This aspect of their role has been an important exploration as part of examining the role of fundraisers in the policy process, and has suggested that this presents them with a precarious role.

Understanding the limitations and challenges that fundraisers face in their institutions and their role as CLBs is important; being aware of the fundraiser's role within the institutional process is beneficial for institutions to assess the role that fundraising, fundraisers and the overarching benefits of philanthropy can play in their institutions. It can also help institutions to place their financial plans and personnel resources in the places that it can make the most difference. It is key to the understanding of the role of philanthropy in higher education to understand the fundraisers' key contributions and limitations in this area. The findings also have an impact on the question of the role of philanthropy and fundraising activity which will be concluded in the next section.

#### **6.4 Third key finding: Philanthropy's multifaceted role**

In relation to the second research question on the role of philanthropy and the role of fundraising delivered by fundraisers in collaboration with academic colleagues, this section concludes the findings that help answering the question with help of fundraiser's views, archival material and secondary data from the Ross-CASE over 9 years. Following on from the point that fundraisers are CLBs with a limited level of power and influence whilst interpreting related policy to their institution and their own agendas, they contribute to the varied role of philanthropy at different institutions. As a result of the findings in chapter 4 and 5, this thesis can now finally conclude that philanthropy's role is multifaceted and changing; in terms of the variation at different institutions and the different forms it can take from volunteering time to providing financial support at any level whilst being exposed to the changing notion of higher education shifting to be a private rather than a public good which has impacted on the role of philanthropy as chapter 4 has drawn on.

Historically, one indicator for the different role of philanthropy at HEIs are the historic differences in the way HEIs were set up; by whom and to what purpose which the archival case studies indicated. An influential role in the way philanthropy was perceived in the early 1900s was played by the UGC as examined in some detail in chapter 4. The UGC, earlier examined as an intermediary between government and institutions, actively encouraged philanthropy throughout its tenancy and suggested that institutions diversify their funding through these means. What is often forgotten is this outlook on the role of philanthropy and that this is not a new thing, rather that philanthropy was more hidden after the government provided increasing funding from the 1960s until the 1980s and 1990s. This was linked to

two key government reports that introduced consequent shifts on the outlook of the role of higher education for society shifting from a public to a private good; namely by the aforementioned Dearing report to introduce tuition fees and then more than ten years later to increase tuition fees substantially following the recommendations by the Browne report in 2010.

When using the archival case studies as examples for the varied age groups of institutions, they also showed the difference of philanthropy at institutions in the contemporary era where philanthropic income is not consistent between examples; for instance, the proportion of philanthropic income as a percentage of overall university income ranged from 0.1% to 4.5%. This point about the disparity of philanthropic income supports the point that universities are not homogeneous and therefore must be examined individually. This is because every institution is different and varies in size, leadership and goals, as well as in their own history of philanthropy and contemporary philanthropic income and had to be analysed individually first before any wider generalisations could be attempted. There are also constraints and conditions that were found that are related to the institutional setting such as the number of staff working in offices employed to raise philanthropic funding, the commitment by senior staff and the VC to work with them and their understanding of the value of philanthropy as part of their institutional plans and future ambitions.

This thesis also explored an important factor that previous literature pointed out (Breeze et al., 2011): that institutional prestige enables universities to have an accumulative advantage over others. It could also have been expected that those institutions would have benefitted the most from the incentives offered in the two policies discussed in detail in this thesis. This study found some evidence to support the earlier findings where institutions were not equally equipped for fundraising either by resources or experience of budgets which was often related to their institution's history of engaging with philanthropy. Prestige and reputational advantages were found in those cases where fundraising and philanthropy were more prominent, but the CBS and the MFS policies that intervened in giving were not necessarily most beneficial to those institutions. It was found that there were no 'clear' winners of the policies and that those who had little experience in fundraising could use the scheme to their advantage. In some cases institutions and fundraisers were very driven to use this as an opportunity to advance the role of philanthropy at their institutions and increase the visibility of philanthropy internally and to their alumni, supporters and the community.

In terms of developments overall, this study finds that philanthropy regained more visibility after policy intervened in giving, at the same time institutions invested in actively pursuing

fundraising and as a result fundraising has started to be seen to be more professional, but the professional status of fundraisers is still emerging and debated. The 21st century has also seen the rise of professional and strategic fundraising campaigns that have become aligned to institutions' strategic priorities of supporting the good reputation of an institution and to help deliver excellence. The development of linking philanthropy to delivering institutional goals by fundraisers and institutions to goals such as excellence was an important step forward in recognising the value of philanthropy and suggesting a future and more permanent role.

The findings have also supported the assertion in this thesis that there has always been mixed funding and the degree to which philanthropy contributed has been dependent on various factors both internal (leadership, core objectives, links with community) and external (changes in the higher education environment in general, such as public funding cuts along with rising costs, internationalisation, rationalisation, access and expansion, fiscal pressures) to HEIs. Philanthropic income has nevertheless always been part of mixed funding in higher education and supported HEIs' mission to contribute to the public good. The archival research presented in this thesis underlines the point about mixed funding, so any new statements made by successive governments suggesting that mixed funding, including private donations is a new concept, are misleading and not correct

All of the above factors will not be equally important to each institution in achieving what they have set as their goals in relation to philanthropy and fundraised income. This is because of the heterogeneity of the higher education sector and the multifaceted role that philanthropy plays within their institution. The way forward is to settle for an understanding of the role of philanthropy that includes a realistic consideration of the varied roles that philanthropy has played throughout its history and of how it varies between institutions. Philanthropy is context-specific and institution-specific, and future research is required to add other layers, including the views of donors, to complete its conceptualisation. Nevertheless, institutions have begun using philanthropy as part of their overall strategies, and through their incorporation of philanthropy into their institution and day-to-day institutional and campus life, further development of the role of philanthropy is expected especially with regards to its role to support the public good, if that is indeed seen to be its role. This research suggests that there is a close alignment to the shifting idea of higher education being a private rather than a public good and the continuous role that philanthropy plays. Linking this back to the start of this thesis in section 1.2.3 and the widely used definition by Payton and Moody (2008) for philanthropy to be 'the voluntary action of the public good' (p.35) this idea can be developed in this conclusion with help of the analysed findings. The findings and related discussion in

this thesis in chapter 4 on the shifting idea of what constitutes the public and private good in higher education, impacts on the use of the definition and role of philanthropy in the UK context. Findings from this study show that overall, philanthropy has always existed as part of mixed funding and that its current contribution cannot be generalised across the whole of the UK higher education sector. In addition, comparing philanthropy's role over time shows that it has undoubtedly changed with different conceptualisations being presented by policymakers, scholars and practitioners. One of the changes observed is that its value goes beyond any monetary value and this study argues that philanthropy is more complex and multifaceted than acknowledged previously. This has provided a basis for understanding the role of philanthropy in the context of the UK higher education setting where funding is mixed, and always has been, but that the perception of the public and that of government is that students should contribute and philanthropy is supporting this. However, the contradiction exists in that research previously suggested that donors are not willing to fill public spending gaps with their donations (Breeze and Lloyd, 2013) and that fundraisers are aware that this would be a difficult task to carry out. A way for philanthropy's role in the changing higher education and financial environment is to be acknowledged as multifaceted and complex and to be helping to deliver institutions' mission in the interest of the public good. The public good means to benefit the wider community and population from discoveries and access to an educated workforce that can build a stronger and stable society. Philanthropy, as a source of funding, enables this idea, similar to Payton and Moody's (2008) original definition; this study has shown that their idea expands to higher education to create knowledge by funding these discoveries through research and providing support to students who in turn will 'give back' to society once graduated. Philanthropy and fundraising is also about the increase in long-lasting relationships and outreach to the local and international community, their alumni and anyone else who would like to be associated with higher education and a specific institution. Yet, the role of philanthropy, as examined in chapter 1 section 1.2.4 is not without its criticism and connotation of elitism and patronage that has to be taken into account and will continue to play a role.

Overall, philanthropy plays a more defined role at a range of institutions and philanthropic funding creates extras for institutions that include endowments and support professorships, scholarships, equipment and facilities, but it is not a core funding provider. In order for philanthropy to be part of institutions' long-term visions, the framework for philanthropic giving must be consistently supported over a period of time by policy and institutions. It takes institutions decades to build up a supporter base and to build trust with alumni and donors to commit to long-term relationships and secure financial commitments. Continuing incentivised schemes for HE would appear to be likely to be beneficial with long-last effects. However, the

gaps which the thesis identifies between fundraisers' disappointments alongside governments' satisfaction of earlier schemes suggest that the effects of any further such schemes, whilst likely to be welcomed broadly, are hard to predict and could have unexpected consequences.

## **6.5 Final considerations**

While the aforementioned celebrated £1 billion mark in terms of philanthropic funds raised by UK HEIs in 2016 is associated with government incentives CBS and MFS, this thesis has offered a slightly different explanation of this achievement. While it is difficult to make any causal links between policy and outcome in this specific case, this research has uncovered that there was a more complex shift taking place in which policy and fundraisers had their role that enabled the policy attention. The entire credit for the increase in philanthropic income should not be credited to two policies introduced in the first decade of the 21st century, as philanthropic income was on an upward trajectory already as shown in 4.4.1, and fundraising offices started to exist before the 2000s; these prevailing circumstances helped to shape policies and outcomes. Comparing government and fundraisers' views on the policy outcome, it seemed as if the goals and views differed greatly on the surface, but parallel can be drawn between pragmatism used by government to set up policy and by fundraisers in interpreting policy and then delivering institutional and policy goals simultaneously.

For example, fundraisers were often disappointed with policy outcomes and wanted longer incentives and they wanted control over how this could be applied at their institutions and within their institutions but at the same time they were also keen on receiving support from government and their institutions. The government, on the other hand, was satisfied with the results and disseminated this message across the sector. However, while these accounts appeared to be polar opposites, and goals for different actors looked different, both groups used similar techniques to make the outcomes as successful as possible for them. This was achieved by being pragmatic about the solution and outcomes, and in the end, both parties wanted similar outcomes from the process and achieved some of their goals; the policy interventions were one of several tools both for government and fundraisers to apply to achieve their goals and the policies benefitted all parties involved.

In summary, the direct answers to the research questions are: first, the interventions had political, economic and ideological drivers behind them that aimed to bring more attention to the role philanthropy and fundraised income can play in higher education, but they were not solutions to larger funding problems in higher education. They coincided with the shift of

responsibility for paying for education to the private student rather than the public taxpayer, but philanthropy is not a complete funding solution and no long-term policy has been put in place to sustain the success of recent increases in philanthropic income for UK HEIs. Fundraisers enabled the policy window to stay open but their role within the organisation is limited if more powerful stakeholder groups do not support them. This is because they are dependent on others and they are put into risky front line positions, but they adapt and adjust their cross-boundary roles to achieve institutional and their own goals. Second, in the current funding landscape, philanthropy's role is multifaceted and there to complement, rather than substitute, public funding by transforming ideas and values and partnerships with donors and the public. Philanthropy has individual roles at different institutions that depend on the institutional setting, experience and appetite of the fundraising office, but it also depends on the wider institution and the VC, as highlighted by interviewees and government commissioned reports by HEFCE in 2012 and 2014, with regard to how much time and effort they allocate towards philanthropy and fundraising.

## **6.6 Reflection on expectations, limitations and challenges of the research**

In every study it is important to reflect on its restrictions and limitations (Ritchie et al., 2014) including a reflection on the approach and methodological points which the next section will address.

The rapidly changing external environment may have influenced participants' responses and views. The interviews were carried out between April 2016 and May 2017 and during this time frame, higher education underwent substantial debate and questioning in the public and in policy; a Green and White Paper and consequent bill were discussed that may have influenced or changed viewpoints.

At the end of this research process and the final reflections of this thesis, the particular choice to investigate this study from an insider perspective requires some reflection. This is also linked to the shift to first person in the methodology chapter, discussed in the paragraph following this. It is still defensible and the positioning as an insider in this piece of academic research was valuable. It added value not only through shared knowledge (Brannick and Coghlan 2007; Le Gallais 2008; Le Gallais 2003), but also enabled the creation of a solid and informed framework on which this thesis was built. This included the creation of research questions, analysis and that findings can be applied to the 'real' world in the practitioner sense. This is also of great value to the emerging field of philanthropic studies in the UK and could not have been achieved with an outsider perspective. When applying insider research it is however crucial to be aware of the disadvantages of being too close to

the research and to take the necessary steps to overcome these barriers. It is recognised that this approach posed challenges as discussed in detail in chapter 3 and can be avoided by following standards of intellectual rigor (Brannick and Coghlan, 2007). Mitigation took place by clarifying and establishing meaning and knowledge of interviewees to avoid a situation where participants would make assumptions about potential common knowledge and therefore create unwanted interpretation and bias.

In chapter 3 it was deliberately chosen to shift to writing in first person to convey the thought process and careful consideration for the methods and application of these choices in this research project. Writing a methodology chapter in first person brings the research closer to the reader and makes it more accessible to follow the varied and detailed steps and processes that were followed with regards to for example access and interpretation of the data. This approach also highlights how the quality and quantity of the data was assessed, the limitations of the accessed secondary Ross-CASE survey data was dealt with and how the need to collect further data beyond the Ross-CASE survey data was advanced. At the same time there are also associated risks with such an approach and write up in the first person. For example, careful considerations had to be made about choosing such an approach and being an insider to this research so that the researcher did not end up being too close to the research; this allowed the researcher to assess the academic rigor and objectiveness required when analysing the data, as far as possible in any research project.

In terms of expectations for this research, the starting point for the investigation was to get fundraisers' views on how the two schemes were perceived and applied as this was a clear gap in the assessment of the scheme. The research value was conveyed to the interviewees in a way that this was a starting point for research including practitioner views in academic research. This study aimed to examine the policymaking process and to understand, besides the government's celebrated success of their own policies and schemes, what the stories beyond the official figures were; for a wider range of HEIs taking part in the schemes and for those who were working with the schemes in their practitioner roles. Some of the findings supported an early hypothesis that the schemes were not as successful as they had been claimed by government. The extent to which the disparity amongst HEIs' fundraising performances was apparent in this study's findings was however not expected and further examination with means of other data collection was imperative for the progression of this study.

In order to come to a conclusion on the role of philanthropy, further processes which fundraisers were involved with had to be understood and examined. It became clear that the

results needed further conceptualisation beyond an understanding with help of the MSA framework and why the policy windows opened, how these were enabled by practitioners on the ground level and then to examine the limited power they have to apply these. This developed from what was found in the data without asking specifically for fundraisers' views on these aspects as these were aspects that developed as part of the data analysis where it was found these relevant aspects would help to comprehend this complex topic further.

It was already known that fundraising received an increasing core role in higher education funding (DfES 2003; DfES 2004; Breeze et al. 2011) which this study's data supports. The findings also intertwine with what was already known from prior research such as Breeze et al. (2011) about HEIs' strategy making and governance in which philanthropy started to feature across European HEIs. There is also emerging research on fundraisers and their emerging but debated status (Breeze, 2017) and Daly's (2013) research on fundraising directors' cross-boundary approaches. The data in this study supports previous research but also in addition provides an explanation for why policy intervened in the first place. The debates whether fundraising and fundraisers in higher education are a profession and lack status has influenced their abilities within their HEIs to work across boundaries to the extent that Daly suggested can be limited.

The three methods, interviews, descriptive statistics and secondary data analysis from archival records formed the triangle of methods. The limitations of these three methods were discussed in chapter 3 in more detail, but in relation to my use of these methods, it is important to note here that more interviews or case studies would have given a broader picture of the topic under study. However, since these three methods were necessary to uncover a range of aspects of the role of philanthropy and fundraising in higher education, a larger number of interviews or cases were not possible due to time and research constraints. Four archival cases do not give a picture of the full sector's performance and response to policy and cannot claim to be typical of a particular age group of when HEIs were established. The challenge was to select case studies that would be a 'symbolic representation' of existing age groups, but are not supposed to be typical to any group. The purpose was to collect data for some institutions that can help understanding the examined diverse sector and to achieve a level of generalisation and to be able to categorise the cases within the overarching conceptual framework of this thesis (Lewis et al., 2014). The case studies were going to be 'test-beds for concepts and theories' (Denscombe 2007, p.152), The selection by age group was a way of selecting a sample that was also previously applied in an analysis in the 2012 commissioned HEFCE report. This study suggests that within one age band results differ which was also found in the Ross-CASE data analysis and

suggests that in future studies further cases could be selected to make points about any similarities.

The caveat about generalising performance and results also applies to the interviews where a range of approaches and practices were found. Although these methods and the data did not attempt to provide a statement about all institutions from the archival case study data or all senior fundraisers from the higher education sectors, they nevertheless provided some first insights that other studies can build on and allowed this study to explore the required aspects from different angles.

Another limitation to this study is related to anonymising case study data. The case studies had to be anonymised in order to safeguard the anonymity of the interview participants which limits this study because it was not possible to properly cross-reference data, for example to note where an interviewee worked at an HEI included as a case study, and therefore limits my ability to tell a comprehensive and varied story. Anonymisation also limited the amount of data that could be used to avoid the cases being recognised, for example for the New University specific examples of their philanthropic gifts or some key facts about the fundraising office could not be used. This could have been linked to the interviewee and as a result disclosed the identity of the fundraiser and the institution. However, in line with the ethical process to data collection, to protect the interest of interviewees, it was important to anonymise the data to this extent.

In terms of the interviews, a limitation was that only fundraising professionals, fundraisers and experts, were interviewed. This was the case due to scope, time and access to interviewees. As set out in chapter 3, the interview process had to be carefully planned and executed and 15 interviews were representative for the sample of HEIs used and studied in the Ross-CASE sample in this study. If other actors were included, this would have involved a much larger interview sample to include representative sample groups. This would have exceeded the time and scope of this study focussing on fundraising and fundraisers to investigate the role of incentives and philanthropy in this study. With regards to access, interviewing an obvious policy actor, policy makers, it was decided to use statements and reports where broader statements were made by government. As a result of this methodological choice, no broader statements can be made about other policy actors.

A further limitation to this study is that no further or higher education colleges, that fall under the term HEIs, were included in the case studies. This study has throughout referred to HEIs and set out in chapter 1 (section 1.1) the sector's diversity and has included income from

higher education colleges that are not universities but were not reviewed in the archive case studies. The higher education colleges were included in the statistical analysis because they are part of the higher education landscape and were also affected by the changes to philanthropic giving and were able to take part in the government schemes CBS and MFS. A limitation of this thesis is not to include the higher education colleges in the case study sample; which was decided because they are raising notably smaller sums than the main case examples ( as identified through Ross-CASE data); and further future research with this group would be warranted.

A final challenge was to manage the large data sets from all three sources. The archival records used in this research were selected based on the core ideas and findings, but there was a vast amount of irrelevant data that had to be reviewed to establish the relevant data and one pilot study was carried out that was not used in the study. The interviews, which typically lasted up to one hour, generated about 20 pages of transcript per interview. A substantial amount of data required processing as discussed in chapter 3.4.3 to determine what was relevant and what was not. For example, I had data that related to what motivates donors to give and how donors to HEIs may differ from other sectors and while these points are interesting, they were not relevant to answering my research questions. There was also unexpected data that told me something new about the role of fundraisers in the policy process and strategies of how fundraisers dealt with the policies. I systemically reduced the available amount of data to what was really needed to answer the research questions, using the theoretical framework to guide the selection.

## **6.7 Future research directions**

This study has operationalised philanthropy as part of the changing British higher education funding landscape and investigated its role in it. The focus on this area was chosen because the studies on philanthropic funding in the changing higher education climate are sparse. It is important to study philanthropy further so that institutions can educate themselves, and also so that wider society can better understand the contributions of philanthropy. Linked to this development is the need for more income for HEIs at a time of reduced government funding and pressures not to raise student fees. The two most recent policy reports by HEFCE (2014; 2012) drew attention to the fact that despite the growing need for philanthropic support, institutions may not want to risk committing to the necessary investment to build a better infrastructure for fundraisers and teams to enable the growth, especially in the current economic climate. The findings of this thesis support the point made in the 2012 HEFCE report that 'fundraising is a long-term game that cannot be turned on and off without losing

the support of donors. Universities must hold their nerve and continue to improve' (HEFCE 2012, p.2). Institutions can only improve their fundraising practices if they are aware of the philanthropic landscape and the limitations to such an approach are linked to the changing idea of higher education as a private good. The findings also have implications for theorising the role of philanthropy and practice that go beyond the UK and beyond this research's remit. The shift by governments to cut funding to higher education and to move the idea of higher education from a public to a private good are internationally observed phenomena which have implications for the role of philanthropy worldwide. Furthermore, philanthropy needs to be studied in past and present contexts (as Pellew and Goldman (2018) demonstrated) and across disciplines to understand its value and role in the policymaking process. This study has begun to examine this, and some findings could guide future research to further explore philanthropy and fundraising in higher education policy and understand how policy can support philanthropy nationally and at the institutional level to maximise its potential for policy, practitioners and academia, if the challenges and limitations to for example fundraisers' role are known and understood. As a result, further studies would benefit from studying the internal role of fundraisers, how their salience is further adapted and how this may differ in different sectors such as the arts or health where similar capacity or match funding schemes were introduced previously.<sup>78</sup>

It would also be important to develop an understanding of their role in their institutional setting. Studies have often disregarded context and structures in which fundraisers' practices are embedded and as a result, there is little recognition of the partnerships that are needed between fundraisers, service staff and institutional leadership to implement successful fundraising strategies which this study started to draw out. Future research could therefore focus on the ways fundraisers, in different organisational settings, work and what roles they take on. Complementing this, further research on how the relationship with donors is often more important than policy goals is needed and it is important to further understand how this can shape the varying priorities of different stakeholders in the process. The influence of fundraisers on the policy process, as underlined in this research, emerged through the interviews with senior fundraising professionals. Future research could follow up on fundraisers' perceptions of their role in the policy process to further understand how their approach and goals compare to institutional and policy goals.

The fundraiser's perspective was the sole focus of the interviews and more close examination into other stakeholders, such as donors could be insightful. Future research

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<sup>78</sup> For example, the Catalyst fund that was implemented by the Arts Council England for the UK arts sector from 2012-2018.

could further explore the donor relationship with institutions and interrogate the relationship between fundraisers, donors and institutions that may affect the development of philanthropy.

The preliminary questions surrounding policy making and attention needed to be addressed first combined with an examination of the role of philanthropy and fundraising and fundraisers, before further ideas such as network theory can be explored building on these findings. However, the examples in this study where fundraisers were working outside of hierarchical structures and across boundaries is an important aspect that indicates that this theory can be a useful framework in future work. Social network theory, reviewed in chapter 2, could be included as an additional lens to examine connections across the stakeholders. It could be used in conjunction with Whitchurch's (2008) ideas of networks in professional services in higher education and linked to research by Warren and Bell (2014). This study has contributed towards increasing the knowledge of the stakeholder fundraiser in this thesis which would give further studies a good starting point to then employ the network theory fully to explore the other stakeholders further. In addition to the policy network theory assessment, other social policy theories were explored in chapter 2 that could have aided the theoretical framework and examination in this study. There are several theories that were explored, for example the Punctuated Equilibrium Theory (PET) and the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) that have been found not as applicable to this study's angle and purpose. Future research should first incorporate studies that enable a critical engagement with the idea of philanthropy in the study area's own context and then should focus on embedding philanthropy in social policy theory studies to make valuable contributions to policymakers, practitioners and the academic field.

In summary: this thesis provides further evidence that philanthropy is as old as higher education and therefore requires a more settled and established place in academic studies. Academic research can complement practitioner work (and vice versa), and academic studies in social policy can provide solid theoretical models and processes to investigate the topic of philanthropy. The aim of situating this research within a tradition of social policy scholarship is to suggest a closer alliance of the goals of practice and policy. Philanthropy is one area that has benefitted from policy attention in the 2000s and it has been shown that it is reliant on implementation by key actors, both internally and externally, to help institutions to continue their journey in ensuring financial sustainability in a highly pressurised higher education sector.

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1 - Timeline of key policies and reports in higher education

This includes relevant reports mentioning philanthropic giving in higher education since the 1960s

- 1963 Robbins Report
- 1990 Gift Aid introduced as part of Finance Act
- 1992 Further and Higher Education Act
- 1997 National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education (Dearing Report)
- 2000 Review of Gift Aid and Payroll Scheme
- 2003 White Paper 'The Future of Higher Education'
- 2004 Task Force Report 'Increasing Voluntary Giving to Higher Education'
- 2004 Higher Education Act
- 2006-2009 Universities UK-administered fundraising Capacity Building Scheme
- 2008-2011 HEFCE administered Matched Funding Scheme
- 2010 Browne Review
- 2010 (Dec) House of Lords debate on 'Philanthropy'
- 2010 The Giving Green Paper
- 2011 White Paper 'Students at the heart of the system'
- 2011 Giving White Paper
- 2012 HEFCE Review of Philanthropy
- 2012 Introduction of tuition fees up to £9,000
- 2014 HEFCE commissioned report: 'An emerging profession: The higher education philanthropy workforce'
- 2016 White Paper 'Higher education: success as a knowledge economy'
- Spring 2018 Prime Minister announces tuition fee review

## Appendix 2 - Research Ethics Committee Application form



### Research Ethics Committee (REC) Application Form

Please complete this Ethics Application form in conjunction with your supervisor.

The supervisor must email the completed copy of the Application form, Consent form, Information Sheet and Research Instrument to:

*c.e.smith@kent.ac.uk*

**Name of Applicant:** Simone Kraemer

**Name of your Degree:** (c.g.PG/UG degree title) Doctoral Researcher

**Campus:** Canterbury

**Name of Supervisor:** Dr Derek Kirton, Dr Kate Bradley, Dr Beth Breeze

**Title of Project:**

'To what extent can public policy affect private giving; the case of UK higher education in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.'

**Please provide a brief jargon free background to the project in no more than 150 words:**

The changing economic environment in the higher education sector has led to greater interest in the role of philanthropy by both university leaders and the UK government. As a consequence of the minimal attention, academic studies in the field are almost absent. Therefore, this study proposes to address some of the existing gaps by proposing to combine the analysis of practical literature and survey results with that of an academic study, including secondary document analysis, interviews and quantitative survey analysis, in the field of Social Policy. It is the interviews that are focus of this application.

My research questions are:

1. What form of public policy intervention has taken place with philanthropy in the higher education sector in the UK over the last ten years (since 2005) and how successful has that been?
2. What role has philanthropy played in the state's provision of higher education?

**Research Methods:**

**A) Selection & number of interviewees/participants:**

Participants have been selected based on their knowledge and involvement with philanthropy in higher education over the past 15 years. 10-15 interviews are planned.

**B) How will your project comply with the Data Protection Act? I.e. how much personal data do you plan to collect from respondents? How will you ensure that data is kept securely? Do you plan to destroy data after the project is completed?**

The data will be stored securely on a University of Kent computer which will be password protected and not be saved on a USB pen which could be easily lost. If a mobile phone device is used for recording interview conversations, I have to ensure it is in good order and that it has all the latest and all necessary critical security updates installed. As there are some identified risk

when using a mobile device for storing data, such as confidentiality – disclosure to anyone not authorised to access the data, integrity – corruption of data by, for example, unauthorised malicious or accidental changes and availability – making data unavailable for its intended use. I will mitigate those risks by having the device password protected. I will also transfer the data to the computer software NVivo as soon as possible after the interview took place. The record on the mobile device will then be fully deleted. For the time the data is stored on the mobile device, the data will be encrypted.

When storing data on a computer, I have to ensure that I am using an appropriate anti-virus with up-to-date virus definitions (where appropriate) where scans are scheduled regularly and use the save network connection at the University of Kent.

One other issue is that it is difficult to anonymise individuals that have a high profile and so anonymisation will need to be at the level of institution. I am not collecting any personal data such as name and will code their participation in an anonymised way e.g. (xx01x; xx02x etc) unless they volunteer that information. The first interview question is therefore not asking 'What is your exact role or position' but 'Tell me about your role and involvement in higher education fundraising'. This should give participants the opportunity to say as little or as much as they want to volunteer. In the analysis everyone will be referred to as 'development professional' or similar and participants will not be distinguished between a Vice-Chancellor, Academic, Development Director or other. The data will be destroyed after the project is finished unless further research results from the initial work at a later stage during the thesis project. In this case the data will be stored safely within the University of Kent.

**C) Anticipated start date & duration of data collection:**

May 2016-April 2017

**D) Details of payment, if any, to interviewees/participants?**

No payments will be made other than reimbursing their travel costs where applicable.

**E) Source of funding (if any):**

No source of funding.

**F) List questionnaire and other techniques to be used: *N.B do not forget to attach these to your application***

The survey is attached. This thesis adopts a mixed method research strategy which consists of analysing data from an annual philanthropic survey together with secondary document analysis such as archive material and interviews.

**Ethical Considerations:**

**A) Indicate potential risks to participants (e.g. distress, embarrassment) and means adopted to safeguard against them:**

Many of the proposed participants are very senior and well-known professionals within higher education and I will ensure that their responses are kept confidential at all times. The topic and purpose of the research will be shared at the time they agree to the interview and the questions will be formed in a sensitive and professional manner to minimise the risk of distress or embarrassment. The interviewee will also have the opportunity not to answer a question or withdraw until the end of 2016 and this will be made clear by me as the researcher.

An important issue here may be potential reputational damage if confidentiality is not maintained and so every appropriate step to secure the data collected as mentioned will be taken.

It should also be considered that the participants are very busy individuals and so their time is precious. This will require the researcher to be flexible enough to schedule an appointment at a time that is convenient for them and also be efficient in conducting the interviews so as not to take up more time than is necessary.

**B) What confidentiality issues might arise during data collection, analysis, and dissemination of results? How do you plan to protect participants' anonymity?**

During data collection and storing of the data I need to ensure that the recordings of the interview are kept safe and recordings are password protected if for example I use a recording device such as a phone. The steps to secure the data recorded have been discussed under B) on page 2 including encryption of phone and having latest security updates installed.

Confidentiality issues may also arise in conjunction with the risks associated when interviewing high profile professionals and its following analysis. If I publish direct quotations this data needs to be kept confidential. For example, I can maintain anonymity by coding individuals so I do not store their data under their names but under a number instead. This would ensure confidentiality, and if a recording was to be lost then would make it more difficult to identify the individual.

The participants' role and involvement, as asked in question 1 of the interview questions (please see attached interview questions), may be used within the findings and analysis section of the thesis. However, the institutions the participants work for or are associated with are anonymised in the research and so there may not be a problem in naming people by position e.g. by saying a former 'Vice-Chancellor of the Russell Group universities', but this will have to be judged on a case by case basis whether they could be identified. If for example using the level of professional level 'former Vice-Chancellor' when discussing 1960s universities, as the sample is much smaller than comparing this to a 'former Vice-Chancellor' of a Russell Group university, there could be a higher risk of the individual being identified. It is unlikely to risk identification when naming people by position.

I can also protect participants' anonymity by making clear at the beginning of the interview as to how data will be used and that information will not be reported in ways that identify the individual. There will also be a further potential safeguard of actually checking quotes. Checking quotes is especially relevant if quotes might seem contentious or otherwise problematic. (This is also discussed in Section C)

**C) What difficulties might arise (e.g. regarding power and/or dependency imbalances between researcher and participants) and how do you safeguard against them?**

The participants that are interviewed are all at a more senior level than to my working level. I am however in my work as a fundraising practitioner at the Development Office exposed to working with senior colleagues on a regular basis and have been able to manage those relationships accordingly. I will safeguard the relationship regarding power and/or dependency imbalances by a clear introduction of my role and responsibility in the process and will treat the interviewee with high respect and appreciation for giving up their time and being willing to contribute to my research project.

**D) How will the project take into consideration cultural diversity (e.g. through provision of interpreters where necessary)?**

My background is non-British and I am aware, having worked and lived in the UK for eleven years, that there are remaining differences that can be overcome by being aware of the potential differences and sensitivities and clarifying any answers that may not be clear.

All participants are professionals working at a high level in the UK and I therefore anticipate that

<p>their standard of English will be very good and none of them will require interpreters.</p>
<p>E) <b>Why, if at all, are you paying participants? What is the potential impact on them of such financial inducement?</b>          No participant will be paid. Participation is based on voluntary basis only.</p>
<p>F) <b>What provision are you making for giving feedback to participants about your findings?</b>          I will keep the participants up to date with the research progress and will share my final findings with them should they wish.</p>
<p>G) <b>What other ethics review procedures has this project already undergone (e.g. with funding bodies)?</b>          None</p>

<p><b>Consent:</b></p> <p>A) <b>What procedures are you using to secure participants' informed consent (please append any forms etc. use for this)?</b>          I will distribute the attached consent form and provide an information sheet detailing my research projects and answer other related questions.</p> <p>I will also provide a verbal explanation of the research before I ask participants to sign the consent form. Also, as stated earlier in the form, I will provide the participants with the option to withdraw from the interview until the end of 2016 without giving a reason.</p> <p>Ways to support this would be to check as I go along that information they are giving me is 'on the record' and if I feel that they may have momentarily forgotten that they are being recorded and may have said something that they may later regret.</p> <p>I could also double-check the transcript with them to make sure they are happy for me to use the data, but of course I will not be able to do this if I have already anonymised the participants with codes.</p>
<p>B) <b>What procedures will you use with participants unable to give their own informed consent?</b>          Due to the nature of the participants (high-level professionals) I do not anticipate that any will be unable to provide their own consent. People will only be interviewed if they can give their own informed consent.</p>
<p>C) <b>Explain, where applicable, why the informed consent of the participants is not being sought?</b>          This will not be applicable.</p>

**Security Sensitive Material**

Does your research involve access to or use of material covered by the Terrorism Act?

No (please delete as appropriate)

*(The Terrorism Act (2006) outlaws the dissemination of records, statements and other documents that can be interpreted as promoting and endorsing terrorist acts. By answering 'yes' you are registering your legitimate use of this material with the Research Ethics Advisory Group. In the*

event of a police investigation, this registration will help you to demonstrate that your use of this material is legitimate and lawful).

Researcher, please sign, print name and date to testify the accuracy of this completed application:

Sign: 

Print Name: Simon Roemer

Date: 30/03/2016

Supervisor, please sign, print name a date to testify that you have seen and approve this Research Ethics Application:

Sign: 

Print Name: DR. BETH BREEZE

Date: 30-3-16

Please submit your application including your questionnaire and consent form via email to:

[c.e.smith@kent.ac.uk](mailto:c.e.smith@kent.ac.uk)

Claire Smith  
SSPSSR Ethics Administrator  
Cornwallis East  
University of Kent  
Canterbury  
Kent  
CT2 7NF

## Appendix 3 - Interview questions

### **PARTICIPANT INTERVIEW QUESTIONS**

- 1) Can you tell me what your role and involvement within higher education fundraising past and present is?
- 2) How would you describe the role of philanthropy at your institution (or any other you worked at during the time) before 2008, during the HEFCE Match Funding scheme from 2008-11 and since 2012?
- 3) Tell me about how your institution responded to the opportunity of the UUK administered Capacity Building Scheme and HEFCE Match Funding Scheme?
- 4) In your opinion, how effective was the HEFCE Match Funding Scheme for building fundraising at your institution?
- 5) Were there any differences in your view how effective the HEFCE Match Funding Scheme was at different institutions?
- 6) More generally, what is in your view the impact of government policies on giving to higher education such as the UUK administered Capacity Building Scheme, the HEFCE Match Funding Scheme, the gift aid scheme and tax incentives? (Can you give any examples or refer your view to a particular policy that you found significant?)
- 7) Why do you think the government actively intervened into private giving to higher education in the 2000s? Was there in your view an underlying agenda and if so, what was that agenda?
- 8) What would you say should the government's role in supporting philanthropy be? How does this differ to what the role currently is?
- 9) Would you agree with the statement that philanthropy was once seen to be 'complimentary' to higher education funding and is today seen as a 'substitute' to decreasing government funding and why?
- 10) How has the role of philanthropy in providing higher education changed in your view over the last few years?
- 11) If there is a changing role, is there a problem with a changing idea of philanthropy?

12) Will in your opinion the Brexit have an impact on philanthropy in higher education and the government's role within? If so, how?

13) Finally, I would like to share my current working title for my PhD research project with you:

***'Public policy and charitable giving; the case of UK higher education in the 21<sup>st</sup> century'***

In light of this quote, is there anything else that you would like to add?

Thank you very much for your time and participation.

Simone Kraemer

#### Appendix 4 - Example of enquiry about archival material, sent to archivists

Dear X,

I am a PhD researcher at the University of Kent, and my PhD thesis is concerned with public policymaking and private giving in higher education in the UK over the past fifteen years. I'm currently investigating universities' responses to policy changes in higher education over time, particularly from 2000 onward but also during the founding years of universities and the 1980s. I would be very keen to visit your university archive, if that would be at all possible and you have relevant documents publicly available.

Is there somebody in your team I could speak to about what sort of documents I would be looking for, what your procedures and protocols are for accessing and visiting your archive, and what would be a realistic time frame? I am aware that the scope could be quite extensive, as the list shows below, but I would like to work with you, depending on what is available to narrow down the searches. I am also aware that many documents of the 2000s may not be catalogued yet, which can be tricky.

The types of documents that I have accessed in other archives included those listed below, but this list is not exhaustive and names may vary in your institution:

- Minutes of the Council
- Annual reports
- Annual accounts or financial statements, finance committee notes
- Senate notes or similar
- Any alumni magazines that discuss fundraising
- Any other documents or publications that discuss fundraising and policy changes to higher education

The things I am looking for:

- Who were founders and funders of the university? Are there any papers and documents around the time your institution was created, and in particular, are there any mentions of philanthropic donations and fundraising appeals?
- University responses to the government's match funding scheme (2008-2011) and comments on the university's participation. I assume this would have been discussed in relevant council or similar meeting notes in 2006 or 2007 and after the scheme finished in 2011?
- How has the university responded to government policies, particularly in the 1960s, in the 1980s, and from 2000 onward? (For example: 2003 White Paper 'The Future of Higher Education', Higher Education Act 2004, Match Funding Scheme 2008-2011, 2011 White Paper 'Students at the Heart of the System') Do you have any related responses or discussions?

- Any documents that discuss policy and funding changes to higher education and the university in the 1980s and 2000s (e.g. in an annual report or similar)
- Any documents that discuss fundraising/philanthropy in the early days or show records of fundraising income and then in more detail, anything about fundraising from ca 1980s to today.
- Financial information on university performance and fundraising, including reports on endowment figures

Would you be able to help me with this enquiry?

If it is easier to discuss this over the phone, please let me know a contact and number to call.

With best wishes,  
Simone Kraemer

PhD Researcher  
Centre for Philanthropy  
University of Kent  
Canterbury  
CT2 7NZ

## Appendix 5 - Research protocol for archive research

### Case studies protocol

#### **1. Background**

There is a small amount of literature on the relevance of historical philanthropic funding (Whyte 2015; Pellew 2014, 2013; Cannadine and Pellew 2008), but not a great deal is known about how public policy impacts philanthropy, philanthropy's role in the policy process, or philanthropy in the provision of funding for higher education.

#### ***Research Question 1:***

***What drove public policy interventions to promote philanthropy in the higher education sector in the UK since early 2000s and why?***

***The following sub-questions will also be examined as part of this question.***

- *What are those policies and what role have they played? Examine how the government intervened in charitable giving in higher education.*
- *How have the interventions been perceived by practitioners?*
- *What role has the government taken before, during, and after the interventions?*

The sub-questions explore what the interventions looked like and how they were perceived by practitioners, given that they generally have been celebrated by the government (HEFCE, 2012; HEFCE 2014).

#### ***Research Question 2***

The second main area to cover in this research is the role of philanthropy. There has been a limited number of studies on the different actors involved with philanthropy in the policy process, especially the government, leading to the question of the role of philanthropy in the provision of higher education. While philanthropy in higher education is as old as its institutions (Pellew 2014; Proper 2009), the role of philanthropy is understudied. The second research question will therefore focus on the role philanthropy has played in the state's provision of (funding) higher education. In uncovering the complexity and distinctiveness of philanthropy's role, a set of sub-questions covers how universities have responded to policy changes and how the role of philanthropy may have differed at institutions.

***What role has philanthropy played in the state's provision of (funding) higher education and why?***

***The sub-questions to be examined are:***

- How have HEIs responded to policy changes regarding philanthropic income?
- Examine how philanthropy's role has been perceived by different actors
- Examine what role philanthropy has played in the agenda setting for higher education before and since 2000

**2. Data**

**2.1 Identification of cases - selection criteria for suitable institutions**

- Participation in MFS and CBS (and therefore some involvement and experience in fundraising activity that resulted in philanthropic income)
- Geographical spread
- Accessible archive
- Access to practitioner at the same institution

**The final selection included:**

- A 19<sup>th</sup> century university and an associated college that also has university status
- A 20<sup>th</sup> century university
- A 1960s university
- A post-1992 university

**Data to be collected from the following sources:**

- Minutes of the Council
- Annual reports
- Annual accounts or financial statements, finance committee notes
- Senate notes or similar
- Any alumni magazines that discuss fundraising
- Any other documents or publications that discuss fundraising and policy changes to higher education

The things I am looking for:

- Who were founders and funders of the University? Any papers and documents around the time when your institution was created and in particular if there is any mention about philanthropic donations and fundraising appeals?
- University responses to the government's match funding scheme (2008-2011) and comments on its participation. Assuming this would have been discussed in relevant council or similar meeting notes in 2006 or 2007 and after the scheme finished in 2011?

- How has the university responded to government policies in particular in 1960s, 1980s and from 2000 onwards. (For example 2003 White paper the Future of Higher Education, Higher Education Act 2004, Match Funding Scheme 2008-2011, 2011 White Paper Students at the Heart of the System)- have you got any related responses or discussions?
- Any documents that discuss policy and funding changes to higher education and the university in 1980s and 2000s (e.g. in an annual report or similar)
- Any documents that discuss fundraising/philanthropy in early days or show records of fundraising income and then in more detail anything about fundraising from ca 1980s through to today.
- Financial information on university performance and fundraising including reports on endowment figures
- Who were founders and funders of the university? Are there any papers and documents around the time your institution was created, and in particular, are there any mentions of philanthropic donations and fundraising appeals?
- University responses to the government's match funding scheme (2008-2011) and comments on the university's participation. I assume this would have been discussed in relevant council or similar meeting notes in 2006 or 2007 and after the scheme finished in 2011?
- How has the university responded to government policies, particularly in the 1960s, in the 1980s, and from 2000 onward? (For example: 2003 White Paper 'The Future of Higher Education', Higher Education Act 2004, Match Funding Scheme 2008-2011, 2011 White Paper 'Students at the Heart of the System') Do you have any related responses or discussions?
- Any documents that discuss policy and funding changes to higher education and the university in the 1980s and 2000s (e.g. in an annual report or similar)
- Any documents that discuss fundraising/philanthropy in the early days or show records of fundraising income and then in more detail, anything about fundraising from ca 1980s to today.
- Any financial information on university performance and fundraising, including reports on endowment figures

## **2.2 Data collection plan**

- Send questions listed above in advance
- Work with archivist on exhausting lists and data available
- Evaluate materials presented based on their relevance
- Take pictures and notes with laptop when appropriate to save time
- Ask for further information and data as necessary
- Make links between data and evaluate for use

### **Founders and funders**

- Who were founders and funders of the university?

- How was the university founded at the particular institution?
- How was the funding goal achieved? Which methods were used?

#### Role of philanthropy

- What has been the role of philanthropy at this university?
- Has the role of philanthropy changed over time at this university?
- Is philanthropy a substitute, alternative, or addition?

#### Philanthropy incl. appeals and donations

- What has the university recorded regarding philanthropy in the past two decades?
- Is philanthropy celebrated in public documents?
- Is there one Development Office that fundraises for everything?
- What does the university's marketing material look like? Have annual reviews changed to become marketing tools?

#### Public policy

- Is there any evidence of the university's response to public policy and its changes at particular times?
- Were there any significant reactions and changes in the university in 1992 when the polytechnics joined the university system?
  - What is/was the policy response? How has the university responded to government changes in funding in the 1960s, 1980s, 1990s, and then 2000s?
  - What was the university's general financial situation?

#### Public policy/government and philanthropy

- Have there been any records of government incentives for giving?
- Has there been any evidence of responses to match funding?
- Where has funding come from over the years?
- Where is the funding going to?
- Did the match funding scheme simply change the timing of some (or even most) donors' gifts – i.e. time pressure to give while match available, but no actual increase in lifetime giving to HEI?
- Is the capacity building scheme from 2006-2009 or any long-term benefits mentioned?

#### Other

- What is the availability of documents? (quality and quantity)

### **2.3 Storage of data**

The data is securely stored on the university computer, which is password-protected.

### **3. Evaluation of data and reduction of data**

Throughout the data collection, a thorough evaluation of the data's relevance is undertaken at each archive. Once the notes are written up, they are then coded and then written as a case study. Further data evaluation will have taken place throughout this process.

### **4. Data coding and analysis**

- a) Criteria - The criteria for interpreting case study findings include relevance of the findings to the research questions to illuminate the role of philanthropy at the different institutions and in general.
- b) Analysis - The analysis will take place as the case study work progresses and interviews are held. It is an intertwined process of merging data and coding sets.
- c) Plan - Most of the data from the archival data assists with the second research question on the role of philanthropy. The data elements are combined to answer the question.

Three waves of coding follow.

- 1) The data was analysed with the help of the established key themes that were found. The first wave of coding established main areas in each of the case studies, but these were not yet linked across the other case studies and compared.
  - 2) A second wave of coding helped establish some first links across the data, and the coding was narrowed down to fewer categories using the case studies. This wave produced a table instead of continuing in Nvivo.
  - 3) The final wave of coding established the final coding system in which the responses of universities to, for example, public policy were compared.
- d) Alternative explanations of results, as suggested by Yin's best practice case study analysis, were found. For example, it appeared that philanthropy had not played as important of a role at some institutions than it did at others. However, this was not easily proven, as some institutions did not have (or keep) records that could prove or disprove the important role of philanthropy. My conclusion was that I could not make any

judgements of the importance of philanthropy at an institution based on the volume of information available.

I also wrote up each case study and then compared them to each other, made links, and drew out commonalities and differences, especially differences that may be related to the age of the institutions.

## **5. Study limitations**

The study limitations are related to the ability to generalise all results from four mini-case studies to a wider phenomenon. Still, this study will help support theoretical assumptions and provide evidence on what different age groups look like and how they may differ.

## Appendix 6 - Consent form



### CONSENT FORM

Title of project: 'Public policy and charitable giving; the case of UK higher education in the 21st century'

Name of investigator: Simone Kraemer

Participant Identification Number for this project: XXX

Please initial box

1. I confirm I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason until the end of 2016. (Contact Simone Kraemer: [s.i.kraemer@kent.ac.uk](mailto:s.i.kraemer@kent.ac.uk))

3. I understand that my responses will be anonymised before analysis and that anonymised quotes will be used in the resulting thesis and in any publications based on this study. (You may withdraw any time until June 2017.)

4. I agree that any information which I give will be used for the purposes of this research project or any other related project that might re-use the data, which may include publications or academic conferences, journal publications or seminar presentations including practitioner conferences. The data will be anonymised before any potential re-use.

5. I agree to take part in the above research project.

6. I agree to have my interview recorded.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name of participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name of person taking consent  
(if different from lead researcher)

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*

\_\_\_\_\_  
Lead researcher

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

## Appendix 7 - Participant information sheet

### **Research Project: 'Public policy and charitable giving; the case of UK higher education in the 21st century'**

#### **What is the research about?**

The changing economic environment in the higher education sector has led to greater interest in the role of philanthropy from both university leaders and the UK government. However, the extent to which public policy can affect philanthropy, in what ways it can do so, and with what success has not been studied extensively. This study aims to fill this gap.

As this study examines the impact of UK government policymaking and philanthropy in higher education over the past 15 years, you have been approached as a prospective participant because of your role, knowledge and involvement in higher education and philanthropy during this period of time.

Potential benefits resulting from this study relate to the use of the findings for the wider research and practitioner community. I hope that my findings will be accessible and useful for practitioners, as well as advance knowledge within the embryonic academic field of philanthropy.

#### **Who is organising and funding this study?**

The research is organised by Simone Kraemer, a doctoral researcher at the University of Kent based at the Centre for Philanthropy at the University of Kent. Simone is also a fundraising practitioner within the Development Office at the University of Kent.

This research project is supervised by Dr Beth Breeze, Director Centre for Philanthropy, and Dr Kate Bradley, Senior Lecturer in History and Social Policy.

For further information about the research and interview data, please contact: Simone Kraemer, Postal address: Centre for Philanthropy, School of Social Policy, Sociology and Social Research, University of Kent, Canterbury, CT2 7NZ; Telephone: 00 44 (0) 7783985634; Email: sk484@kent.ac.uk.

The study is funded by the University of Kent's Staff Development Scheme, the Kent Development Office, and private sources.

### **What would participation involve?**

Participation in this study is voluntary, and you can withdraw until the end of 2016. If you agree to participate, we will meet at a location and time convenient for you. With your permission, the interview will be audio-recorded to enable transcription afterwards. The estimated time commitment is 1-1.5 hours and will involve answering questions concerning the government's role in providing higher education and the role philanthropy has played. A list of the questions I hope to cover is available in advance upon request.

### **Has this project been approved by the Ethical Committee at the University of Kent?**

The Ethical Committee within the School of Social Policy, Sociology and Social Research at the University of Kent approved this research project in April 2016.

### **How will my information be kept confidential and is it anonymous?**

The study will fully comply with the Data Protection Act 1998, which established a framework of rights and duties designed to safeguard personal data. This means that the data will be processed fairly and lawfully, is only obtained for the specified purpose, processed with the subject's rights, and held securely and not kept for longer than necessary. I will handle your personal data only in ways you would reasonably expect, and I will not do anything unlawful with the data. The access is restricted to the doctoral researcher Simone Kraemer and her supervision team. The findings will be presented at conferences and in publications.

Confidentiality is ensured by the interview recordings being password-protected and encrypted and then deleted from the recording device once they are stored on a University computer. If you request, you will be supplied with a copy of your interview transcript so that you can comment on and edit it as you see fit (please give your email details below so that I can contact you at a later date). If I publish direct quotations, the source will be anonymised. I will ensure your anonymity is maintained by coding research participants with a number rather than storing data under a given name.

### **What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?**

The topic and purpose of the research will be made clear before the interview begins, and the questions will be asked in a professional manner to minimise the risk of distress or embarrassment. You are free to refuse to answer any question and to withdraw at any point. I am very aware that your time is precious and will be flexible in scheduling the interview at a time that is convenient for you. I will also be efficient in conducting the interview so as not to take up more time than is necessary.

**Can I find out about the findings?**

Findings will be available from the researcher if you wish to receive them. Please provide your contact details, if you would like a copy of the findings in due course.

**Thank you very much for reading the information sheet and for considering taking part in the project. Your time is much appreciated.**

Simone Kraemer